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## NAP: the End of the Rainbow

By: Greg Kaza

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Which minor party qualified its presidential candidate for the ballot in all 50 states and the District of Columbia in 1988, terming itself the fastest growing political group in the United States?

You are wrong if you answered the Libertarian Party.

The rad-lib New Alliance Party (NAP), not the LP, qualified their candidate everywhere last year, increasing their vote of the vote 400 percent from 1984. By comparison, the LP increased its percentage less than 200 percent from the last election.

NAP's Dr. Lenora Fulani polled 217,000 votes in 1988, not even half the 425,000 votes the LP's Ron Paul received. But Fulani's tally was enough to win her second place in the minor party election race, far ahead of Populist candidate David Duke and Consumers Party standard bearer Eugene McCarthy.

Fulani, a New York psychologist, qualified for nearly \$1 million in federal matching funds last year, records on file at the Federal Election Commission in Washington show. She emerges from the campaign with a growing political organization behind her, including a slick, weekly tabloid newspaper.

Most significantly, Fulani made inroads into the black vote, polling three percent nationwide. This is one of the least reported, though potentially most significant developments of the campaign. NAP's breakthrough could indicate a long-term shift by blacks away from the Democratic Party. The first test of this possible trend is likely to occur later this year when Fulani runs for mayor in New York, which has a sizable black minority that is largely Democrat.

### Black Rebellion At the Polls?

*"The figures tell a story of resistance. Seething. Sparse in some places. Brilliant in others. Not yet a revolt. But nearer than a distant thunder. The figures say there was a black rebellion at the polls." The National Alliance 24 Nov., 1988*

Lenora Fulani ran the most successful black presidential campaign in history, if one excludes the Rev. Jesse Jackson, who cam-

paigned aggressively, though unsuccessfully, for the Democratic nomination last year and in 1984.

The N.Y. Times reported 85 percent of blacks voted for Democrat Michael Dukakis, while 12 percent cast ballots for Republican George Bush. NAP's Fulani received most of the other three percent.

"Black folks just couldn't stomach Michael Dukakis and Lloyd Bentsen in any kind of major way," Fulani said of the race. Fred Newman, her campaign manager and NAP's political guru, commented, "If there wasn't a revolution there sure as hell was a major rebellion in the black vote ... The Democratic Party took the black vote for granted and ignored its interests and concerns. The black community, to its everlasting credit, did something about it."

Fulani's highest percentage was in largely black Washington D.C., where she polled 1.5%. She received only .3% in California, but her showing in two San Francisco precincts could signal another trend. Fulani polled 4.8% in the Castro and 5.2% in the Fillmore, both predominantly gay areas that usually vote Democrat. In Nebraska, NAP U.S. Senate candidate Ernie Chambers maintained his position as the only independent in the State Senate, waging a successful write-in effort that garnered him 80% of the vote from his north Omaha district.

Despite these highlights, NAP fell short of its expectations.

Most newsworthy was NAP's failure to recruit Jesse Jackson to their campaign. Fulani, Newman and others urged Jackson's defection, offering the black leader NAP's 50 state ballot status as a platform for recruiting blacks for his Rainbow Coalition.

NAP's goal was to increase their leverage as a political force, splitting black votes from the Democrats using Jackson, causing Dukakis' defeat. "If I can cause the defeat of Michael Dukakis in November," Fulani declared at a demonstration outside the Democratic convention in Atlanta last July, "I would know that I took the elitism, the racism and the lack of respect the Democratic Party has shown minorities and shoved it down their throat." Jackson opted for pragmatism. He stayed a Democrat emerging as a frontrunner for the 1992 nomination following Bush's defeat of Dukakis. NAP's failure to recruit Jackson and split the black Democratic vote was its biggest setback last year. That failure will loom even larger should Jackson win the Democratic nomination in four years.

Historically, the odds are against NAP's organizing a major black rebellion at the polls. There have been repeated efforts to organize black political parties in this country, all of them unsuccessful. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party enjoyed limited success in the seating of delegates at the 1968 Democratic convention, but disappeared afterward. More

recently, organizations like the National Black Independent Party and the All-African People's Revolutionary Party have sought to mobilize blacks without success. Marxist-Leninist parties such as the Communist Party USA, which recruited blacks heavily in the 1930s, have fared even worse.

