

# LIBERTARIAN VANGUARD

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## LAND & FREEDOM

BY CHRIS WEBER

Of all the "10 points," on page 2 of this issue, it's the last one which is hardest to accept. And yet a libertarian land reform program not only flows consistently from the purest well of libertarian theory, it also carries with it potential for gaining the enthusiastic support of large groups of people, both here and abroad, who have been victimized by one of the oldest and most vicious of government crimes: the conquest and seizure of land by either the State itself, or by groups with the State's full backing.

Perhaps this subject is too complex to rest comfortably within the confines of one short article, but the issues involved are so important, and the treatment hitherto accorded them so often muddled, that an attempt to clarify here is worth making. Let us start, then, by arguing back "to first principles;" to principles that every libertarian — indeed, that every humane being must agree with, and proceed from there.

Every individual has the right to own his person. Further, he has the right to own justly acquired property. Just what "justly acquired" property is — especially regarding land — makes up the nub of the issue. As far back as you can trace a piece of land, even if it means so long ago that no records were kept, there was a time when the first human, or group, began to use it. They didn't just "pass through," they stopped, and in John Locke's phrase "mixed their labour with the land" to put it to productive use. On this previously unused land, this person or group first obtained legitimate property ownership. This is what Murray Rothbard calls the "homesteading" principle. Those people had the right to pass along that land either as gift or as voluntary exchange with the similarly derived property of others. In actual fact, property has usually changed hands in most parts of the world from father to son; *usually*, but not always (Anglo-American culture, where families sell their homes rather frequently, is an obvious exception to the experience of the rest of the world — the Indians or the Spanish-Americans for example — which views landed property almost as an extension of the family.)

In any case, anyone who agresses against such justly acquired property by force or fraud is a criminal. A criminal who takes *any* property without the consent of its owners has no just title to that property. Obviously, the claims of one who steals land should be invalidated, and the land returned to the victim. Unfortunately though, history has shown that organized land-grabs of a size so massive that they can only be carried out by the State rarely, if ever, have justice restored during the victims' own lifetimes. What then? We must assume that the land would have gone to the victims' heirs, along with all the other property those heirs received, or should have received.

Clearly, all cases of land theft are not always so simple. Many justified questions can and



### LIBERTARIAN LAND REFORM: THEORY & PRACTICE

should spring up: What if the names and claims of the original victims and his heirs are lost in the mists of antiquity? Then, of course, the current possessor has just claim — only if he or his ancestors did not themselves take the land from some succeeding groups of victims whose heirs can still be traced. For the same land has often seen dozens of different conquerors. Numerous other questions arise: what if the

current possessor doesn't know that he owns stolen land, and the heirs come forth? What if the heirs cannot be found but the current possessor is himself the criminal? Or if in the same case the heirs of the criminal possess the land? What happens with lands originally communally owned, like those of some Indian tribes? Or if the tribe the land was stolen from was *itself* a

✓ 15 + 2 7

# Vice Squad Abolition Initiative Makes Ballot

On August 7th, at 10:30 in the morning, the San Francisco section of the Libertarian Party Radical Caucus gathered in the bare, high-ceilinged Registrar of Voters office in San Francisco's City Hall. It was the culmination of many months work. It was the San Francisco LPRC that conceived the campaign to abolish the City's "Vice Squad," it was the LPRC that brought the concept to the Libertarian Party and made it a major local Party effort, and therefore it was not surprising that over half the people in the room that morning were LPRC members. Against a backdrop of the LPRC banner, which read "Gay Self-Defense = Gay Power: FIGHT BACK!" — side-by-side with the Libertarian Party banner — LPRC Central Committee member Eric Garris and leading LP activist Bill Thomas submitted petitions signed by 17,000 San Francisco voters demanding an end to the city's "Vice Squad" and requesting that the Libertarian Party-sponsored initiative to abolish the squad be placed on the November ballot. The initiative measure would not only get rid of the "Vice Squad," it would also get rid of the city ordinances these "guardians of morality" are charged with enforcing.

Due to the careful work of Vice Squad Abolition Initiative Committee Co-Chair Bill Thomas — also an LPRC member — the petition signatures had an 80% validity rate. Over 10,500 valid signatures are required to place an initiative on the San Francisco ballot.

As soon as the initiative made it on the ballot, the Feinstein administration started slinging mud; if this initiative is passed, charged Feinstein's flunkies, San Francisco will turn into "one big whorehouse." "City Hall is already a whorehouse," responded LP spokesperson Eric Garris; visibly angered by the low-level rhetoric of the initiative's opponents, Garris charged the Vice Squad with selective enforcement and possible corruption, in a series of radio and television interviews. Spokespersons for the Vice Squad then threatened Garris with a libel suit, in a desperate attempt to put a quick end to what is proving to be a major issue.

The Libertarian Party of San Francisco, together with the Radical Caucus, is going all-out to see this campaign through to victory. This is the kind of mass political work the Party should be engaged in on a national level — the pattern of police repression must be fought everywhere. The LAPD must be forced to stop harrasing the Los Angeles gay community, the Philadelphia and New York City police departments must cease the brutal, random murder of blacks, and the currently rampaging "Border Patrol" must be disbanded. Police repression of minority groups is our issue; the "Vice Squad" is just the tip of the proverbial iceberg, but it's a good place to start.

The next time you are robbed or assaulted, just remember — somewhere, the "Vice Squad" is making an arrest.

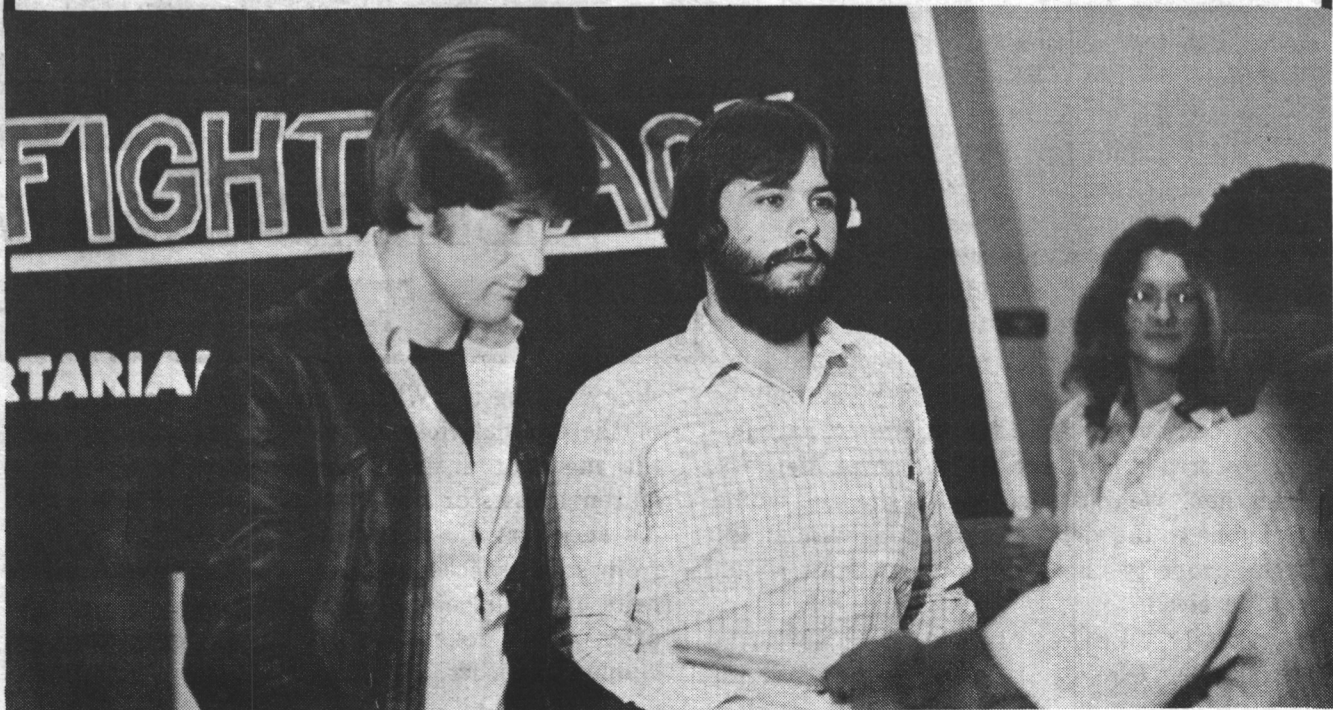
Contributions to the LPRC campaign to abolish the SF Vice Squad can be sent to: 199 Dolores St., No. 7, San Francisco, CA 94114. Make checks or money-orders payable to the Vice Squad Abolition Initiative Committee. Those of you who live in the Bay Area can volunteer your time by calling the Libertarian Party at: (415) 397-1336.

