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AL Interview

Professor Tibor Machan

Tibor Machan is currently Professor of Philosophy at Auburn University in Alabama. He was smuggled out of Hungary in 1953 and emigrated to the U.S. in 1956. He served in the U.S. Air Force and received his Ph.D. in Philosophy from the University of California at Santa Barbara.

Machan is one of the best known scholars in America to seriously study and write about the philosophical ideas expressed by Ayn Rand and other libertarian authors. He has written and edited a number of books, including *The Pseudo-Science of B.F. Skinner* (1974), *Human Rights and Human Liberties* (1975), *The Libertarian Alternative* (1974), *The Libertarian Reader* (1982), *The Main Debate: Communism vs. Capitalism* (1986), *Commerce and Morality: Alternative Essays in Business Ethics* (pending) and *Individuals and Their Rights* (pending).

In addition to his books, his writing has appeared in numerous scholarly journals as well as in a wide variety of major newspapers and magazines. He is a co-founder and Senior Editor of *Reason* magazine and is editor of *Reason Papers*. He is also hosting a filmed series on political philosophy "Visions of Social Order", the pilot episode of which (on Karl Marx) has recently been completed.

This interview with Dr. Machan was conducted by Kevin Caldwell, who is associated with the Ayn Rand Club at the University of California at Berkeley. A somewhat longer version of this interview was originally intended for a conservative campus magazine at UC San Diego, which refused to publish it.

This interview with one of America's foremost defenders of libertarian philosophy appears here in print for the first time.

AL: Are people's attitudes beginning to change concerning capitalism, and if so, what are the signs?

Machan: I'm afraid not. The political attitudes are changing only because once you have tried utopianism and it has failed, people look for something else. And one of the things that is, without a doubt, true, is that the welfare state has been a monumental flop. The Great Society, the New Deal, the

New Frontier, whatever we're supposed to call it, the fact remains that any time they have tried to institute a coercive element in society, it has not brought us any closer to universal abundance than before — in fact, it took us farther away.

So now, when it has become evident that the welfare state — or the entire liberal/Democratic agenda, really, particularly in the U.S. but also in England, Germany, Sweden — has failed to reach any kind of satisfactory end, then you see this resurrection of good old reliable Yankee ingenuity, namely, capitalism.

That's what privatization is all about, that's what enterprise zones are all about, that's what supply-side economics is all about. Unfortunately, that only lasts until people once again acquire a certain degree of prosperity. After that, they will clamor for a moral justification for their comparatively luxurious state. And if they can't find a moral justification, if they don't realize that this is not only a comfortable way of life, but also the right way of life, they will once again resort to some sort of utopian vision.

That's my fear: that right now, this flirtation with something like the free market and capitalism is going to be really short-lived, because people still don't seem to realize that trying to earn a good living for themselves and their loved ones is a morally upright thing to do.

AL: So we'll head back into the Great Society all over again?

Machan: Soon. What with the pontifications of the Teddy Kennedys and the Mario Cuomos — how can the Republicans answer that? They can't answer that because they haven't got a good moral framework from which to retort.

AL: Do you think this country is moving towards some kind of philosophical crisis, if it hasn't hit upon it already?

Machan: I think it has hit upon a philosophical crisis. I think ever since the Founding Fathers had put into place a system which stresses, over and above everything else, the free flow of commerce, and made it possible for millions and millions of previously oppressed Europeans to come to these shores to try and make a decent life for themselves, but didn't stress the need to understand the righteousness of the effort, that the pursuit of happiness is not only a right but a decent and honorable goal, we have, ever since, been living under a philosophical crisis. The neglect that was dealt to the idea that the pursuit of happiness was a decent and honorable goal left us vulnerable to Pragmatism or any other philosophical fad that has hit our shores, all of which failed to give a backbone to the political system we live under.



Libertarian philosopher and author Tibor Machan.

That was the reason Ayn Rand inspired so many people to go into philosophy. There are twenty-two or twenty-three people — and that's how many I know of — who are now actually holding down respectable jobs writing and publishing and running conferences in philosophy, all inspired by Ayn Rand. And there are probably more whom I haven't heard of. Now, can the conservatives claim this for themselves? Unfortunately, the conservatives usually feed into the religious departments, or else the political science departments, where for them it's either a matter of faith or of power, but never a matter of reason.

AL: You said in the foreword of *Human Rights and Human Liberties* that Marxism was the last philosophy to give us a comprehensive view of human nature, particularly human political nature, and that as a philosophy, it's on its last legs. Why is that so?

Machan: That is a very big question, to which I can only give a brief, "capsule" answer. My conclusion is that Marxism is the naturalistic, secular equivalent to the utopian vision that Christianity left us with. After all, what Marx offers in the future here on earth is what Christianity offers to the faithful in the future outside of this world. So, because of the pressures of the scientific age, Marx had to bring this vision down to earth. He couldn't leave it outside the world because people would never listen to him. So, Marxism then is a secularization of humanity's progress toward salvation. The dialectic is a kind of mystical law driving humanity, which Marx tried to give a scientific basis for, though of

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Lewis Sentenced

One Year, \$4,000

New Haven, CT - Libertarian activist and tax resister Jim Lewis received a one year jail term, two years suspended sentence and \$4,000 in fines from federal judge Ellen Burns at the New Haven federal courthouse on April 6. Lewis was convicted in late February on three counts of "willful failure to file" income tax returns for three years. There are no appeal plans.

Lewis, 1984 Libertarian Party Vice Presidential candidate and unsuccessful 1988 LP Presidential nomination contender, faced up to a year in jail on each count and a total possible \$30,000 in fines on the charges.

According to Tom Ross, Lewis's 1984 campaign manager and a Connecticut based libertarian activist, Lewis and 10 supporters gathered at the courthouse on April 6 to hear sentencing. Federal prosecutor Douglas Levine had requested that as part of his sentence, Lewis be required "not to associate, speak or belong to organizations which support tax protests." This element of sentencing was rejected by Judge Burns, but she did require Lewis as a condition of his two years suspended sentence (under supervised probation) to file and pay any past due income taxes.

Judge Burns was aware that the Lewis trial attracted considerable nationwide publicity, and noted that she had received a number of letters from around the country. In her sentencing speech, Judge Burns said she knew that Lewis was a public figure and complimented him on his defense effort, his intelligence and obvious sincerity.

However, she reprimanded Lewis for not doing enough legal research, noting that "the laws had changed since the period of Lewis's legal research." She also noted that his punishment was intended to be severe enough to deter others from following his example.

Although he received a one year sentence (probably in a minimum security federal prison) his fine was only \$1,000 per guilty count, plus approximately \$1,000 in federal court costs. He is required to pay an estimated \$13,000 in back income tax liability.

Immediately after sentencing, Lewis was asked if he was willing to serve right away, to which he replied "yes". He was then whisked out of the courtroom by federal marshals.

Tom Ross said that during the subsequent lunch break, Lewis supporters learned from the marshals that he would be taken to the decidedly un-country clubbish New Haven County jail unless he was released on bond, with the judge's approval, to await assign-

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Tibor Machan

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course there was none. Without Hegel, there is no real basis for the dialectic, and Hegel outright admitted that the basis for the dialectic is a metaphysical scheme comparable to Christianity but much more complicated, philosophically rendered.

Now as I see it, one of the nice things about Marxism is that it offers a comprehensive rationale, by which one can understand everything from terrorism, to the women's movement, to child abuse. . . everything! Sociologists have been very productive in creating sociological explanations based on Marxism, for every ailment and every concern that human beings have in modern society. And when a system offers this — even when it doesn't deliver, but makes a good college try — then in the absence of anything comparably comprehensive, let alone good and sound, it will emerge victorious. And it is victorious — despite the fact that as far as its intellectual meat is concerned, it no longer has substance. It is intellectually bankrupt and philosophically untenable.

