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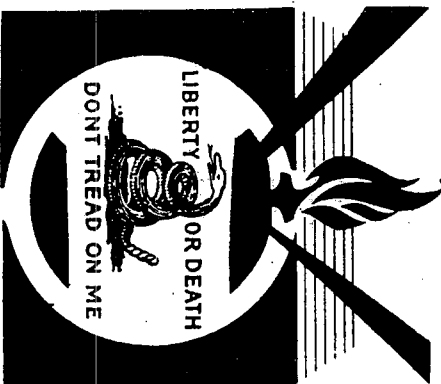
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the Libertarian AMERICAN

LEFT & RIGHT



Dr. Murray Rothbard: REFLECTIONS OF A RIGHT-WING LIBERAL
Thomas M. Rittenhouse: THE MONTAGNARDS - VICTIMS OF GENOCIDE
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EDWARD KENNEDY AND THE DRAFT

J. F. C. MOORE

Senator Edward Kennedy, heir to "the Kennedy mystique," is spoken of as a future Vice-President or President of the United States. Yet, few people, even among his outspoken supporters, have gone beyond the fact that he is a Kennedy in endorsing him. Very few publications have examined a single issue on which he has taken a stand.

In Senator Kennedy's new book, *Decisions for a Decade*, he deals with Selective Service extensively--an institution which Libertarians will all agree is much in need of examination. The Senator's views appear to reflect a liberal rather than a Libertarian approach, endorsing the right of the state to impose forced labor of various kinds upon the young as long as it is done equitably. Strangely, Senator Kennedy presents Libertarian arguments up to the very point of drawing a Liberal conclusion: a draft which permits the victim "his personal choice as to the quality and kind of service (slavery)" he is asked (forced) to give his nation." Words in parentheses are added for clarification.

Consider the following:
"We should recognize, at the outset, that the draft is inevitably a form of drastic compulsion over the lives of individuals. Whether or not it is also a 'privilege,' military service is, short of criminal punishment, the strongest degree of control that government (the state) has over citizens."

He then endorses the idea of a voluntary military service "if we could meet manpower needs, at reasonable costs."

After mellowing his assessment of the draft with an "if," the Senator progresses, in true liberal fashion, to endorse alternate slavery and slavery by lottery. His proposals for alternate national service should have come as a bombshell to the national press but as yet seem to have passed unnoticed.

The Senator proposes that persons who wish to avoid being selected at random for military service be allowed to work in "community development," as policemen, firemen, in ghetto social work, on Indian reservations, in welfare agencies, etc. He also suggests that people be drafted to serve in these jobs "for longer service

and less pay" than the military. This theme persists throughout the chapter in varying degrees of plausibility:

Page 47) "And much as I believe in the concept of public service (slavery), I am not persuaded that this obligation can only be exercised through the military."

Page 57) "We must be sure we have allowed every young man as much flexibility as our military needs permit in making his personal choice as to the quality and kind of service he is asked (forced) to give his nation."

Peacetime and wartime are confused slightly in these proposals for revising the draft, which may reflect the present confusion of many people as to when we are at war and when we are at peace. Although the Senator went to some length to redefine war as "any period during which the number of American casualties resulted from armed conflict equalled or exceeded ten percent of the number...being inducted" he did not make clear the difference between the peacetime and the wartime draft. Presumably, the pool of acquires-draftees during peacetime would be sufficient to allow a large number to choose alternate service without disturbing military requests.

The sum of Senator Edward Kennedy's position on the draft is that there are two sides--slavery and anti-slavery--and that he has attempted to take a stand on both. With the fob of "alternate service" he has tried to gloss over a system of state slavery. He has taken the same path as those antebellum Southern statesmen who twisted their devotion to liberty to conform with practical needs.

Libertarians are familiar with arguments against state slavery for military or other purposes and there is little need to repeat them as a contrast to the remarks in this book. However, as the Senator's primary support of the draft appears to be on practical grounds, a Libertarian might ask whether or not the present situation in Vietnam and elsewhere would exist if the nation had been forced to use other channels of international involvement than the lives of thirty-one thousand young citizens. They might also ask when it became desirable for a member of the Senate of the United States to advocate forced labor and why there was no response from "Conservative" leaders.

The visions of Marx and Lenin, the fantasy of Mussolini and the madness of Hitler seem to have come very much alive in contemporary America, in terms so palatable that few raise objections. It is a sign that objections, when they are made, will be necessarily outlandish and possibly violent.

ZENARCHY (Cont.)

We'll open up a new way to go....
The first revolutionary revolutionist was Lenny Bruce.

John Cohen said it already: "Bruce wasn't an activist, but anyone who says he digs Bruce and prints it in the TIMES or TIME or the EXAMINER or the STAR, anyone who says he digs Bruce and goes to work for Dow Chemical or IBM or the Peace Corps, doesn't comprehend. The only people who really dig Lenny Bruce are the people who are doing the same thing Bruce did--cutting loose, turning on, turning away, trying to turn America around." (2)

(2) THE ESSENTIAL LENNY BRUCE edited by John Cohen, Ballantine Books, 1967--page 308

the moment of truth

THE MILITARY. British defense minister Denis Healey, expected to become NATO Secretary-General soon, has announced the following Labor Party position: 1.) Withdrawal of British forces from bases abroad; 2.) Opposition to withdrawal of U.S. forces abroad; 3.) Renting out surplus British troops to private industry.