# THE 10 POINTS OF THE LPRC

(Adopted by the Central Committee, July, 1979)

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

- ✓ 1. *Principled Mass Party* — The Libertarian Party should be a mass-participation party operating in the electoral arena and elsewhere, devoted to consistent libertarian principle, and committed to liberty and justice for all.
- ✓ 2. *Resistance & the Oppressed* — The Libertarian Party should make a special effort to recruit members from groups most oppressed by the government so that the indignation of those who experience oppression is joined to that of those who oppose oppression in principle. The Libertarian Party should never approve of the initiation of force, nor should it rule out self-defense and resistance to tyranny.
- ✓ 3. *Anti-State Coalition* — The Radical Caucus agrees to the view, adopted by the Libertarian Party at its 1974 Dallas convention, that for purposes of party programs and activities the issue of the ultimate legitimacy of government per se is not relevant. We oppose all efforts to exclude either anarchists or minimal statist from party life.
- ✓ 4. *Populism* — The Libertarian Party should trust in and rely on the people to welcome a program of liberty and justice. The Libertarian Party should always aim strategically at convincing the bulk of the people of the soundness of libertarian doctrine.
- ✓ 5. *No Compromise* — The Radical Caucus insists that all reforms advocated by the Libertarian Party must diminish governmental power and that no such reforms are to contradict the goal of a totally free society. Holding high our principles means avoiding completely the quagmire of self-imposed, obligatory gradualism: We must avoid the view that, in the name of fairness, abating suffering, or fulfilling expectations, we must temporize and stall on the road to liberty.
- ✓ 6. *Anti-Imperialism & Centrality of Foreign Policy* — Because the United States government aspires to world-wide control of events, foreign policy is always potentially the most important issue of our time. The Libertarian Party should bring to the public the truth about the U.S. government's major responsibility for the cold war and the continuing threat to world peace posed by U. S. foreign policy. No one should be deceived by the notion that any government, like the American, which has a relatively benign domestic policy, therefore has a relatively benign foreign policy.  
  
Our goal is to build an international revolutionary libertarian movement, and our task is to hold up the banner of liberty so that all the world's peoples and races can rally around it.
- ✓ 7. *Mutual Disarmament* — The Libertarian Party should support general, joint, and complete disarmament down to police levels. The Libertarian Party should be in the forefront of efforts to end policies that prepare for mass murder.
- ✓ 8. *Rights Are Primary* — The central commitment of the Libertarian Party must be to individual liberty on the basis of rights and moral principle, and not on the basis of economic cost-benefit estimates.
- ✓ 9. *Power Elite Analysis* — American society is divided into a government-oppressed class and a government-privileged class and is ruled by a power elite. Libertarian Party strategy and pronouncements should reflect these facts.
- ✓ 10. *Land Reform* — Because of past land theft and original claims not based on homesteading, many landholdings in America are illegitimate. The Libertarian Party in cases of theft (for example, from the Native Americans and Chicanos) should support restoration to the victims or their heirs and in cases of invalid claims should advocate reopening the land for homesteading.



by JUSTIN RAIMONDO

The entire libertarian movement surely knows by now of the red-baiting, ill-informed attack on the movement by Ernest van den Haag and Lawrence Cott, published in the June 8 issue of Bill Buckley's *National Review*. A staunch defender of the doctrine of Original Sin, the centrality of tradition — and so obsessed by the spectre of Communism that he is quite willing to sacrifice *everything*, including the last vestiges of human freedom, in order to stem the "red tide" — Mr. van den Haag is famous for even less savory views. For example, in a *National Review* piece published in 1964, he says (the quality of education could be improved) "only if pupils were separated according to ability. And this means," he added, "very largely according to race."

Mr. van den Haag has been answered by the editors of *Inquiry* in the July 9 issue. By the time you are reading this issue of *Libertarian Vanguard*, Ralph Raico and Roy Childs will have dissected *National Review's* neo-McCarthyite ranting, word-by-word in *Libertarian Review*. It remains for *Libertarian Vanguard* to deal with a host of alleged "libertarians" whose response to the right wing attack was to defect to conservatism, in public and in print.

Virtually all of the leading right-wing libertarian leaders wrote in to say, in effect, that *National Review's* charges were substantially true — except in their own cases. Playing right into the hands of Bill Buckley — whose purpose it was to split the libertarian movement down the middle in this crucial election year — Alan Reynolds, Roger MacBride, Bob Poole, Tibor Machan, John Hospers, and others, fall all over themselves in an attempt to re-open the anarchist-minarchist debate and deny the centrality of libertarian opposition to imperialism. *National Review* was delighted to publish this compendium of betrayal under the title: "Has The Libertarian Movement Gone Kooky?"

Alan Reynolds uses this opportunity to attack those he obviously considers the *real* enemy — the Libertarian Party Radical Caucus. "Murray Rothbard and the editors of *Inquiry* (Bill Evers) and *Libertarian Review* (Roy Childs) are leaders of the Libertarian Party Radical Caucus — a splinter group that seeks to push the party toward a non-interventionist foreign policy. The Libertarian Party itself has always attracted the most activist libertarians, yet this 'radical caucus' can claim to have generated interest among only 10% of the California branch of the party. What *NR* chooses to label *the* libertarian movement is in reality only an avowedly radical faction within an activist wing" (Emphasis added).

Apparently, Mr. Reynolds hasn't read the Foreign Policy section of the Libertarian Party, adopted at the 1977 national convention held in San Francisco, which reads:

The principle of non-intervention should guide relationships between governments. We should return to the historic libertarian tradition of avoiding entangling alliances, abstaining totally from foreign quarrels and imperialist adventures, and recognizing the right to unrestricted trade, travel, and immigration.

And we must assume that Mr. Reynolds has never even laid eyes on the following selections from the subsection on Military Policy:

We call for the withdrawal of all American troops from bases abroad. In particular, we call for the removal of the U.S. air force as well as ground troops from the Korean peninsula. We call for withdrawal from multilateral and bilateral commitments to military intervention (such as NATO and to South Korea) and for abandonment of interventionist doctrines (such as the Monroe Doctrine).