Now what is evident, as I see it, is that the leftward drift in American culture and politics has not subsided.

There are so many holes in Marxism, that the Marxists themselves are clamoring for some new way of salvaging some of its parts. I have recently edited a book called **The Main Debate: Capitalism versus Communism**, and I talked to Marxists about Marxism. They admit, "well, you have to give up the predictability theory, you have to give up the idea of the economic foundations of law and religion and so on, you have to give up the exploitation theory, the labor theory of value. . . ." You have to give up practically everything. What do you have left? You have ultimately what Agnes Hellas, the great Hungarian Marxist student of George Lukacs, said: "We have a faith." That's all they have. That's why I said in my book that Marxism, as far as its intellectual power is concerned, is on its last legs.

AL: The student movement adjunct of the New Left seems to be either moribund or else in a very deep lull right now. Is there any connection between this and the intellectual bankruptcy of Marxism?

Machan: I don't think so. I think there is a kind of lull, although the term "lull" is a mistake.

First of all, the Sixties' "revolution" was not at all an intellectual revolution; it was the combination of a great party, a sexual revolution, a release of frustrations, a concern for the Vietnam War, disgust for the American system of the state — which, after all, their liberal brethren in the Democratic Party had erected — and so on. There are lots of reasons for the Sixties, but the Marxists played only a minor role.

The Sixties was lot of hand-waving, and very little substance. However, many of the people who provided it with what little substance it had, have in fact made a great deal of progress in socializing the American culture. Tom Hayden, Jane Fonda, William Kuntzler, Michael Harrington all have managed to do something that many conservatives and many Republicans miss: the socialization of local communities in America.

Rent control has been proven to be a total flop economically for the last forty years, and yet, it is being reinstituted in a number of communities in America. Why? Because there is a grassroots socialist movement around.

The environmental movement, in particular, has absorbed many of the socialists.

They realize that environmentalism is a handy way to claim that we are all one and one all, that there is no individualism, that there is no sense in treating individuals as having a personal domain of responsibility and rights, but to treat the group as one big collective cell.

Now what is evident, as I see it, is that the leftward drift in American culture and politics has not subsided. There's been a shallow dissatisfaction with its shallow implementation, namely modern liberal democracy. But if you look at a journal like the *New York Review of Books*, it's obvious they have never given up. They're a bit more defensive now, but they have never given up their self-confident analysis of American society as fundamentally corrupt and not worthy of human praise.

AL: So if the New Left has so much staying power, are they correct to be so worried about the potential political clout of movements like the Moral Majority?

Machan: I think the liberals are hypocrites when they worry about that sort of thing. They have been perpetrating the legislation of morality far longer than anyone in the Moral Majority has ever even thought of the

matter.

This hypocritical condemnation of Jerry Falwell is one way to smell how morally bankrupt modern liberals are, because they never flinched one bit when they decided that racism and sexism of people is going to be stopped by law. They went to the legislature right and left and insisted that people not be allowed to dispose of their property and their lives and their jobs and their firms as they saw fit.

Now that is a high moral ideal, and the liberals were perfectly willing to use force to make that moral ideal stick. Now the Moral Majority has their own conception of what is the true moral ideal, and want, now and then, to have the law on their own side, and the liberals are all aghast. Well, come on. This is sheer, unadulterated hypocrisy.

AL: Do you think there has been a genuine resurgence in fundamentalist sentiment in America, on the left as well as the right? If so, what do you think are the causes?

Machan: In the absence of an adequate response to Marxism and leftist liberalism — the former an intellectual failure, the latter a practical failure, and where the former has been tried it's been a catastrophe — in the absence of a good, and widely promulgated, philosophical response to this, people have to do something.

I mean, in a desert, if you're thirsty and you need some water, and you come upon an oasis, the water may be dirty and polluted but you'll give it a shot. You might die from it, but maybe this time it'll work. Maybe you'll be immune to the pollutants; it's better than dying of thirst. People think, maybe this time the word of God will save us. Never mind that bodies are practically dropping from the sky, or that they have cancer, or that their panaceas have been proven disasters: if we try it once again, maybe this time something will happen.

They're substituting the same systems all over again, trying to escape the responsibility of living your own life by your own wits; instead, trying to live by a formula or some dogmatic creed.

It's very tough for human beings to come to terms with the fact that they really haven't got any crutches. Having a life to live is an awesome responsibility. One of the things it teaches you is that there is no way to plug in some kind of guarantee and have it work for the rest of your life. Salva-

tion is always a renewed effort.

AL: Is our two-party system working out about as well as can be expected under these circumstances?

Machan: I think an ideal two-party system would be wonderful. It would be like the result of a tournament, where finally there's Navratilova and Chris Evert Lloyd playing for the Wimbledon title, after a lot of eliminations. Ideally that's what the two-party system is, even though it contains within it the other contestants, and the primaries and so on.

Small parties like the Communist Party, the Libertarian Party, the Peace and Freedom people, and so on — these parties really cannot flourish in an American context, because what they are doing is challenging the entire framework of the party system. The Libertarians, for example, want to reform the whole system. So do the Communists. Well, you can't play the game if you don't accept the game. More precisely, you can't play it honestly.

You can't go up and have a debate with other people if you don't think debating in an arena is legitimate. The Libertarians don't think the arena is legitimate, and neither do the Communists. So the only way these small parties will ever be able to make their point is by getting involved with the larger parties. Of course, first they have to be smaller parties to bring in some understanding of their views, to get some airtime for themselves, to be noticed. Once they have done this, it's probably wiser for them to infiltrate one or the other of the larger parties.

AL: In particular, do you see the Libertarian Party's problems as arising from this aspect of politics?

Machan: Well, it's got a lot of problems. I once called it a kind of "self-publishing venture". They have a lot of money, because they have some backers, but that also means that they are beholden to those backers.

Also, they are basically talking to themselves. They buy some ads on radio and television, but then people either confuse them with conservatives or don't understand what they're talking about.

There simply hasn't been enough of an educational process going on from the

Libertarians to demonstrate to the American public, and especially the intellectuals at large, that they are a movement worthy of some attention and intellectual consideration. Once this is done, it seems to me, they can go out and have blitzes of the sort that characterize political campaigns in America.

A political campaign is sort of like an advertising campaign. If nobody wants salt, or nobody knows what salt is, then you can't advertise a brand of salt. If nobody wants purified water, you can't advertise Culligan's.

You must first have a demand for a general type of product, and then you can say there are distinct versions of this product. You must first have a desire for something like a free market and a free society, as well as its prerequisite individualism, before the Libertarians can say, "We are the ones who truly understand what you want, and can deliver it better than anyone else can."

AL: How do you see the split between Libertarians on defense issues?

Machan: There are basically two factions at work within the Libertarian Party on matters of defense. There is one faction that maintains that we should now treat American foreign policy as if there already were a libertarian society intact.

Then there's the other section which says we should factor in, as an important variable, that we're not living in a libertarian society, and that we do not have the framework out of which to conduct a libertarian foreign policy. So we must, very carefully and through meticulous analysis, interpolate what is our ideal system into the contemporary state of affairs, with its restrictions, alliances, liabilities, faults, and so on.

It's sort of like when you try to give advice to someone who is very sick, as to how to live a healthy life. You have to take into consideration the fact that he's sick. So you don't say, "Run five miles." That'll come later, when he recovers. Then you might say, "In order to remain healthy, run five miles." But you don't do it right now, when he's suffering from the disease you want to cure him of.

