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Judgment Night:

Branden on Rand, "Suppressed" Chapter

by James A. Brown

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Washington, D.C. - **Judgment Day** is, according to its author, "Conspicuously lacking in what people call judgments." Be that as it may (and many readers will disagree), this judgment was but one of many handed down by Nathaniel Branden at his June 27 appearance in Washington sponsored by the Cato Institute. Both his lecture (which was spiced with details, cut by **Judgment Day's** publisher, of a final series of contacts with Ayn Rand), and informal remarks during the booksigning and reception which followed, fairly bristled with dicta:

Ayn Rand: Rand, in Branden's view, "Took a lot of heat for her views at a very early age and it did something to her." "Many of (the) most difficult traits" Rand developed over 50 years are characteristic of intellectual pioneers, who commonly become more demanding and defensive with time. Arguably, she could not have achieved what she did had she been what psychologists call "well balanced" and "nice." Readers need to take what Rand has to offer, appreciate what is good, and "not kid ourselves about ... her darker areas." On a lighter note, Branden amused the audience with an account of Rand's hostility to the theory of evolution. Despite her atheism and respect for science and reason, he asserted, Rand was "bothered" by the notion that man descended from the apes "like a religious fundamentalist would have been."

Objectivism: The absence of a concept of redemption is, in Branden's view, a particularly significant barrier to the growth of an Objectivist movement. ("Whatever their faults," he noted, "orthodox religions understand this need quite well.") Rand's novels, Branden argues, present characters who are stark representatives of either unadulterated good or unalloyed evil, and provide no examples of moral improvement or redemption. Converts to Objectivism, thus, have no role

models for making the transition to Objectivist morality from their previous moral codes, and no means except (often crippling) guilt for dealing with their past (and subsequent) violations of the Objectivist moral code.

"There is little to choose between Catholic guilt, Jewish guilt, and Objectivist guilt," Branden quipped, "except that the latter may be stronger." This frequently results in departures from the movement - and psychological distress for those who remain. "An over-simplified view of reason to the exclusion of feelings," and an over-emphasis on the individual's "range of volition" to the point of a false sense of omnipotence are other psychologically damaging by-products of Objectivism which must be addressed, he stated.

To grow as a philosophy, Branden continued, there is a corresponding need to fill "gaps" in the Objectivist theory of ethics. In particular, if "man's life is the standard of value," kindness is important: not in the sense of altruism (as Rand used the term), but of "personal human kindness" - "something," he asserted, "Rand never said anything about in 18 years."

Objectivists: Branden described philosopher David Kelley (author of **The Evidence of the Senses**) as the "Best mind I know that was in the orthodox [Objectivist] movement - until a few minutes ago." Since the "orthodox" movement is today dominated by conformist mediocrities, it therefore did not surprise him to learn of Kelley's recent excommunication from the Objectivist movement (by Leonard Peikoff and Peter Schwartz in the *Intellectual Activist*) for "giving his sanction" to libertarians by participating in a debate sponsored by Laissez Faire Books. He noted that Peikoff's stance was somewhat hypocritical, given Peikoff's own active collaboration with Laissez Faire Books in promoting his book, **The Ominous Parallels**. (Branden stated that he had a copy of a letter Peikoff had written Andrea Rich of Laissez Faire Books profusely thanking her for the firm's assistance). Peikoff's current course, Branden subsequently remarked during the reception, suggests that only "martyrdom" for the cause of Objectivism will satisfy him.

Libertarians: Branden stated that he was proud that many prominent libertarians attended courses of the Nathaniel Branden Institute during the 1960's - and that NBI is frequently referred to as "the first libertarian think tank." During the book signing, however, Branden made clear that his benevolent view of libertarianism did not extend to the Libertarian Party. In particular, Branden faulted the Party and its members for con-



Nathaniel Branden attracted a large and enthusiastic crowd at the Cato Institute sponsored presentation. Two decades after the Rand-Branden split, emotions still run high over the event and the pluses and minuses of the Objectivist movement, which Branden and his then wife Barbara founded. Photo by James Brown.

centrating on "fringe" issues and "preaching to the converted" rather than carrying the battle to hostile venues. Branden contrasted the Libertarian Party's alleged timidity with what he asserted had been his own zest for speaking and debating at liberal campuses in the 1960's.

It Usually Begins With Ayn Rand: Regarding other accounts of his "years with Ayn Rand," Branden expressed particular hostility toward Jerome Tuccille's book, **It Usually**

Begins With Ayn Rand (New York: Stein and Day, 1971). The work, Branden averred, does not simply describe events involving him incorrectly, but invents events which he personally knows did not occur.

A review of the book suggests that Branden's quarrel is only incidentally with Tuccille, and more fundamentally with Murray Rothbard (who has enjoyed a blood feud with Branden spanning three decades). All three

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Murphy Escapes Ouster

Washington, DC - In an extremely close vote on a mail ballot which concluded August 14, controversial Libertarian National Committee member Robert Murphy narrowly escaped an unprecedented attempt to suspend him from that body in response to his efforts to turn in the Ron Paul presidential campaign and the LP's own Ballot Access Committee (BAC) to the Federal Election Commission (see "Murphy Squeals to FEC," July 1989 AL).

One-Vote Margin

The NatCom mail ballot was sponsored by Matt Monroe after Murphy had earlier rebuffed an attempt by the LP's Executive Committee to get him to resign, in the wake of his controversial role as a government informant for the FEC. However, the LP by-laws require that a motion to suspend a member from the NatCom - in effect kicking him out - requires a two-thirds approval vote from the entire NatCom, a much higher threshold than is normally required for NatCom action. Longtime LP observers cannot recall any previous effort to unseat an LNC member, nor any previous vote requiring an absolute two-

thirds approval.

According to party secretary Dean Ahmad, the final tally was 19 in favor of the suspension resolution, 6 opposed, and 4 not voting. Because of the two-thirds requirement, the "not voting" NatCom members had the same practical effect as those voting "no."

Even the final announcement of results was marred by controversy, since LP secretary Ahmad had told voting NatCom members and others throughout the 30 day voting period (and even after the voting deadline had passed) that 19 "yes" votes were needed for approval. He formally announced on August 15 that Murphy had indeed been suspended.

However, following discussions with Murphy supporters after the vote deadline, Ahmad told AL that he belatedly realized that he had "miscounted the total number of NatCom members, that there were 29 instead of 28." He may have been confused about the total since prior to the April Washington, DC LNC meeting, when the mid-Atlantic region filled a seat which had been previously left

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Branden

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incidents in the book which specifically involve Branden also involve Rothbard; and an "author's note" states that in recounting these and certain other incidents, Tuccille relied "... on information supplied to me by those with firsthand knowledge."

For the record, the book portrays Branden as: (1) upbraiding Rothbard for missing an evening with Rand ("You were tired?" Branden is said to have asked in an imitation Ayn Rand accent. "You were too tired to discuss the philosophical development of muzzle mysticism in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries? ... I see. I suppose I will just have to tell Ayn that Murray Rossbott was too tired to attend her Tuesday salon. Is that what you want me to do?" To which Rothbard reportedly replied: "Well I suppose so. I mean, it's the truth."); (2) joining Ayn Rand in insisting that Rothbard "leave his wife [a practicing Christian] and take a more rational mate." Tuccille observes that "There were any number of Dagny Taggart types, complete with capes, cigarette holders, and dollar-sign brooches, whom he might have considered."; and (3) abusing a hapless young guest at Rand's apartment who, asked to identify the most influential person in his life, named not Ayn Rand but a childhood friend. "Branden," the book reports, "leaped to his feet [shouting] 'Who in bloody hell is Rocco Fantozzi?'" Tuccille writes that the latter incident (coupled with mounting irritation at hearing Branden "[pronounce] his name ... 'Rossblott' all the time" precipitated Rothbard's (voluntary) departure from Rand's circle. (Tuccille, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 25-33.) Branden, for his part, claims to have expelled Rothbard from the circle for his alleged

"refusal to acknowledge Ayn as his source for some of the ideas ... in a paper he was publishing." (*Judgment Day*, p. 260.)

Rothbard presents a detailed account of his version of these incidents in the September 1989 issue of *Liberty* magazine.

Himself: Branden quoted his wife Devers as observing that "since age 18, you have been living non-stop theater." Asked whether life lived as drama could be described as "noble - and dangerously addictive," Branden replied that he "didn't know whether it is noble, but it is addictive." Branden also opined that he and Barbara "should never have gotten married," a judgment in which Barbara Branden will doubtless have even more reason to concur after reading *Judgment Day*, which contains much irrelevant information about her that, as Ayn Rand is said to have observed in a similar context (see below) "a gentleman would have carried to his grave."