EAST V. WEST: "In a capitalist society some people are exploited by other people. In a communist society it is just the other way around." (Attributed to a Polish diplomat, Jan., '69)

VIETNAM. "The point is often made that regardless of the merits of the war, the United States has a moral obligation to its clients in Saigon. We agree. The best way to meet that obligation is to encourage them, as soon as possible, to travel to Switzerland for a long and happy reunion with their bank accounts." (Editorial, "The Progressive", Feb., '69)

WAR ON CRIME: Senator Dirksen and Congressman Ford announced that President Nixon would launch a "war on lawlessness". Exposure of criminal ties to the U.S. Senate and House, the Executive and Judicial, the statehouses and city halls of the nation--notably in New York and New Jersey--was not mentioned. Criminal activities of the last Administration (and of longer duration) will provide the President with a substantial start.

"THE POWER TO TAX INVOLVES THE POWER TO DESTROY" wrote Chief Justice Marshall in McCULLOCH V. MARYLAND a century and a half ago. The point was brought home to Americans by a 5% rise in the cost of living, sharper than any since the Korean War. The progressive income tax, with its \$500 exemption, is literally destroying the income of the average wage-earner.

BUREAUCRACY. "Cost reduction and cost control (in the government) are by their very nature sort of anti-social activities. Nobody really likes the efficiency expert and I think that a good one expects that.... I think our personnel system penalizes those who are accused of that." (A.E. Fitzgerald, U.S. Air Force efficiency expert, before the House Subcommittee on Economy in Government, Nov., '68.)

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THE WAY OF ZENARCHY TURN; TURN; TURN.

Kerry Thornley puts out ZENARCHY, a sporadic religious literary bulletin of political neoprophilia; one may subscribe by sending him a batch of self-addressed, stamped business-size envelopes at 2803 Marlin Avenue, Tampa, FA 33611.

KERRY THORNLEY

When most pacifists have put away their belligerence, and when most libertarians have stopped trying to dominate people---then peace and liberty will start becoming possible.

You can turn on with chemicals, with strobe lights, with meditation, with sex, with subversion, with intensive and prolonged reasoning, and probably--if you've got the right connections--with the holy spirit. But you can also go through all that jazz and miss the whole point.

Speak softly and leave your stick at home. Scolding doesn't do any good; it just puts people uptight and confirms them in their ruts. Moralism, like authoritarianism (of which it is a watered-down imitation), seems like a short cut--at first. That's the whole point. It isn't even the long way around; it is a dead end. If you understand that, you're a turned-on cat.

As for political action, I object to it no more than I oppose taking aspirin for cancer. America is having a long-overdue psychotic crack-up and if you want to cure it by overhauling the Democratic Party, jacking up some minor party, or drafting declarations and manifestoes--friend, I will stay as far out of your way as I can possibly get.

As for the politics of violent revolution, Ralph Borsodi said it already: "I do not like revolutions, in spite of the fact that it is possible to make a pretty good case for the moral validity of the doctrine of justifiable revolution--any war (just as it is possible also to make out a pretty good case for the doctrine of justifiable homicide), but then I don't like homicide either." (1)

Politics is exactly as exciting as sports, if not as harmless. So if it is really your thing, do it. But while you are busy looking for the "right man" gathering signatures, ringing doorbells

or smuggling guns and writing slogans on the walls of the night--I'll turn away.

I'll turn away from your demonstrations and confrontations and I'll see hippies homesteading in the wilds, libertarians becoming a vast minority of elusive nomads on land and sea, Dr. Doan and Gill Cantwell providing free-market alternatives to state-monopolated services, Hassan i Sabbah X teaching ghetto blacks to farm the land in their back yards, Johnny Pot planting marijuana in out-of-the-way fields, Mildred Loomis setting up mutual aid and mutual convenience societies, Bob LeFevre converting the Orange County conservatives to Anarchy, Jayaprakash Narayan internationalizing the Gandhian movement as a Third Force in the underdeveloped nations of the world, the Living Theater zapping people everywhere with the direct experience of mind revolution and bodylove, and so on and so forth into infinity...And after that you blood-'n-thunder radicals will look about as revolutionary to me as so many sacks of Red Star steer manure.

Maybe. Or maybe one day I'll look up from my Yin Revolution of nonconfrontative diversification and see that you have passed me by again, and that urban activists are then building Living Universities in every major center of population--not just low-budget copies of Establishment robot factories, with some cat lecturing on theoretical economics or revolutionary somethingelse in a dingy hall, but real growing and evolving processes that bring one human being into contact with another. Curriculum: the economics of individual independence; applied authoritarian psychology; parallel communications; black market business administration; elementary self-liberation; basic humanity; anarchy appreciation; defensive law; creative tax refusal; computer sabotage; advanced mind blowing, etc., etc., etc. Together, then, brother, we'll stop telling people to stop.