Why, one might ask, does the Libertarian Party have to be *pushed* toward a non-interventionist foreign policy — when, quite clearly, it is *already there* in principle? The line of demarcation that was clearly and decisively drawn by the open split with the conservative movement in the late 60's is deliberately blurred by Reynolds. The Liber-

# WHY LICK THE BOOT THAT KICKS YOU?



tarian Party demand for a non-interventionist foreign policy is not something that was tacked on to the LP platform parenthetically, at the last moment, when nobody was looking; libertarians have a long, distinguished history of anti-imperialist activity, from the English classical liberal movement to the "isolationist" politics of Senator Robert Taft, the works of John T. Flynn, Garet Garrett, and Frank Chodorov, to the present-day radical libertarian position of "critical support" to legitimate national liberation movements championed by Murray Rothbard and the LPRC. That Reynolds stands outside this tradition — and that he truly longs to rejoin his conservative friends at *National Review* — is made clear by the following:

It is unreasonable to fault libertarians for not being conservatives. There is a difference, but there is also common ground. If van den Haag is serious about returning half of what government does to the realm of the voluntary market choice, he will need a lot of help. A bunch of enthusiastic young libertarians might provide the necessary extra push (Emphasis added).

Whatever differences Reynolds and van den Haag might have, obviously Reynolds considers them to be only a matter of degree, not a matter of fundamental principle. The ultimate goal of Reynolds and the *Reason* magazine clique — to liquidate the libertarian movement as an independent political force in the world, and subordinate it to a narrow, one-sided strategy of a united front against the tax collector — is contemptible enough; but the *impossible* scenario of young libertarians helping to build a movement which includes the likes of Anita Bryant, Phyllis Schlafly, "right-to-lifers," as well as CIA-apologists like Bill Buckley and bigoted rattlesnakes like R. Emmet Tyrell, is nothing but slander. Our answer to Mr. Reynolds is: *fat chance!* White, male, heterosexual, high-income types like Reynolds abound in the libertarian movement; their narrow focus on economic issues — as if libertarianism were merely an anti-tax crusade, a greatly-expanded version of the Liberty Amendment — has crippled the movement for years, making it almost exclusively the private preserve of a particular class, nearly lily-white, totally isolated from the great bulk of the American people.

"After we get rid of half the state," says Reynolds, "that will be an appropriate time to argue about what to do with the other half." In other words: Chicanos who have had their land stolen by the regulators, and seen their relatives arrested by "la Migra"; gays who have been beaten, locked up, denied both their children and minimum "police protection" in the streets of their own communities; blacks, who are entitled to the land their ancestors were forced to till in

the deep South; people all over the world who have been victimized, napalmed, and otherwise "stabilized" by U.S. imperialism on the rampage in Vietnam, Iran, Nicaragua, etc. — *all these people will just have to wait* until Alan Reynolds' tax burden is made lighter. After all, what is the suffering of a few hundred million people when it is compared to the fact that Reynolds and his ilk won't be able to buy a second car this year? Why should the libertarian movement pay attention to the fact that the Bureau of Indian Affairs is engaged in a policy of systematic land expropriation and genocide directed at American Indians, when all the firehouses in America have yet to be privatized? This position is objectively racist, sectarian, not to mention immoral; the "appropriate time to argue about the other half" (i.e. the well over half of humanity that isn't white, male, heterosexual, high-income) is *now*. The fact that libertarianism is most emphatically *not* a half-hearted affair — the fact that it is an integrated ideological system — is precisely where the line of demarcation between libertarianism and conservatism is drawn. Reynolds' attempt to erase that line is nothing less than a complete sell-out.

As if all this were not enough, Reynolds goes on to link the tax revolt to the militarist campaign to build an even bigger, more invulnerable military-industrial complex:

Since any country is easier to push around if its economy is strangled by taxes and regulations, the economic issues should be important to defense hawks too. But divisive bickering between conservatives and libertarians is of no use to anyone but the tax collectors.

This grotesque attempt to equate libertarianism with the politics of Ronald Reagan has, at its very root, the most primitive form of opportunism conceivable; in their pathetic campaign to enact a few timid reforms, Reynolds and his kind will unite with *anyone*, even those "defense hawks" who are now calling for a return of the draft. Can't you just picture "a bunch of enthusiastic young libertarians" uniting with the Pentagon in order to "provide the necessary extra push" to divert tax money from welfare to warfare? Doubtless, we will have to put a stop to the draft resistance program initiated on a national level by Students for a Libertarian Society — after all, we might offend our "defense hawk" allies! To add deliberate deception to public betrayal, Reynolds then has the gall to quote *Murray Rothbard* (completely out of context) in an effort to justify his shameful public crawling:

Murray Rothbard has written that "we believe in allying ourselves with whoever has a libertarian position on issues important to us." That certainly

## LAND & FREEDOM

(continued from page 1)

slave tribe, like the Incas? And, lacking written proof, must just claim always be based on familial descent, always from father to eldest son?

We beg the reader's leave to save these and other important questions until the end of the article, so that we may temporarily shift scenes from the realm of impersonal theory to the consideration of several "case histories" in a human history far too crowded with them. Perhaps only by seeing what land theft has meant to various *individuals* can we be properly filled with the outraged and passionate sense of justice needed to answer the questions of what can be done, and by what means.



### RACE FOR CONQUEST

While we wrote above of criminals taking land, it should be clear that rarely could one thief, or even a group of them, have the might to shove people off their lands and hold them or their heirs at bay for centuries. This could only be done by a group of organized looters with sufficient power and prestige to lay continual claim to large tracts of land. And we all know that this description applies to only one group.

States have always conquered lands, but since the birth of the modern nation-state three centuries ago the process of land-theft has been much more sophisticated than the old method of brutal and straight-forward annexation, though that method has certainly not been forsworn. Anyone making even a cursory examination into the history of State subjugation of ethnic groups, both within its own boundaries as well as overseas, is sadly struck by the sheer number of such crimes committed just by governments still in existence, and in not a few cases by ones "still doing business at the same old stand." More importantly, while the age of Old World imperialism may be over, its bloody legacy remains. For many of the world's troubled areas — Ulster, the Middle East and Africa, to name but three — find the cause of their woes in the State theft of property and liberty of some group, either by the current ruling class, or by a far-away imperialist State which did its work a century ago, and has since given up its empire to the quarreling amalgam of conquered tribes it once artificially welded into a state: this happened time after time in Africa. Space permits us here to only touch on but a few of these examples.

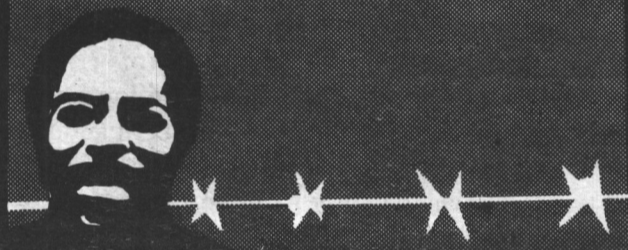
It's interesting to discover that the Old World saw two distinct imperialist periods, with one anti-imperialist interlude between them. The imperialist periods coincided, not surprisingly, with an exalted view of the State. The peaceful period was the relative *laissez-faire* of the late-eighteenth to late-nineteenth centuries. The mercantilist era of the seventeenth century, when many believed that colonies meant wealth, saw Spain and Portugal divide Central and South America, Holland take the East Indies, France take Canada and England take the West Indies and the American colonies. Even little Prussia had holdings on the Gold Coast of Africa until 1725.