"Suppressed" Final Chapter

At the onset of his lecture, Branden revealed that details of a failed attempt by his third wife, Devers, to achieve a "different ending" for his relationship with Ayn Rand had been cut from *Judgment Day* by its publisher. This material was to have constituted "Part IV" of the book. The three parts of the published version, subtitled "My Life With Ayn Rand," are organized around, consecutively, his first wife Barbara Branden, Ayn Rand, and his second wife Patrecia. His prepared remarks consisted largely of readings from this manuscript, which he described as "fully as amazing as anything in [*Judgment Day*]."

According to Branden's account, Devers first contacted Rand (without his prior knowledge) during a visit to New York in the late 1970's. Gaining entrance to the building by falsely claiming an appointment to interview

Rand, Devers confronted Rand outside the door to her apartment as she returned from running errands. After ascertaining her identity, Rand "right away began denouncing the doorman and threatening to get him fired." Rand ultimately relented (after some maneuvers by Devers which included a literal "foot in the door") and agreed to talk with her. A lengthy conversation thereupon ensued which "included some warm moments, and some tense ones as well," at the conclusion of which Rand was assertedly "reluctant to see her go."

In Branden's account, the "tense moments" seemed most prominent. Devers announced her desire to "achieve a different ending" for Rand's relationship with her husband, while "knowing that it would not be possible for them to ever again be friends." Devers thereupon triggered an explosion by stating that her husband had told her that he and Rand had been lovers. Rand heatedly denied that she had loved Branden (let alone been his lover), and permitted Devers to remain only on the condition that she not mention Branden's name again.

According to Branden, Rand implicitly acknowledged that a sexual relationship had existed by later telling Devers that "a gentleman would have carried [the information] to his grave." Another tense moment occurred when Devers helped herself, unbidden, to the contents of Rand's refrigerator. When Devers stated that she had read Rand's novels but was "not expert in her philosophy," Rand is said to have quickly rejoined "How could you be with [Branden] as your teacher?" One "warm" moment, in which Rand is said to have expressed genuine sympathy upon learning that a dog Branden had owned had died, is quickly followed in Branden's account by Devers' "astonished" ob-

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Means to Run in Arizona

Chinle, AZ - Noted Indian activist and 1987 LP presidential nomination contender Russell Means has announced plans to run for Arizona state house, according to a fundraising letter sent by Montana LP activist and longtime Means supporter Larry Dodge in mid-July.

The letter, designed to raise money to retire the "less than \$20,000" leftover Means presidential campaign debt, said Russell Means wants to "clear the books" from his previous effort to focus attention on his proposed 1990 state house race. Dodge explained in the letter that Means would probably have to run as an independent, given the status of the Arizona LP there, as well as the fact that the largely Navajo state house district traditionally votes straight Democratic. But Dodge notes that 1988 LP vote totals went up considerably in Indian areas of South Dakota and Arizona where Russell has lived, and that Means also hopes to privately fund a road project on the Navajo reservation in northeastern Arizona to demonstrate libertarian principles in action.

Means has suggested at various appearances at state and local LP gatherings that he will become more involved in local political activity on his reservation, which will help lay the groundwork for his campaign.

The fundraiser itself was noteworthy as well for a signed statement of support from the man who beat out Means for the 1987 LP presidential nomination, Ron Paul, and from the Paul campaign finance chair Matt Monroe, who helped underwrite the cost of the fundraising mailing.

Those interested in the forthcoming Means race, or who want to assist in the campaign debt relief effort, are asked to contact: **Russell Means for President, Honey Lanham Treasurer, 4327 Sexton Lane, Dallas, TX 75229** (please indicate on checks "for debt.") ■

Murphy

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vacant by a "none of the above" selection, the LP's governing body only had 28 voting members. Two days after the voting deadline, Ahmad told stunned NatCom members that he had earlier miscalculated the two-thirds requirement and that 20 affirmative votes were required, not 19. Thus, he explained, Murphy was not suspended by the mail ballot. While two-thirds of 29 is 19.333, according to Ahmad **Robert's Rules of Order** parliamentary law requires*that fractional voting totals be rounded up to the next whole vote.

Roll Call

There was considerable interest in the outcome of the vote since passions have been running high once LP members learned of Murphy's efforts to turn in the LP and its past presidential candidate to the FEC in early June. Murphy's original complaint letter was rejected by the FEC because of improper notarization, but Murphy has continued to threaten to re-submit the complaint.

Most of those opposed to Murphy's continued presence on the NatCom saw the matter as of whether it was appropriate to have an admitted government agent or informant serve on the Libertarian Party's governing board. Many of those opposed to Murphy's actions regarded it as an anti-"stool pigeon" vote. Some who supported Murphy cited technical reasons involving the severity of the proposed sanction or the appropriateness of using a mail ballot to explain their votes. All but one of the pro-Murphy or "not voting" NatCom members (the exception being the idiosyncratic Joe Dehn) are considered to be allied with the Jim Turney faction of the NatCom, as is Murphy himself.

The NatCom members voting "yes" to suspend Murphy were: Dean Ahmad,

Sharon Ayres, David Bergland, Burt Blumert, Bobby Emory, Don Ernsberger, John Famularo, Steve Givot, Mike Hall, Bill Hall, Mark Hinkle, Honey Lanham, Matt Monroe, Tonie Nathan, Lew Rockwell Jr., Murray Rothbard, Julie Shepperd, David Walter and Gerry Walsh.

Those voting "no" to suspend Murphy were: Steve Dasbach, Joe Dehn, David Hudson, Vickie Kirkland, Paul Kunberger and Willie Marshall.

Those who failed to cast a vote (having the same effect as a "no" vote) were: Steve Fielder, Sharon Freeman, Robert Murphy and Jim Turney.

Regional NatCom representatives Ted Brown of California and Gary Johnson of Texas also both failed to cast votes (in Brown's case, he first voted "yes" and later withdrew it) but alternate NatCom representatives Murray Rothbard (for Brown) and Honey Lanham (for Johnson) voted in their place in the final days before the deadline.

Murphy Letter

The last minute after-the-deadline change in the voting threshold for suspension dismayed Murphy opponents, who thought they had succeeded in ousting Murphy by a narrow margin. Although most of the NatCom cast their votes well before the deadline, there was a flurry of last minute lobbying by both sides as the deadline approached.

Ironically, the suspension earlier appeared to be falling half a dozen votes short of two-thirds a week before the deadline, until Murphy issued a four-and-a-half page letter to the Executive Committee (and distributed it to the entire NatCom) responding to the original ExComm resolution which condemned Murphy's action and urged him to voluntarily resign.

The letter from Murphy began by insulting the ExComm for their resolution, accusing them of being wimpy and for "failing to take the high moral ground." Murphy brazenly

chided the ExComm for merely suggesting that he resign, instead of calling for his immediate suspension. His letter then went through a point-by-point rebuttal including another long defense of the Federal Election Commission as a "legitimate and libertarian" agency "which is not a threat to human liberty." He repeated his earlier charges of wrong-doing and cover up by Ron Paul and his supporters on the NatCom, and in another calculated insult to the Executive Committee, mimicked the original ExComm resolution (which ended by saying "the only honorable course for you to take is to resign") by proclaiming, "the only honorable course for me to take is to run for national chair of the Libertarian Party."

The effect of Murphy's letter was to antagonize a number of influential NatCom members and galvanize them into a last ditch lobbying effort which nearly succeeded in suspending Murphy. Several previously uncommitted votes were changed or persuaded to vote and two votes were changed completely, though in opposite directions.

Boycott Call

The Murphy suspension effort was mainly symbolic, since there is only one remaining meeting of the current NatCom; that to be held August 30, at 2:00 pm Wednesday at the Wyndham Franklin Hotel in Philadelphia, the site of the LP convention. In the wake of the suspension vote defeat, this item was also added to the meeting agenda.

A call has also been made for a boycott of the NatCom meeting by several NatCom members. Burt Blumert, Lew Rockwell, Matt Monroe and NatCom alternate Murray Rothbard sent LP secretary Ahmad a telegram indicating that they will not attend the NatCom meeting. "We refuse to participate in a libertarian body which countenances a stool pigeon," the telegram read, "and we are therefore boycotting the meeting, and we urge others to do so." ■

BAC Audit #2

Washington, DC - While most view the entire Murphy/FEC flap as an extension of internal LP political warfare, the ostensible reason behind the action has to do with concern over the financial accountability of the LP's Ballot Access Committee (BAC) operations in 1988 under the management of the now discredited Nadia Hayes.

The second audit of 1988 BAC operations was completed in early August by LP auditor William Redpath.

Redpath's 11 page report details messy and incomplete recordkeeping and poor accounting procedures, similar to the findings of the first BAC audit conducted by then auditor Mike Holmes. But no new evidence of possible fraud or embezzlement was uncovered. Redpath's report says, in part:

"There is no evidence that fraud occurred in the handling, posting and depositing of cash receipts. Indeed, it appears that if any errors occurred, they were in the Fund's (the BAC) favor. ... And while the Fund's documentation is poor, I do not see any fraud connected with the Fund, and the apparent relative efficiency of the 1988 Ballot Access effort makes it unlikely that any fraud will be uncovered with further investigation." ■

Oregon Ballot Law Victory

by Jo McIntyre

Jo McIntyre is a McMinnville, OR based freelance writer and editor of the *Oregon Libertarian*.