We will do something more effective than moralistic scolding and political pushing and shoving. Gently, brother, we'll show people how to turn their lives around.

Murray N. Rothbard, editor of Left and Right, is an associate professor of economics at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute. Among the books and articles he has written is America's Great Depression (Van Nostrand, 1963).

REFLECTIONS OF A

RIGHT-WING LIBERAL



by Murray N. Rothbard

Twenty years ago I was an extreme right-wing Republican, a young and lone "Neanderthal" (as the liberals used to call us) who, believed, as one friend pungently put it, that "Senator Taft had sold out to the socialists." Today, I am most likely to be called an extreme leftist, since I favor immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, denounce U. S. imperialism, advocate Black Power and have just joined the new Peace and Freedom Party. And yet my basic political views have not changed by a single iota in these two decades.

It is obvious that something is very wrong with the old labels, with the categories to American political life. My personal odyssey is unimportant; the important point is that if I can move from "extreme right" to "extreme left" merely by standing in one place, drastic though unrecognized changes must have taken place throughout the American political spectrum over the last generation.

I joined the right-wing movement--to give a formal name to a very loose and informal set of associations--as a young graduate student shortly after the end of World War II. There was no question as to where the intellectual right of that day stood on militarism and conscription: it opposed them as instruments of mass slavery and mass murder. Conscription, indeed, was thought far worse than other forms of statist controls and incursions, for while these only appropriated part of the individual's property, the draft, like slavery, took his most precious possession: his own person. Day after day the veteran publisher John T. Flynn--once praised as a liberal and then condemned as a reactionary, with little or no change in his views--inveighed implacably in print and over the radio against militarism and the draft. Even the Wall Street newspaper, the Commercial and Financial Chronicle, published a lengthy attack on the idea of conscription.

All of our political positions, from the free market in economics to opposing war and militarism, stemmed from our root belief in individual liberty and our opposition to the state. Simplistically, we adopted the standard view of the political spectrum: "left" meant socialism, or total power of the state; the further "right" one went the less government one favored. Hence, we called ourselves "extreme rightists."

Originally, our historical heroes were such men as Jefferson, Paine, Cobden, Bright and Spencer; but as our views became purer and more consistent, we eagerly embraced such near-anarchists as the Voluntarist, Auberon Herbert, and the American individualist-anarchists, Lytton Spooner and Benjamin R. Tucker. One of our great intellectual heroes was Henry David Thoreau, and his essay, "Civil Disobedience," was one of our guiding stars. Right-wing theorist Frank Chodorov devoted an entire issue of his monthly, *Analysts*, to an appreciation of Thoreau.

In our relation to the remainder of the American political scene, we of course recognized that the extreme right of the Republican Party was not made up of individualist anti-statists, but they were close enough to our position to make us feel part of a quasi-libertarian united front. Enough of our views were present among the extreme members of the Taft wing of the Republican Party (much more so than Taft himself, who was among the most liberal of that wing), and in such organs as the Chicago Tribune, to make us feel quite comfortable with this kind of alliance.

What is more, the right-wing Republicans were major opponents of the Cold War. Valiantly, the extreme rightist Republicans, who were particularly strong

(1) SEVENTEEN PROBLEMS OF MAN AND SOCIETY

by Ralph Borsodi, Charotar Book Stall, Anand, India (and available through the School of Living, Brookville, Ohio), 1968--page 522

in the House, battled conscription, NATO and the Truman Doctrine. Consider, for example, Omaha's Representative Howard Buffett, Senator Taft's midwestern campaign manager in 1952. He was one of the most extreme of the extremists, once described by The Nation as "an able young man whose ideas have tragically fossilized."

I came to know Buffett as a genuine and thoughtful libertarian. Attacking the Truman Doctrine on the floor of Congress, he declared: "Even if it were desirable, America is not strong enough to police the world by military force. If that attempt is made, the blessings of liberty will be replaced by coercion and tyranny at home. Our Christian ideals cannot be exported to other lands by dollars and guns."

When the Korean War came, almost the entire old left, with the exception of the Communist Party, surrendered to the global mystique of the United Nations and "collective security against aggression," and backed by Truman's imperialist aggression in that war. Even Corliss Lamont backed the American stand in Korea. Only the extreme rightist Republicans continued to battle U. S. imperialism. It was the last great political outburst of the old right of my youth.

Howard Buffett was convinced that the United States was largely responsible for the eruption of conflict in Korea; for the rest of his life he tried unsuccessfully to get the Senate Armed Services Committee to declassify the testimony of CIA head Admiral Hiltenkoeter, which Buffett told me established American responsibility for the Korean outbreak.