By the mid-eighteenth century, however, new ideas were making themselves felt. These ideas were libertarian, and intellectuals argued both that no distant overlords had the right to control the lives of captive subjects thousands of miles away, and that free trade with these former captive-markets would benefit both sides. Indeed, British exports to America rose to even higher

levels soon after the Revolution. The new ideas of liberty and *laissez-faire* economics triumphed, and the sixty-year period of 1763-1823 saw each of the four largest world empires shatter. First France lost Canada to Britain; less than 20 years later, though, Britain's important American colonies defeated the mother country. Between 1810 and 1825, Spain saw herself totally excluded from the South American continent; Portugal lost giant Brazil in 1822.

It's not generally realized that what we think of as the British Empire did not greatly expand until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The list of new English colonies from 1815 to 1875 is very small compared to what happened later. Quite simply, the British public had become anti-imperialist by 1850. The most effective propagandist for free trade and pacifism was Richard Colden, who called the British state "a standing conspiracy to rob and bamboozle the people."

But while the bulk of the people were against empire, all over Europe four special interest groups began a drumfire for imperialism. Journalists were taken with the seeming romance of nationalism and empire; they, in turn, inspired soldiers, who longed for new worlds to conquer. Missionaries wanted to spread Christianity to "heathen" cultures, but most important, certain businessmen demanded to be protected from competition by having their governments "extend the sphere of our industrial enterprise," as one of them put it, by acquiring colonies which would be forced to buy only from the mother country. The major governments of Europe were soon won over, and by 1880 the race for conquest was underway.



### CARVING UP AFRICA

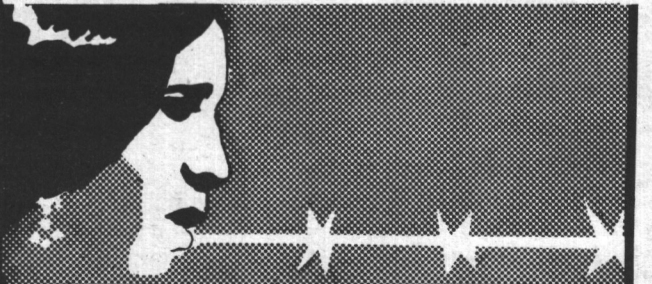
No place was more affected by this new imperialism than was Africa. If you ever get a chance, look at a map of that continent in 1880 and compare that with how it looked in 1914. While in the former year only some thin slivers along the coasts had been wrenched from the various tribes, by World War I's outbreak less than 35 years later, the *only* areas of Africa still free from European imperialism were tiny Liberia on the west coast, and the (African) Empire of Ethiopia on the east coast. With the defeat of Germany, Britain gained what is now Tanzania, thus gaining the final link in an unbroken stretch of land extending from Egypt on the Mediterranean south to Cape Town — five thousand miles long and often close to a thousand miles wide: more than twenty times larger than England herself. France, too, gathered the ignoble spoils in "French West Africa," "French Equatorial Africa" and the large island of Madagascar: a total land grab not as concentrated as Britain's, but very nearly as large. Portugal expanded her holdings in Angola and Mozambique; Italy took Libya, Somaliland, and Eritrea; Belgium was particularly brutal in saving the Congo. In all these endeavors, the "Great Powers" drew up their boundaries between themselves, never taking the slightest notice of the various tribes whose lands they were bisecting, and sometimes trisecting between them. Imperialist ideas had been in the air for years — but it was one European monarch who precipitated the rush for African land around 1880.

King Leopold II of Belgium found himself in favor of imperialism when his subjects still staunchly opposed it. He hit upon a novel way out of his dilemma: he carved out his own, private, 900,000 square mile domain in Central Africa, borrowing from his government, as well

as digging deep in his own pocket to do it. Thus, in July 1885, was born the "Congo Free State," on land which is now Zaire. Granting concessions to private companies to exploit the land and turn over a large part of their profits to him, Leopold enslaved the natives, ordering them to either work for these companies or, if they produced rubber or ivory themselves, sell it only to these agents of the State. He further taxed each native village, and conscripted a native army to extract those taxes (in the form of rubber and ivory, the province's two riches). The army punished the villagers as trophies to prove the punishment had been effective. Village women were regularly held hostages pending delivery of the required tribute. Famine resulted as frightened villagers spent so much time gathering rubber and ivory that no time was left for their crops. Word of these atrocities spread, however, and Leopold was forced to sell his domain to his government in 1908.

But the damage had been done. Protest as many governments did about Leopold's brutality, they copied most of his methods, such as granting concessions, as they scrambled to get colonies. It is interesting to discover exactly how these countries got control of these millions of square miles from the native tribes. Briefly, it was done by *tricking* tribal chiefs into giving up their authority and by treaty-making, becoming a "protectorate" of various European countries. In practice this meant, not protection, but conquest. Let's look at one case taken from Parker Moon's excellent book *Imperialism and World Politics* (1924), which traces the saga of worldwide European and American imperialism from a non-Marxist, libertarian perspective. The particular agent was Sir Harry Johnston, acting for Great Britain, but the following scene was repeated by every other European imperialist power:

In a long native canoe Johnston and his forty Kruboy (negro porters) and Callabars paddled up the Cross River, through lonely glades, startling an occasional chimpanzee or elephant herd, but seeing no human beings, until they neared a large negro village. Savages rushed out into the water, dragged Johnston from his canoe, and carried him off to a native hut. There with a hundred human skulls grinning at him from the walls, he had to sit, while a crowd of savages stared at his strange complexion and clothes. At length his captors questioned him, through his native interpreter. He came, he said, on a friendly mission from "a great white Queen who was the ruler of the White People." He wished to "make a book" with the ruler of the village — that is, a treaty — to "take home to the Woman Chief" who had sent him out. The natives, fortunately, were agreeable. A burly individual carried him back to the canoe, and there Johnston took a treaty form (he had a stock ready for such contingencies) from his dispatch box, while three or four negroes, apparently persons of authority, crowded into the canoe to make crosses on the treaty. The natives, it seemed, had consumed enough palm-wine to be genial, even boisterous. Seeing their condition, Johnston "was longing to get away." Accordingly "after the crosses had been splodged on the treaty-form" and he had given them a present of beads and cloth, he made his adieux, but not before the villagers had generously compelled him to accept a hundred yams and two sheep — and "a necklace of human knuckle bones." Then, fearing that the natives might kill and eat his servants, Johnston made "a judicious retreat."



### NATIVE AMERICAN TRAGEDY

At the dawn of European colonization of what is now the United States, there were about 800,000 Indians in 330 different tribes. Moreover, the Indians almost always had *permanent* homes, and did not as a rule wander. But that

mere fact didn't stop various monarchs from disposing of massive tracts of land to their court favorites as if those lands were deserted. As Sir William Johnson wrote to the Lords of Trade in 1764 about his experience as an Indian agent in the Mohawk Valley, "Each Indian nation is perfectly well acquainted with its exact original bounds; the same is again divided into due proportions for each tribe and afterwards subdivided into shares to each family, with all which they are most particularly acquainted. Neither do they ever infringe upon one another or inwards their neighbors' hunting grounds." The Cherokees in Carolina, for instance, were found to have exactly the same lands in 1776 as they had held when they first sent a deputation to Charleston 83 years earlier.

Force and fraud were continually used upon them by the whites. The first instance of it was the first settlement at Plymouth Colony, where the English simply seized Indian corn after the natives had declined to sell it. When the Indians threatened retaliation, Captain Miles Standish "dealt so fatally with some of them that the survivors remained pleasantly tractable for a considerable time." Sometimes the whites simply pushed Indians off their lands, other times tribes that didn't speak English were asked to put X's on treaties they didn't realize meant giving up their homes. Not surprisingly, they fought back, but almost always in retaliation. General Sam Houston declared in 1846 that "I have never known a treaty made with an Indian tribe (that was) first violated by them." And President Hayes, in his annual State of the Nation message in 1877, charged that "Many, if not most, of our Indian wars have had their origin in broken promises and acts of injustice on our part."