AL: Thank you. ■

LROC Changes Strategy

Mountainview, CA - The Libertarian Republican Organizing Committee (LROC) has recently changed its strategy and has made some significant inroads into the GOP. It has also begun to attract some support from mainstream libertarians who view LROC as an outreach tool, rather than as an organization dedicated to destroying the Libertarian Party.

Founded in the spring of 1986, the key nucleus of LROC supporters (Colin Hunter, Eric Garris, Justin Raimondo) have long been active in the Libertarian Party and related groups. In fact, key LROCers share the distinction of being one-time members of the so-called Revolutionary Tendency of the LP's Radical Caucus, which during the early 1980's urged greater ideological purity and militant rhetoric for the Libertarian Party.

But the Radical Caucus, never more than a small handful of activists, split and died in the aftermath of the heated 1983 LP presidential convention. Eventually, LROC founders arrived at the conclusion that the LP would never be much more than a minor player in the American political system.

Initial LROC pronouncements and articles in the LROC periodical *Agenda* were highly critical of the LP as a vehicle for

political change, and urged libertarians instead to join the Republican Party *en masse*. While this controversial stance attracted some attention and a few libertarian supporters, most LP members rejected this call. LROC seemed to be in danger of becoming a gadfly to a political party which is itself sometimes viewed in those terms.

Aside from holding a few meetings in the San Francisco Bay area (home to LROC founders) and fighting to be allowed to rent booths at state and national LP conventions (usually successfully), the organization seemed to be in danger of becoming totally irrelevant. Despite their advocacy of GOP politics, LROC seemed to focus solely on the LP. And despite their fondness for GOP moderates who sounded faintly libertarian, like unsuccessful California U.S. Senate candidate Ed Zschau, LROC came out strongly against former GOP congressman Ron Paul in his Libertarian Party nomination battle against Russell Means.

LROC also put out some of the sleaziest anti-Paul literature of the LP nomination effort, and most Means supporters wanted nothing to do with LROC.

However, since the 1987 LP convention, LROC began to follow their own advice and

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LROC Shift

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for the past several months has been active in speaking to GOP groups (mainly in California) and concentrating efforts towards Republicans rather than LP members. While several LROC leaders privately admit they'll vote for Ron Paul, LROC publications have begun to carry an impressive number of in-depth articles about major GOP presidential contenders (Dole, du Pont, Robertson, Kemp) and serious policy issues confronting the GOP (the Reagan Doctrine, the INF treaty). LROC publications have also carried heavy blasts against the far-right New Right ("American Fascism With a Human Face") along with more esoteric fare such as "Bukharin's Ghost", a thoughtful article comparing the Right Opposition Marxism of Nikolai Bukharin — murdered by Stalin — to that of Mikhail Gorbachev.

In addition to this shift in emphasis, LROC has begun to publish an internal organizational bulletin (*Libertarian Republican Organizer*) and has stepped up its presence at California GOP gatherings, including the recent February state GOP convention in Santa Clara.

In a lengthy (and somewhat grandiose) essay on tactics and development in the February LROC *Organizer*, the line towards the LP has been considerably softened. LP members are not urged to quit, but rather, form groups which then organize to enter the GOP, as well as staying in the LP. This "dual citizenship" shift away from outright abandonment of the LP is, in part, to avoid friction with LP supporters, as well as a tactic to get around LP prohibition of LROC literature tables at Libertarian Party meetings (such as occurred at the California LP convention).

As the essay noted in bold type, "Our policy toward the LP should be one of collaboration and interaction, rather than confrontation."

While numbering only a few dozen active members, according to most estimates, LROC has made some inroads in attracting notable converts. Former California LP U.S. Senate, Congress and gubernatorial candidate Joe Fuhrig recently announced his membership in LROC, and according to LROC spokesmen, has also recently re-registered as a Republican. Fuhrig's past LP campaigns were noteworthy for their hardcore, abolitionist "rub it in their noses" libertarian stances and, perhaps not coincidentally, their relatively small vote totals.

GOP Inroads

While it is perhaps ironic that hard-line Fuhrig has jumped ship to the ranks of the not-very-libertarian-at-all GOP, it is consistent with the history of other prime movers of LROC, who also once prided themselves on their libertarian purity. When asked about his recent conversion, Fuhrig seemed slightly embarrassed, hemmed and hawed, and mumbled something about how Republicans are willing and able to pay his lecture fees.

Former New Jersey LP Chair and current Ron Paul for President NJ coordinator Richard Duprey has also recently joined LROC (although remaining an LP member), according to LROC spokesman Eric Garriss.

LROC has also made inroads into the California GOP, with members several times speaking at meetings of the California Republican League (CRL), a moderate group of several thousand, and received a warm endorsement from its president, Reynold Schweickhardt.

LROC activists in the Bay area also sponsored a pro-INF treaty resolution eventually adopted by the CRL, and several LROC members are seeking GOP nominations to

Congress from the San Francisco/Oakland area, where Republicans are only slightly more influential than Libertarians.

The CRL secured a table for LROC at the February California GOP convention (where tables are in short supply, in contrast to LP conventions) and LROC activists distributed libertarian literature and distributed anti-Pat Robertson materials to delegates. According to Garriss, over 100 GOP attendees signed up for the LROC mailing list, and LROC was prominently mentioned in the *San Jose Mercury News* account of factions at the convention. Garriss said LROC was being welcomed by many Republicans, including some from Young Americans for Freedom (which once purged all libertarians from their ranks) and interest in LROC appeared strongest from Bush and Kemp supporters.

Garriss also said that LROC has been invited to appear before the California Republican Association (CRA), a conservative oriented group, and has also been invited to appear at Young Republican and College Republican groups in California. Garriss reported that LROC was invited to participate in a national Young Republican Leadership Conference in March in Washington, DC and that LROC members in other states were starting to show up at GOP meetings and conventions.

Since LROC has been critical of all the major GOP presidential contenders, and is considerably more explicitly libertarian than any other visible element of the GOP by a large margin, it is an open question as to how influential they can become in Republican politics.

The exact structure of LROC is unclear, although there is a self-appointed Central Committee and a number of regional contacts listed in the LROC publication. Regular memberships are \$20/year, (student memberships \$10/year). For more information contact: **LROC National Office, 444 Castro Street #301, Mountain View, CA 94041. (415) 965-1506.**

One Year, \$4,000

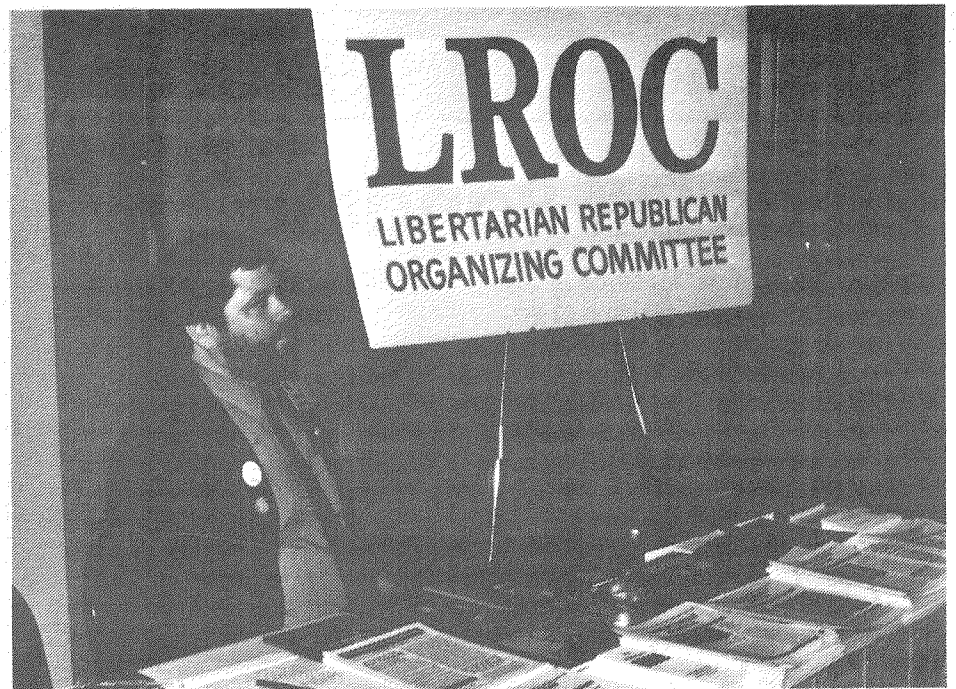
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ment to a federal prison. After Judge Burns returned from lunch, Lewis was called back and requested the bond procedure, which was granted. It was based on the same personal recognizance bond he had used prior to the trial. Thus spared the local county slammer, Lewis retired to his Old Saybrook home on the Connecticut shore where he awaited assignment to the overcrowded federal prison system. This takes two or three weeks. According to knowledgeable sources, Lewis could be out of prison within four to six months, depending on "good time" credit and other considerations.