The last famous isolationist move came late in December 1950, after the Chinese forces had beaten the Americans out of North Korea. Joseph P. Kennedy and Herbert Hoover delivered two ringing speeches back-to-back calling for American evacuation of Korea. As Hoover put it, "To commit the sparse ground forces of the non-Communist nations into a land war against this Communist land mass (in Asia) would be a war without victory, a war without a successful political terminal . . . that would be the graveyard of millions of American boys" and the exhaustion of the United States. Joe Kennedy declared that "if portions of Europe or Asia wish to go communistic or even have communism thrust upon them, we cannot stop it!"

To this The Nation replied with typical liberal Red-baiting: "The line they are laying down for their country should set the bells ringing in the Kremlin as nothing has since the triumph of Stalingrad"; and the New Republic actually saw Stalin sweeping onwards "until the Stalinist

caucus in the Tribune Tower would bring out in triumph the first communist of the Chicago Tribune."

The main catalyst for transforming the mass base of the right wing from an isolationist and quasi-libertarian movement to an anti-Communist one was probably "McCarthyism." Before Senator Joe McCarthy launched his anti-Communist crusade in February 1950, he had not been particularly associated with the right wing of the Republican Party; on the contrary, his record was liberal and centrist, statist rather than libertarian.

Furthermore, Red-baiting and anti-Communist witch hunting were originally launched by liberals, and even after McCarthy the liberals were the most effective at the game. It was, after all, the liberal Roosevelt Administration which passed the Smith Act, first used against Trotskyites and isolationists during World War II and then against communists after the war; it was the liberal Truman Administration that instituted loyalty checks; it was the eminently liberal Hubert Humphrey who was a sponsor of the clause in the McCarran Act of 1950 threatening concentration camps for "subversives."

McCarthy not only shifted the focus of the right to Communist hunting, however, his crusade also brought into the right wing a new mass base. Before McCarthy, the rank-and-file of the right wing was the small-town, isolationist middle west. McCarthyism brought into the movement a mass of urban Catholics from the eastern seaboard, people whose outlook on individual liberty was, if anything, negative.

If McCarthy was the main catalyst for mobilizing the mass base of the new right, the major ideological instrument of the transformation was the blight of anti-Communism, and the major carriers were Bill Buckley and National Review.

In the early days, young Bill Buckley often liked to refer to himself as an "individualist," sometimes even as an "anarchist." But all these libertarian ideals, he maintained, had to remain in total abeyance, fit only for parlor discussion, until the great crusade against the "international communist conspiracy" had been driven to a successful conclusion. Thus, as early as January 1952, I noted with disgust an article that Buckley wrote for *Commonweal*, "A Young Republican's View."

He began the article in a splendid libertarian manner: our enemy, he affirmed, was the state, which, he quoted Spencer, was "begotten of aggression and by aggression." But then came the worm in the apple: the anti-Communist crusade had to be waged. Buckley went on to endorse "the extensive and productive tax laws that (Cont.)

by which social intercourse can be carried on without coercion and violence. Libertarians will always uphold their consistent militancy against the laws (coercion) of the segregationist and integrationist alike. The humanitarian, the egalitarian who wields the bloody sword of state power, is the eternal enemy of every libertarian.

This most recent action by the Nixon Administration regarding the denial of Federal funds from select communities is indicative that, as policy, the Administration intends to use Federal "aid" monies as weapons to control and enforce its will. Those who can be enticed to accept Federal funds soon become dependent upon them and the threat of their withdrawal becomes a club to bludgeon the non-conformist. It was only a few years ago that the advocates of federal aid to education were indignantly denying that such funds would ever be used to implement Federal control; now they stand silent in approval of such action.

Republican or Democrat, conservative or liberal, the theme and programs remain the same, for those who assume the power to govern. Political power is addictive and only increased dosages of power bring the addict his craved satisfaction. Johnson feeds his habit with the Great Society programs, Nixon will consolidate those programs, and seek new thrills with new programs which will erode further the shrinking realm of human endeavor not regulated by government. The task of the libertarian for the next four years must remain as before, in providing unremittent and uncompromising resistance to all efforts, large or small, to increase state power and the expense of individual freedom.

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"LIBERTY DEFINED AND LIMITED BY OTHERS IS SLAVERY; LIBERTY, THEN, IS THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE INDIVIDUAL...." -- Josiah Warren

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— Josiah Warren

state coercion, that social justice and a truly great society can be achieved.

The changing of the guard is now complete; Richard Nixon now grasps the scepter and orb of national power, yet the Establishment still reigns. The opportunity, but not the promise for change, exists. Nixon has already made abundantly clear that his administration will not make radical departures from those policies established by the previous administration:

Nixon appears to be intent on following the same course pursued by his party for the last forty years, that of drifting with the current toward the promised land of the Brave New World. The Republican Party increasingly echoes the vested interest of the power elite rather than providing alternatives to state omnipotence.

Representative John Anderson, new leader of the House Republican Conference, has made a reputation for himself supporting a broad range of legislation intent on expanding the power of the Federal Government. The new Republican Senate Whip, Senator Hugh Scott, has long been in the Establishment's pocket, earning a rating of 57% from the ADA and 100% from COPE. Even the selection of Nixon as GOP standard bearer in the 1968 campaign was because he had effectively jettisoned principles for vague platitudes, to the satisfaction of the party's Eastern Establishment.