The legal guideline on Indians' claims to land was first handed down in an early U.S. Supreme Court case, *Johnson vs McIntosh*. Chief Justice John Marshall delivered an opinion which can only be described as monstrously evil: "The Indians were admitted to be the rightful occupants of the soil with a legal as well as a just claim to retain possession of it and to use it according to their own discretion; but . . . their power to dispose of the land at their own will to whomsoever they pleased was denied by the original fundamental principle that discovery gave exclusive title to those who made it" (emphasis added). As if, until the whites "discovered" the Indians, the red man did not exist!

After a decades-long slumber, the Indians are now fighting back again — but this time mostly in the courts. Fortunately, they are meeting with some fairer treatment. The Oneida tribe in New York brought suit in 1977 for the return of 100,000 acres of their traditional homelands, which had been taken by the State of New York in 1795 by fraudulent treaty. On July 12 of that year, Federal District Court Judge Port ruled in their favor. His opinion properly addressed one of the questions we raised at the outset of this article:

"Although the present owners of the 100,000 acres may have acted in good faith when acquiring their property, such good faith will not render good a title otherwise not valid for failure to comply with the Non-Intercourse Act (see below). Although it may appear harsh to condemn an apparently good-faith use as a trespass after 90 years of acquiescence by the owners, we conclude that an even older policy of Indian law compels this result."

Unfortunately, the "even older policy" Judge Port based his decision on was the Non-Intercourse Act, which some Indians are using to reclaim their lands. This 1790 act states that no land transaction between tribes and non-Indians will be valid until ratified by Congress. Many whites never bothered to "validate" their thefts, assuming they would never be challenged. Happily, they now are. But land theft is wrong even if the thefts were "cleared" through Washington. Indian claims to their land must rest on the timeless idea of just property rights, and not on some state act whose datedness is shown by its very name.



## COWBOYS VS CHICANOS

Our last example is perhaps the most impressive. The dispossession of over 5 million acres of Spanish-Americans' land is a tale almost never told. Further, there can be no excuse that some use in the case of the Indians, namely that tribes sometimes had no set, rigidly demarcated land, preferring to hunt over a wide area. This is a tenuous excuse with the Indians, and an absurd one for the Chicanos. "Every Spanish-American village," as Dr. Clark S. Knowlton of the University of Texas at El Paso points out, "was a self-contained, semi-independent peasant world." Land was not something to be easily traded; it was an extension of the family, to be preserved through generations. This land-rooted culture has held in rural Chicano life to this day.

The villages were a mixture of privately and communally owned land. Each family owned its own house lot and adjoining irrigated farm land. The rest of the land, called the *ejido*, was held in common by all the villagers. This was mostly the grazing land. For almost two centuries, the villagers lived thus, peacefully. The newly-arriving Anglo-Americans, though, found it difficult to understand how some village land could be held communally. It was one thing to be philosophically opposed to communalism, but quite another to use the courts to seize the common grazing land for themselves. This is just what happened. The courts defined ownership of the commons as belonging to the original families receiving the land grant and to their body heirs. These heirs were searched out, paid a sum, and persuaded to sign a slip of paper which actually was a land deed signing away their right of ownership. Many later claimed they never knew what they were signing, for the idea of selling their share in the *ejido* was completely foreign to them. Catholic Sister of Charity Blandina Seagale reported that Anglos often offered "the owner of the land a handful of silver coins for the small service of making a mark on a paper. The mark was a cross which was accepted as a signature" signing away their lands. Bear in mind that no Chicano thought of their land as something that could be "signed away," nor even given away to any but his family, or at the most a fellow villager.

The Mexican war of 1848 gave the U.S., among other land, the New Mexico Territory (now Arizona and New Mexico). But new rule meant some conflicting land claims in this area, and Congress passed an Act on July 22, 1854, to address the problems. It could have legalized all existing land claims based on traditional use. But it chose instead to rule upon each land claim individually. This meant that anyone who wanted his claim recognized would have to spend time and money in Washington lobbying for it. How many poor Chicanos, not even speaking English, were prepared to do this?

Two land claim offices were set up, in Santa Fe and Las Cruces. No land claim or title was valid until registered in these offices. But the Chicano villagers didn't even know they existed, much less what their functions were. Anglos, on the other hand, visited the offices and took note of which land claims had not yet been registered. They then quickly registered them in their own names.

As a result of the furor which these thefts caused, the Federal government set up a Court of Private Claims to judge every claim in conflict. All the members of the Court were Anglos; all five judges were from outside New Mexico, with

little knowledge of Spanish or Mexican law and no knowledge of Chicano land-owning methods. In this situation, the sole surprising result was that only two-thirds of the Spanish-American land claims were rejected. But even the one-third who thought they won actually lost as well. The lawyers hired by Chicanos to defend their claims required that their fees be paid in land, as cash was never a large part of the village economy. These lawyers set their own fees, and often took the choicest grazing and timber lands. There is, of course, nothing inherently wrong with lawyers demanding land as payment, but what sometimes happened was, in the words of the old Tories confronted with activities not exactly illegal but not moral either, "pretty damned low, in any case." For instance, there were easy opportunities for collusion between the lawyers who "defended" the Chicano claims and the lawyers who challenged them. Dr. Knowlton reports in his "Land Grant Problems Among the States' Spanish-Americans" a story simply too outrageous to be paraphrased:

"In one case (reported to the writer in northern New Mexico and reputedly typical around the turn of the century) several Anglo-American lawyers living in Las Vegas (New Mexico) cast their eyes upon a large community land grant rich in grazing lands. A lawsuit was brought against the village, challenging its land title. The panic-stricken villagers employed lawyers (now said to have been involved in the plot) to defend their claims. The lawyers agreed to take the case providing they were paid in land. The village leaders accepted the lawyers' demand but did not ask them to specify the number or location of the acres involved. After several years of court action, the village won. The defending lawyers had taken as their fee the best grazing land from the village *ejido* and divided the land with the challenging attorneys."

Where legal subtlety didn't work, brute force often finished the job. The relatively peaceful Spanish-American culture, which barely knew weapons but the lance and the bow, and rarely even had murders, was not prepared for the invasion of Texas cowboys in the 1870's and 1880's, who brought with them a fundamental contempt for Spanish-speaking people. Chicano men were murdered, their women raped, and their lands and cattle stolen by these thugs, to an extent that the very word "Texas" became an expletive throughout Spanish-American New Mexico. Perhaps the most senseless raid took place in 1864, when Texan cowboys careened through Lincoln County, New Mexico, leaving a trail of corpses, desolation and anguish in their wake.

The State used other tricks to loot the Chicanos of their land. One of them was taxes. Under Spanish laws, land itself was never taxed; only what was produced on it was and that often was paid in crops. Anglo law taxed land itself, and for cash payments. Chicano farmers often didn't even know of the land tax until the sheriff came out to eject him from his land for non-payment. And even when he paid, the Chicano was often defrauded. Often the tax official failed to register that the farmer had paid. Or often he "forgot" to issue receipts, or issued phony receipts, to Chicanos. In either case, the county tax book registered a blank space, meaning "non-payment." Further, the tax rate would be frequently changed: pushed so high the villagers could not pay them, then drastically lowered after the new Anglo owners took over the choice bits of it that had become "tax delinquent." Knowlton reported in his same article, written in the 1960's, that "the inability to pay land taxes is still probably the most important cause of continued loss of land among the Spanish-American rural population of New Mexico."