Eugene, OR - In one of the most sustained and successful political efforts in the Oregon Libertarian Party's history, a bill which significantly eased ballot access for minor parties became law on August 14.

The new law made three major changes in Oregon's old bad law: in signatures required to get on the ballot, votes required to stay on the ballot, and for what offices candidates can be nominated.

"This will be the best opportunity the Libertarian Party has had in Oregon in its history, because of a combination of two things," said Martin Buchanan, of Hillsboro, who is credited with getting the bill off the ground. First, the education initiative effort he is currently involved in is a very libertarian issue, and "at the same time there will be an opportunity for Libertarians to run for office in all districts. I think we will make a very strong showing."

During the lobbying effort, the political ball passed smoothly from one player to another as out-of-state and Oregon Libertarians worked together in a textbook example of how libertarians can get a job done when many people recognize and accept responsibility, and then go out and do their jobs.

Key Players Take Action

Joe Dehn, of Eugene, secretary of the state party as well as a NatCom regional representative, wrote the original bill when Buchanan asked for someone in the party to write an improved ballot access bill.

"He is the one who believed it could be done, when a lot of people, including me, had the attitude of: 'Why would the Legislature ever do such a nice thing for us?'" Dehn said. "Marty initiated it, and found someone to speak for it."

During his 1988 campaign for Oregon Secretary of State, Buchanan made an issue of Oregon's unfair ballot access laws, saying he would introduce a bill in the Oregon legislature similar to the federal Conyers bill to make ballot access easier.

The bill was introduced in the House by Rep. Al Young D-Hillsboro, at Buchanan's request. It passed the House committee and then the full House with unanimous votes. Dehn stayed in close communication with LP Ballot Access Committee Field Coordinator Paul Jacob in the early part of the bill's history.

Later, when the bill appeared to be bogged down in the Senate, LPO chair Paul Smith of Salem got moving. He worked closely with former LP vice presidential candidate Andre Marrou of Nevada. Donna Merzi did "invaluable" footwork in Salem, Smith said, keeping in constant contact with the statehouse.

In the end, it may all have come down to a big show of force, Smith said. Local libertarians and Paul Jacob got together to urge a major phone lobbying effort and a big showing at the Senate subcommittee hearing.

Bill Provisions Especially Good for Libertarians

"Why ask for a loaf of bread when you can ask for the grocery store?" the old song says. The previous Oregon petition signature requirement to get on the ballot was 5% of the vote for Congress in each district in the last election.

Dehn had an idea that compromise might be necessary when he wrote in a 0.1% requirement, but he thought the compromise might come during committee hearings. In fact, Young changed the requirement for getting on the ballot to 2.5% of registered voters before he introduced it, because he said the

jump from 5% to 0.1% looked too big.

The difference from the old law is that the 2.5% amount now applies to registered voters, rather than people who voted for Congress in the last election, as it was before. Ironically, in some cases the new signature requirement could be higher than the old one if voter turnout was low in the previous election, but on average the number of signatures required to get on the ballot has been cut by about one-third.

The second major change was in the requirement to **stay** on the ballot. It is now at 1% of the vote for Congress in that district, down from the old 5%.

This is especially good for Oregon Libertarians, because the party is now on the ballot, thanks to Dr. Fred Oerther's 11% vote total in his race for Attorney General in 1988, and to major help from the Ron Paul 1988 campaign in getting on the statewide ballot that year.

The last change is that when a minor party qualifies in any district in the state, including

which included addressing the House committee hearing via speaker phone.

"Without a doubt the best advice I got was from Andre Marrou. I talked to him two to three times a week. He was helpful throughout the process," Smith said. He also had help from a non-libertarian lawyer, Terry Borchels, who had lobbying experience in Salem.

During the final push, when the bill had been scheduled in the Senate committee, still move libertarians kicked in. Ed Marhart of Portland telephoned, and Paul Jacob of the national Ballot Access Committee did a mailing and telephoned activists, urging them to attend the hearing.

On June 9, more than 20 Libertarians appeared to show their support for the bill. This time a Republican Senator, Jim Bunn, voted for the bill with the majority, and volunteered to carry the bill to the Senate floor, where it also passed. After a quick trip back to the House to approve the complicated changes in our bill and several others regarding elections, the bill landed on the Governor's desk, where it was allowed to become law on August 2. ■

The Oregon ballot access laws in a nutshell

	Old Law	New Law
1. To get on ballot	Petition signatures with 5% of vote for Congress	Petition signatures w/2.5% of reg. voters
2. To stay on ballot	Candidate receives 5% of vote for Congress	Candidate receives 1% of vote for Congress
3. Other offices	Petition for each and every district where party is not specifically qualified by 1. or 2. above	Can nominate candidate for any district where party has qualified by 1. or 2. above
4. Examples: Statewide 1988	Get on: 61,760 names Stay on: 61,760 votes	Get on: 38,212 names Stay on: 12,352 votes

statewide, the party may nominate candidates for **any** district within that district. This cleans up unclear language in the old law that the Secretary of State's office had said meant minor parties had to petition for every district in which the party had not specifically qualified.

Writing Bill Was Just the Beginning

To go back to the beginning, Buchanan, Lyle Stanley, Tristan Reisfar and Mike Heidling, activists in the Portland area, invited Representative Young to appear on their cable TV show just before the Legislative session was about to start.

Buchanan was impressed with Young and believed him when he said he would introduce an improved ballot access bill in the Legislature. After Dehn wrote the bill, Young altered it, and then the lobbying really began.

True to his word, Young introduced the bill in his committee, the House State and Federal Affairs Committee, and a hearing was set. Joe Dehn sent post cards to all Libertarians in Oregon asking for their support and 12 appeared at the daytime hearing. The two major daily newspapers also weighed in with editorial support for the bill.

Then things slowed to a crawl. Adjournment was looming and the word was out that our bill was doomed. Smith said the Senate Committee chair's office staff had been aggravated by some calls from people alleged to be LP members supporting the bill. The callers had been rude, the staff told Merzi.

To make things worse, the most offended person on the staff was the wife of the committee chair!

"I called Andre Marrou and said, 'What do I do now?'" Smith recalled. "He said, 'This may sound corny, but bring her some flowers.'"

When Smith walked into the committee chair's office, he learned that it was her birthday that day! His timing couldn't have been better! He had high praise for Marrou's help,

Walter, Murphy Announce

Washington, DC - As expected, incumbent LP national chair David Walter announced that he is seeking election to the position to which he was appointed last December, in a formal campaign announcement dated July 25. Other candidates have also announced for LP chair and vice chair.

Walter, a longtime member of the NatCom, former LP auditor, treasurer and vice chair of the party, said in his announcement, "The record of the past seven months speaks for itself. No qualified candidate for Chair has stepped forward who can keep this momentum going. Instead, I have been urged to run for Chair myself by many of the most respected activists in the national and state parties."

In his chair announcement, Walter stressed continued LP financial and membership growth, support for local LP and national projects, electing state legislators, developing a campus libertarian network, and "deemphasize the National party and have our state and local parties as the focal point." He also has initiated a project involving possible civil disobedience action to aid in ballot access efforts. "I've asked about 30 top libertarian thinkers and leaders to help us devise a code of civil disobedience that we will use when all other remedies have been exhausted," Walter said in his announcement statement.

Another reason cited for his chair candidacy is "the on-going breakdown of civilized discourse within the Party," further citing "inflammatory words, childish tantrums, distortions and half-truths and outright lies."

Matt Monroe, who began his campaign for LP chair in January, and Walter both have long records of service to the LP and on the

Ballot Access Scorecard

As of early August, progress on the LP's ballot access front is as follows:

Florida - Florida LP was successful in forcing the state to provide for petitioning to put LP candidate Marlon Migala on the ballot for Claude Pepper's vacant U.S. House seat. 1,800 signatures needed by Aug. 16; as of 8/9 over 600 already in hand.

Maryland - Over 15,000 signatures collected by local and LP Ballot Access Committee effort. 2,000 more signatures still being obtained via local petitioning.

Massachusetts - Due to state LP and BAC's Paul Jacob lobbying efforts, a bill to reduce signatures by about one-half was approved by the House committee. Legislature is in recess until September.

Nevada - About 3,000 signatures collected by BAC petitioners. Goal is 16,000 - 18,000.

New York - 7,500 signatures needed to place NY City LP candidates on the ballot for municipal elections. Over 3,000 already collected. Due by Aug. 23.

North Carolina - Favorable legislative bill appears to be dead. LP's BAC prohibited from any action by LP NatCom in favor of Marrou's "51-92" PAC. So far, no petitions have been printed and no petitioning has begun. Marrou now says "51-92" will exclusively do lobbying.