Fulani's 200,000 votes and 50 state ballot status are significant, but NAP must forge an alliance with other socialists if it is to grow and emerge as a viable political force. This reality has not been lost on Fulani, who recently said, "It's very critical that one result of the 1988 election be the left independent forces joining together to make a progressive third party a major contender by 1992."

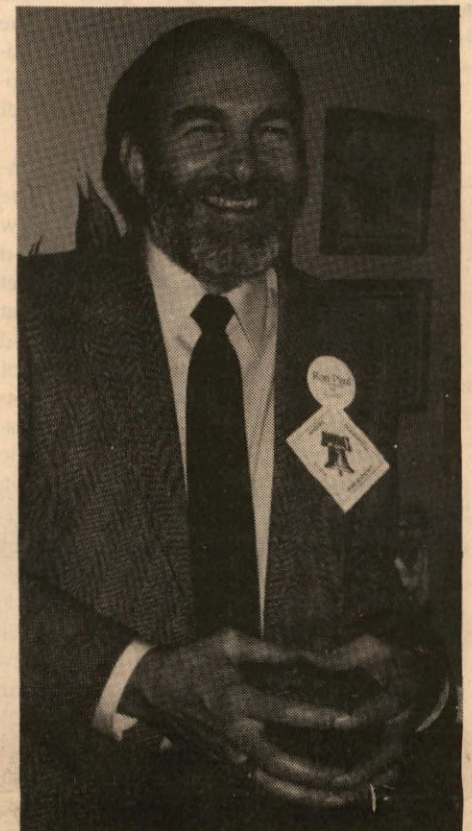
The likelihood of such a development is remote.

### NAP's Socialist Critics

*"The actual nature and history of the New Alliance Party is complex, controversial and ultimately a matter of individual perspective and judgment."*

*Chip Berlet, "Clouds Blur The Rainbow"*

NAP's socialist critics tend to fall into two  
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Andre Marrou: Ballot access helper or opportunist?

### Marrou PAC Stirs Controversy

## Project 51-'92: SleazePAC?

Las Vegas, NV - Obtaining and maintaining ballot status has long been a problem for the Libertarian Party, due to restrictive state laws and large petition signature requirements imposed on all so-called third parties. But a recent project undertaken by 1988 LP vice presidential candidate Andre Marrou and his former campaign manager Michael Emerling to address this problem has itself brewed up a storm of controversy over the intentions of the founders and improper use of the Libertarian Party name for private fundraising purposes.

Marrou, a former Alaska state representative and Las Vegas based Emerling were talking of forming a political action committee (PAC) well before the close of the 1988 election. Former LP presidential candidate Ron Paul has also started his own PAC (Liberty PAC) aimed at keeping Paul active in politics and possibly securing a regular TV presence for him. However, Marrou and Emerling decided to focus on LP ballot access and by late December began sending fundraising letters.

The letter, dated January 4, 1989 and signed by Marrou, was sent soliciting contributions for "Project 51 - '92," (A National Political Action Committee), the name of the Marrou PAC. The "51 - '92" refers to obtaining LP ballot status in all 50 states plus DC (51) by 1992. Listed on the letterhead were Andre Marrou (Director), Michael Emerling

(Fundraising Manager), David Bergland (Chief Advisor), Richard Winger (Ballot Consultant) and Steven Fielder (Associate Advisor).

Bergland was recently appointed national Libertarian Party vice chair and Fielder was appointed LP Treasurer in the wake of a high level LP shake up at the December Oklahoma City Libertarian National Committee meeting (See "Shootout at OK Corral," January 1989 AL). Richard Winger is a nationally recognized ballot access consultant for the LP and other third parties and edits the monthly *Ballot Access News*.