The federal government directly confiscated millions of acres when it established "National Forests" on Chicano *ejido* grazing land and timber land without any compensation. Chicanos resent having to pay grazing fees for land that was once theirs. Other methods of dispossession, even if not intended as such, were the massive federal irrigation projects. In most irrigation districts a fixed annual financial charge is levied on each acre to be irrigated. This tax has to be paid

(continued on page 6)

## LAND & FREEDOM

(continued from page 5)

in bad years as well as good. Lacking a lot of cash, Chicano subsistence farmers have been dispossessed of their lands by the courts, their land going to large (Anglo) commercial farmers. "It is ironic," Knowlton states, "that most of the Anglo commercial farmers would be in a bad way if all forms of government assistance, which the subsistent Spanish-Americans never received, were eliminated." A last death blow was dealt by the state public welfare system, starting with the New Deal. As constant State exploitation gradually made the Chicano farmer indigent, especially during the Depression, he fell back on welfare. But rules made — and make — him ineligible for welfare as long as he owns any land at all, even land so small that he can't farm on it. He was thus often forced to sell his land and move to urban areas in California, Arizona, Colorado and Utah, moving from rural poverty, which was bad enough, to urban poverty, which is even worse.

This last statement begins to reveal what exactly this series of land thefts has done to traditional Mexican-American culture: It has destroyed that culture. Since the Congressional Act in 1854 well over two million acres of privately-owned Chicano lands have been taken, 1.7 million communal acres, one million taken by the state of New Mexico, and millions more — still going on — have been and are being taken by the Federal government. As for the effect of this on the people themselves, we have already seen how public welfare since the 30's has destroyed the traditional Chicano family structure (as it did with the blacks) and forced many to flee to the cities, there to become public wards. But decades of expropriation had taken their toll even by the 1920's. By then, the majority of Spanish-American villages had been looted of their *ejido* land; their grazing land was gone. They were cattlemen without a range. Lacking meat, malnutrition spread. Men were forced to leave the villages to labor as migrant workers, returning in the fall. Then the terrible "dust-bowl" drought of the 30's brought many villages to the brink of actual starvation. That was it; there was nothing left. The Spanish-American village economy and culture that had endured for 300 years now finally collapsed. Many fled the scenes of their disaster and have never returned. Those Chicanos who didn't move to the cities saw their last shreds of dignity wrenched from them. In not a few cases they worked — and are working — as *farm hands on land they used to own*; on land that is by right theirs.

### NEWS-FLASH!

As we go to press, David Koch — brother of Charles Koch, well-known libertarian philanthropist — has announced that he is available for the LP Vice-Presidential nomination. According to reliable sources, David Koch announced his intention to run in a letter which, quite frankly, puts forth his intention to donate money to the campaign as his major qualification. We were also informed that Koch — if nominated by the Convention — intends to keep a low profile.

David Koch's candidacy is obviously a real alternative to letting the discriminatory Federal Election Code financial regulations strangle the LP's burgeoning growth — and, just as obviously, will provoke a storm of controversy in certain quarters.

## Radical Caucus General Meeting

The first General Meeting of the Libertarian Party Radical Caucus will be held at the National Convention; Thursday, September 6th, 8–10 pm, in the San Gabriel Room of the Bonaventure Hotel. Featured speakers: Justin Raimondo, Murray Rothbard, Bill Evers, and Eric Garris.



## RESTITUTION

Many will turn away from these scenes of shocking injustice and ask, "All right, reading this bloody history makes my revulsion of the State even more profound than it was, if such were possible. But what can we do to redress the crimes of centuries, or even decades, past? Both the original victims are now dead." Actually, armed with libertarian theory, the answers to these and the other questions raised earlier are simpler than they appear. But first, let us put to rest the notion that land theft is a thing of the past. Just one example: there is now a bill before the Israeli parliament to deprive Israeli citizens of 20,000 acres of their land. Relations between the government and the Bedouin tribesmen of the southern Israeli Negev desert had traditionally been good, unlike Tel Aviv's affairs with its other non-Jewish citizens. But one result of the recent Camp David accords is that Israel must hand back to Egypt the Sinai desert it occupied 12 years ago, including the military bases there. Israel is now demanding the Bedouin land for the new bases which the U.S. will help Israel build. "Because of this urgency," the London *Economist* reports, the new law states that the tribesmen *cannot go to court in defense*. All they can do is "dispute the amount of compensation before government committees." Even some Israeli politicians are recoiling at this blatant denial of the pronounced right of every Israeli citizen.

Thieves and victims, then, are still with us. But even if they are now long dead, justice can still be done; bleeding sores can still be healed. But it can only be done by applying libertarian theory of property rights to the multitude of specific cases. What that theory basically prescribes has not been stated more concisely than by Murray Rothbard in his unpublished book, *The Ethics of Liberty*:

For any property currently claimed and used: (a) if we *know* clearly that there was no criminal origin to its current title, then obviously the current title is legitimate, just and valid; (b) if we *don't know* whether the current title had any criminal origins, but can't find out that it had, then the hypothetically "unowned" property reverts instantaneously and justly to its current possessor; (c) if we *do know* that the title is originally criminal, but can't find the victim or his heirs, then (c<sub>1</sub>) if the current title-holder was not the criminal aggressor against the property, then it reverts to him justly as the first owner of a hypothetically unowned property. But (c<sub>2</sub>) if the current title-holder is himself the criminal or one of the criminals who stole the property, then clearly he is to be properly deprived of it, and it then reverts to the first man who takes it out of its unowned state and appropriates it for his use.

Let us state here that we base any just land claims on *inheritance*, not mere descent. Often they are the same, and we should always assume, lacking precise data, that the descendant family or group claiming land have a right to it. But if it can be shown that, on even one occasion, however far back, the ancestor "broke the link" and bequeathed the land to someone outside the family, that land ought to go to the heirs of the "new people," and if none of those heirs come forward, it should remain with the current possessors.

Reforming former tribal or communal land shouldn't be any harder than individually-held land. This land could be restored to members of the current tribe as a co-op. And in the case of when the tribe was a slave tribe or group, with peasants toiling for masters, the land should go to the descendants of the peasants, not of the rulers. Herding tribal lands are a little more difficult, but I put forth the tentative solution that herders, too, regularly "mixed their labor with the land," and therefore should receive restitution.

One place the restitution process should not be difficult is Africa. That continent holds roughly 3,000 tribal groups, each with their own demarcated lands. When the Europeans arbitrarily drew new boundaries in Berlin in 1885, these tribes were often broken up. The Lundas, for instance, are now split among Angola, Zambia and Zaire. One might have thought that, as colonialism receded, the tribal boundaries would have been restored. But black imperialists had replaced white ones. These new statist feared loss of their territory and got the Organization of African Unity to declare the colonialist boundaries "sacrosanct." The obvious (and libertarian) solution to the African morass is to smash these artificial nation-state boundaries and return to the natural tribal ones.

If all the original victims' heirs are dead, and the thieves' heirs still own land, they should remain, for the killers' heirs themselves are innocent of crime, and should pay back land only upon being challenged by the just heirs. The harshest part of all this, as Judge Port admitted in his 1977 decision, is when current possessors who innocently acquired land that had been stolen are confronted by heirs who have returned to claim it. To this we can only exclaim, with him, that "an even older policy of . . . law compels this result." But while Judge Post was referring to an arbitrary government law, we invoke the *natural* law and right of every human being to justly acquired property.