President Nixon's intention to continue an aggressive role for the Federal government in political manipulation of society has been made clear by his own statements. Reflecting on the role of the President, Nixon stated: "The days of a passive Presidency belong to simpler past. The next President must take an activist view of his office. He must articulate the nation's values, define its goals and marshal its will." The maximum leader, presumptuously defining the goals of two hundred million individuals and directing the course of their lives, is compatible with a totalitarian state, but not a free society. Executive activism has already expanded the power of the Executive branch of the Federal government to the point that it dangerously preempts the constitutional functions of Congress and the judiciary.

The appointments and initial action of President Nixon already provide ample evidence to support the conclusion that individual liberty will not fare well during the next four years. A review of all of Nixon's cabinet appointments yields no evidence that there is even one man who would find himself in basic philosophical disagreement with the policies and programs of the previous Johnson administration. Some cabinet appointments can

only be viewed with alarm by Libertarians, for they are men whose ability and ambition will not restrain their use of the enormous power placed in their hands.

Secretary of Defense, Melvin Laird, has been an outspoken hawk and supporter of Johnson's war in Viet Nam and while a member of the House Appropriations Committee, Laird aggressively supported Federal extravasion into areas of education and welfare. Health, Education and Welfare Secretary, Robert Finch, has remarked that "one of my passions has always been that we must rebuild the Republican Party closer to the Democratic Party." George Romney, new czar of Housing and Urban Development, will move with enthusiasm as he seeks to rebuild America's cities in his own image. Romney's zeal seems to know no bounds; he already has claimed that education should be the exclusive domain of the new super state. Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans is expected by some free trade advocates to seek a more restricted foreign trade policy. Many sub-cabinet appointments like Daniel Moynihan and James Farmer have visions of multi-billion dollar projects dancing in their heads.

Two selected actions by President Nixon may be useful in predicting his future mode of operation: his commission to study the feasibility of a voluntary army and his policy decision regarding freedom of choice in public school attendance. Upon first reflection Nixon's commission to study the question of a voluntary military is commendable and an indication that he intends to carry out a campaign pledge. On the other hand, the Defense Department has already made a number of feasibility studies and it is a recognized tactic of recent presidents to gently study to death problems or promises in the hopes that they will be eventually forgotten.

The right of individual students to choose which school they shall attend in their community has been rejected by the Nixon Administration where and when such a policy does not have the immediate consequence of racial integration. Secretary of HEW, Robert Finch, has ordered that federal funds be denied those public school districts which do not have HEW's formula blend of racial integration. Thus we find that freedom of choice of students to attend the schools they wish is acceptable only to the extent that such a choice conforms to the directives of the government. This view of freedom is typical of those who seek public office for the opportunity to manage and coerce the lives of others. Freedom is good so long as it is freedom to do as they order. Those who accept and understand the meaning of individual liberty know that it is not a directive to re-order society as one would wish, but a condition (Cont.)

are needed to support a vigorous anti-communist foreign policy," he declared that the "thus far invincible aggressiveness of the Soviet Union" imminently threatened American security, and that therefore "we have to accept Big Government for the duration--for neither an offensive nor a defensive war can be waged...except through the instrument of a totalitarian bureaucracy within our shores." Therefore, he concluded--in the midst of the Korean War--we must all support "large armies and air forces, atomic energy, central intelligence, war production boards and the attendant centralization of power in Washington."

The right wing, never articulate, has not had many organs of opinion. Therefore, when Buckley founded National Review in late 1955, its erudite, witty and glib editorials and articles swiftly made it only politically relevant journal for the American right. Immediately, the ideological line of the right began to change sharply.

One element that gave special fervor and expertise to the Red-baiting crusade was the prevalence of ex-communists, ex-fellow travelers and ex-Trotskyites among the writers whom National Review brought into prominence on the right-wing scene. These ex-leftists were consumed with an underlying hatred for their former love, along with a passion for bestowing enormous importance upon their apparently wasted years. Almost the entire older generation of writers and editors for National Review had been prominent in the old left. Some names that come to mind are: Jim Burnham, John Chamberlain, Whittaker Chambers, Ralph Delodano, Will Herberg, Eugene Lyons, J. B. Matthews, Frank S. Meyer, William S. Schlam and Karl Wittfogel.

An insight into the state of mind of many of these people came in a recent letter to me from one of the most libertarian of this group; he admitted that my stand in opposition to the draft was the only one consistent with libertarian principles, but, he said, he can't forget how nasty the communist cell in Time Magazine was in the 1930's. The world is falling apart and yet these people are still wired in the petty grievances of faction fights of long ago!