In a post-sentencing interview with *AL*, Lewis said the sentence was "about what I expected." Asked what the whole trial episode amounted to, Lewis said "the key is that I managed to get these legal issues into the three major Connecticut city newspapers (Hartford, New Haven and Bridgeport), which were at my trial and sentencing, and now people are aware of these arguments."

Asked about compliance with the terms of the probation (filing his back taxes) Lewis said, "I have no choice, I'm going to have to file in order to avoid the prison time."

Lewis also indicated that he "was looking forward to getting back to a normal life and earning a living" when his prison sentence was served. He expressed the view that his future efforts will be concentrated on educational efforts and political efforts via



LROC organizer Eric Garriss works the Young Republican Leadership Conference in March in Washington DC. The response was excellent, he reported.



LROC Central Committee members at the California LP Convention in February: (from left) Eric Garriss, Collin Hunter, Gene Berkman.

the Libertarian Party in the future.

His advice to others is to "realize what the cost is, and to know what your goal is. The outcome was not a surprise to me, but now all the major legal arguments (to challenge the tax system) have been tested." He went on to note that the outcome of his trial "was the luck of the draw, since in two of three prior similar cases I studied the defendant was found not guilty." He said in some tax cases jurors have expressed fear of IRS audit during their deliberations, which may have affected the trial outcome.

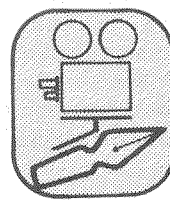
Lewis expressed appreciation for letters to the judge in support of his case, noting some from "South Carolina, Louisiana and from California" and in particular, mentioning LP founder David Nolan.

Asked about whether he intended to raise funds to pay his fines, Lewis said "I'm not going to discourage that, I'm not opposed to anyone contributing, but I didn't plan on having others pay for these fines. It was my decision to fight this case and I am responsible."

While awaiting prison assignment, Lewis made good use of his time. Two days after sentencing, he appeared on a major radio talk show in New York City for several hours. Lewis also picked out books to read during his incarceration, which he said he hadn't had time to study in depth beforehand. Among his choices: Mises' *Human Action*, Rothbard's *The Ethics of Liberty*, and works by economist Fredrick Bastiat.

At press time, his "federal" address wasn't known. Anyone wishing to send contributions for his fines or letters of encouragement can reach him via his home address: **Jim Lewis, 2 Neponset, Old Saybrook, CT 66475.**

Media Watch



Childs Starts Newsletter

New York, NY - Former *Libertarian Review* editor Roy Childs has announced the launching of a new monthly 8-page newsletter,

called *The Libertarian*. Childs, who has been editing the *Laissez Faire Books* catalog for the past several years, said that it will begin sometime this spring and will contain "incisive, hard hitting analyses," devoted to "championing the doctrines of individualism as vibrant ideologies that deserve to have a prominent place on the world stage."

The announcement, which appeared in the March *Laissez Faire Books* catalog, also indicated that **Jeff Rigenbach** and **Joan Kennedy Taylor** will be associated with the newsletter. A one year subscription is \$24, available through *Laissez Faire Books*.

UK To End BBC Radio Monopoly, De-Regulate

London, UK - British Home Secretary **Douglas Hurd** announced in late January that Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government plans to end the BBC's 61-year-old monopoly on national radio broadcasting, and will as also de-regulate local radio services around the nation.

The government will allow the creation of three national commercial radio stations and will curtail restrictions on local broadcasting. The BBC will continue to operate its current national radio service. In Great Britain, TV owners are levied a special tax to support the government-owned broadcasting system.

Libertarian Outlook

Hands Off Panama!

It seems that Central America is the Southeast Asia of the 80s. Which is to say, despite overheated government hype to the contrary, it is of relatively minor strategic significance to the security of the United States. The comings and goings of various brands of nasty dictatorships, juntas, and military regimes in the area is of little real importance to the average American.

Sure, Marxist regimes tend to last longer than their rightwing counterparts, and tend to export trouble to their neighbors to attract Soviet aid and mask internal problems. Real horror and suffering to be sure. But the presence of a squalid Marxist "people's republic" in a region tends to enlighten local third world revolutionaries on the benefits of "scientific socialism".

But while the Reagan administration is mired in an endless quagmire of determining which khaki-garbed thug is going to rule which banana republic, one of "our" hand-picked military rulers bolted from the stable.

It's hard, if not impossible, for a libertarian to work up much sympathy for the blood-stained rule of pock-marked Panamanian military strongman Manuel Noriega. It is equally impossible to work up any sympathy for the U.S. government's "junta of the month" policy effort to replace him.

Noriega succeeded the previous dictator Omar Torrijos who was mysteriously killed in a conveniently timed plane crash, just after he began to show signs of restiveness under U.S. "guidance". Noriega was just fine as long as he was on the CIA short leash. But once the Colombian cocaine mafia outbid Uncle Sam for his loyalty, and his enormous greed began to embarrass the "just say no" Reaganites, suddenly Noriega became unacceptable as Panama's ruler.

Undoubtedly, a ballyhooed "incident" can be manufactured at any time to justify U.S. military intervention. Meanwhile, under the sinister "International Economic Powers Act" the Reagan administration has

mounted a virtual war on the economy of Panama, which unwisely eschewed printing its own paper money in favor of the U.S. dollar.

Free trade rhetoric has been quietly shunted aside. No state of war exists and no discernible threat exists from Panama. Yet, middle class Panamanians and the thriving financial industry of Panama has been all but wiped out by unilateral U.S. economic sanctions. While perhaps this policy is better than sending in the Marines, these ill-advised actions will embitter Panamanians for years and erode what little credibility the U.S. has left as a reliable trading partner.

If the Soviet Union pulled the same stunts as the U.S. government has (eg. recognizing an ousted stooge president as the official ruler of the country, impounding private canal tolls and corporate tax payments, freezing assets, halting trade, moving in military forces for "protection of U.S. citizens") it is certain that Reagan & Co. would be hollering from the highest mountain top that Russian imperialism was on the march. And he would be right.

As the old saying goes, if you lie down with dogs, don't complain about the fleas. If the U.S. plays the game of pick-the-dictator in Central America, we can't really complain if our strongman doesn't stay bought, or is reluctant to leave his lucrative job.

Nowhere in any document did the founding fathers of our own revolution proclaim the right to choose the rulers of other nations, Central America notwithstanding. Economic sanctions and military intervention just plain doesn't work.

The only certainty is that the Noriega tar baby will leave the U.S. government with even dirtier hands than it already has.