Oregon - Joint lobbying effort by Oregon LP, "51-92" and BAC resulted in new law cutting requirements by about one-half to one-third (see article).

Utah - 750 signatures collected, only 500 needed, by Utah LP. Certified ballot status. ■

NatCom. Both have endorsed the idea of reducing the size of the NatCom and promoting party growth. In addition to leadership and management style differences, one of the main differences appears to be Walter's recent call for civil disobedience tactics to promote ballot access. The NatCom has taken no position on the matter and Walter's actions have so far been confined to conducting a survey. Monroe responded to the civil disobedience idea by calling it "premature at best and possibly dangerous."

Walter's announcement also said that "at the Philadelphia convention, I will announce to the delegates a group of officers and NatCom representatives whom I'd like to see on my Performance Team." Using the slogan "Leadership that is already leading," Walter is believed to be running on a slate which includes former LP vice chair Mary Gingell and incumbent LP treasurer Steve Fielder.

Renegade LP NatCom member Robert Murphy also threw his hat into the proverbial ring, as the final sentence in a letter to the LP's Executive Committee defending his recent correspondence to the FEC. Murphy, who recently re-located to northern Virginia from Norman, Oklahoma, did not elaborate on his reasons for running for chair.

Gingell, Iddings

Other LP officer candidacies have also been recently announced. Sharon Ayres sent out a letter in late July announcing the candidacy of Mary Gingell for LP vice chair. Gingell is a former LP vice chair, and along with her husband Bill Evers, ran the 1984 presidential campaign of Ayres' husband David Bergland. Walter appointed Gingell to head the Affiliate Party Committee in January, replacing Alicia Clark.

Mike Iddings, northern California LP

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Libertarian Outlook

Healthy Signs of Growth

Readers of this newspaper know by now the importance we place on the healthy progress of the Libertarian Party. While it is only a small part of the larger libertarian movement, it still represents the biggest membership and best organized elements of that movement, although "best organized" is a term we use somewhat loosely.

The LP has been instrumental in exposing the American public to hard core libertarian ideas explicitly identified as such, rather than hiding under some other label or passing as "new age conservative," "low tax liberal" or some such nonsense. By and large, the LP has done a credible job in this effort, despite setbacks and shortcomings.

Predictions of the LP's imminent demise have been regularly heard over its 18 year history and will undoubtedly be heard again. But such prognostications of doom will continue to be premature, at best. The LP has managed to muscle its way into the dominant "two party" political culture and win a shaky foothold in politics the hard way. Those who take politics seriously - or want to carve out their own political toehold - know full well how hard it is to win and maintain a respectable political franchise in American politics. Maybe "America's third largest political party" isn't all that much - but it isn't chopped liver either...

Recent internal wrangling within the LP reflecting leadership battles, personality conflicts, and a tangle of obscure motives and desires tends to put a damper on the spirit of pure ideology and philosophy which underlies most libertarian action. These sometimes unseemly political battles are regarded as a necessary evil, at best, by LP partisans.

But there is another view to this. In a sense, the drama and conflict which sometimes surrounds the LP - actors on a small stage to be sure - can also be seen as a healthy sign of growth. After all, it is evidence that someone out there really cares about the direction of the Libertarian Party, someone wants to lead the party onward, and someone regards the LP's third party franchise as worth fighting for.

The ability to run a presidential ticket in all 50 states is a valuable political franchise, one which doesn't come easily or cheaply, no matter how strongly motivated you are. The LP's reputation for fielding candidates in hundreds of state and local races isn't to be taken lightly either. If it were easy, the third party field would be far more crowded than it is.

When the LP gets to the position to regularly win 5 to 10 percent of the vote in most elections, up from its current 1 to 2 percent, it will represent a balance of power in American politics that will determine the direction of political life for years to come. That is a franchise worth fighting for.

By and large, the quality of LP candidates, both for internal and external political races, has steadily improved over the years. Our 1987 presidential nominating race was the most hotly contested ever, generating unprecedented excitement. And internal LP political races decided at the party's Philadelphia convention have also drawn experienced, capable candidates for party offices. Unlike the situation a few years ago, there is little chance the LP will lapse into an apathetic coma to the stifled yawns of party members.

So amidst the often over-heated rhetoric and supercharged atmosphere of LP politics let us not forget that passions are generated because many libertarians care about the outcome. And care they should. Libertarians

have a good thing going here. Let us accept the LP in-fighting as a necessary cost of doing business in the real world of politics, accept the results with good cheer, and get on with the job ahead. ■

Wrong Turn for LP

A recent survey sent out to selected LP members at the behest of LP chair David Walter indicates that some leadership elements in the LP are taking a dangerous turn in their thinking regarding LP ballot access.

The survey asked a number of detailed questions about the desirability of using civil disobedience tactics in response to hypothetical ballot access situations which the LP might encounter. While Walter claims in his chair campaign leaflet he is planning to "de-emphasize the National party," he also mentions his plan to "help us devise a code of civil disobedience that we will use when all other remedies have been exhausted."

This is strange talk indeed. It sounds more like 1960s-style nostalgia than practical realism for obtaining libertarian ballot status. For one thing, the LP's governing policy body, the Libertarian National Committee, has never been advised of this "civil disobedience code" project nor have any votes been taken on it.

More importantly, the LP's own Ballot Access Committee under the able leadership of Paul Jacob has been active and successful in several ballot drive projects already. The party is in better ballot access shape ten months after a presidential election than at any time in its prior history. Of course, Jacob is doing things the hard way - collecting signatures, lobbying, and building grassroots LP organizations - rather than relying on the dubious hope that noisy protests will somehow force the political establishment to bend the rules for the LP.

And while civil disobedience may have its place in political life, surveys conducted by the national LP chair pose a very real public relations and legal danger to all LP members. The draconian RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations) statutes can be used by the feds to prosecute "conspiracy" charges against anyone found guilty of orchestrating widespread illegal protests. They are already being used against national leaders of the anti-abortion protest movement effort. Filling out detailed surveys about the best sit-in tactics at the behest of the national LP chair seems of doubtful value at best and is legally dangerous at worst in the light of RICO sanctions.

The public doesn't know or care about the LP's ballot access plight, so sit-ins are likely to create an unfavorable public and legal backlash, not sympathy. LP members and leaders can now be hauled into court for aiding and abetting future civil disobedience actions, thanks to Walters' "how should we break the law" survey.

Most importantly, the LP is making tremendous progress on ballot access for 1990 and 1992 without resort to such gimmicks. Of course, money has to be raised for petitioning and lobbying, which is undoubtedly more expensive and more work than chaining people to furniture in some Secretary of State's office somewhere.

The LP has had an admirable and strategi-

cally sound policy in the past of strictly abiding by the law in all of its endeavors. The party is now a player in the real political system and has learned to live with the often unfair rules of the game. Party members also sign an oath reminding them not to initiate force or fraud to obtain their political objectives.

By and large this policy has paid off handsomely. Now is not the time to promote a reckless and dangerous policy of illegal action for ballot access.

We can only hope this LP trial balloon has been floated for internal political purposes only, rather than as a serious policy alternative.

The LP will not enter the political battles of the 1990s using the now passe' countercultural protest tactics of the 1960s. If some LP leaders don't think they can play the political game by grown up rules, they should stay home instead of flirting with dangerous fantasies from their youth. ■

Monroe for Chair

We first editorialized in favor of Matt Monroe for LP chair in January. This was not surprising, as he is also publisher of *American Libertarian*. Until very recently, he was the only candidate running.

We reiterate our strong endorsement of Matt because we think his experience in the difficult areas of organization building - membership, fundraising, communications - have left him well equipped to lead and manage the Libertarian Party.

Monroe's entire career in the Libertarian Party has been devoted to gaining experience in different areas to learn firsthand the problems and solutions of party building.

He is also the only candidate for the office who has bothered to publicly campaign at his own expense to communicate his ideas to rank-and-file LP members. He has been explicit with his objectives and program and has communicated directly with those most effected.

We urge all Libertarian Party members to carefully consider all the alternatives, and to support Matt Monroe for LP chair. ■

Feedback



Letters Policy

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.

"Hysterical Rhetoric"

I am absolutely appalled by the coverage in your July issue regarding LP NatCom member Robert Murphy's complaint to the FEC. Indeed, the hysterical rhetoric contained in your "news," editorial, and commentary columns on the issue has convinced me that his complaint clearly does merit further investigation.

You imply that Murphy's letter somehow constituted initiation of "force or fraud to obtain social or political ends." The LP's participation in the political process *per se* involves this. Has it ever reimbursed the taxpayers for the cost of listing its usually silly nominees on the ballot? Do its extremely few winning candidates vote against every appro-

priations measure and refuse to accept any salary or expense payment? Hell, no! But failure to do so involves, in my opinion, a far greater offense than Murphy's attempt to clarify allegedly fraudulent behavior connected with the 1988 campaign.

