

LIBERTARIAN VANGUARD

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WAR BY PROXY

As Treasury Secretary Michael W. Blumenthal arrived in Peking on February 27, for what the *New York Times* called "a nine-day visit centering on financial and commercial discussions," Chinese troops were invading Vietnam.

A clearer indication of the Carter administration's imperial ambitions abroad could not possibly exist, short of sending in the Marines. The real thrust of Carter's superficially schizophrenic foreign policy seems ready to reveal itself. "In the U.S. itself, divination of the ultimate aims of this nation's foreign policy could probably best now be achieved by consulting the entrails of a goat," say Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway in the *Village Voice* (3/5/79). "Fittingly in the age of inflation, the country has not one foreign policy but two; and with these policies two spokesmen in the forms of Cyrus Vance and Zbigniew Brzezinski . . . Like revolving figures in a German town clock, the spokesmen alternately appear to proclaim national objectives overseas. First Vance, sober and dignified spokesman for the Eastern establishment and the heritage of Averell Harriman, pops

(continued on page 2)

IN
YEMEN →
&
← INDO-
CHINA

In spite of the fact that the border war between North and South Yemen - which began February 23 - has been at least temporarily ended through the efforts of the Arab League, the Carter administration is proceeding with plans to deliver \$390,000 in arms to North Yemen. As many as 300 U.S. military personnel have been training Saudi Arabian and North Yemeni troops to use the ultra-sophisticated hardware supplied by Washington.

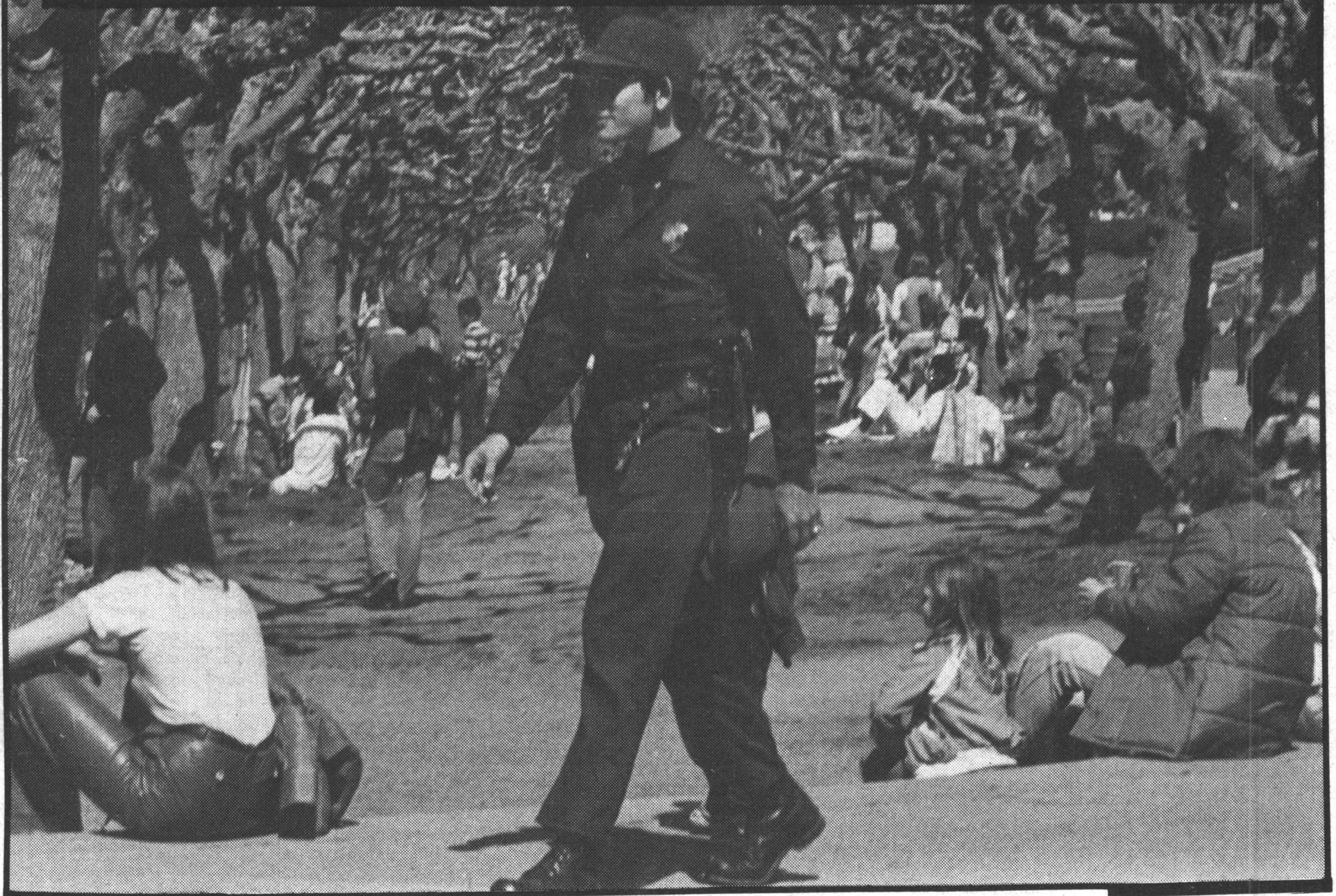
The U.S. response to the conflict - and to Saudi pressure - was to send in 12 F-5 fighter planes, 64 tanks, and 50 armored personnel carriers. The fighter planes are awaiting assemblage in Saudi Arabia for transport to North Yemen. The bill for U.S. arms supplies to North Yemen this year will total almost \$560 million - to be paid by the American taxpayer.

The pattern was clear from the outset.

On Feb. 25, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown stated: "The United States is prepared to defend its vital interests with whatever means are appropriate, including military force if necessary, whether that's in the

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THE CETA WORKER LOOK



No, it isn't a cop—it's a CETA worker in military drag. Issued new uniforms and weapons, these New Class parasites constitute the newly-created Park Patrol, whose job it is to parade around Golden Gate Park (in San Francisco) doing nothing in particular.

Middle East or elsewhere.

That very day, energy czar James R. Schlesinger was sounding an even louder call to arms in the Middle East: "The United States has vital interests in the Persian Gulf," he was quoted as saying in the *New York Times*. "The United States must move in such a way that it protects those interests, even if that involves the use of military strength or of a military presence." [Emphasis added.]

By March 6, Carter's toadies had been knocked off center stage in this little drama, upstaged by Carter himself. In response to pressure from the feudal state of Saudi Arabia, the President ordered a carrier task force into the Arabian sea, to show "concern" over the "destabilization" of the area. Although the United States government maintains that South Yemen (a Marxist state) has invaded Saudi-backed North Yemen, in fact the National Democratic Front, led by Sultan Ahmed Omar, is responsible for what is obviously a civil war. At a March 4 meeting of the Arab League in Kuwait, the 22-member group attempted to end the fighting by ordering a cease-fire. The terms of the agreement -- to be administered by a committee of six countries, as well as the Palestine Liberation Organization -- include a series of observation posts along the border between the two Yemens.

The United States has poured over \$100 million in U.S. arms into North Yemen since Feb. 20--the Saudi Arabian army, fully mobilized since Feb. 28, is poised on the border, ready to spring, as the world holds its breath. Carter's show of naval strength is designed to shove the Saudis into a large-scale conflict with the South Yemeni government. Not that the Saudis require any prodding; their full-scale military mobilization was entirely an independent undertaking. Pouring U.S. arms into this area is like pouring gasoline over a dry field; it won't take much of a spark...

Having learned nothing from recent events in Iran, the United States seems determined to alienate the only element in the Middle East still unaligned and still strong enough to present a viable alternative to unalloyed Marxism -- the radical Arab states. Although the U.S. foreign policy establishment is still haunted by the spectre of Vietnam, yet another Democratic administration is leading us into another futile war.

Jimmy Carter's policy of persistent meddling in the internal affairs of other nations -- which, in the Middle East, amounts to U.S. support for Zionist colonialism against the struggle of the Palestinian people for national self-determination -- is designed to outrage the Pan-Arabic sympathies of the Arab League, and buy off the "moderate" Arab states with full-scale military and economic support. The recent Middle East "peace settlement" between Egypt and Israel functions merely to provide a suitable cover for U.S. activities on the Arabian peninsula. Jimmy Carter is holding an olive branch in one hand -- posturing as a born-again version of the Prince of Peace, while putting economic and military pressure on Arab "moderates" to sell out the cause of the Palestinian people -- and a submachinegun in the other hand. And that gun is aimed at a little-known desert country, the strategically important nation of Yemen, the key to the Red Sea.