### Controversy Ignited

What has ignited the controversy over "51 - '92" PAC was the fact that the fundraising letter clearly stated that it was a "Libertarian Party project" and the fact that the privately run PAC was launched in direct competition to the LP's own Ballot Access Committee (BAC), the official ballot access arm of the party. The LP's own BAC is the group responsible for the largely successful 1988 LP ballot access effort of 46 state plus DC ballot status. Once the fundraising pitch for "51 - '92" became known, BAC chair Burt Blumert immediately protested to LP chair David Walter and demanded that party officers Bergland and Fielder disassociate themselves from the competition. Blumert maintained that "51 - '92" "was a devastating blow to our BAC fund-

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# End of the Rainbow

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camps - those who support a popular front with Jackson and the Democrats and those who cite Newman's relationship with far-right extremist Lyndon LaRouche in the mid-1970s. Oftentimes, the two positions are held simultaneously.

The Communist Party was among those attacking NAP last year, criticizing Fulani from the right for threatening Dukakis' chances in November. "By ignoring the danger of the extreme Right-wing and pitting gains in one area against those in another the NAP would split the people's movement, causing losses on all front," the *People's Daily World* editorialized. For the first time in decades, the Communist Party did not nominate a presidential candidate last year, throwing its support to Dukakis and the Democrats as part of a popular front strategy.

Other critics dwell on the Newman-LaRouche connection. In "Clouds Blur The Rainbow: The Other Side Of The New Alliance Party," a widely-circulated monograph, social democrat Chip Berlet writes, "Even NAP supporters concede that Newman and some of his followers worked for a time under the political leadership of LaRouche. What keeps this aspect of the controversy alive is what critics feel are misrepresentations regarding the character of the relationship and the nature of the LaRouche organization at the time of the alliance."

NAP traces its origins to the New Left. In 1968, Newman and a small group of followers formed a collective in New York called IF ... THEN, which utilized a confrontational approach to political organizing. In the early 1970s, Newman and supporters established Centers for Change, which evolved into circles of radical psychology. Newman acknowledges making contact with LaRouche's National Caucus of Labor Committees in October 1973, at a time when both were espousing controversial theories of psychology. The relationship apparently lasted less than a year, but has been controversial ever since to the left which is wary of LaRouche.

"It was during the period that the Newmanites were involved with NCLC that the NCLC began to collect and disseminate intelligence on progressive groups. It is well documented that NCLC went on to provide intelligence to domestic and foreign government agencies. While documents released under the Freedom of Information Act reveal that U.S. government agencies frequently dismissed the material provided by the NCLC, it was provided nonetheless ... The Newmanites were at the center of the first documented instance of NCLC collaboration with U.S. intelligence agencies," Berlet writes.

The episode involved a Newman supporter who contacted the FBI and told agents that a defector from the group "was a former member of the Weatherman faction of SDS" and "had harbored Weather Underground fugitives," Berlet writes. Newman denies knowledge, but defectors say he was aware of the approach to the FBI.

Allegations of intelligence community involvement have attracted considerable attention among socialists, where LaRouche is remembered as the author of Operation Mop-Up, a series of violent assaults in 1973 by the NCLC. Noting the relationship, the *People's Daily World* commented, "... Having grown out of such FBI-controlled organizations as the U.S. Labor (sic) Party (of Lyndon LaRouche), it is not hard to see how NAP can so easily settle into its current divisive line." The Trotskyite Spartacist League has attacked NAP from the left, condemning it in *Workers Vanguard* as a "dubious outfit on the fringes of the Jackson campaign ... an eccentric act, irrelevant to the future of the American prole-



1988 New Alliance presidential candidate Leonora Fulani.

ariat." The Sparts have also played up the LaRouche connection, noting, "Newman linked up with LaRouche, a kindred radical guru then in transit from crackpot social democracy to crazed ultra-rightism."

Grudges have a way of multiplying on the left, a factor which bodes ill for Fulani's stated goal of making "a progressive third party a major contender in 1992." But even if the left could be united, electoral prospects would be dismal. The last significant socialist candidate was Progressive Henry Wallace, who polled a million votes in 1948. More recently, Barry Commoner of the Citizen's Party received more than 100,000 votes in 1980, but the group virtually disappeared afterward.

The American people have proven unresponsive to socialism outside the major parties. NAP promises to be further proof of this rule rather than the exception.