Land reform is still a fairly new subject to libertarians. Further, this article is short, and certainly not meant as the last word. Undoubtedly, more questions and objections can and should be raised. But we are far enough along to realize that this issue is ours, that only libertarianism holds out hope for oppressed and victimized peoples in the world longing to regain their property. With land reform, as with so many other areas, our task is truly "to hold up the banner of liberty so that all the world's peoples and races can rally around it."

## LPRC Directory

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# VANGUARD VIEWPOINT

## Clark for President

We support Ed Clark for President, critically and conditionally. Critically, because we have some serious reservations about Clark's willingness and ability to reach out to *all* sectors of the electorate — and of the movement; conditionally, because the active support of the LP Radical Caucus for any candidate always depends on that person's ideological proximity to the "Ten Points" (see page 2 of this issue).

Clark's record at the polls is the chief argument for his candidacy: not only did he poll over 5% of the California gubernatorial vote, but he managed to conduct a principled Libertarian campaign. Instead of taking the usual Libertarian line — which emphasizes so-called "economic" issues at the expense of so-called "civil liberties" issues — the Clark campaign integrated both concepts into a coherent, consistent whole. Clark spoke out against the evil Proposition 6 — which would have purged all gays from the California public school system — in the conservative southern portion of the state as well as in the liberal north. Clark is a consistent advocate of a rational foreign policy; that is, he consistently upholds the view that any intrusion by the United States outside its own borders is morally indefensible — and leads, in fact, to mass murder abroad and serious infringements of liberty at home. One of Clark's first actions as the LP candidate for Governor of California was to demand the release of all prisoners currently being held for victimless crimes.

However, it is hard for us to imagine Ed Clark touring the Southwest talking about the Libertarian concept of land reform — i.e. making a public demand that the millions of acres of unjustly acquired land in that area be returned to the descendants of the rightful owners. (See Chris Weber's article in this issue.) That issue has never been publicly discussed by *any* Libertarian candidate; and Ed Clark is no exception. Not once during the entire course of his gubernatorial campaign did Clark make a statement concerning the land rights of American Indians or dispossessed Chicanos. While it is clear that, if Clark is to be a viable Presidential candidate, he must address the largely economic concerns of the white middle class — it is also clear that other sectors of the population are just as likely, if not more likely, to vote Libertarian if the Party makes a conscious outreach effort.

Our support for Clark must be seen, of course, in context. Compared to the two other announced candidates for the LP Presidential nomination — Bill Hunscher and Pete Larsen — our differences with Clark fade into insignificance. Bill Hunscher's campaign was, up until two weeks before the Convention, based largely on his pledge to run full-time; apparently Hunscher is unaware that, at least in Libertarian circles, the labor theory of value is completely discredited. His campaign literature — a glossy brochure just recently released — is concerned exclusively with economic issues. *Not a single mention* of civil liberties and foreign policy issues.

Pete Larsen is not a Libertarian. His campaign literature makes that very clear, and we quote:

"... at this point in time in the world I firmly believe that we cannot pursue isolationist defense and foreign policies... Without trying to sound like Joe McCarthy, I see a real visible threat to our personal freedoms from the World Communist Movement headed by the USSR... Free people in other countries are facing the same spectre we are and they need our help.

Larsen, of course, is not a serious candidate; his candidacy is proof, however, that the movement is still in danger of falling prey to the most primitive, conservative elements.

Ed Clark is a clear, articulate spokesperson whose ability to explain and defend the principle of non-interventionism is almost unmatched. We urge Mr. Clark to make an issue out of the existence of the American Empire if and when he receives the LP Presidential nomination. Of course, he will be addressing economic issues, such as inflation and deregulation — but by connecting "bread & butter" issues with a radical libertarian land reform program, an "open border" solution to the immigration question, and a radical critique of American imperialism, Clark can broaden the political base of the LP and prevent Reagan or Connolly from coopting the LP out of existence.

We endorse Ed Clark for President; we urge all LPRC delegates to the National Convention to support his candidacy.

## Vote Radical Caucus

This National Convention of the Libertarian Party marks our emergence as a viable force in national politics. It can also mark the turning point in the struggle between gradualism and radicalism.

Which way for the Libertarian Party?

Will the LP present the American public with a clear, consistent, uncompromising vision of liberty — or will it blur that vision with timidity, reformism, gradualism, and a Party bureaucracy run amok? Will our strategic vision be defined by the pursuit of short-term electoral gains?

Not if the Libertarian Party Radical Caucus has anything to say about it.

The LPRC is an organized tendency within the Libertarian Party with a revolutionary perspective, and a unique strategic vision. With the United States exporting statism to its client states abroad, and with the Soviet Union responding in kind, the LPRC sees that the only alternative is an international revolutionary Libertarian movement. The LPRC is firmly committed to a non-interventionist foreign policy not only in the name of peace abroad, but also in the interests of civil liberties at home. We are an alliance of anarchists and limited governmentals, committed to broadening the political base of the

## LIBERTARIAN VANGUARD

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Party to include those whose long history of State-enforced oppression ought to make them frontline fighters in the battle for Liberty.

In order to promote the LPRC tendency within the National Libertarian Party, we are supporting three candidates for National Committee at-large: Justin Raimondo, Murray Rothbard, and Bill Evers.

The National Committee is a large (25-30 members) and diverse group of people representing many tendencies within the movement. This time, more individuals will be running for these positions than ever, many on nothing more than personalities. It is essential to have the Radical Caucus as a voice on the Committee.

With all of the candidates running, your vote as a radical is extremely important. We must elect the full slate of RC candidates, as well as support local RC candidates for regional representatives.

When you vote for Nat Com, we urge you to vote RC and *only* RC. Vote for Justin Raimondo, Murray Rothbard, and Bill Evers.

Justin Raimondo is the founder of the Radical Caucus and editor of its newspaper *Vanguard*. He has been active in the Libertarian movement since 1967, and full-time since 1976. He was promotion director for the 1977 National Convention in San Francisco.

Raimondo was also an advisor on gay political affairs for Ed Clark in his campaign for Governor. He is a co-author of the San Francisco Libertarian Party's Vice Squad Abolition Initiative. He is currently employed as an organizer for Students for a Libertarian Society.

Murray Rothbard has been a Libertarian writer and activist for over 30 years. He is the author of numerous books, essays, and articles, including *For a New Liberty*, *The Libertarian Manifesto*, and many other books. He is the editor of *Journal of Libertarian Studies* and *Libertarian Forum*, and a contributing editor of *Reason* and *Libertarian Review*.

Rothbard has been active in the Libertarian Party since early 1973. In addition to speaking before numerous state and regional party meetings, he has been the keynote and banquet speaker at several national conventions. He was a member of the 1975, 1977, and 1979 National Platform Committees. He was also a member of the National Judicial Committee for 1975-77.

Rothbard has been a member at-large of the National Committee since 1977, where he has served as a member of the publications committee, and played a leading role in drawing up the National Committee's statements on strategy and purpose, and on coalitions and alignments.

Bill Evers became a Libertarian during high school and went on to found and head Stanford Libertarians. He was active in anti-war, anti-draft, and impeach Nixon activities and was editor of the *Stanford Daily*. Evers is now editor of *Inquiry Magazine* and is a contributor to *Reason*, *Libertarian Review*, *Libertarian Forum*, and the *Journal of Libertarian Studies*. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Center for Libertarian Studies.

Evers was editor of *LP News* from 1974 to 1976 and national research director for the MacBride for President campaign in 1976. He was a member of the National Platform Committees in 1975, 1977, and 1979. Since 1975, he has been a member of the National Committee and serves as a member of its subcommittee on publications. He is a member of the Central Committee of the Radical Caucus.