As Richard Burt put it in the *New York Times*, in an article dated March 6: "Although the carrier decision is linked primarily to the fighting in Yemen, officials contend that any action to bolster Saudi confi-

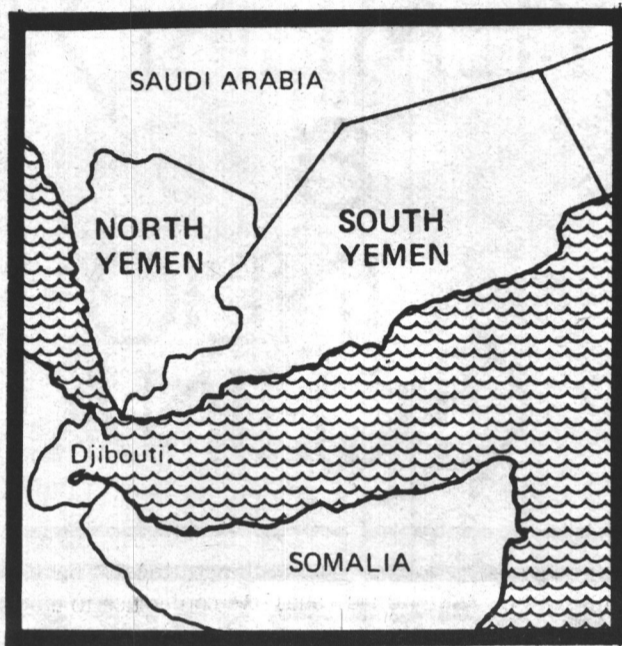
dence in the Administration would also help in Mr. Carter's efforts to conclude a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. Saudi support for an Egyptian-Israeli agreement is viewed as important to the success of Mr. Carter's trip to the Middle East this week, and officials said the carrier decision could lead the Saudi government to feel more secure in backing a new peace agreement."

And so we are on the road to war -- in the name of peace.

The war in Yemen is escalating -- in spite of the Arab League's call for an immediate cease-fire, the withdrawal of the armed forces of both sides within 10 days and the restoration of normal relations. Although, apparently, the U.S. fleet is to be given free access to the Arabian Sea -- as well as the Persian Gulf, where the USS Constellation pushed its way into the Iranian revolution -- Carter "is said to be disturbed by Moscow's continuing effort to re-supply South Yemen's government with arms." [According to the *New York Times*].

The U.S. government, true to form, is backing yet another reactionary, neo-feudal tyranny -- and is ceding the spirit of autonomy and national self-determination to the Arab left. It's a familiar story. But the U.S. government never has, and probably never will, take responsibility for setting this process in motion.

In fact, interventionism always leads to the exact opposite of its intended result.



When the U.S. went into Vietnam and tried to re-make Saigon in the image of Burbank [one of the first things the American-supported regime did was to start issuing traffic tickets] the entire fabric of Vietnamese social, religious, and political life was ripped to shreds--the very forces that might have served as an antidote to Marxism, the voluntary and peaceful bonds between people, were utterly corrupted by the overwhelming arrogance and chauvinism of the American presence.

But energy bureaucrat James R. Schlesinger, whose future employment prospects depend on postponing oil and gas rationing at least until after the 1980 Presidential elections, is quite prepared to go to war over U.S. "interests" in the Middle East:

'Asked about sending troops, Mr. Schlesinger said: 'I think that will have to be considered, quite plainly. If we are considering a military presence, that would have to involve military personnel

[*New York Times*, 2/26/79.]

Quite plainly, the prospect of sending troops to the area was being more than merely considered, because two weeks later 90 more "advisors" were airlifted to train Yemeni and Saudi technicians and military personnel.

The fall of Dienbienphu -- the fall of Saigon -- the fall of Teheran; one after another the puppet-strings have been cut, the last vestiges of colonialism swept away by the awakening peoples of the Third World.

As the Israeli Knesset was voting to approve the terms of the new Egyptian-Israeli treaty--in which Carter committed the U.S. to complete military support of Israel, just short of sending in the Marines in case the treaty is abrogated--Palestinians throughout the outlaw state of "Israel" protested peacefully. In a small town on the Jordanian border, a seventeen-year-old girl was murdered by Israeli occupation troops in response to a few stones tossed by demonstrators. Having defused Egypt and split the Arab states down the middle, Carter is now free to "protect" alleged U.S. "interests" in the Arab emirates at the tip of the Saudi peninsula--by sending in "advisors", a carrier task force, and quite possibly ground troops. Are we headed for another Vietnam? Why is it that militarists are calling for the revival of the much-hated military draft, to, in the words of the Joint Chief of Staff, "replace units lost due to casualties." The hawks are flying again, it seems; talons sharpened, restless for the hunt, their eyes scan the world looking for battlefields. Those battle fields may well be the deserts of Yemen.

Although this latest military adventure has met with almost universal acclaim in Congress, there are a few Congresspeople who have spoken out. "We are building up Yemen for, at the very least, a strong American role in a Saudi campaign against South Yemen," said Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wisc.) at a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee hearing last week, "and possibly for a direct American role--all without a great deal of thought."

U.S. foreign policy is still being conducted in the shadow of the Nixon Doctrine. That doctrine--the Cold Warrior's response to the failure of interventionism in Vietnam--announced in Guam by Richard Nixon in July 1969, stated that the U.S. would henceforth reinforce and support local surrogate armies to protect American interests abroad; in short, a policy of war by proxy.

But the current proposal to establish a Fifth Fleet slated for active duty in the Indian Ocean is an indication that Jimmy Carter may just possibly out-Nixon Nixon. In conjunction with highly mobile, quick-strike forces, the Fifth Fleet could project U.S. forces on the Arabian peninsula as well as provide heavy air cover in order to protect Saudi oil fields. Because the costs of maintaining such a presence without a nearby base would be astronomical, the U.S. already has its eye on possible bases on the Arabian peninsula; at Bahrain, a close ally of Saudi Arabia, an island in the Persian Gulf; at Dubai, a port of the United Arab Emirates, in the Persian Gulf; at the Saudis' new naval base of Jubayl, also on the Persian Gulf, and at Masira Island, south of Oman in the Strait of Hormuz.

Whether or not the Carter administration will see recent setbacks--such as the overthrow of the Shah, and the tensions increased by the Middle East "peace" settlement--as proof that local allies cannot "police" the area without U.S. troop deployments remains to be seen. The stage is set.

INDO-CHINA (continued from page 1)

out to report progress in the SALT talks and his hopes for detente with the Soviet Union. An hour later, Brzezinski swings into view, declaiming wildly about Soviet expansionism, the crescent of crisis, and the need for a co-prosperity sphere stretching from Peking to Washington.

March 5th, the Vietnamese city of Dong Khe--which had been the sight of the first Viet-Minh victory against the French colonialists in the summer of 1950, a battle which was a turning point in the Vietnamese war for independence--fell to Chinese invaders. Teng Hsiao-Ping--bellowing to the world that he would "teach Vietnam a lesson," and sounding for all the world like his friend Richard M. Nixon--was making a direct appeal to the Brzezinski faction in the Carter administration for silent complicity at best. Teng's political instincts appear to have paid off, in full.

A few days later, as the Vietnamese city of Long Son fell to the Chinese, the Carter administration displayed its "even-handed" approach to the situation by calling

for Chinese withdrawal from Vietnam and Vietnamese withdrawal from Cambodia. In an increasingly bizarre international scenario, Washington was invoking the legitimacy and inviolability of the notorious Pol Pot regime in Cambodia--and thus placing itself in the morally questionable role of acting as an umpire between outlaws. The myth of Carter's alleged "even-handedness" comes apart at the seams when certain facts are recalled; as Harrison Salisbury wrote in the *New York Times*:

"It is inevitable that Moscow finds an intimate connection between Mr. Teng's visit to the United States and the almost immediate attack on Vietnam.. Particularly if, as is good reason to believe, Washington deliberately shunted aside a tentative mid-January meeting between President Carter and Leonid I. Brezhnev to sign SALT II in favor of bringing Teng Hsiao-ping into Washington first. In symbolic terms alone, this was sending Washington a not very pleasant message."

So much for "the heritage of Averall Harriman". Welcome to the era of Zbigniew Brzezinski, of the Washington-Peking "co-prosperity sphere", of war-by-

proxy around the globe. The role of our new Communist allies is made crystal-clear by Cockburn and Ridgeway, who wrote in the *Village Voice* piece:

"The Chinese, in recent years, have found their natural allies among the hawks in Congress and within the Administration (particularly in the Pentagon). Chinese reactions to recent world events have taken much the same form as the hawks -- over-reaction to presumed Soviet successes in Africa, more generalized psychosis about Soviet "expansionism", and most recently deep dismay at the fall of the Shah. With the Shah's ouster, the Nixon Doctrine (whereby tight bilateral ties were forged between the U.S. and its regional clients and gendarmes) seemed to be in the process of disintegration and a linchpin in the U.S. foreign policy of containment appeared to be wrenched loose."

Although the hostility between China and Vietnam dates back centuries, and although this particular outburst had been brewing for many months, the invasion came only after the collapse of Iran's Shah Reza Pahlavi. The Chinese, who saw U.S. support to the Shah as

(continued on page 5)

LIBERTARIANS GO AFTER VICE SQUAD



FEINSTEIN GOES INTO TIZZY

The San Francisco Libertarian Party opened its initiative petition drive to abolish the City's Vice Squad on Thursday, March 1. Their announcement resulted in an immediate reaction of outrage by the Mayor, Dianne Feinstein.

Declaring that "there is no such thing as victimless crime," and that she "would not allow the banning of the Vice Squad under my administration under any circumstances," Feinstein went into a tizzy that resulted in the first major raids of the year by the Vice Squad.