Anti-communism was the central root of the decay of the old libertarian right, but it was not the only one. In 1953, a big splash was made by the publication of Russell Kirk's *The Conservative Mind*. Before that, no one on the right regarded himself as a "conservative"; "conservative" was considered a left smear word. Now, suddenly, the right began to glory in the

term "conservative," and Kirk began to make speaking appearances, often in a kind of friendly "vital center" tandem with Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

This was to be the beginning of the burgeoning phenomenon of the friendly-through-critical dialogue between the liberal and conservative wings of the Great Patriotic American Consensus. A new, younger generation of rightists, of "conservatives," began to emerge, who thought that the real problem of the modern world was nothing so ideological as the state vs. individual liberty or government intervention vs. the free market; the real problem, (Cont.)



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THIS IS A REPUBLIC NOT AN EMPIRE !

In the summer of 1962 an American official in Saigon made this comment about Lt. Gen. Samuel T. Williams, our commander in Vietnam during the late 'fifties, "The French officer handling the intelligence organization embracing all the Montagnards in the High Plateau and the Annamite Chain offered to turn it all over to Williams. He was not interested. Like most Americans who came here after 1954, Williams was contemptuous of the French." Another observer remarked, "He was an extremely forceful and opinionated man and a good disciplinarian, and perhaps a bit too much (so).... since his staff tended to tell him what he wanted to know."

There was a great deal that Gen. Williams simply did not care to know. He lived in a dream world of cities and states and power and institutional trappings from which his enemies were quite free.

They struck out immediately to pick up reins dropped by the French in the highlands. Their prize was the Montagnard Confederation, an autonomous region with the designation of Domaine, under the personal protection of the Emperor, Bao Dai. Only in the town of Kontum, where Vietnamese Christians fled to escape a Buddhist massacre in 1855, was there a population of non-Montagnards. The French had used the territory for rubber plantations but this did not conflict with the native people and their relations were usually amiable, especially since France kept the Vietnamese from making incursions.

In 1954 the Domaine began to crumble. As American television poured out praise and the Vatican bestowed blessings, Ngo Dinh Diem began moving Northern refugees on to Montagnard land. The fugitives were soon busy domesticating natives through promissory notes or direct slavery. After Montagnards were reduced to tenants on their own land the Vietnamese moved to the city to enjoy their new status as prospering landowners. Montagnard schools and hospitals operated under the Domaine were not assumed by a Saigon government and the Emperor was in exile. Inevitable violence between Vietnamese colonists and Montagnards brought government troops.

Suddenly, the Domaine was identified on U. S. military charts as a stronghold of "Communist" guerrilla activity. It was the same with Huntley-Brinkley, etc., etc. The Montagnards had disappeared. They were all Communists!

To be clear on this, suddenly there were people hostile to the U. S. and they were very definitely allied with the Viet Minh. Who else would they be allied with?

For awhile, the French planters continued to make trips into the Domaine, but the influence of the Viet Minh grew as French good will was forgotten. They could no longer offer protection against the Vietnamese but they could, and did, carry the natives' plight to U. S. officials. These attempts caused a great deal of laughter in American circles and bars in Saigon. Montagnard crossbows against U. S. advisors? Absurd!

In July, 1962, Lt. Col. Anthony Tencza's helicopter, operating from Kontum, was shot down by anti-aircraft fire, killing him and others aboard. The road north from Kontum was blocked by enemy anti-tank mines shortly after. Escalation was phenomenal. Montagnards, aided substantially by the Viet Cong, were not using crossbows, which the Vietnamese had outlawed in 1958 anyway. Vietnam replied by rounding up thousands of their ancient foes and starving them. Frequently they would save themselves the trouble by bombing hamlets to promote the "terrible wrath" method of reasoning. Most Montagnards were not actually fighting, which was against their religion and tradition, but they enthusiastically supported their new protectors, the Viet Cong, who had set up schools and hospitals somewhat reminiscent of the benevolent French.

You can fill in the rest from any history book on any moment in time. Montagnard principles were torn from them by a terrible anguish of blood and horror. Perhaps the future will give Mr. Johnson a laurel wreath for his action. But the present cannot. The pain is too deep to forgive so soon, the lives too many, the menagerie in Paris too ludicrous, and the war racketeering too profitable.

T M R



conservative right. From the individualist left the socialists took the goals of freedom; the withering away of the state, the replacement of the governing of men by the administration of things, opposition to the ruling class and a search for its overthrow, the desire to establish international peace, an advanced industrial economy and a high standard of living for the mass of the people. From the right the socialists adopted the means to achieve these goals--collectivism, state planning, community control of the individual. This put socialism in the middle of the ideological spectrum. It also meant that socialism was an unstable, self-contradictory doctrine bound to fly apart in the inner contradiction between its means and ends.

Our analysts was greatly bolstered by our becoming familiar with the new and exciting group of historians who studied under University of Wisconsin historian William Appleman Williams. From them we discovered that all of us free marketers had erred in believing that somehow, down deep, Big Businessmen were really in favor of laissez-faire, and that their deviations from it, obviously clear and notorious in recent years, were either "sellouts" of principle to expediency or the result of astute maneuvers by liberal intellectuals.