Of the many changes being proposed to the National Constitution and By-Laws, the Radical Caucus has taken a position on three of them.

We oppose any attempt to remove the so-called "Loyalty Oath," the statement saying "I do not believe in or advocate the use of force for  
(continued on page 8)

# LETTERS

# BOOT

(continued from page 3)

Dear Editor,

In the August 1979 article, "Italian Communists Lose Big," the Radical Party's position favoring the legalization of marijuana and the decriminalization of abortion were equated as "completely libertarian." While we libertarians agree about the use of marijuana, there is some doubt among us on abortion.

Some libertarians believe abortion is an acceptable choice; some believe it is a difficult question and have small or great reservations about its use; and others believe abortion is wrongful homicide and, therefore, a contradiction of the libertarian non-aggression principle.

Some believe there is no debate among libertarians on abortion, but there is. I hope *LIBERTARIAN VANGUARD* will see fit to air this debate until, hopefully, we find agreement on the subject, wherever it may lie.

Doris Gordon  
Coordinator  
Libertarians for Life  
Wheaton, Maryland

The editor replies: *The position of the Radical Caucus on the question of abortion unequivocally grants to women the right to choose whether or not they wish to remain pregnant. We believe that "Libertarians for Life" is statist to the core, as is any group which blatantly seeks to enact legislation in order to deprive women of the right to terminate unwanted pregnancies. To put the "rights" of potentialities, of the unborn, before the rights of the living is such a confused, fuzzy, irrational concept that it positively reeks of the mystic. The attempt by organized religion, of one sort or another, to impose its narrow prejudices on civilized society must be fought, tooth and nail: the completely mis-named "pro-life" movement is the cutting edge of the neo-facit "New Right," which seems to be on the upswing lately; these are the same scum who want to outlaw homosexuality, bring back prayer in public schools, and otherwise manipulate the statist system in order to enforce their sickly "virtues" on the rest of humanity. Objectively, "Libertarians for Life" is actively working to build the conservative movement; to call for legislation prohibiting abortion is completely contrary to the letter and spirit of the "Ten Points" of the LPRC. This is as good a time as any to announce to interested parties the following statement of LPRC policy: members of "Libertarians for Life," or any other political organization whose stated principles violate the letter of the "Ten Points," are ineligible for membership in the LPRC. Please be assured, Ms. Gordon, that the \$10 in membership dues you sent us will be refunded to you in full.*

## Vote Radical Caucus

the achievement of political or social goals." This statement, which must be signed by any legitimate Libertarian candidate is what differentiates us from the major parties. In the future it can also be used to differentiate phony libertarians from true movement-backed candidates.

We oppose the proposed change to redefine boundaries and representation for Regional representation on the National Committee. This is a blatant attempt to cut California's representation to equal that of a few Southern states who have small or no organizations. California accounts for close to twenty percent of the national membership and probably a higher percent of real constituency. It also eliminates the opportunity for any other region to gain extra representation based upon increasing their membership, organization, or vote totals!

We oppose the suggestion to eliminate at-large Nat Com positions altogether. This is, again, an attempt to deny fair representation to California and the majority of national movement activists.

should include conservatives on most economic issues.

What Reynolds doesn't mention is that Murray Rothbard is the author of a resolution adopted by the National Committee of the Libertarian Party which *explicitly* warns against the danger of making alliances with conservatives and the possible consequences of failing to draw the line of demarcation in the public mind between these grim Cold Warriors and real libertarians. Of course, Reynolds is perfectly well aware of all this; but why should outright falsification of facts be beneath anyone who is willing to make common cause with the militarist, racist, anti-gay New Right?

That Reynolds has gone over to the conservative camp — where, doubtless, he has always belonged — is starkly revealed when he bitches about Roy Childs' taking William Simon to task:

As for the libertarians, their pursuit of purity can be an obstacle to accomplishing anything . . . Roy Childs faults Simon for not stressing the abolition of victimless crime laws: "I think it must be demanded of such a person," writes Childs, "as proof of his sincerity."

It all depends, Mr. Reynolds, on what it is you wish to accomplish. Those who would like to refrain from calling for an end to all victimless crime laws — in the name of gradualism or expediency — ought to have the courage of their real convictions. As in the case of the Marxists, who are in theory still committed to the idea that the state ought to "wither away," the *actual intentions* of those who would postpone the most basic human rights until some time in the indefinite future (and who will not even speak out in their defense until that millennial era is reached!) ought to be called into serious question. Because libertarianism transcends both left and right, our political constituency is potentially as wide and various as humanity itself; in order to win over the great bulk of the people we *must* make the connections between the tax collector and the vice squad transparently clear if we intend to build a successful political movement. We *must* make the connection between conscription and interventionism if we are to fight either effectively; we *must* build alliances between the various groups threatened by the growing power of the American State, and unite them around a single ideology and a single Party — or else all is lost.

Nearly all of the letters published by *National Review* yap about how the focus of van den Haag's article was too narrow: most libertarians, say these traitors, are as plonky, as boring, as bigoted, as conservative as *Reason* magazine. Bob Poole goes so far as to say:

And, in fact, anarchism and isolationism constitute minority points of view within the movement. Recent surveys of the members of both the California Libertarian Party and the Society for Individual Liberty bear this out.

The line of the *Reason* clique — that isolationism *must* mean anarchism — is nothing but an obvious attempt to re-open the anarchist/minarchist debate, split the movement and the Party wide open, and divert any real discussion around the question of the proper foreign policy of a free society into an unproductive and debilitating replay of completely irrelevant faction fights that have long since been settled. If Mr. Poole takes the name of his magazine seriously, then he will refer to the relevant portions of the Libertarian Party platform quoted above — and to the fact that the majority of LP members are advocates of limited government.

In his letter to *National Review*, Poole mentions the fact that the California poll indicated 62% read *Reason*, as opposed to 42% for *Inquiry* — but fails to mention that *Libertarian Review* polled 58%, not too bad considering the fact that *Reason* has been around a lot longer. Of course, Poole doesn't mention that *Libertarian Vanguard* polled 7.5% in the same survey — an astonishing fact when one realizes that the survey was taken only two weeks before the first issue of *LV* was published. For the information of Mr. Reynolds and the rest of the neo-conservatives of *Reason* magazine, the figure has grown considerably since then — due for the most part to the revulsion generated in the movement by the sight of so many "libertarians" groveling before the warlords of *National Review*.

Most of the other letters are identical in tone and content: John Hospers (that noted defender of white minority rule in Rhodesia and South Africa), Tibor Machan, Roger MacBride, even Henry Hazlitt (who rather reluctantly defends Murray Rothbard's contributions to economic theory) — all of them virtually screamed "It's true what you say about *some* libertarians, some libertarians are a bunch of 'kooks, neurotics, and perverts' — but not me!"

Nowhere do any of the letter writers take issue with *National Review's* statement that libertarians are admirers of Stalin; nowhere do any of these so called "libertarians" object to the use of the word "pervert," perhaps because their own version of libertarianism comes perilously close to the *real* meaning of the word *perversion*; not once do these traitors defend the libertarian movement against the vile slanders of the New Right. Ernest van den Haag himself was quick to see this:

I am disappointed by the evasiveness of the letters. None seriously tried to defend the views I criticized — or, for that matter, any specifically libertarian views. Saying "you don't believe in the free market," or "I don't agree with Rothbard," scarcely constitutes a defense of libertarianism. *None was offered.* (Emphasis added.)

Amen.

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