Immediately following the SFLP announcement of their initiative drive, Feinstein ordered the raids on the Mitchell Brothers' O'Farrell and Alex de Renzy's Screening Room. The raids were hastily put together and the Vice Squad used "John Doe" warrants, indicating no preparation had gone into them.

The SFLP initiative, officially titled the "Vice Squad Abolition and Repeal Ordinance of 1979," is designed to abolish the Vice Squad and repeal all of San Francisco's Vice laws and regulations. It prohibits the City from establishing any team of police which performs the "services" of a Vice Squad. It says that if a Vice Squad is mandated by the State or Federal government than no more than one dollar per year shall be allocated to it. Another section makes it illegal for the City Attorney or District Attorney to challenge the law. The repeal section of the ordinance eliminates about 25 percent of the City's Police Code.

Estimates are that the SFLP Initiative, if passed, would save about \$5 million per year for the City of San Francisco. This is taking into account the \$1.8 million actually spent by the Vice Squad, plus estimates of costs by the District Attorney, Public Defender, and Sheriff (for incarceration). Last year the City cut back \$10 million after Proposition 13, yet they increased allocations to the Vice Squad.

After their success with Proposition W, the San Francisco Marijuana Initiative (it passed with 57 percent) last year, the SFLP County Central Committee decided to do another radical initiative. The consensus was that an excellent target would be the Vice Squad, which only goes after victimless crimes. Unlike Prop W, which was merely a Statement of Policy and has no real effect on the laws, the Vice Squad Initiative is an ordinance with the force of law. If it is passed by the voters, the politicians and police will have a hard time doing anything against it.

The main activities of the Vice Squad include prostitution, gambling, pornography, and harrasing the gay community. They also enforce laws against fortune telling, "lewd conduct," and other personal and capitalist acts among consenting adults. The SFLP initiative repeals all Vice laws and regulations, including licensing and regulation of massage parlors, encounter parlors, bathhouses, adult bookstores and theaters, gambling and lotteries, and newsracks. It also repeals the new anti-pornography ordinance put in by Mayor Feinstein

recently. Her ordinance is basically a move to protect established pornographers, making it illegal to open an adult bookstore or entertainment establishment within one thousand feet of an already existing one.

When the SFLP leaders decided to go after the Vice Squad, they knew that they would come head-on against Mayor Feinstein, a long-time foe of all Vice. What they didn't know was how soon it would happen.

Immediately following the SFLP announcement of the initiative drive on the City Hall steps, Mayor Feinstein held a news conference in her office. A mere coincidence, Feinstein had called the conference to announce her support for a raise in social security payments to the "totally disabled" and to announce her contribution of \$100 to a fund for two city workers who were killed.

When she asked for questions, the media ignored her announcement and asked her to comment about the Vice Squad Initiative. She became all flustered, and after the third question about the Initiative, called it off short. However, the media caught her comments on film and tape. The evening news showed her declaring that she would not allow the banning of the Vice Squad, "even if passed by the voters." They also ran the responses by SFLP leaders to Feinstein's tizzy.

But Feinstein was not going to let those Libertarians get her. No ma'am. Four hours later the wrath of Feinstein and the Vice Squad descended upon the Tenderloin, an area downtown densely populated with adult entertainment establishments. The two most popular adult theaters, the Mitchell Brothers' O'Farrell and Alex de Renzy's Screening Room were raided, complete with TV cameras. They filmed theater owner Jim Mitchell being arrested with a John Doe warrant. As he was hauled away into the paddy wagon, he declared Feinstein to be "the most sexually repressed politician San Francisco has ever seen," and vowed that the people of San Francisco would not stand for her attempts to control their morality.

The next morning Mitchell went on radio and television along with SFLP leaders charging that the raids were an obvious political reaction by Feinstein to the SFLP initiative. Mitchell said that while he had had nothing to do with the Libertarians or the initiative before, he was "one hundred percent behind them now." He and his brother, Art, have since met with SFLP leaders and pledged full support and cooperation, including monetary and other forms of support.

The SFLP is also soliciting and expecting support from others who hate the Vice Squad: the gay community, COYOTE, gamblers in Chinatown, and other adult entertainment businesses. They also expect that the same coalition that supported Prop W will support this initiative. They also expect support from conservatives who supported Prop 13, since this is a big tax-saving measure. It's a natural coalition for Libertarians to organize.

This promises to be the THE hottest issue of this year's elections in San Francisco. Heavy opposition is expected from those who have continually fought to

make the freest city in California more repressive: Mayor Feinstein, the Chamber of Commerce, the San Francisco Examiner, the Police Officers Association, organized crime, and the Police Department itself. They also expect at least moderate opposition from those "liberal" Democratic Party politicians who at least mouth opposition to victimless crime laws, like District Attorney Joseph Freitas, Police Chief Charles Gain, and Assemblyman Leo McCarthy.

Libertarian attorney Bart Lee, one of the official proponents of the Vice Squad Initiative, warned that opposition by the Police Department could surface early by police harassment of petitioners. "The Police are not going to like this one bit, and may get hostile towards us," he said. He promised to fight for the rights of any petitioner's harassed by the Police. Lee is expected to announce soon as the Libertarian Party's candidate for District Attorney.

For years the "liberal" Democratic Party establishment politicians have talked about eliminating victimless crime law. District Attorney Freitas campaigned on a platform of using his prosecutorial discretion to stop the prosecution of victimless crimes. But when he got into office he didn't want to rock the boat. "We have to change state laws first," he said. THEN WHY DID YOU SAY YOU WOULD DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT IN YOUR CAMPAIGN, JOE?

When Police Chief Gain came into office, he did loosen up a little on prostitution enforcement for a few weeks. But as soon as the big downtown hotels complained, he cracked down. Not that the hotels wanted to discourage prostitution. They were just not getting the cut that they get for referring their customers to high-priced call girls. Unfair competition.

Their actions should not surprise anyone. These political power-brokers are not interested in anything except maintaining and increasing their power. They will say ANYTHING to get elected and re-elected. But they do this with the full knowledge that they intend to do NOTHING. To fulfill their campaign promises would mean the loss of their real allies: big business and other special interests who supply the money and connections to elect and fortify them.

The Vice Squad Initiative is a move by Libertarians to cut through the political bullshit of campaign promises and gradual reform. It goes to the People, and real oppressed, the real victims of victimless crime laws: gays, minorities, poor people, and middle-class taxpayers. It puts the political question to them: Do you want to pay five million dollars per year for your own oppression? The SFLP is betting that they don't.

In order to qualify the Vice Squad Initiative for the November 1979 ballot, 10,500 valid signatures must be collected by August 6. If you can help by circulating or signing the petition, working in the office, or contributing money, contact the SFLP at 1620 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California 94111 or call (415) 397-1336.

ERIC GARRIS

RADICALS SWEEP CALIFORNIA CONVENTION

by ERIC GARRIS

The 1979 Libertarian Party of California state convention, held in San Jose in February, marked a major turning point in the direction of the California libertarian movement—and was, perhaps, a portent of things to come nation-wide. Radicals swept major Party offices, as well as dozens of national delegate spots, as the newly-created Libertarian Party Radical Caucus (LPRC) made a major impact in a dramatic display of determination, organization, and numerical strength. In a matter of days, the California LP broke the mold of slow-growth, rampant bureaucracy, and ideological timidity of the past few years, and committed itself to aggressive activism, a massive outreach campaign, and a radical libertarian program.

James Reichle, an attorney from Nevada County and an LPRC member, won a hotly contested election for State Chair over outgoing Secretary June Genis. Reichle, who promised to be an activist Chair, is now devoting most of his time to Party organizing.

LPRC Central Committee member Eric Garriss easily defeated incumbent Cynthia Hilton for the position of Northern California Vice Chair. Mike Hall was uncontested for Southern California Vice Chair, as were all other state officers.

Ed Clark—who received the endorsement of the LPRC at a special convention meeting—swept the national delegate vote, electing over 80% of the delegates pledged to him. At least two dozen LPRC members and sympathizers were elected out of the 106 total.

LPRC resolutions submitted to the Convention met very little resistance, although one was slightly watered down. Joining forces with the Bay Area Feminist Caucus, the LPRC successfully pushed through an endorsement of the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution with less than 10 minutes debate. The California LP had consistently voted down such resolutions at every previous state convention. The LPRC plans to push for passage at this year's national convention to be held in Los Angeles.

This was the first Libertarian Party of California convention ever picketed by protesters. An article had appeared in the *San Jose Mercury-News* a few days before the convention that indicated that State Senator John Briggs, infamous bigot, had been rated by the Libertar-

ian Party as the "most libertarian" legislator in the state. This was based on a report which rates state legislators for the Libertarian Party put out by Bill Stanley of Ventura. The report has been published by the LP since 1974, and has not been monitored by the Executive Committee since then. Because of the fact that Briggs simply did not vote on many issues, and because of the fact that the state legislature votes primarily on economic issues, Briggs received a high mark. Apparently, the report was mailed directly to the media; the resulting newspaper story sent a wave of panic through the already-embattled Party bureaucracy.