Although it may not be politically popular to say — due to trumped up hysteria and relentless government propaganda to the contrary — the only sound U.S. policy is to keep hands off Panama. ■

"LaRouche is a Democrat!"

Regarding the "LaRouche Targets Libertarians" (February 1988 AL), and Greg Kaza's conclusions on reasons for confusion of the Libertarian Party with LaRouche, his point #2 states that both LaRouche and the LP are political parties. I can't let that go by.

To the best of my knowledge Lyndon LaRouche once had his own political party but now runs for office as a Democrat. I personally take every opportunity I can to point out to people that "LaRouche is a Democrat!"

This past Super Tuesday, Democratic voters in Harris County (Houston, TX) even elected a LaRouchie as Democratic Party chair. Divine retribution for the Democrats who wrote the monopoly ballot laws in Texas.

Honey Lanham
Austin, TX

Rochester Reprints

Thank you for publishing the informative article "Paul Charts Strategy, Gains Momentum" (Feb. 1988 AL). I reprinted it, along with a petitioning chart from Richard Winger's *Ballot Access News*, in our local newsletter. Thank you for allowing *American Libertarian* articles to be reprinted as long as we give you credit, along with your address and subscription price, and



send you a copy.

John C. Sproul
Editor
Rochester Libertarian
Rochester, NY

Chester Alan Arthur: "Utter Nonsense"

So far I have stayed out of the debate over Murray Rothbard's "analysis" of the LP convention last year. I had thought the whole thing would blow over just like a number of Murray's more outrageous remarks in the past; his reference to the Prometheus Award Committee as "space cadets" comes to mind. But in February's issue, you ran an article by the pseudonymous "Chester Alan Arthur" that made me realize that some people are taking Rothbard's arguments seriously. This has to be challenged.

Rothbard is claiming that there is a cultural split in the LP, the "luftmenchen" versus the "bourgeoisie", or to use English, the "counter-culture" types versus the "middle class" types. This is utter nonsense. The party and the movement have always reflected a wide cultural diversity. As the years have gone by we have attracted people from a wide variety, not only of class background, but of basic philosophical approach. The LP is no longer just composed of young Randians as it once seemed to be. I believe that this is one of the reasons the party has survived so far. It is one of its main strengths. But I doubt that Rothbard has ever been comfortable with this. After all, he doesn't refer to himself as "the old curmudgeon" for nothing.

But the real problem is that some writers believe that Rothbard really knows what he's talking about. Now, I can't use any hard statistical evidence to back up my case any more than Rothbard can, it just doesn't exist. But I can cite some of the same sort of anecdotes.

The prime movers of the Russell Means campaign were Honey Lanham and Larry Dodge, two persons who can hardly be thought of as "counter-cultural."

The delegation which displayed the most "counter-cultural" flavor were the good folks from Utah. They proudly displayed their outreach publication, *The Desert Reefer*, which they had distributed at a Grateful Dead concert; sold "Utah Marijuana Bonds," payable upon legalization; and daily circulated a convention newsletter called *The Cosmic Wink*, a takeoff on Robert Anton Wilson's more bizarre writings. They all voted for Ron Paul.

In my own delegation from Texas, there were nine persons who are generally

thought to be "upper middle class" professionals or executives and their spouses. Of them, only three supported Ron Paul, including Dr. Paul himself and his campaign treasurer.

It is indeed unfortunate if, as Rothbard claims, there were some people who were uncomfortable with the cultural diversity evident among the delegates in Seattle. It is especially unfortunate if the people who felt alienated are Ron Paul's employees (as it has been rumored), since they are the people running our presidential campaign. However, it seems hard to believe that these people expected a convention of country clubbers, like one finds at Republican

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Feedback



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Letters are accepted provided they carry the author's name and address. A phone number should be included for verification purposes only. Letters

should be kept short and are subject to editing. Letters submitted to other publications will not be considered. Send to: Feedback, *American Libertarian*, 21715 Park Brook Drive, Katy, TX 77450.

"Cringe At The Thought"

I read your article on Ron Paul's campaign strategy (February 1988, AL), and it only served to intensify my already existing strong feelings of distress, to put it mildly, that the Libertarian Party has chosen to align itself with a candidate such as this.

I cringe at the thought that all those who hear his version of libertarianism, may associate those of us who know the true meaning of the word with Ron Paul and his ilk.

The Libertarian Party — may it rest in peace.

Carol M. Giemann
Lewisville, TX

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In Review



by Richard Cooper

Richard Cooper is a Westbury, NY based export executive and his reviews have appeared in numerous national and libertarian publications.

Torture, by Edward Peters, New York & Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 202 pp. (1985). \$9.95 pb/\$24.95 hd.

Broken bodies and shattered minds testify to the resurgence of torture in our blood-stained world. Edward Peters, Professor of Medieval History at the University of Pennsylvania, examines the role of torture in society from ancient times to the present. His lucid writing shows how torture has received approval and condemnation from quite early times. The persistence of torture today confronts those who would understand and defeat this blight upon humanity.

What is torture? Peters notes one key feature isolated by historians and lawyers, "... it is torment inflicted by a public authority for ostensibly public purposes. . . . Torture is thus something that a public authority does or condones." The torturer's hand symbolizes the power of the State.

Remember that the State is just a mask, a convenient fiction which Peters does not look behind to see the people who exercise rule. The mere tools, the torturers, cloak themselves in the mask of anonymity which the State (other people) grants them. Recall the infamous line, "I was just following orders." The State operates on the principle, "I was just giving orders."

The Romans used torture extensively. Their example would influence others. The growth in Imperial authority submerged older customs which protected freemen as a privileged class in Roman law. Dishonor, low social status, and reasons of State all combined to permit torture of the weak. Peters contends that Roman Law's "... doctrine of torture influenced strongly the two revivals of torture that the western world

has experienced — those of the thirteenth and twentieth centuries."

The revival of Roman law in Europe during the thirteenth century brought a revival of judicial torture as a consequence. Ecclesiastical and civil courts alike were impressed with the rigor of Roman law, but faced problems with evidence and proof. They felt a need for acceptance by the accused and his family of their verdicts. "Confession, the queen of proofs, required torture, the queen of tortments." The threat of heresy to both lay and clerical authorities gave impetus to the use of torture as a method to eliminate both heresy and the heretic.

Nonetheless, despite the weight of civil and religious sanction, torture fell before the humane tide of opinion which carried the French, American and liberal revolutions of the nineteenth century to victory. Strangely, this victory over torture proved short-lived. By the beginning of the twentieth century, torture reappeared and took hold with a vengeance during the First World War. What happened and why?

William Blackstone, commenting on the English common law, dismissed torture as "an engine of state, not of law." He exposed the root of torture in our world, the cult of State omnipotence.

Modern warfare and the magnified role of espionage fostered doctrines of national security which excused violence normally deemed reprehensible. The concept of treason was expanded to become an offense against a whole people, class or humanity itself. Peters describes the fatal trend.

"States without revolutions thus developed categories of political crime out of their experience of intensified internal political dissent and intensified external opposition, whether from rival powers or revolutionary movements. Revolutionary states. . . had their own rationales for revising the law and redefining political crime. They became the first states to use torture in a more visible and routine way."

Torture bears a close relationship with views of crime, state and society. Funda-

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Guest Column:

The Paul Campaign and the LP

In the February 1988 *American Libertarian*, implications of the Ron Paul presidential campaign for the Libertarian Party were discussed in various scenarios by *Liberty* magazine political writer Chester Alan Arthur in a guest column, "Attack of the 'Rightwing Crazies'?"