The most ludicrous portion of your coverage (aside from Rothbard's typically asinine comments) was Ted Brown's suggestion that "the bureaucrats at the FEC must have salivated when they received" Murphy's letter. This implies that Washington gives a hoot about the LP - which, considering its embarrassingly bad 1988 election totals, is no more threat to the major parties than the Communists or Prohibitionists.

E. Scott Royce
Arlington, VA

Contra Constitutional

You reported that Jim Lewis claimed that "the Constitution is the only game in town." And that libertarians must choose between defending rights on the basis of the Constitution - or rejecting the Constitution.

If Mr. Lewis wants to start a Constitution Party, more power to him. But libertarianism is not derived from Constitutional analysis and it would be dishonest to claim otherwise. (Which is not to say that the Constitution and libertarian philosophy are not derived from very similar grounds.)

Since Mr. Lewis's thrust is apparently based on the assumption that the public will only respond to Constitutionally based arguments, the contradiction in his suggestions becomes evident. If the public only responded to Constitutionally correct philosophy, then they would not need to be set back upon the libertarian course that Mr. Lewis claims is inherent in the Constitution. Since both Mr. Lewis and I agree that the government has ventured far from libertarian ideals, it is obvious that the public does indeed respond to calls other than those which are Constitu-

Continued page 5

American Libertarian

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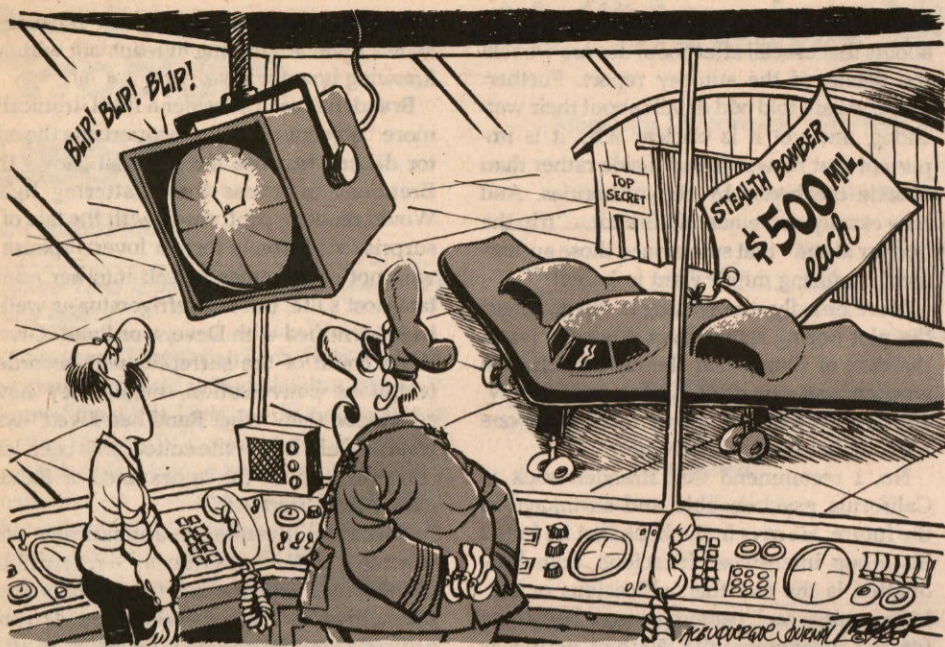
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"UH... YEAH, THE ENGINEERS ARE STILL WORKING ON A WAY TO DISGUISE THAT..."

Feedback

From page 4

tionally based.

The Libertarian Party is based upon the precepts of individual sovereignty. Where the Constitution is in agreement with libertarian philosophy, we may certainly advertise that fact. But we should never subjugate libertarianism to Constitutionalism merely for the sake of appearances.

Libertarianism stands on a few simple truths - if we have to hide those truths to win elections, then our campaigns will have become counter-productive exercises.

John Logajan
Arden Hills, MN

On the Birch Society

I am concerned that Terry Inman, in his otherwise excellent analysis of the need to attract youth to the Libertarian Party and movement, "On Libertarian Youth" (*American Libertarian* June 1989) made disparaging remarks about the John Birch Society.

No non-libertarian organization gave Ron Paul greater support in the last presidential campaign than the John Birch Society. This support began as early as March 1987 with a very favorable column by John F. McManus, entitled "Candidate Ron Paul," in the Birch Log, the Society's weekly syndicated newspaper column.

This article was followed by a report about the contest between Dr. Paul and Russell Means before the Seattle convention and the December 7, 1987 four page profile, "Libertarian Ron Paul" by Robert W. Lee which many people mistook for an endorsement and which I had reprinted, along with Mr. McManus' column, as campaign literature.

Throughout 1988 *The New American* carried a continuous series of letters, mostly complimentary, including one of my own in May, and on September 26 a three page interview by William F. Jasper, "Ron Paul Offers A Choice," which I also had reprinted. The next issue of the magazine, which came out a month before the election and thus had maximum impact, included a ten page article which favorably contrasted the positions of Ron Paul and the Libertarian Party with Tweedledum Bush and Tweedledee Dukakis and the Demopublican Parties.

During the course of the campaign, I placed three advertisements for Ron Paul in speech programs for the Society and got a great deal of support from members for the LP petition drive. The Ohio coordinator of the JBS spoke at our state conventions in 1988 and this year and was favorably received.

The New American also published free an-

nouncements for the 1988 and 1989 Ohio Libertarian Party conventions and for the upcoming Philadelphia national convention. They also publish free announcements for events sponsored by the Ludwig von Mises Institute, the Foundation for Economic Education and the Reason Foundation.

In *The Blue Book* of the John Birch Society, its founder, the late Robert Welch, stated, "The increasing quantity of government, in all nations, has constituted the greatest tragedy of the twentieth century." (page 125) He also observed that, "The greatest enemy of man is, and always has been, government. And the larger, the more extensive that government, the greater the enemy." (Page 127)

In practice, the Society has in most instances adhered very closely to its founding principles. 80 to 90% of its positions, including support for the Liberty Amendment, lower taxes, the right to keep and bear arms, and opposition to the Federal Reserve System, the United Nations and world government, are hardly distinguishable from our own LP national platform.

If the Libertarian Party is to achieve the position of influence which is necessary to restore our liberty, it is of utmost importance that we must have allies with sufficient organizational standing and principled opposition to government. It would certainly be foolish to alienate the John Birch Society. For those who would like to have more information about the JBS, its new address is Post Office Box 8040, Appleton, WI 54913.

David Macko
Solon, OH ■

In Review



Kiss and Tell

Judgment Day, by
Nathaniel Branden,
Houghton Mifflin, 436pp.,
\$21.95.

by Murray N. Rothbard

"O judgment! thou art fled to brutish beasts,
And men have lost their reason."

- Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*

The recent death of Abbie Hoffman has swiftly transformed the long-forgotten clown of the New Left into a veritable publishing industry. As one long-time member of that industry commented: "Death is hot."

Starting with the publication of Barbara Branden's *Passion of Ayn Rand* in 1986, the Ayn Rand scavenger hunt has begun, with the orthodox Randians auctioning off her sacred relics. The latest entry in the Rand sweepstakes is Nathan's *Judgment Day*,

and unfortunately it will not be the last. If the book makes a lot of scratch, Branden has been threatening to publish a sequel [*Son of Judgment?*] consisting of allegedly juicy outtakes cropped from the current book. So what's next? "I was Ayn Rand's Rational Dentist: See How She Reacted to Abscess Pressure?"

There are considerable differences, however, between Barbara's and Nathan's books. For one thing, Barbara focused on a legitimate topic: a biography of Ayn Rand, for all her follies an author of some stature. While Barbara's effort was overblown and had considerable flaws, she at least tried painfully to come to terms with her experience with Rand. There is indeed in her work a considerable amount of passion. But Branden's *Judgment Day* focuses on a far less interesting or legitimate topic: the history of his own feelings in every situation in his life. I can't think of any topic less interesting to a rational person, except of course to the Great Man himself and possibly to his current wife.

And what feelings! For a shrink, and for a man of his narcissism, Branden displays an amazing lack of self-knowledge or of insight into the people around him. For here is the allegedly mature, post-Randian Branden writing a saga of unrelieved tedium: of Nate the Great, a world-historical figure of our century, spending all of his life amid an endless array of *shmucks*, creeps, lowlifes, and assorted villains and morons. And *these* were his lovers and supposedly his best friends! Growing up in Toronto, the Great One is scarcely understood by his dull and uncomprehending family; his fellow students, too, have no inkling of his greatness. Later, he formed his buddies and subordinates into the Randian Collective, people who at the time he proclaimed to be the World's Most Rational Men and Women. But now he reveals that he *really* thought them to be a gang of unproductive parasites, desperately trying (and obvious failing) to win his favor by adoringly telling him how he saved and transformed their lives (to which

the Great One, at least in retrospect, responded with thinly veiled contempt.)