A group of gay women led by ex-Libertarians Roselie Nichols and Johnnie Staggs of Ms. Atlas Press & Bookstore, organized a small but vocal protest demonstration featuring signs with slogans like: "Briggs is LP Number One Pin-Up Boy." This was also fueled by the fact that the convention was being held in San Jose, which was being boycotted by feminist, gay, and various other organizations because the San Jose City Council had revoked a Gay Human Rights Day resolution at the height of Briggs' anti-gay gate campaign, under pressure from fundamentalist groups. Several Party members, as well as many registrants, had complained about the choice of convention site, and asked why a party that was one of the first groups to actively campaign against Proposition 6 would be the first to break the boycott.

The LPRC moved quickly. Resolutions condemning the San Jose City Council, Briggs, the Stanley Report (and, by implication, the LP's own negligence) were passed before the demonstrators even arrived. A motion sponsored by LPRC members, introduced at an Executive Committee meeting held after the convention, which cut off funding and sponsorship of the Stanley Report was easily passed.

Resolutions calling for a U.S. policy of non-intervention in the new Indochina war, passage of the Gilbert Marijuana Initiative, and condemning the possible reinstatement of the draft were also passed.

Reichle basically appeared out of nowhere to win the LPRC Chair position. He had joined the LP six months earlier, during the Clark for Governor campaign. He had previously been legislative and county counsel, as well as the organizer of a group dedicated to fighting the

systematic paraquat-poisoning of marijuana by the U.S. government. The Nevada County LP, which Reichle had become very active in, was directly responsible for the best county-wide percentage scored by the Clark campaign—nearly 14% of the vote.

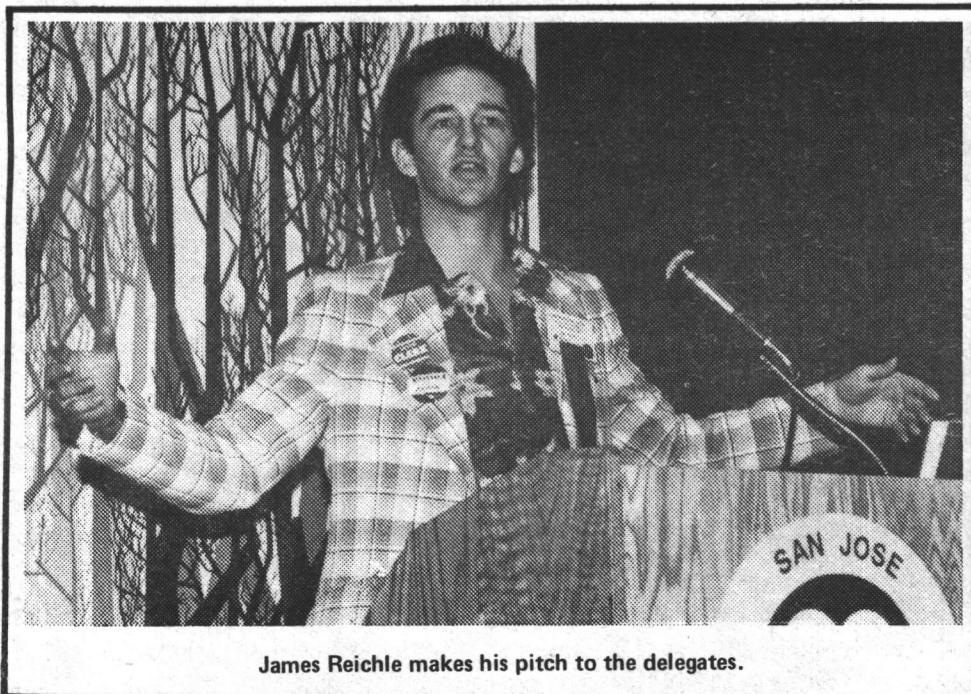
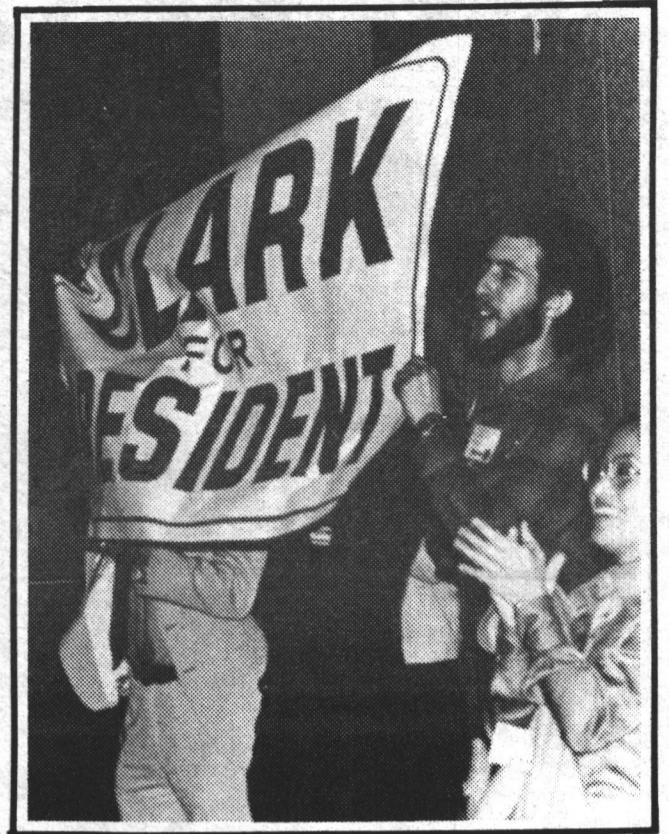
Reichle quickly impressed the LPRC Central Committee, as well as various other elements, and was asked to run for Chair. He appeared at an LPRC meeting held at the convention, promised to travel and organize at the grassroots level, not to compromise on issues, and make the LP organization grow as fast as its constituency.

The previous administration had been basically devoted to slow and easy growth, soft-pedaling issues to avoid offending anyone and not doing much of anything except increasing and complicating the Party bureaucracy. This over-riding concern with internal process, as opposed to an outreach effort, was closely linked to the other candidate for Chair, June Genis of Santa Clara County. During a single evening of campaigning it soon became clear that many of the delegates did not know how they would vote in the morning. Many felt that Genis, while a dedicated Party worker, did not have the dynamic vision needed to lead the state LP at this crucial time; and, it seemed, just as many thought that Reichle was too much of a newcomer. LPRC leaders were frankly pessimistic, at this point, and were hoping to make a respectable showing, at best.

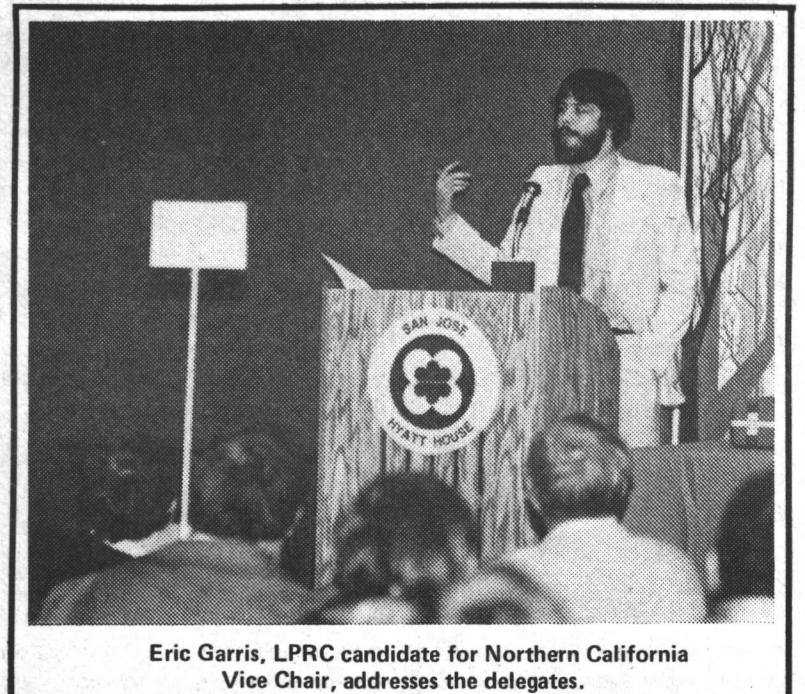
But doubts were laid to rest Monday morning, during the speeches given by both candidates for Chair. Genis went on first, a little teary-eyed, thanking people for their work on the biggest LPRC convention ever. She then said: "Well, you know me, and what I've done, so do you have any questions?" Two brief questions followed, then a sedate round of applause.

Reichle, on the other hand, took them by storm. He spoke for close to twenty minutes on the future of the Party, the prospects for rapid growth, supplemented with a detailed plan of action. His speech was radical, convincing, almost evangelical. He wowed the undecided delegates; the roar of approval reverberated throughout the convention hall, as entire delegations rose to give Reichle a standing ovation.