This is the general view on the rights; in the remarkable phrase of Ayn Rand, Big Business is "America's most persecuted minority." Persecuted minority, indeed! Sure, there were thrusts against Big Business in the old McCormick Chicago Tribune and in the writings of Albert Jay Nock; but it took the Williams-Kolko analysts to portray the true anatomy and physiology of the American scene.

As Kolko pointed out, all the various measures of federal regulation and welfare statism that left and right alike have always believed to be mass movements against Big Business are not only now backed to the hilt by Big Business, but were originated by it for the very purpose of shifting from a free market to a cartelized economy that would benefit it. Imperialistic foreign policy and the permanent garrison state originated in the Big Business drive for foreign investments and for war contracts at home.

The role of the liberal intellectuals is to serve as "corporate liberals," weavers of sophisticated apologies to inform the masses that the heads of the American corporate state are ruling on behalf of the "common good" and the "general welfare"--like the priest in the Oriental despotism who convinced the masses that their emperor was all-wise and divine.

Since the early '60's, as the National Review right has moved nearer to political power, it has jettisoned its old libertarian remnants and has drawn ever closer to the liberals of the Great American Consensus. Evidence of this abounds. There is Bill Buckley's ever-widening popularity in the mass media and among liberal intellectuals, as well as widespread admiration on the intellectual right for people and groups it once despised: for the New Leader, for Irving Kristol, for the late Felix Frankfurter (who always opposed judicial restraint on government invasions of individual liberty), for Hannah Arendt and Sidney Hook. Despite occasional bows to the free market, conservatives have come to agree that economic issues are unimportant; they therefore accept--or at least do not worry about--the major outlines of the Keynesian welfare-warfare state of liberal corporatism.

On the domestic front, virtually the only conservative interests are to suppress Negroes ("shoot looters," "crush those riots"), to call for more power for the police so as not to "shield the criminal" (i.e., not to protect his libertarian rights), to enforce prayer in the public schools, to put Reds and other subversives and "seditionists" in jail and to carry on the crusade for war abroad. There is little in the thrust of this program with which liberals can now disagree; any disagreements are tactical or matters of degree only. Even the Cold War--including the war in Vietnam--was begun and maintained and escalated by the liberals themselves.

No wonder that liberal Daniel Moynihan--a national board member of ADA incensed at the radicalism of the current anti-war and Black Power movements--should recently call for a formal alliance between liberals and conservatives, since after all they basically agree on these, the two crucial issues of our time. Even Barry Goldwater has gotten the message; in January 1968 in National Review, Goldwater concluded an article by affirming that he is not against liberals, that liberals are needed as a counterweight to conservatism, and that he had in mind a fine liberal like Max Lerner--Max Lerner, the epitome of the old left, the hated symbol of my youth!

In response to our isolation from the right, and noting the promising signs of libertarian attitudes in the emerging new left, a tiny band of us ex-rightist libertarians founded the "little journal," Left and Right, in the spring of 1965. We had two major purposes: to make contact with libertarians already on the new left and to persuade (Cont.)

the bulk of libertarians or quasi-libertarians who remained on the right to follow our example. We have been gratified in both directions: by the remarkable shift toward libertarian and anti-statist positions of the new left, and by the significant number of young people who have left the right-wing movement.

This left/right tendency has begun to be noticeable on the new left, praised and damned by those aware of the situation. (Our old colleague Ronald Hamoway, an historian-at-standoff, set forth the left/right position in the New Republic collection, *Thoughts of the Young Radicals* (1966).) We have received gratifying encouragement from Carl Oglesby who, in his *Condemned and Change* (1967), advocated a coalition of new left and old right, and from the young scholars grouped around the unfortunately now defunct *Studies on the Left*. We've also been criticized, if indirectly, by Staughton Lynd, who worries because our ultimate goals--free market as against socialism--differ.

Finally, liberal historian Martin Duberman, in a recent issue of *Partisan Review*, sharply criticizes SNCC and CORE for being "anarchists," for rejecting the authority of the state, for insisting that community be voluntary, and for stressing, along with SDS, participatory instead of representative democracy. Perceptively, if on the wrong side of the fence, Duberman then links SNCC and the new left with us old rightists: "SNCC and CORE, like the Anarchists, talk increasingly of the supreme importance of the individual. They do so, paradoxically, in a rhetoric strongly reminiscent of that long associated with the right. It could be Herbert Hoover ... but it is in fact Rap Brown who now reiterates the Negro's need to stand on his own two feet, to make his own decisions, to develop self-reliance and a sense of self-worth. SNCC may be scornful of present-day liberals and 'statism,' but it seems hardly to realize that the laissez-faire rhetoric it prefers derives almost verbatim from the classic liberalism of John Stuart Mill." Tough. It could, I submit, do a lot worse.

I hope I have demonstrated why a few compatriots and I have shifted, or rather been shifted, from "extreme right" to "extreme left" in the past 20 years merely by staying in the same basic ideological place. The right wing, once in determined opposition to Big Government, has now become the conservative wing of the American corporate state and its foreign policy of expansionist imperialism. If we would salvage liberty from this

deadening left/right fusion on the counter, this needs to be done through a counter-fusion of old right and new left.