During the six months that I was associated with the Randian movement (the first half of 1958, at the beginning of the RandCult), Branden once told me that his cousin and psychologist-disciple, Allan Blumenthal, was his "best friend." Some best friend! In this tedious and repellent work, in which Branden mercilessly slams every one of his old friends and lovers, poor Blumenthal is arguably dumped on the most. Blumenthal was "prissy," a "eunuch," mysteriously surrounded by homosexuals [Hey, what's he getting at?], his entire life dominated by malicious envy of his brilliant and wonderful cousin. And on and on it goes.

As for his lovers, "kiss and tell" hardly covers it. Poor Barbara is slammed continually - an inferior slut unworthy of the Great One. It takes very little psychological insight to figure out that Barbara, in Nathan's eyes, committed the Ultimate Sin: not being sexually responsive to the Greatest Man of our Century. Of all the inferior subcreatures that Nathan has been forced to deal with in this life, only Ayn Rand is judged as worthy of living on the same planet - and *she*, of course, was kinda crazy.

And *Judgment Day* doesn't even have the virtue of first disclosing the juicy details about Ayn's and Nathan's sex life - since Barbara had already beaten him to the punch. So what we are left with is a consistently nasty and squalid book, Nathan getting back at everyone, a book unrelieved by any flash of wit or genuine insight. If you are going to write a nasty book about your lovers and friends, you had best have the wit and sparkle, the splendid writing style of Truman Capote in *Answered Prayers*. Instead, we have a humorless thump-thump account as Branden hacks away at everyone around him.

Furthermore, Nathan's alleged recantation of his role as Enforcer and Lord High Executioner in the RandCult sticks to *pro forma* generalities. **Not once** does he actually

Continued page 6

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In Review

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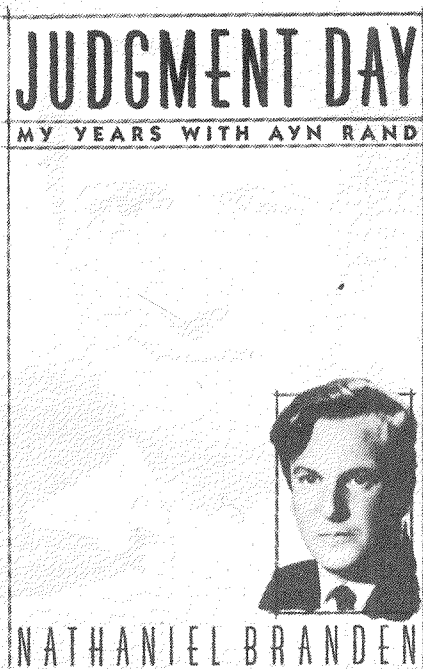
apologize to any person whose life he helped wreck. In fact, in one of the specific cases of expulsion (my own, pp.259-261), Nathan presents a totally false account (see my refutation *Liberty*, September), in which he reverts to the old Enforcer role of thirty years ago that he had supposedly abandoned. In any case, this incident does not give me confidence in the veracity of the rest of the book.

I know several people who started *Judgment Day* as neutral or moderately favorable to Branden, and every one of them ended by virtually being ready to organize a lynch party against him. "Branden is no gentleman," one exclaimed as he finished the book. That's of course a masterpiece of understatement. Such a concept as "honor" has no place in Branden's lexicon. In the old days, anyone who pulcily maligned his sex partners in such a manner would have been called a "cad" and a "bounder," and would have been horsewhipped out of town. Excessive punishment, perhaps, but still ...

Another person hurled the book down at the end and exclaimed, "trashy and self-serving!" The entire book is an exercise in self-justification and glorification, as well as a condemnation of virtually everyone else. But trashy too; the book is written like a bad soap opera or like an article in *True Confessions*, except that the latter are more interesting. Nathan, for example, meets someone and invariably correctly sums up his or her character (almost always crumbly) in one penetrating glance.

One of the curious aspects of *Judgment Day* is the Epilogue. The subtitle of the book calls it "My Years with Ayn Rand," and yet the Epilogue goes on and on about the mysterious death of Patrecia, wife No. 2, almost ten years after Nathan's expulsion from the RandCult in 1968. Why does he keep dwelling on the details of an event clearly irrelevant to the book?

There are many possible explanations, some more sinister than others, that have been bruited around the libertarian move-



ment for years. Here is one possible solution to the puzzle. In my days in the movement, we kept hearing about Nathan's plan to write one day his own Great Novel. So, just as Brahms' First Symphony has been called Beethoven's Tenth because it so closely followed the Master, perhaps we can treat *Judgment Day* as Nathan's first, or Rand's fourth, novel, albeit a "nonfiction" one, using real names. We could then, I suppose, excuse the falsehoods and the personal smears in the name of "art." And every reader of mystery stories knows the value of a dead body, especially of a pretty female, perishing in mysterious circumstances.

But Branden is not off the hook, because *Judgment Day* fails even as a work of fiction. We are told many details of the death of Patrecia, for example, but other crucial items are missing. Thus, we are told such minute details as the exact time that Patrecia made her last phone call to Nathan on the day of her death, as well as the precise hour that Branden wound his way up the driveway to get to his home to find her body. And yet we

are not told anything of Nathan's whereabouts that crucial afternoon, nor are we told the details of the autopsy report. Furthermore, we are told odd details about their watchdog, and yet it is unclear why it is important that he was found inside rather than outside the house by the authorities. And how exactly and when did Branden "trip the burglar alarm" that summoned those authorities? Inquiring minds want to know!

More broadly, the writing is monotonous, the plot boring rather than powerful (as in the case of Rand), and the characterization wooden and one-dimensional. And surely, any work of fiction needs more than one hero, and at least one heroine?

No, I recommend that Branden stick to California psychobabble and shrinkage in the future. He says in the book that he found his group intensives efficacious. Somehow omitted is the fact that, efficacious or not, huge groups, each patient paying a hefty sum for the weekend, with Nathan acting as square-dance caller: "Turn to the person on your right. Complete the following sentence; I hate your guts because ...," brings in an enormous amount of moolah.

There is a great line in *The Godfather* when the Corleone family is considering holding a meeting with someone, and the Don says, "he's a serious man, worthy of respect." Doctor Branden on the contrary, is a poseur and a mountebank, worthy only of scorn and contempt. The battle between Rand and Branden, moreover, is really no contest. Rand created something, whereas Branden has lived his entire life parasitically off Rand, first as a worshipful disciple and cult organizer, then as a neo-Randian shrink who set up shop in California with the solid initial base of the RandCult's Nathaniel Branden Institute mailing list. And now, too, he is parasitically living off Rand as scavenger and kiss-and-tell calumniator. Talk about your "social metaphysician!" ■

Branden

From page 2

servation that Rand had expressed sympathy at the death of a dog, but had purportedly shown no emotion whatsoever when told of the death of Branden's second wife, Patrecia.

According to Branden, Rand invited Devers to call her in the future and that the two had occasional telephone conversations through mid-1981, when a final break occurred. According to Branden (and Rand, as quoted on pp. 398-399 of Barbara Branden's *The Passion of Ayn Rand*) this final break was precipitated by a gift of flowers. Devers sent the flowers to Rand upon learning, during one of their telephone conversations, that Rand had resumed writing after suffering a long period of "writer's block."

Subsequently, Devers heard that Rand had angrily given the flowers to a friend, and was telling all and sundry that Devers was harassing her.

Thereupon, Branden and his wife hit upon a plan. Devers phoned Rand. Unbeknownst to Rand, Branden was tape-recording the call. After 20 minutes of general conversation explicitly calculated, in Branden's words, "to bring out the warmth in [Rand]," Devers surprised Rand with a series of pointed questions about the disposition of the flowers and her reported statements. Rand responded with a torrent of anger. After the call had concluded, Branden recalls, his Devers turned to him in dismay and stated: "what you had loved is gone now;" to which he replied, "what I had loved was gone by the time I left New York."

According to Branden, there are two ways of viewing the story: his editor's, and his own. His editor, according to Branden, deleted the material so that the book would "fade out while Ayn still had claws." In his

own view, the piece is poignant because it shows Rand attempting to reach out without knowing how to do so.

Branden fails to consider a third, ironically more "objective" view: that perhaps the editor deleted because the material shows the Brandens in a less than flattering light. Would readers, confronted with the tale of a surprise visit from a former lover's spouse - who not only invites herself into her reluctant host's life, but her refrigerator as well - have identified with Devers, or Rand? Given the account of the surreptitiously recorded telephone conversation, might they have concluded that "what Rand had loved" was gone as well? Might the editor have been less concerned about the appearance of Rand's claws, than Brandens'?