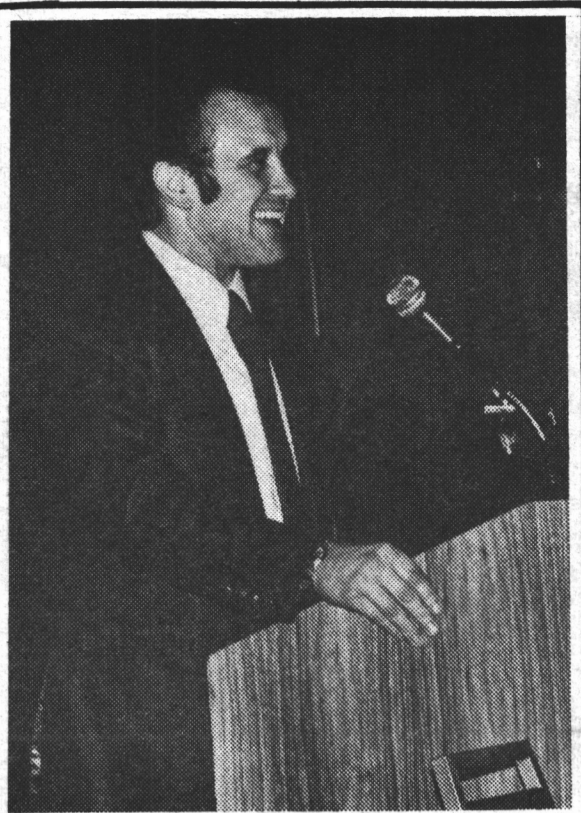
Preliminary polling of delegations by LPRC floor captains indicated that a number of delegates sympathetic



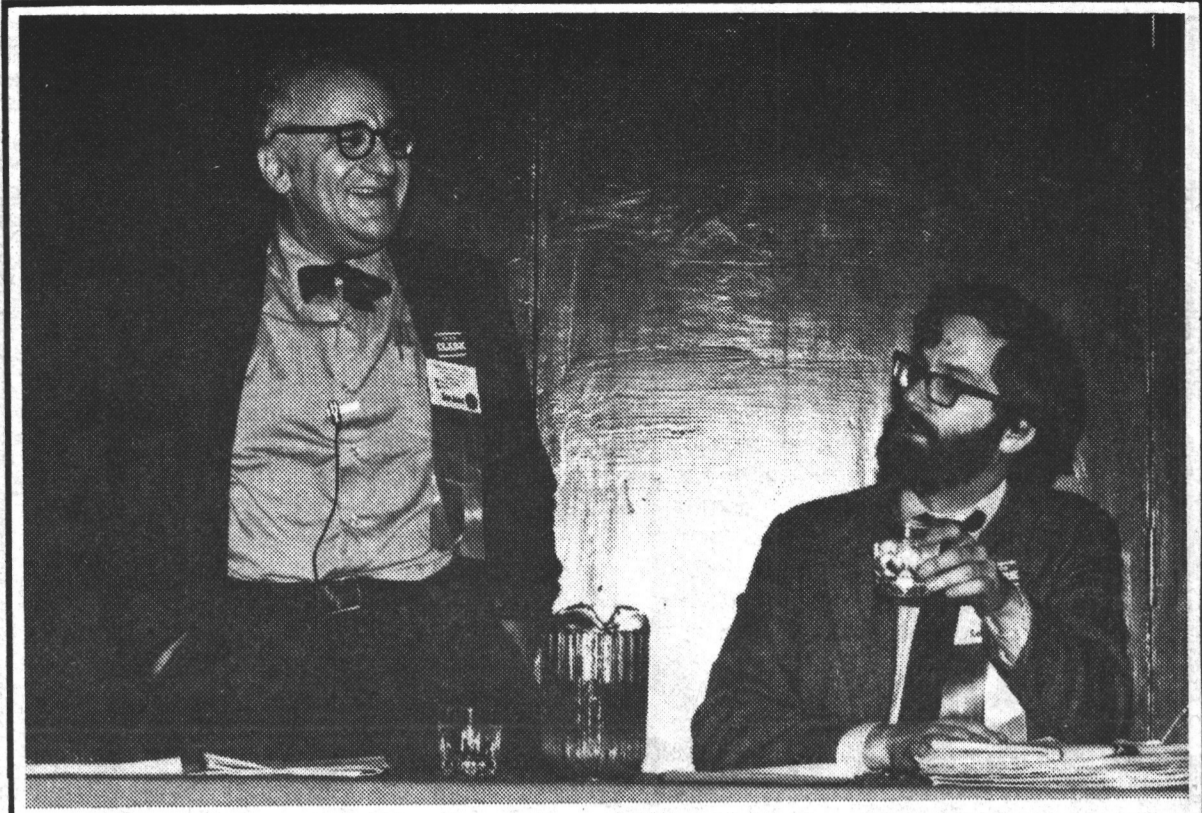
James Reichle makes his pitch to the delegates.



Eric Garriss, LPRC candidate for Northern California Vice Chair, addresses the delegates.



Dick Randolph, Libertarian state legislator from Alaska



LPRC Central Committee members Murray Rothbard & Bill Evers at the seminar on capital punishment.

to Reichle had made personal promises to vote for Genis on the first ballot. Did we have enough?

The ballots were read and counted. The vote: a tie, 60 to 60, with three for None of the Above. There followed panic, jubilation, and a rush of intense lobbying by LPRC floor captains and other Reichle supporters. Ten minutes later, the second ballot vote was taken—and Reichle had won by 19 votes. Then the sound of cheering broke out from one end of the hall to the other.

But the most successful events of the Convention, from the perspective of the LPRC, had nothing to do with Party elections. The featured foreign policy debate, between Roy Childs (taking the non-intervention position) and Tibor Machan (taking no position whatsoever), exposed once and for all the utter incompatibility of libertarianism and imperialism. Machan, associated with *Reason* magazine, spent all his time saying that there is no libertarian theory of foreign policy—and then failed to formulate one, bogging down into a general discussion of epistemology. Childs, on the other hand, electrified the audience with his stunning indictment of American inter-

vention abroad. His inspiring call for "an international revolutionary libertarian movement," delivered with the usual Roy Childs gusto, brought large segments of the audience to their feet.

From an organizational point of view, the most important events of the convention were the series of LPRC open meetings held every night. Each night, the LPRC hospitality suite was filled to overflowing; endorsements were made, strategy for electing LPRC candidates for national delegate spots was discussed; many copies of *Libertarian Vanguard* were sold, and there was much informal discussion. The LPRC table sold over 300 copies of *Libertarian Vanguard* during the convention, as well as many subscriptions. Due almost entirely to our visibility at the Convention, a mailing to all LPRC members has resulted (as of this writing) in bringing over 8% of the Party into the ranks of the LPRC. And the returns are still coming in.

This convention was a tremendous step forward for the Libertarian Party. In the past, the trend in platform changes, resolutions, and general direction has been

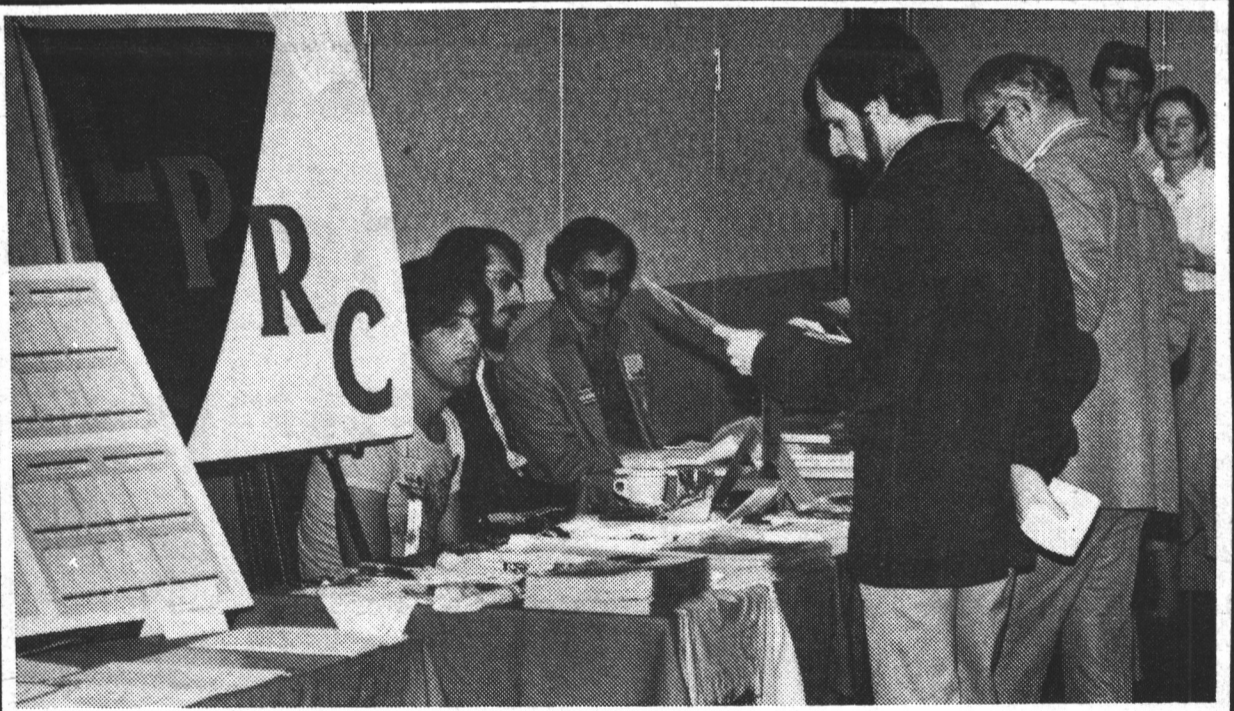
in precisely the opposite direction—decidedly gradualist and conservative. Hopefully next year, when the LPRC platform comes up for debate, the spirit of radicalism will prevail once more.