Two distinguished Libertarian Party activists reply to Arthur in this issue.

by Murray N. Rothbard

Murray N. Rothbard is S.J. Hall Distinguished Professor of Economics at the University of Nevada at Las Vegas. He is a well known scholar and author whose writings have appeared in numerous books and publications, including *American Libertarian*. He also currently serves as an official advisor to the Ron Paul and Andre Marrou campaigns.

I must admit I got lost somewhere in the various scenarios that Chester Alan Arthur lays out for the Ron Paul campaign and the LP (February 1988 *AL*). But one thing was clear: what he hopes against hope, but doesn't expect to happen, is "Possibility 5".

In his previous incarnation, President Arthur was a statist and corruptionist, but he was at least a tough-minded New Yorker, born and bred. Methinks old Chet has suffered some softening of the brain from long residence on the West Coast. What the new Chester wants is a new age of peace and harmony; yea verily, and the lion shall lie down with the lamb, and everyone, yea, *bourgeois*

and *luftmenschen*, Paulists and Meansians, shall see each other's true souls beneath the appearance, and see that they are all brothers and sisters under the skin, and they shall all gather at the river and there shall be peace everlasting. And the rivers shall be made of lemonade, and we shall live on the Big Rock Candy mountain.

Needless to say, Chet old boy, any further reaction of us veteran New Yorkers to this twaddle would be unprintable. Come off it Chet, and go back to New York before it's too late!

But let's assume for the sake of argument that Chester's Possibility 4 actually comes about, and there is a newfound love, and mutual learning, and blah blah. So then what? You see, Chet, the problem is that, after all that love stuff, the Libertarian Party has to **commit** itself to certain concrete decisions, to make some tough choices. Such as, in particular, whether to nominate a *bourgeois* cultural conservative or a *Luft-mensch* cultural radical for President. Such as **what** issues — all within the hard-core libertarian spectrum — to **stress** during campaigns, etc. The Libertarian Party, in each case, can only choose one or another, the Paulist or Meansian way, or their equivalents. There is no satisfactory middle ground; it's one or the other. So regardless of how much love and harmony and mutual respect and all the rest of it there is between the various groups, it will **make no difference**, because whichever path the LP takes, the opposition is necessarily going to be disappointed, even bitterly so. In short, the basic conflict is not the perceptions,

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Feedback

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meetings in Texas. But all that is the exception, not the rule that Rothbard makes of it.

The fact has been, and remains, that people from different backgrounds and lifestyles have been able to work together as "a party of people who value liberty," to use "Arthur's" own words. I, for one, hope that will always be the case.

I also hope that we will be spared subsequent predictions of "splits" and "purges" within the LP. We have gained and lost people over the years, but we have never had a rift which threatened our existence as an organization. As long as we are diverse and tolerant, we never will have one.

Greg Clark
Austin, TX

"Mind-Numbing Bureaucracy of Party Hacks"

In his "Attack of the 'Rightwing Crazies'" (Feb. 1988, *AL*), Chester Alan Arthur gives us an interesting and occasionally accurate analysis of the Seattle convention. But his discussion of the possible impact of the Ron Paul campaign on the Libertarian Party is "off the wall" and irrelevant.

The libertarian who has chosen the Ed Meese of the 19th century for his pen name gives us five possibilities, ranging from (1) the campaign helps Ron and maybe the LP, to (5) the campaign helps neither Ron Paul

nor the LP.

Missing is Ron Paul's commitment. Ron has closed his medical practice to campaign full-time. The campaign has **not** helped his business; if anything, it hurt it, as he knew would be the case when he decided to seek the nomination.

Why then does he run? Ron is horrified by big government. He is furious at the suppression of personal freedom. He hates the IRS. And he loathes the war mongering in Washington. He believes that time is running out and that we must get the message of liberty out to all Americans.

Mr. Arthur's view of the LP focuses on how some of its functionaries, *luftmenschen* and otherwise, might react to having their little world changed by the new people and new fervor the Ron Paul campaign is bringing to the LP.

A working person once inadvertently went to an LP meeting and it was 40 minutes before he realized it wasn't his union local. All too often, the subject of individual liberty is lost in the ego-dominated and mind-numbing bureaucracy of party hacks.

Mr. Arthur would have served us — and our party — better by considering the cause of liberty, and the tremendous boost the Ron Paul campaign is already giving to that cause.

Burton S. Blumert
National Chairman
Ron Paul Libertarian For President
Burlingame, CA ■

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Campaign

From page 5

mindsets or feelings of the two camps; the basic conflict is objection, rooted in the necessity for making one or the other choice for the party's future. The conflict, as historians used to say about the Civil War, is "irrepressible."

There is, of course, a third path the party could take, but that too would alienate a lot of members. That is to give up growth and outreach altogether, and sink back into being a tiny sect with little influence and fewer votes. In other words, remain as a cozy social club forever. Such a course might bring superficially less conflict and more harmony, but to many of us it might look like the peace of the grave.

Much of Chester's discussion misses the point. Presidential campaigns, in the LP and in other parties, have **always** been parallel structures to the LP itself. No campaign can run any other way. Of one thing I can assure you: Ron Paul and the Paulists are here to stay. They are not one-year wonders in the Libertarian Party; they are permanent members of the Libertarian Party and, as in the case of all other groups in the party, they would like to see their own views of its future prevail.

Chester also raises the specter of a Means nomination for President in 1991. My god, talk about your permanent campaigns! It is, of course, idiotically early to start wrangling about who we should nominate in 1991. Can't we **at least** wait until the 1988 campaign is over? But as long as Chester wants to play that game, I would simply bring up the point that we shouldn't overlook Ron Paul for the 1992 campaign.

On one thing Chester Arthur should definitely be set straight. No one can be "purged" from the Libertarian Party. The LP is not a cadre organization like the LaRouchies or the New Alliance Party. Anyone who pays the dues and signs the non-initiation of force pledge can be a member. There is no way for anyone to be purged. Anyone who leaves the party leaves voluntarily.

A final note: next time we meet, Chester, I'd like to talk to you about the "lone nut", Charles Guiteau. You know, the one who assassinated President Garfield, your rival and head of the anti-corruption, quasi-laissez-faire wing of the Republican Party, the assassination that made you President. Frankly, I never really bought that lone nut theory. . . . ■

Torture

From page 5

mentally, how we view human beings affects our perspective on torture. Peters terms this perspective an anthropology — an idea of what human beings are and how they are to be treated in order to create the society that each ideology requires. . . . The new anthropology subordinates individual human beings to a transcendent good."

Wherever the State or an idea has been raised supreme, on all continents and with all manner of intentions, torture served to be the State in blood. Torture breaks human bodies and twists the personalities of both the torturer and the tortured. Torture menaces humanity as a problem of our past, our present, and our future. Our understanding of its historical role may well affect our ability to give torture no future. Rational and passionate examinations of problems, such as Edward Peter's **Torture** engendered an informed struggle for human dignity and justice. ■

Guest Column:

Factions, Fictions & Fantasies

by David F. Nolan

David Nolan was the prime mover behind the formation of the Libertarian Party in 1971. He holds a degree in political science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and his career has included work in publishing, advertising and marketing. Aside from his role in founding the LP, Mr. Nolan is best known as the originator of the "Nolan Chart," a two-dimensional map that shows how different political systems relate to one another.

Sometimes I wonder if I'm living in the same world as some of my fellow libertarians. . . or am I off in some parallel universe where there's another Libertarian Party, with different events and participants?

For example, both Murray Rothbard and Chester Alan Arthur seem to live in a universe where the LP is bitterly divided and wracked by titanic struggles between hostile factions. By contrast, in the LP I'm familiar with, the great majority of people seem to be getting along with each other quite well.