Nathaniel Branden's appearance was warmly - but not uncritically - received by his audience, who seemed to especially identify with an exchange between Branden and a questioner who professed an inability, after finishing *Judgment Day*, to "condemn" either Branden or Rand. "Do you feel some need to?" Branden asked. "No," the questioner replied after a moment's thought. "Then don't," Branden advised. ■

Cato Event Targets Drug War Failures



Baltimore Mayor Kurt Schmoke (r) discusses the effects of drug prohibition at the Cato conference. George McGovern (center) also attended.

Washington, DC - The Cato Institute held a well-attended forum on "The Crisis of Drug Prohibition" at the Mayflower Hotel here on June 2.

The forum was moderated by David Boaz of the Institute, whose introductory remarks stressed that, in spawning increased violence and criminality, the "drug war" typifies the tendency of government programs to produce unintended effects. Speakers included Baltimore Mayor Kurt Schmoke, who emphasized that drug abuse is a medical problem to which the most appropriate responses are medical, not legal; and Professor Ethan Nadelmann of Princeton University, who detailed how the most widely touted "costs" of drug use are actually attributable to drug prohibition.

The final speaker, attorney James Ostrowski, concluded that drug prohibitionists "will never quit and will never succeed." Rather, they will claim each failure as "justification" for ever more draconian measures. Ostrowski wryly cited the most compelling evidence that this strategy is doomed to failure: "There are drugs in prison, so how can prohibition possibly work? Even if we turned society into a prison, there would still be drugs."

In addition to a substantial number of individuals involved in law enforcement and drug policy, the event drew a wide range of persons not normally found even at "small" libertarian events. Prominent among the latter was 1972 Democratic presidential candidate George McGovern, as well as representatives of such media as the *Washington Post*, *Baltimore Sun*, *Washington Monthly*, and *New Republic*. ■

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Guest Column "Proclaim Liberty"

by Clifford Thies

Clifford Thies is an economist and Libertarian Party activist.

This year's Libertarian Party National Convention, to be held in Philadelphia, has as its theme "Proclaim Liberty." The reference is to the Liberty Bell, one of the marvelous symbols of freedom. A verse from the Bible is inscribed on the bell: "Proclaim Liberty throughout all the Land unto all the Inhabitants thereof." (Lev. 25:10)

Cast as a whole, the Liberty Bell cracked. Melted down, and re-cast, it cracked again. The giant bell - designed to ring out in proclamation of liberty - instead stands in silent testimony to the fragile nature of liberty.

When the Lord God delivered the Israelites out of bondage in Egypt, he commanded that they end slavery among themselves through their freeing of slaves in the seventh (sabbatical) year. However, the nation of Israel fell back into the ways of slavery. This polluted the very name of God, requiring economic failure and military defeat to purge Israel of this transgression and restore her to God's covenant.

When American was formed, the great controversy involved slavery. Said Thomas Jefferson regarding the continuance of slavery in this country, "I fear for the wrath of God knowing he is just." Of course, it was slavery (and the protective tariff) that resulted in the Civil War (along with the draft, paper money and income taxes).

In the last sixty years, a new and invidious form of slavery has taken hold in this country. Instead of some being enslaved to others, we today are a nation enslaved to government. Our Constitution is a hollow shell, no longer protecting our liberty, but only defining the procedures through which government can act in any way it chooses. We, the people, are merely the "human resources" of government.

Our prosperity is replaced by stagflation, and our young are sacrificed in far away places. Budgeting proceeds out of control. Our money is worthless. Government wallows in corruption and hypocrisy. And still, our nation is not sufficiently humbled by economic failure and military defeat to restore its Constitution and again Proclaim Liberty.

The image of Valley Forge comes vividly to mind. There during the dark days of the revolution, George Washington persevered. Proclaim liberty? Most people then, as now, would derisively say, "Let George do it."

But, for us, as we gather in Philadelphia, near the site of the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the drafting of the U.S. Constitution, and not far from Valley Forge, let us remember that we have holy work before us: "The spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me ... to proclaim liberty ..." (Isaiah 61:1)

Let us re-dedicate ourselves in joy to this work, and let us recognize each other as true friends in this work. ■

AL "Morning Line" on LP Presidential Prospects

American Libertarian "Morning Line" on potential 1992 Libertarian Party presidential/vice presidential prospects.

Based on informal survey of interested libertarians.
(Listed in alphabetical order, none of these prospects has been queried about their availability for these offices)

Prospect	Occupation	Home State	National Following?	Media Interest?	Pros	Cons	"Morning Odds"	Overall Prospects
Dean Ahmad	Computer consultant, PhD, astronomer	Maryland	Arab Americans	Low	Pro	Articulate, well versed in LP issues, Palestinian background could attract interest, good speaker	Pres. nil VP 1-20	Definite long shot. Could be a sleeper.
					Con	Unknown outside of LP ranks, fund-raising potential unknown, sometimes difficult to work with		
David Bergland	Attorney (currently non-practicing)	California	LPers only	Low	Pro	Experienced campaigner, ran 1976 as LP VP candidate and as LP presidential candidate in 1984, hard core ideologically, author of libertarian books and pamphlets, has plenty of spare time to campaign	Pres. 1-50 VP nil	Could do in a pinch a la' 1984; not likely to break LP tradition of only one presidential bid per customer.
					Con	Poor speaker, poor campaigner and fund-raiser in 1984 effort, alienated many LPers with hardball "Berglandista" faction tactics, increasingly cantankerous with LP political foes		
Gene Burns	Boston radio talk show host	Massachusetts	Florida & New England radio audiences	Medium	Pro	Articulate, polished media professional w/good feel for public sentiment, sought 1984 LP nomination briefly, excellent speaker, good strategic sense	Pres 1-12 VP nil	Long shot, but a "sentimental favorite."
					Con	Suffers slight physical handicap (perhaps this is a plus?), 1984 bid flake-out left some bad feelings, fund-raising potential unknown		
Larry Dodge	Montana postcard entrepreneur	Montana	Montanans only	Low	Pro	Articulate, knowledgeable about issues, strong on environment, self-employed, popular w/LPers, based in libertarian oriented mountain west, good campaigner	Pres 1-50 VP 1-9	A safe compromise pick, particularly for VP
					Con	Unknown outside of home state and LP, fund-raising potential low, has doubts about value of running for office as Libertarian		
Marshall Fritz	President, Advocates for Self-Government	California	Libertarians, possibly Christians	Low	Pro	Popular among libertarians, professional salesman and communicator, good speaker from California	Pres 1-100 VP 1-20	A long shot with surprise potential.
					Con	Probably not interested in running, currently heads non-profit institution, fund-raising potential unknown, not known outside LP ranks, more interested in recruiting Advocates than winning votes		
Mary Gingell	Full time mother (former railroad executive)	California	Libertarians only	Low	Pro	Only woman prospect, Harvard MBA, experienced LP insider, helped run 1984 presidential campaign, feminist/motherhood role model, access to husband Bill Evers' political acumen	Pres 1-100 VP 1-10	Better shot at VP slot a la' Ferraro, but it's been a long time since a woman appeared on the LP ticket (1972).
					Con	Mediocre speaker, reacts poorly to stress, public breast feeding of children as political statement may be too progressive for American public, may be too dependent on 1984 LP presidential campaign manager Bill Evers		
Andre Marrou	Real estate broker, former Alaska state representative	Nevada	Libertarians only	Low	Pro	Former Alaskan LP state rep., 1988 LP VP candidate, ran good campaign in 1988, raised \$162,000, experienced campaigner, popular with most LPers	Pres 1-7 VP 1-4	Crowded field hurts his chances, but still relatively strong.
					Con	Lost embarrassing 1986 state house race, unknown outside LP circles, unknown fund-raising potential, questions surface about large 1988 VP campaign surplus, ballot access PAC proceeds		
Russell Means	Indian activist, speaker	Arizona	Indian and minority activists, "green" tinged liberals	High	Pro	Perhaps best publicity generator in LP history, dynamic speaker, colorful history of committed activism, very high name I.D., convincing conversion to libertarian ideology, spokesman for popular Indian cause, interested and available, Ariz. state house race may raise profile	Pres 1-7 VP 1-4	Solidly in the running, future actions determine momentum in increasingly crowded field.
					Con	Past Indian and leftist activism turnoff to conservatives, some libs, would need considerable fund-raising help, tends to promise more than he delivers, has ruled out VP spot before, "celebrity" status all too evident at times		
Charles Murray	Author, social scientist	New York	Academics, media, government & conservatives	High	Pro	Articulate, well known author and scholar, very high profile in national intellectual circles, large conservative and some liberal following, very strong on welfare/education issues, speaking at 1989 LP national convention, fund-raising potential very high, would add instant visibility and credibility to LP ticket	Pres 1-13 VP nil	Fresh face and media shine makes strong early impression; could fade fast.
					Con	Not an LP member, probably a neo-conservative rather than a libertarian, probably not interested in running for office, not a dynamic speaker, might be regarded as too "ivory tower," ideological sympathy is big question mark, no past exposure to LP		
Ron Paul	Physician, newsletter editor, TV show promoter, former 4-term U.S. Congressman	Texas	Hard money investors, LPers, right-to-lifers, conservatives	Medium	Pro	1988 effort raised nearly \$3 million and lifted LP out of doldrums, has large newsletter following, ran principled 1988 campaign, TV show project has good publicity potential, is solid on issues and has learned the LP inside and out, good residual media interest from 1988 campaign, high fund-raising potential	Pres 1-6 VP nil	Starting slow, but savvy and experienced; if he wants it, watch out.
					Con	Two things: unpopular anti-abortion stand (among Libs and media) and disappointment over lack of TV and media "breakthrough" in 1988 campaign; like Marrou, suffers from post-campaign overexposure among LPers, may be burned out from LP campaign and embarrassing Nadia Hayes "financial irregularities" revelations, failure to buy TV during 1988 raises doubts about campaign judgment		
Mark Skousen	Economist, college professor, newsletter editor	Florida	Stock and hard money investors, Mormons	Medium	Pro	Fresh face, articulate and intelligent, good speaker and communicator, knowledgeable about issues, particularly Austrian economics, popular with conservatives, very telegenic and friendly, has shown increasing interest in LP and possible presidential bid, high fund-raising potential, strong Mormon with big family in Utah could produce dramatic results, called stock market crash correctly in 1987, gaining media visibility, largest investment newsletter list	Pres 1-13 VP nil	An attractive newcomer, definitely one to watch.
					Con	Unknown to most LPers and vice versa, unknown comfort level with LP platform (but expressed total agreement with 1988 Paul campaign), has not run for office before		
Tom Tryon	Rancher, businessman, two term elected LP county supervisor	California	LPers only	Low	Pro	Elected LP officeholder since 1984, intelligent, articulate, "Bonanza" style 3rd generation rancher in Calaveras County, successful businessman, Ivy League education, and telegenic, warm personal style, won re-election despite anti-LP smear attempts, self-employed, from California	Pres 1-50 VP 1-7	A longtime LP insider favorite, has all the right stuff, particularly for VP spot.
					Con	Unknown fund-raising potential, needs improvement on speaking style, largely unknown outside LP		