The publicity generated by the convention was phenomenal, surpassing even the 1977 National Convention held in San Francisco. Much of it focused on the Clark victory, the Party's new program of outreach (especially to women, racial minorities, and gays) and our principled response to the San Jose boycott and the demonstration. (A response which generated—among other things—an article by Rosalie Nichols, organizer of the demonstration, in the San Jose *Lambda News*, publicizing the Party's positions on the ERA and the bigotry of the San Jose City Council, and congratulating the Party for its stand.)

The LPRC Convention proved, beyond a doubt, that the Radical Caucus is a force to be reckoned with in the Party—and that the Party is now a force to be reckoned with in California politics.



Ed Clark



The LPRC literature table sold over 300 copies of *Libertarian Vanguard* during the convention.

INDO-CHINA (continued from page 2)

a totally inadequate response to what they consider the "main threat" of Soviet "hegemonism", put the Brzezinski faction's power to the test: they invaded Vietnam. And then they waited for some sign from Washington; some signal which would define the mutual interests of both "hawk" factions within the governments of both nations — and, simultaneously, hail their triumph.

That signal came in the form of the Carter administration taking the Chinese line on the Cambodian situation, by asserting that the civil war in Cambodia is in fact a Vietnamese "invasion". In spite of the fact that the Pol Pot regime was the epitome of barbarism—having executed millions, emptied the cities, and imposed strict communalism — the United States government has put the Chinese invasion on the same level as what is undoubtedly an internal revolution, and thus become the defender of one of the bloodiest dictatorships on earth. It was clear from the beginning that, whatever objections the Carter administration had to the Chinese invasion, none of them were objections in principle; when Treasury Secretary Blumenthal stated, in Peking, that the U.S. was calling for Chinese withdrawal on the grounds that the invasion "ran risks that

were unwarranted", he was voicing what was only a tactical disagreement among allies who agree on one fundamental principle.

That principle is the belief of Mao Tse-Tung, the so-called "three worlds" theory, which holds that the interests of the third world (represented by China) coincide with the interests of the "second world" (the U.S. and NATO) against the "main threat" of Soviet "hegemonism" and "social imperialism".

The fact that Chinese troops are now massing on the Laotian border ought to dispel any illusions about the painfully slow Chinese troop withdrawal from Vietnam [now completed]. Those troops will be utilized elsewhere; a new Indochinese war looms straight ahead. To view this conflict as merely an internecine war between the two Communist super-powers would be to drop the context of the Cold War and the present international situation. The U.S.-China alliance is now a fact of reality, and the Brzezinski faction in Washington is on the rise. But even more ominous clouds are darkening the horizon, as the threat of a new brushfire war-by-proxy in Indochina is itself overshadowed by the threat of all-out nuclear holocaust. The policies of the Brzezinski faction, and of the Carter administration, of encouraging China to do our dirty work in exchange for econ-

omic and military aid may have apocalyptic consequences. As Harrison Salisbury points out in his *New York Times* article:

"China's gamble may succeed this time. But this cannot be certain. There exists in the Soviet general staff, and has existed for at least 10 if not 20 years, a body of opinion that holds that war with China is inevitable and that, being inevitable, the sooner it is fought and won the better. These generals do not see time on the Soviet side; particularly if Teng Hsiao-ping's technological and military goals can be achieved as a result of closer and closer Sino-American collaboration."

The Soviets have their hawks, too. Whether Carter's policies will give them the excuse, and the power they need to launch a "preventive" war against the 3000-mile Sino-Soviet border remains to be seen. The new war in Vietnam — if seen, from the wider perspective of Cold War politics, as a war-by-proxy being carried out with the encouragement and aid of the United States — is *more dangerous* to world peace than our own previous involvement in that war torn area. If we stand on the brink of nuclear war, then it is the militarists of both sides who must be held accountable; and it is the Brzezinski's of this world who must be held the most accountable.

MOVEMENT UPDATE

The man who's running Bill Hunscher's campaign for the Libertarian Party Presidential nomination may be getting more attention, these days, than the candidate himself. Michael Emerling has been traveling around the country--state LP convention here, a regional libertarian conference there--delivering various versions of his "The Art of Political Persuasion" speech, and pushing Hunscher. His style is -- well, for Michael Emerling, style is *everything*. He comes on like a libertarian version of Norman Vincent Peale; he is full of suggestions on how to build up a good self-image, demonstrates a number of techniques which emphasize emotional appeals, and even has a series of morning mental and physical exercises which he says is responsible for his high energy level.

But what has all this got to do with libertarianism?

Emerling's political views are a well-kept secret. His public speeches and presentations deal only with method -- and with that in very vague terms indeed. He stays away from issues, especially controversial issues like foreign policy and abortion, like a non-swimmer stays away from deep water. This tendency to deal with form, rather than solid content, makes his politics hard to pin down. Although he seems to be everywhere at once -- barnstorming the country on behalf of Hunscher -- politically he never seems to be anywhere in particular. But, like so many things concerning the elusive Emerling, this is a surface impression; Michael Emerling is not politically innocuous and otherwise harmless. If a harmless. If a series of documents obtained by *Libertarian Vanguard* are to be believed -- a series of strategic proposals made to the staff of Ed Clark's gubernatorial campaign, authored by Michael Emerling, written and submitted in May of last year -- then perhaps now we have a chance to examine his actual political position.

At a time when Proposition 13 was sweeping the California electorate off its feet, did Michael Emerling suggest that we hook into the grassroots campaign and thus build the Clark campaign? No. *Instead, he recommended that Clark focus his campaign on raising the speed limit from 55 mph to 70 mph.* His justification for this rather odd proposal was, according to the documents, and we quote: "When you fish, you use bait that the fish really like. What you like doesn't matter--and doesn't land many big ones." The document from which this is quoted ("Position Papers On Highway Speed Limit") also goes on to say: "The handout should deal only with raising the speed limit to 70 mph. Other issues might alienate some of the readers. One valuable maxim: Do not mix issues when appealing to special interest groups."

Emerling further claimed that the chief justification for this proposal is all the money it would allegedly have raised. "Using similar strategies, I helped raise over \$168,000 for 14 State and Local campaigns in Arizona. We won 12 of the races. So I've field-tested the approach I'm recommending... The downside loss is \$1500; the upside potential is probably \$50,000 per strategy and 100 person hours. I'd like to give it a shot. The downside loss is \$1500; the upside potential is probably \$50,000 per on the drinking age and tax credits -- and \$300,000 to \$400,000 for the 70 mph speed limit."

Translated from the jargonese, Michael Emerling wants to take innocuous issues, like the speed limit, and make them the focus of the movement. This pallid opportunism comes packaged with grandiose claims and fabulous sums of money, seemingly conjured out of thin air.

At a time when Proposition 6 -- which would've purged all gays from the public schools -- was the biggest threat to our civil liberties (at least, here in California), did Michael Emerling recommend that Clark make a pitch to *this* special interest group -- even if only for money? The answer is: absolutely not. Proposition 6, better known as the Briggs initiative, is not mentioned once in all of the many pages of The Emerling Papers. In spite of the fact that it was a major state-wide issue, and in spite of the fact that the California LP was deeply involved in the No-on-6 campaign, Emerling chose to ignore it. What, then, did he choose *not* to ignore?

What else but the lower-the-drinking-age-to-19 issue?

Incredible, but true. If there is an issue more trivial than the speed limit, then certainly that issue must be lowering the drinking age to 19. Keep in mind that even the most timid liberals usually talk in terms of lowering it to 18 -- but apparently that would be too radical, an example of what Emerling calls "Libertarian macho

flash" in one of his published articles. As hard as it is to believe, Emerling was quite serious about making this a big issue, and I quote: "If Clark is going to make the drinking age issue one of the central themes of his campaign, he will need money to publicize his stand."

This, of course, is the crux of Emerling's proposal, just as it is the determining factor in all his other proposals. Here, he proposes getting money out of bar and liquor store owners with a large-scale direct mailing, to be conducted in the following manner:

"Letters appealing for funds should be sent to every bar in the state. The letters should deal with the financial benefits to the bar owner first. Then they should justify lowering the drinking age (to save the owner's conscience.) At the end of the letter, an appeal for money should be made."

The reference to salving the owner's conscience is astonishing -- given the matter-of-fact cynicism evident throughout the Emerling Papers, it is amazing to realize that he recognizes the concept of "conscience" at all. Where does "the party of principle" fit into all this finagling and scheming? What have these manipulations got to do with bringing the Libertarian message to the public and building the Libertarian Party? These are the kinds of things one expects from the Democratic and Republican parties, which stand for nothing. Even Emerling realizes that flabby, half-hearted proposals of that kind can be easily co-opted. Thus, he states:

"In addition to these appeals, the Clark Campaign can go to liquor wholesalers and distributors, distillers, and wine-producers such as Gallo. **These groups should be approached after the direct mailing to retailers, because there's a higher chance that some of them have ties with Republicans or Democrats. If they blow the whistle too soon, the Republicans and Democrats can steal the issue and strategy. This must be avoided at all costs.**" ["Strategy for Lowering the Drinking Age To 19", emphasis Emerling's.]