James Burnham, an editor of *National Review* and its main strategic thinker in waging the "Third World War" (as he entitled his column), the prophet of the managerial state (in *The Managerial Revolution*), whose only hint of positive interest in liberty in a lifetime of political writing was a call for legalized firecrackers, recently attacked the dangerous trend among some young conservatives to make common cause with the left in opposing the draft. Burnham warned that he learned in his Trotskyite days that this would be an "unprincipled" coalition, and he warned that if one begins by being anti-draft one might wind up opposed to the war in Vietnam: "And I rather think that some of them are at heart, or are getting to be, against the war. Murray Rothbard has shown how right-wing libertarianism can lead to almost as anti-U.S. a position as left-wing libertarianism does. And a strain of isolationism has always been endemic in the American right."

This passage symbolizes how deeply the whole thrust of the right wing has changed in the last two decades. Vestigial interest in liberty or in opposition to war and imperialism are now considered deviations to be stamped out without delay. There are millions of Americans, I am convinced, who are still devoted to individual liberty and opposition to the leviathan state at home and abroad, Americans who call themselves "conservatives" but feel that something has gone very wrong with the old anti-New Deal and anti-Fair Deal cause.

Something has gone wrong: the right wing has been captured and transformed by elitists and devotees of the European conservative ideals of order and militarism, by witch hunters and global crusaders, by statists who wish to coerce "morality" and suppress "sedition."

America was born in a revolution against Western imperialism, born as a haven of freedom against the tyrannies and despotism, the wars and intrigues of the old world. Yet we have allowed ourselves to sacrifice the American ideals of peace and freedom and anti-colonialism on the altar of a crusade to kill communists throughout the world; we have surrendered our libertarian birthright into the hands of those who yearn to restore the Golden Age of the Holy Inquisition. It is about time that we wake up and rise up to restore our heritage.

THE MONTAGNARDS

VICTIMS OF GENOCIDE

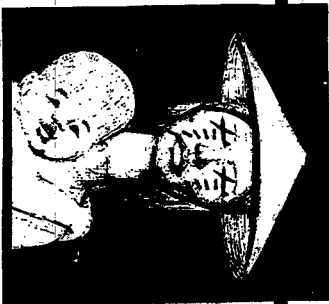
There are indications that the U. S. is now prepared to face reality in the present Indochina War.

One of these realities is that Vietnamese occupy and control only the coastal and Mekong delta regions of South Vietnam. The highlands, containing sixty percent of the land mass, are occupied by an ethnically distinct people driven there by Vietnamese invaders over the past several hundred years. These highlanders, or Montagnards, have been championed by the Viet Cong and the National Liberation Front since the first N.L.F. congress in March, 1962.

Thirty-one thousand American lives have been spent defending the interests of one ethnic group--the Vietnamese--against these highlanders, as the television commentators often put it, "fighting the invisible enemy." It is truly tragic that electronic communication did not convey to American living rooms more than the bombs, more than the smiling faces of North Vietnamese refugees who run the banks, brothels, black market and government in Saigon. The "invisible enemy" never was equated with an "invisible nation."

There are seven million people who comprise the Montagnard Confederation--their leaders in exile in Cambodia, their hamlets destroyed, their lives all in imminent danger, and their borders open to the Viet Cong.

It is significant that this unknown nation should suddenly and unexplainably be offered an invisible treaty by the United States during the last weeks of President Johnson's term of office. It is also significant that Vice-President Ky, the admirer of Hitler, let the cat out of the bag by indicating he would attempt to sabotage the treaty, momentarily opening the world's door to the fact that



the Montagnards exist as a political entity. Television cameras, unfortunately, were again absent.

This agreement, legalized at Bannethuot, Darlac (the Emperor's highland sub-capital) in February, secures pledges from Saigon to recognize Montagnard autonomy, their flag (to fly beside that of the Vietnamese), and participation in the government. At an early moment the nation is to be renamed to place Montagnards on an equal footing with the Vietnamese.

The agreement was signed by representatives of Vietnamese Premier Tran Van Huong and Montagnard leader Y Bham Enuol, head of FULRO (Oppressed Races' United Liberation Front), the Confederation's political apparatus. If Saigon fulfills the terms of the agreement these exiles will return and their army will become regional militia for the highlands.

When did it happen? When did the United States become the arm and burgeonet of Vietnamese supremacy and enemy of the highlanders?

From the very beginning, of course. From the very day the French quit and a U. S. general decided to extend the blessings of liberty by force. Suddenly, we were back at Chapultepec Castle, the Halls of Montezuma, freeing it from a band of willains--boy cadets who ultimately threw themselves from the ramparts, wrapped in the flags of their country, that the flags should be stained by Mexican blood before falling to the enemy. Our troops sang about the Halls of Montezuma as they butchered thousands of Montagnards in the name of liberty.

(Cont.)

"I want to infuse in our youth the same fanaticism, the same dedication, the same fighting spirit as Hitler infused in his people." -- Premier Ky.