I've been to every national LP convention, and while there were certainly differences of opinion at the '87 convention in Seattle, I'd say there was less real factionalism and hostility than at the '75, '79 and '83 presidential nominating conventions.

Murray is entirely correct in holding that libertarians (like other folks) do in fact form alliances with one another to achieve various ends. And it's important for us to bear this in mind when analyzing events. But such alliances vary widely in motives, methods, and degree of internal discipline. . . and to obscure these distinctions by simply labeling them all "factions" is not helpful.

Like the esteemed Dr. Rothbard, I, too, remember the bad old days of the Crane Machine, when factionalism ruled with vengeance. The Craniacs were hell-bent to control the party (and the entire movement), and they set out to systematically purge everyone who wouldn't swear fealty to Ed Crane. If you weren't a Craniac, you were dirt, in their worldview.

The Craniacs always had a slate, an agenda, and a list of "approved" speakers. You were either with them or against them; there was no middle ground.

Fortunately, the Craniacs were beaten, and the party survived. And today, there are no factions even closely resembling the Crane Machine of yore. Most of the delegates in Seattle made their choices in

the various contests on a case-by-case basis; the only obvious instance of factional politics that I saw was the Turneyite attempt to defeat Dave Walter for Vice Chair. . . which failed. Pretty mild stuff!

Which brings me to the broader issue of cultural "factions" — or, more accurately, divisions — within the LP.

In the last year or so, there's been an unfortunate tendency to depict the movement as made up of two somewhat incompatible groups of people: the "real people" and the "luftmenschen" (air people). A few years earlier, someone (Emil Franzini?) half-jokingly said that there were three identifiable groups in the LP: hippies, preppies, and rednecks.

Prejudicial language aside, it strikes me that each of these summaries captures part of the picture, but that both fall short of telling the whole story.

supporters in the other three groups. Most of the Means supporters were not strongly anti-Paul; they simply thought Russell would be a better candidate, especially in terms of appealing to people like themselves.

The Intellectuals, Techies, and "Suits & Ties" gave about 3/4 of their votes to Ron Paul and 1/4 to Jim Lewis. Virtually all the Lewis supporters I spoke with said they'd be happy enough with Ron as the nominee. Quite a few indicated that if Ron didn't get the nomination on the first ballot, they'd vote for him on the second if he was close, but they wanted to see how strong Ron's support really was. Some said they simply wanted to express their thanks and good wishes to Jim Lewis.

Very few delegates were seriously dismayed by Ron Paul's nomination, only a handful walked out of the convention, and as far as I know, nobody is trying to purge anyone. On the contrary, both Ron Paul and Andre Marrou seem to be diligently seeking to bring "new blood" into the movement and the party.

Libertarian Party Constituencies

INTELLECTUALS (10%)

Common occupations: teaching, writing. Heavily concentrated in academia and publishing. Key Issues: Intellectual freedom (opposition to censorship in any form); education; foreign policy.

"TECHIES" (35%)

Heavily concentrated in computer-related occupations. Futurist orientation; enjoy techno-toys and science fiction. Key Issues: Free flow of information and technology; opposition to taxes on personal productivity; strong anti-draft sentiment.

"SUITS & TIES" (25%)

Entrepreneurs, managers, professionals. Heavily concentrated in money-oriented fields (real estate, sales, investments) and in professions like law and accounting. Key issues: Free trade; deregulation; taxes. Gaining fast: education.

COUNTER-CULTURE (20%)

Scattered occupations; often self-employed, or involved in very small businesses. High percentage of gays, lesbians, occasional marijuana users. Strongly anti-militarist. Key issues: Civil liberties; victimless crime laws; the draft; AIDS.

"REDNECKS" (10%)

Overwhelmingly male. Mostly in blue-collar occupations. Action-oriented; not highly ideological; tend to "come and go" in the party. Key issues: Opposition to gun control, helmet laws, 55-mph speed limit (fading issue).

By my analysis, there are **five** distinct subgroupings in the LP (see chart). The people in each group are drawn to the libertarian philosophy for different reasons, but they have been able to work together within the LP fairly harmoniously because they share many of the same basic values.

At the convention in Seattle, Russell Means had the support of virtually all the Counter-Culture types, many (or even most) of the few "Rednecks," and a sprinkling of

Now, as Mr. Arthur points out, most of the people brought in by a Paul campaign will tend to be drawn more from the ranks of Middle America than from the counter-culture. And the possibility therefore exists that the LP will become more "right-wing" in its image and its agenda. But I think the scenarios Mr. Arthur offers as possibilities overstate the potential for conflict.

Here's my projection:

Ron Paul and Andre Marrou make close to 1,000 campaign appearances between them, get generally good local media coverage, and somewhat more national coverage than Ed Clark got in 1980. The campaign raises over \$2 million (without a fat-cat on the ticket!) and pulls two to three times the vote Ed Clark got in 1980.

Party membership approximately doubles. Because the campaign has stressed anti-tax and anti-draft themes, along with the hard-money issue, new members tend to be strongest on those points. Issues emphasized by Congressional candidates also play a significant role, however.

Inevitably, **some** "right-wing crazies" will climb aboard. They may even take over some local party organizations, or even a state party or two. A few Counter-Culture members will quit; a handful may even be purged somewhere. But overall, there is not likely to be any great shift in the party's

"Oops — wrong room."



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Factions

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orientation.

Except for his stand on abortion, Ron Paul is well within the mainstream of the libertarian movement. The notion that the people he will attract will be mainly "crazies" is simply an unsupported assertion. Undoubtedly, we will have growing pains this year and in the years to come. But dire predictions of "factionalism and exhaustion" seem unwarranted. ■

Steiger Convicted

by Matt Kesler

Matt Kesler is a Tempe, AZ based entrepreneur and freelance writer. His stories of the Steiger-Mecham problems first appeared in the November 1987 American Libertarian.

Phoenix, AZ - Former Congressman and 1982 Arizona Libertarian Party gubernatorial candidate Sam Steiger was convicted of theft by extortion in Phoenix on April 9. Sentencing was set for May 6 by Maricopa County Superior Court Judge Ronald Reinstein.

Steiger's conviction followed by just four days the conviction of his former boss, Republican Governor Evan Mecham by the state Senate sitting as a Court of Impeachment. Steiger had been appointed Special Assistant by Mecham when he took office in January 1987, and had resigned following his November 1987 indictment. The two impeachment charges were unrelated to the Steiger case, and resulted in Mecham's removal from office.

Steiger, 59, faces a sentence ranging from

probation to five years in prison. His conviction followed a charge that he had threatened Ronald Johnson, a member of the state Board of Pardons and Paroles, with loss of his other job as Justice of the Peace if he failed to support the board's Executive Director, Mecham appointee Patricia Costello.

Johnson testified that he had informed Arizona Attorney General Bob Corbin of the threat, and that Corbin had advised him to record a subsequent conversation with Steiger for use as evidence. A recording of the October 2 conversation was played in court. Some jurors stated that it was the key to Steiger's conviction.

The conversation took place after Johnson called Steiger at his home, and depicted Johnson asking Steiger why he had been ordered to quit his Justice of the Peace job. Steiger responded that his letter ordering Johnson to resign was related to Johnson's violation of state statute during his visit to a Phoenix-area prison and to his performance on the Board. The prosecution contended that Steiger had unfairly deprived Johnson of his job, and implied that the firing of Johnson, who is black, was racially and politically motivated.

Steiger's defense consisted entirely of his own testimony, since he was not allowed to call the other witnesses on his witness list. Judge Reinstein ruled that testimony relating to the condition of the Board of Pardons and Paroles or to Johnson's performance on the board was not relevant. Steiger testified to his record of public service, including his receipt of a Purple Heart and a Silver Star, his career in the state legislature, and his five terms in the U.S. Congress. Steiger and his attorney, Tom Karas, stated that his indictment was the result of a political vendetta carried on by Attorney General Corbin, who objected to Steiger's attempts to reduce the budget of the Attorney General's office.