Emerling Going 55 mph.

by JUSTIN RAIMONDO

And so Emerling's solution to the danger of being co-opted is not to stand on the strength of principle and a refreshingly creative consistency -- instead, it is to manipulate the electorate and potential contributors by keeping them in the dark about our actual political position. But how, given Emerling's enthusiasm for obscure issues and soft-pedaling of libertarian issues, is co-optation to "be avoided at all costs"? *Eventually*, probably very quickly, the "major" parties will absorb each and every innocuous scheme into their own equally innocuous platforms. Then what? Mr. Emerling does not address himself to that question anywhere in his written proposals.

Emerling's penchant for obscure issues apparently goes way back. He is the author of *Theistic Objectivism: An Autopsy*, a self-published booklet which goes to great lengths in order to refute the obscure views of one James Kiefer, an ex-Objectivist who managed to acquire a small cult following and who claimed that a belief in free will leads directly to theism.

According to the text of Emerling's strategy papers, he worked for 14 local Arizona candidates, twelve of whom won, (allegedly using techniques similar to those outlined in his written proposals.) Certainly these candidates were not Libertarians--if twelve Libertarian candidates had won in Arizona, the rest of the movement

would have surely have heard about it by now. Is the man who would serve as campaign manager to the LP's standard-bearer in 1980 much in the habit of working for Democrats and/or Republicans? Perhaps this is why his "tactics" resemble their's so much; given this kind of political background, it is easy to see why Emerling stays away from the issues. The sleek, manipulative style of Emerling and his various projects have an all-too-familiar air about them; the vapid opportunism of 'major' party politics-as-usual. What Emerling doesn't realize is that most LP members joined the libertarian movement precisely because they were so revolted by that brand of politics.

If Emerling has any ideology at all--and this is highly doubtful, since it would clash with his pragmatic approach--it is revealed for the first time in another proposal made to the California LP gubernatorial campaign, in a paper entitled "Strategy For Using The UCLA YAF Endorsement". Apparently, some members of UCLA Young Americans for Freedom were sympathetic to the Clark for Governor campaign, and there was the possibility of an endorsement. In his proposal, Emerling emphasizes that the YAF endorsement should be kept a secret from non-conservatives. "The Clark staff should take great care to play up the endorsement *only* in the conservative community." So far, nothing too unusual, for Emerling. But wait:

"Third, if Davis is somehow beaten by a moderate or liberal in the Republican primary, the Clark team should go after the conservatives hard and long. Clark should emphasize the YAF endorsement...and anything else that would sell."

And so the picture begins to clarify itself; if Ed Davis loses the primary, said Emerling, go after the Neanderthals. How would our active opposition to Prop. 6 have gone over with *those* voters? If Emerling had had his way, Ed Clark blasting Briggs in radio and tv ads up and down the state would never have happened. Certainly it is safe to assume that Mr. Emerling knew enough about the organization whose endorsement he was seeking to know that California YAF had voted to endorse Proposition 6. Although in light of the evidence, it looks like Michael Emerling is not in the habit of making such fine distinctions.

The more successful the Libertarian movement becomes, the more would-be ideological hucksters will try to, literally, cash-in on our momentum. The frightening part of this whole story is what made it necessary to publish this account in the first place; the fact that Emerling has gained a small, but vocal, following. Although his power-of-positive thinking rhetoric is obviously just a flashy cover for the crassest sort of opportunism, many libertarians have been taken in.

According to usually reliable sources, it may be that Bill Hunscher isn't being taken in anymore. Our sources tell us that Hunscher was thoroughly upset with Emerling's performance at the Libertarian Party National Committee banquet in Las Vegas, where he raised money for the non-Party Nevada-based Liberty Fund. Not only is its name identical to that of the well known Liberty Fund of Indianapolis, but--contrary to what Emerling led the LNC banquet attendees to believe--this Liberty Fund is *not* tax exempt.

When Micheal Emerling arranged with the National Office of Students for a Libertarian Society to give a talk at their first seminar, I was frankly curious, and certainly willing to give him the benefit of a doubt.

His performance--which lasted at least two and a half hours--consisted of him racing around the room, talking very loudly and a little too fast, giving a very basic used car salesman course. This was punctuated with a constant stream of derogatory remarks directed at Ed Crane and the Cato Institute--two subjects with which the fledgling SLS members, newly recruited into the movement, were completely unfamiliar. But Emerling didn't catch on, perhaps didn't even care that this diatribe was falling on uncomprehending ears; he just ploughed right on through to the bitter end.

It is unfortunate that Bill Hunscher--for whom we have the utmost respect--has chosen to turn his campaign for the Presidency over to an intellectual lightweight like Emerling. What the Libertarian Party needs is more discussion within about the future direction and goals of the movement--and certainly a contest within the Party for the Presidential nomination is a good way to stimulate that kind of discussion. It would be unfortunate, indeed, if the influence of Michael Emerling on the Hunscher campaign turned that effort into a non-campaign, concerned with non-issues and empty imagery.

VANGUARD VIEWPOINT

Endorse ERA

Let's get one thing straight: Equal Rights under the law on the basis of sex is OUR ISSUE. Marriage laws and other forms of government-defined sex roles have been under fire from individualist libertarians for more than 120 years. The libertarian "free love" movement of the early nineteenth century includes such impeccable libertarian figures as Lysander Spooner and Benjamin Tucker. *Libertarians* are the ones who believe that there should be no distinctions in the law between men and women. *Libertarians* are the ones who believe that political rights accrue to *individuals*, not sexes. Furthermore, the advocates of E.R.A. on the Left manifestly *do not* believe in equal rights—they advocate special favors on the basis of sex, such as affirmative discrimination for women. Likewise, Phyllis Schlafly and her ilk on the Right also don't believe in equal political rights—they want to maintain the role of government in marriage.

Libertarians oppose forcible interference with non-coercive discrimination where private property is at stake. As individualists, we despise bigotry and collectivist stereotypes whether it is based upon sex, race, or any irrational standard. But we still recognize that bigots have political rights too. Thus, if a bunch of men are silly enough to want to run a social club or a business that excludes women, their right to do so should be defended, in the same way and for the same reasons that the A.C.L.U. defends the right of Nazis to free speech. This belief is not at issue in this article.

The real question is, does E.R.A. in any way enlarge the government's power over non-coercive, private discrimination? The answer is a resounding NO.

Hasn't anyone noticed all the H.E.W. actions against sex discrimination which have occurred *without* E.R.A. in our Constitution? The recent action banning an all-boy school choir is only the most infamous of many such lawsuits. The government simply doesn't need a constitutional amendment to do such things; it has done them without E.R.A. and it will continue to interfere with free association whether or not it passes. The real culprits are a number of federal, state and local laws *already on the books* which outlaw purely private, non-coercive discrimination. Most of these regulations stem from the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

In sum, E.R.A. merely guarantees sexual equality *under the law*. Many laws on the books may be irrational or coercive (such as the draft), but that is an entirely separate issue that provides no logical basis for opposing the traditional libertarian commitment to equality under the law. Indeed, if passed, E.R.A. could serve to get rid of many laws. An "affirmative action" program for women (or men) would clearly be inequality under law on the basis of sex, and hence unconstitutional.

Now that the job discrimination bogeyman is laid to rest, we can go on to an examination of the present inequality on the basis of sex now existing in our laws. Our active support for E.R.A. would give us an excellent opportunity to expose and condemn all instances where the state erects legal barriers between men and women.

Just think of all the laws E.R.A. would make unconstitutional! Protective labor legislation, marriage laws, child custody rulings . . . it's enough to warm the heart of any true libertarian. If passed, the Equal Rights Amendment could serve as the basis for all sorts of lawsuits against government. The E.R.A. could be to libertarian feminists and gays what the "equal protection" clause of the 14th Amendment has become to the liberals—a legal bludgeon used against the State to advance our own interpretation of individual freedom.

To understand this seemingly over-optimistic assertion, it is necessary to be more specific about where the government presently erects legal differences between men and women. Linda Abrams, a member of the Association of Libertarian Feminists, gave an excellent speech at the National Convention in San Francisco about just that. Abrams is a lawyer, and her talk detailed the way government has made marriage into a nest of legal obligations and sex-role stereotyping. Most marriage licenses legally (i.e., coercively) require that a) the husband be responsible for support; b) a life-long commitment between spouses is envisioned; c) only one marital partner is allowed; d) only heterosexual partners are allowed; and e) the wife makes it her duty to "serve" the husband. Further, the government severely limits the right of married persons to arrive at voluntary contracts defining their relationship. Women, for example, cannot make contracts with their husbands for payment for housework; the performance of these duties is required by law as part of the marriage license. (How many feminists

advocating "Social Security payments" for housework knew this?) Parents cannot contract away the right to custody or support of a child after divorce. Indeed, many *men* are complaining about the lack of "equality under the law" when it comes to custody rights. Most judges assume, on the basis of sexual stereotypes, that the mother is automatically more qualified to keep the child than the father.

I cannot think of any institution save government which can take the simple, human desire to declare a bond and live with another person(s)—and pervert it so mercilessly.