Continued page 8

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Candidates

From page 3

activist and part time employee of the San Jose California LP office, also announced for the vice chair position earlier this summer, although *AL* has not yet received any campaign announcements or materials from him.

Sapowsky-Smith Fired - Maybe

And in a final bit of pre-election candidate news, Lyn Sapowsky-Smith, the only declared candidate as of early August for LP secretary, was fired from her post as office manager of the California LP on August 14 by California LP chair John Vernon.

Citing concerns over her performance and ability to work with other key CLP members, Vernon delivered Sapowsky-Smith's termination notice personally to the San Jose CLP office, where he was greeted by 11 Sapowsky-Smith supporters who had been tipped off to his action. Claiming that the CLP By-Laws prohibited her dismissal, she has refused to vacate the office and has vowed to impeach Vernon for attempting to oust her from her \$1,950 per month post.

The matter has been referred to the CLP Judicial Committee as well as to the state Executive Committee, of which Sapowsky-Smith is also a member. Vernon has hinted that either she goes or he will resign, though it may not come to that. The effect of this firing flap on Sapowsky-Smith's chances for election are unknown, although the California delegation will be the largest in attendance at the national LP Philadelphia convention. ■

Morning Line

From page 7

Prospect	Occupation	Home State	National Following?	Media Interest?	Pros Cons	"Morning Odds"	Overall Prospects
Jim Turney	Owns and operates taping business	Virginia	LPers only	Low	<p>Pro Wants to be "first elected LP president," former LP national chair, telegenic and knowledgeable about issues, self-employed and travels frequently, knows internal LP apparatus very well, recently won vice presidential post in pro-marijuana NORML group</p> <p>Con Resigned as LP chair in 1988 after criticisms over party management, unknown fund-raising potential, no media or national following, has reputation for talking in circles though is experienced in publicly representing LP, some consider him intellectual lightweight, internal LP politics have made some enemies.</p>	Pres 1-100 VP 1-20	Very long shot but stranger things have happened.
Walter Williams	Economist, nationally syndicated columnist, author, college professor	Virginia	Media, conservatives, and govt./academic intelligencia, well known in minority circles	High	<p>Pro Well known, visible economist, columnist with pro-market and libertarian sympathies, is expressing increasing interest in LP nomination, speaking at state/nat'l LP conventions, high fund-raising potential, very good campaigner, high media interest, would be an LP breakthrough candidate on several fronts, very strong on economics, social issues, is gaining enthusiastic LP following, would be first African-American LP candidate</p> <p>Con Unknown comfort level with LP platform, party ability to support, some regard him as too conservative on foreign policy, social issues, might need "special handling" in high pressure campaign, no prior campaigning experience, might suffer personal economic loss as LP candidate during election year, little prior exposure to LP as organization, called LP drug stand "masturbating in public" and said gold standard was "unrealistic"</p>	Pres 1-5 VP nil	The early favorite out of the gate, will be watched closely.
Frank Zappa	Musician	California	Baby boomers and avant-garde music fans, national media and anti-censorship forces	High	<p>Pro Known by everyone under 50 and <i>People</i> magazine readers (even his kids are now famous), shown some interest in LP and lib ideas, high fund-raising potential, very good crowd draw, media draw, would definitely re-define traditional view of politics and LP</p> <p>Con Says he's a Democrat after 1987 effort to recruit for LP ticket, probably not able to represent lib ideas or LP platform without major changes, has something of a "celebrity ego" reputation, no exposure to LP as organization, limited appeal to a significant portion of LP and general public, reportedly refuses to read anything, might be regarded as "cosmic joke" candidate</p>	Pres 1-100 VP nil	Are you kidding? Even the LP isn't that crazy. But he almost sounds like a libertarian, sometimes ...



From the Texas state convention: (left) Bill Bradford, editor and publisher of *Liberty* magazine, gave convention delegates insights into the history, purpose and progress of the most successful new libertarian publication in several years. (right) Texas LP chair Bruce Baechler presents Ft. Worth LP activist C.B. Mauldin the 1989 "Libertarian of the Year" award. Her tireless work for the party over the years is well known to Texas libertarians.



CO LP Takes on Governor

by Ron Bain

Ron Bain is a Colorado based free lance writer.

Denver, CO - Colorado Libertarians are avoiding the usual non-election year doldrums with several ambitious projects, including taking the gubernatorial tail of a big-spending tiger, Colorado Gov. Roy Romer, through a courtroom wringer.

This spring, the Colorado Libertarian Party's board of directors, led by chair Mary Lind, voted to join as co-plaintiffs in a lawsuit already filed against Romer, a Democrat, by the Colorado Union of Taxpayers. The joint suit alleges that Romer unconstitutionally misused and abused the power of his public

office, as well as public resources, in a whistlestop campaign across the state last fall intended to defeat a grassroots public initiative proposing voter control of property taxes, sales taxes and state income taxes.

The initiative, which was assigned the designation Amendment Six on Colorado's 1988 general election ballot and which had been proposed as the Taxpayers' Bill of Rights by Colorado Springs lawyer Douglas Bruce, was defeated by Colorado's voters, but fared better than a similar 1986 proposal led by Palisade fruit farmer John Cox.

Preliminary motions are still being filed in the lawsuit, which hasn't yet had a hearing before a federal district judge.

At a Memorial Day weekend convention in Fort Collins, the Colorado LP re-elected three incumbent board members and elected two newcomers to the board of the Colorado Libertarian Party, including Mark S. Nairne, former media liaison for the Great American Peace March and current president of the Denver-based No More Drug War Foundation. In July, Nairne announced intentions to become the Libertarian nominee for the U.S. Senate seat being abandoned by Republican Sen. Bill Armstrong. Nairne's opponents are likely to be current U.S. Congressman Hank Brown, a Republican, and former state Democratic chair Buie Seawell.



Colorado LP convention organizer Mary Margaret Glennie (left) enjoys a lighter moment with Colorado LP chair Mary Lind.

In other Colorado LP news, Denver Election Commissioner Doug Anderson, one of Colorado's elected Libertarians, has begun a drive to raise funds for a newspaper advertising campaign that would reach the farthest corners of the state; Fort Collins activist Mary Margaret Glennie has revitalized the state pledge program with a "Keep it Simply Splendid" package that combines state and national membership; and, the state party's newsletter, the *CLiPboard*, has been converted to state-of-the-art desktop publishing by renting time on a Macintosh personal computer.

For more information contact the Colorado Libertarian Party at: 720 E. 18th Ave., Suite 309, Denver, CO 80203, (303) 837-9393; or write to Nairne's No More Drug War Foundation at P.O. Box 18780, Denver, CO 80218. The foundation's telephone number is (303) 320-1910. ■

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