Neither Steiger nor Karas commented on

whether the case would be appealed. When asked about his reaction to the conviction, Steiger's only comment was, "I think it's fair to say I'm not exactly pleased."

Steiger's trial lasted only four days, and deliberations took less than four hours. According to jurors, the deliberations centered around the question of the applicability of the theft by extortion statute to the firing of a public official.

Steiger is supported by former state Superintendent of Public Instruction W.P. Shofstall, who commented, "I guess now

it's illegal to fire anybody in this state." Shofstall is chair of the Steiger Defense Fund (Box 40108, Phoenix AZ 85067). Mecham also voiced his support for Steiger, saying "Sam did no harm to anybody, and I'm sorry to hear it. It saddens me personally."

Sam Steiger was nominated for Governor by the Libertarian Party in 1982. He was the acknowledged winner in a series of televised debates, and won five percent of the votes cast in the three-way race. ■

Norma Jean on 60 Minutes



CBS "Sixty Minutes" correspondent Ed Bradley interviewed Norma Jean Almodovar at length in the late February broadcast. Although the program did not mention the word "libertarian" or her 1984 LP candidacy, it did present a sympathetic account of her persecution by the Los Angeles District Attorney's office.

Libertarian Chic?

by Craig Haynie

Craig Haynie is editor of HCLP News, published by the Harris County (Houston) Libertarian Party, where this article first appeared. It is reprinted with permission.

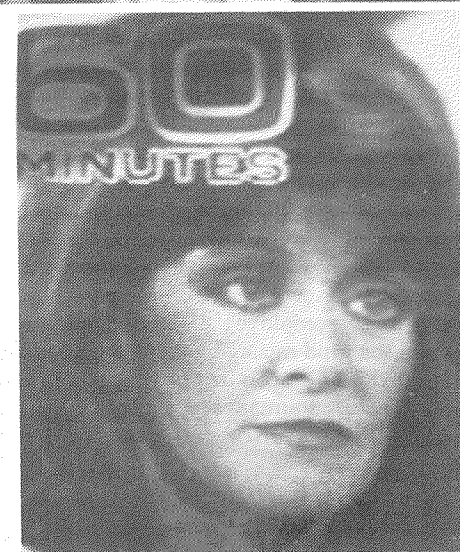
Houston, TX - I saw Timothy Leary in February give a talk at Rockefellers, a local jazz-rock club. I really don't know why I went. I knew he had been a professor at Harvard, who in 1963 gave up his career to pursue an interest in hallucinogens.

He subsequently became a leader in the anti-cultural revolution of the 1960's.

He was one of the few people over 30 who the younger generation trusted. Songs were written about him; people in positions of authority despised him. I guess I went to hear him talk just to see what he was all about.

Speaking to a sold-out crowd, he discussed philosophy, computers, the new age, politics and the future. His talk was interesting and the audience seemed to enjoy him.

He talked about reason and objectivity: how we have to use reason in our



philosophy. Sound familiar?

He did a lot of government-bashing and the crowd became interested in his political philosophy.

"Who are you supporting for President?" — No answer.

"Do you support Paul Simon?" — No answer.

He went on talking for a few minutes before someone asked, "Are you a Democrat?" "No, I'm not a Democrat," Timothy Leary retorted. He then began bashing the Democrats for several minutes.

Finally, I had to ask, "Are you a Libertarian?" — "Yes, I'm a Libertarian," Leary responded, and the crowd burst into applause.

When he concluded his talk, people began to chant, "Timothy Leary for President! Timothy Leary for President!"

Perhaps it's now *chic* to be libertarian. ■

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Marrou Visits Washington State My Dinner With Andre

by American Libertarian special correspondent

Sequim, WA - Approximately 50 people gathered in this small Olympic Peninsula town (pop 3,500) on March 16 to listen to LP Vice Presidential nominee Andre Marrou's libertarian message at a meeting of the Puget Sound Supper Club. About 35 of those people were new faces to the libertarian movement, the result of an impressive outreach effort by activist David Klein, who recently moved to Sequim from Maryland.

Marrou's after-dinner talk was informal, sincere and amusing. His presentation was peppered with Marrou's usual confusion about factual matters, (e.g. Nixon put on wage and price controls in 1971, not 1972; it was a Democratic President who took silver out of money, not a Republican in 1971) and at least one ethnic comment that might be considered tasteless ("I've been to Poland and I can tell you that Polacks do not like communism.")

Marrou gave some peculiar answers to questions from the audience: he would handle Soviet aggression, for example, by cutting off aid and computer technology to the Soviets; he ignored the thrust of a question about child labor, responding instead with a personal anecdote and a historical misstatement (saying the question referred to the time "just before the turn of the century, during the Industrial Revolution.") In response to a "why-waste-your-vote" question, Marrou replied that it was always possible that he might win, and that voting for the Paul-Marrou ticket was a good way to build a third party. He did not say why the questioner should want to help build a third party.

He was received politely by the non-libertarians in attendance, though some plainly were not happy with some of his unsubstantial responses and what they perceived as the vaguely subversive flavor of his message. When supper club chair Karen Allard announced that fund-raising was about to begin and suggested that some guests might want to leave, it appeared that everyone except the LP activists left. A restaurant employee distracted attention from the fund raising by turning Christmas tree lights on and off behind the podium and starting up a fountain that sprayed water all over the "Andre Marrou for Vice

President" sign. Even so, the fund-raising that followed raised \$570, which was split between the LP and the Marrou campaign.

Marrou deflected a question from an LP activist during the fundraising about his relationship with the Paul campaign. When asked, "Are you getting names of interested people from the Paul campaign?" Marrou responded that he had difficulty getting names even from the National LP office, which had refused any cooperation until Marrou had learned from a California activist that the National Committee had some years ago passed a resolution that required them to share its mailing list with the nominees. He also said that he could get no cooperation at all from some state parties, specifically mentioning the Maryland LP.

In an interview, Marrou said that the Ron Paul campaign had decided as a matter of policy to run an independent campaign. As a consequence, Marrou's Vice Presidential

effort is financed and managed entirely independently of the Paul effort.

Marrou said that to date he has raised \$40,000 on behalf of his campaign and plans to raise a total of \$250,000 to \$300,000. The funds will be used to cover his travel expenses and to maintain his modest office. He said that the separate campaigns had one advantage: there are people who will contribute to his effort but not to the Paul campaign and others who would give to Paul but not to him.

Marrou also said that his campaign is not receiving funds from the Freedom Is For Everyone (FIFE) caucus, set up by supporters of Russell Means.

Marrou reported that his recent tour of Alaska with Russell Means had visited five cities in six days in an attempt to "build bridges" to native people (Eskimos, Inuit and Indian). Marrou and Means campaigned in Juneau, Fairbanks, the Kenai Penin-

sula, Homer and Anchorage.

The most successful event in Alaska was at a student group in Fairbanks, which began with about 25 people in attendance and finished with about 130 people an hour and a half later. "The students were very receptive," Marrou said.

Marrou confirmed that Means traveled in first class while touring Alaska, in what some critics (especially from within the Paul camp) consider an extravagant use of campaign funds.

Marrou's visit to Sequim was part of a four-day swing through Washington State, which included interviews with several newspapers, addresses at two high schools and several other campaign and fundraising events. According to Karen Allard, who managed the campaign swing, a total of \$2,193 was raised on behalf of the Marrou campaign and the Washington State LP. ■

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