Equality under the law on the basis of sex is a desirable, impeccably libertarian goal. No, the E.R.A. is not perfect. We would all prefer a constitutional amendment declaring, as one writer has suggested, that "Congress shall make no law respecting women." But we do not have the chance to be choosy. We are confronted, RIGHT NOW, with a political situation in which the entire subject of women's rights is being centralized around E.R.A. The battle lines are being drawn—and if we sit back and refuse to participate on the grounds that we prefer some imaginary constitutional amendment that has never been publicly presented, those battle lines will be drawn on an irrational basis. Active support for E.R.A. gives us the opportunity to clear the air of the muddled ravings of liberals about "discrimination" and the right-wing cries of "un-American" and "lesbianism." I am tired of seeing libertarians sit back and let such foolishness define the terms of political debate. Let's make the Equal Rights Amendment part of our 1979 campaign—and raise the real issue: equality under the law for men and women. —MILTON MUELLER

The Right to Caucus

The response to the first issue of *Libertarian Vanguard* has been absolutely phenomenal; as is stated elsewhere in this issue, the first LPRC mailing (to members of the Libertarian Party of California) evoked a 10% response, the great majority of which were LPRC Sustaining and Supporting memberships. The election of LPRC members to statewide Party offices at the recent Libertarian Party of California convention, held in San Jose recently, demonstrates that our support and influence extend way beyond our own ranks. There is no question that the Radical Caucus, as an organized tendency within the national Libertarian Party, is here to stay.

The reaction, of course, has already set in. Conservative elements within the California LP have already taken steps to deny the LPRC use of the state Party mailing list; there is reportedly a move by certain members of the LPC Executive Committee to publicly disavow the views of the Radical Caucus and this newspaper. Apparently, these people are attempting to claim that the following passage from an article on the Mexican immigration question, published in the last *Libertarian Vanguard*, advocates the initiation of force:

"To fight for the rights of undocumented immigrants to live and work in this country is to realize that there's nothing 'legitimate' about the state. And the only way to fight for those rights—as long as the authority of racist bureaucrats is firmly entrenched—is *active resistance*. The spies of the Immigration Department must be hunted down—just as they hunt down their Mexican victims in every *barrio* in California—and rooted out, *by the Chicano population*. [Emphasis added.]

LIBERTARIAN VANGUARD

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If an entire population refuses to cooperate—and *fights back*—the bureaucrats will soon have trouble recruiting spies, no matter how well-paid. This blatantly racist campaign to keep California white, by any means necessary, *must be fought by any means necessary.*"

If the entire Mexican-American community united behind a campaign to root out the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), and prevented the INS from coming into their community by threat of force, the Central Committee of the LPRC would quite frankly be delighted. Quite clearly, the radicalization of an entire sector of the population would be a gain for the Libertarian Party—for the first time, the large Chicano population of California would be receptive to our radically anti-authoritarian ideology. If it is true that such a turn of events would represent a *gain*, then we see no reason why we should not agitate for it openly. Libertarianism is *not* to be confused with pacifism; honest disagreements among Libertarians are possible on the question of *when* defensive violence against the state apparatus is prudent, *not* on the question of whether such actions are permitted at all. Are we advocating that the Libertarian Party officially endorse organized violence against the INS—or any other government agency? Of course not. But a spontaneous uprising by the Chicano people against government enforced racism would certainly *not sadden* us.

These particular issues, however, serve only as a smokescreen for the *real* issue, which is: do LP members have the right to organize formal caucuses? This is the issue the opposition is raising when they claim—as they have—that the distinction between the LPRC and the Libertarian Party is not made plain enough in our publications. The fact that the address and phone number of state LP headquarters was given at the end of many articles in the last issue is apparently the source of this sentiment. This goes to the very heart of the matter, and deserves a detailed answer.

When we organized the Radical Caucus, and put together the first issue of this newspaper, we decided that it was going to have a dual purpose: 1) it was to educate Party members, and 2) simultaneously, serve as an outreach effort on behalf of the Party. These goals are interdependent, and equally important. As we said in the lead editorial in the last issue: "The Libertarian Party Radical Caucus (LPRC) is committed to broadening the political base of the Libertarian Party to include blacks, women, Chicanos, undocumented workers, lesbians and gay men." Instead of waiting around for the Party bureaucracy to carry out this program, we decided to follow the First Commandment of political activism, which is: *go out and do it!*

We have very definite ideas concerning which sectors of the population ought to be targeted for Libertarian agitation and propaganda. Apparently, some people have other ideas. Time will tell us who is right. Any attempt to settle the matter by simply prohibiting the Radical Caucus—or any other Caucus—from identifying itself as an organization existing within the LP, is self-destructive idiocy. To discourage what was conceived as an activist, *outreach* program when the Party is gearing up for a massive registration drive in order to get on the ballot would be a tragic mistake. We urge all members of the Libertarian Party to support our right to exist by supporting the right of any LP member to organize or join any formal or informal Caucus or tendency. *Every* Caucus should have the right to organize within the Party; that is, should have the right to use the Party mailing list, as well as the Party's name, so long as Caucus membership is limited to dues-paying LP members. As long as a Caucus is building the Libertarian Party, as well as itself—as long as its public pronouncements and activities stay within the broad ideological parameters of the libertarian movement—no consistent Libertarian can deny a Caucus the right to identify itself, organize itself, and make use of Party resources.

Word has reached us that the matter is likely to come to a head at the next meeting of the LPC Executive Committee, to be held in San Diego over the weekend of May 19th, at the Seven Seas Lodge. Any attempt to suppress the LPRC and deny LP members the right to function in a Caucus, will be met with uncompromising resistance. We urge all LPRC members—and all those LP members who support our right to exist and function within the Libertarian Party—to attend this meeting and make your voices heard. If you cannot attend the meeting, but would like to speak out on this issue, contact your Executive Committee representative and let him or her know how you stand.

—JUSTIN RAIMONDO

GET IN THE VANGUARD!



LP and Radical Caucus members demonstrate outside Post Office on Tax Day.

We are members of the Libertarian Party of California with a revolutionary perspective. We are Libertarians who take part in the struggle for liberty fully armed with a comprehensive strategic vision, inseparable from ideology, based on a class analysis of the inherent contradictions of statist society.

The existence of political power automatically divides the population into two distinct classes; the rulers and the ruled. But rulers cannot command automatic obedience; in order to exercise and retain power the ruling class must collaborate with other classes. The aristocracy of power must make alliances with the bourgeoisie, the working class, students, and various ethnic and social constituencies which cut right across class lines. The alternative is isolation, and revolution . . . Therefore, the ruling class oligarchy is constantly seeking to co-opt and absorb the alienated elements in modern statist society by constantly expanding the public sector. In order to save the tottering structure of the social planner's Grand Design, from completely collapsing, these manipulators have created an entirely new socio-economic class formation to serve as the shock troops of the egalitarian future.

This New Class — those in the pay of the State — feeds on the private sector, and is in fact dependent on it for survival. Fundamentally parasitic, these workers produce nothing but oppression. This new class formation reflects the organic development of welfare statism into fascism; the government workers, whose tone of hysterical fear and whining belligerence assured the passage of Jarvis-Gann, are well-organized and well-financed.

This parasitic class is the foremost enemy of liberty, and will be so long as it is permitted to exist. Any strategy to roll back the State must clearly identify the enemy, and raise the class-consciousness of the public. The great masses of people are the victims, not the beneficiaries, of State power.

The revolutionary potential of blacks, Chicanos, women, and gays who have been betrayed by decades of social welfare programs which have led to nothing but misery, exploitation, and crushing inflation is the greatest fear of the Corporate State oligarchy. These are the specially oppressed, the traditional scapegoats and the greatest victims of statist programs and policies. Slavery, the conquest of the West and the subsequent looting of American Indian and Mex-

ican land rights, the historical subjugation of women, the brutal repression of lesbians and gay men — every single one of these are crimes committed on a scale so massive that it is almost unimaginable; and every single one of these crimes can be traced directly to the actions of the State. In these instances, and in others, what is involved is nothing less than the attempted systematic obliteration of an entire class formation.

The LP Radical Caucus believes that if a revolution against the New Class comes, it will be led by the specially oppressed — by those who have a clear, concrete interest in the elimination of State power. All of us are equally exploited by government-caused inflation; but not all of us are forced to attend (invariably substandard) public schools. Everyone is oppressed by taxes; but how many of us pay more in taxes because of lifestyle differences? The Pentagon, the INS, and the police violate everybody's rights every day; but how many of us are Viet-Nameese napalm victims, Mexican immigrants, or victims of the vice squad? The specially oppressed will be in the vanguard of the libertarian revolution

because their oppression transcends traditional class lines. Their oppression is not narrowly economic, but is interfaced with other forms, such as institutionalized racism and sexism.

In order to realize the revolutionary potential of the specially oppressed, the class composition of any libertarian organization committed to political activism for radical social change must broaden.

The LP Radical Caucus is working to build the Libertarian Party, on a state-wide and a national level; we are committed to working exclusively within the Party in order to promote and refine our political perspective.

The first task of the LP Radical Caucus is *Libertarian Vanguard*. If you like what you're reading then we urge you to *subscribe*. If you sympathize in the least with the efforts to turn the LP into a mass movement which will one day topple the New Class from its seemingly impenetrable bureaucratic fortress, then *fill out the enclosed coupon, slip it in the enclosed business reply envelope with a check, and drop it in the nearest mailbox. \$7 gets you 12 issues.*

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