## The Dennis Serrette Deposition

The case of 1984 NAP presidential candidate Dennis Serrette, who defected from the group after the election, raises a more disturbing issue. Serrette stated in a deposition for a civil suit that Newman utilizes psychological therapy as a means to control NAP members. "Therapy was a way of getting people to not only operate in an organization way, but also a way of controlling every aspect of their lives," Serrette testified.

"You certainly couldn't straighten anybody out. But it was certainly effective in terms of controlling a lot of people to do the kinds of things that were asked of them ... they would do anything, just about, that he would ask them to do," Serrette testified.

The deposition also mentions a theory supported by some that NAP is merely a front of the International Workers Party, formed by Newman after the split from LaRouche. "There's nothing more than a front itself. I certainly believe that the New Alliance Party, and when I say 'front,' I just mean it's the cover to cover, possibly the ego of Fred Newman and the control of so many individuals in terms of power," Serrette testified. Leftist observers theorize that Newman, who is white, controls the IWP, which in turn operates NAP as a front for recruiting blacks. Psychological conditioning is then utilized to control black recruits.

"What you are dealing with is people who have been criminally tampered with in the deepest fibers of their being, and who have descended into a strange childlike world of dependency, in which the rational functions

## LaRouche Convicted, Jailed

Alexandria, VA - Former leftwinger-turned-rightwinger political gadfly Lyndon LaRouche was convicted in December on several counts of federal mail and tax fraud charges and sentenced to 15 years in prison in late January. LaRouche, along with several top aides, was accused of bilking supporters out of over \$30 million in unpaid "loans" and LaRouche himself - billed by admirers as "the world's greatest economist" - was found guilty of failing to pay federal income taxes for several years.

Ironically, LaRouche arrived in jail the same day as former LP Vice Presidential candidate Jim Lewis was released, on January 27, from his "willful failure to file" tax conviction.

of the ego are relinquished entirely to Fred Newman ... who regulates their lives on the most intimate level," said Frank Touchet, a psychotherapist critical of Newman's methods.

Serrette testified, "No one challenges Fred Newman. I have seen people maybe raise a few polite questions ... in planning sessions ... but Fred Newman's word is the word. There is no such thing as opposition within that organization, or principled opposition, that in my opinion could demonstrate a different will or challenge to power, a different political position of a major order, unless he agreed with it in some way."

## The Libertarian Party

"Important to the future of politics in this country is the Libertarian Party, the party drawing conservative votes from the Republicans." *National Alliance*.

NAP is at the end of the rainbow; a socialist, black nationalist grouplet whose goals are only a more extreme version of those sought by Jesse Jackson. NAP has even patterned a front group after Jackson, calling their creation the *Rainbow Alliance*.

NAP's line toward the LP has been generally receptive working on ballot access efforts, with the nation's third largest party. In NAP's weekly newspaper, *National Alliance*, the LP is portrayed as "the most successful of the far right parties - other than the Republicans - in the age of Reagan/Bush." Ron Paul, a recent *AL* issue stated, "won at least twice as many, and up to seven times what Fulani received." Fulani received more votes than Paul in four states where he did not have ballot status - Indiana, Missouri, North Carolina and West Virginia. But she also ran ahead of him in three states where both had status - Iowa, South Carolina and Virginia. In Ohio, Paul defeated Fulani by a razor-thin .01 margin.

In Nebraska, NAP candidate Chambers polled 2%, more than any LP U.S. Senate candidate. The LP does not have any state legislators nationwide, one of three areas in which it trails NAP. The others are party press and political cadres, important indicators of minor party strength. *LP News* publishes only six times annually, 44 issues less frequently than the *National Alliance*. LP membership has grown in the last year, but cadres have declined steadily since the 1980 Ed Clark campaign. That fact seems insignificant until one realizes that NAP achieved 50 state ballot status in 1988 largely through the efforts of cadres and volunteers. The notion of cadres, largely alien to libertarians, could become more relevant if NAP increases its vote totals this year and in 1990.

But even if that happens, NAP's chances of surpassing the LP as the nation's third party are slim. The American people, as noted earlier, have proven unsympathetic to socialism. They are less tolerant of political

LaRouche, well known for his small army of airport beggars and his expensive, half hour national TV broadcasts laced with wacko scientific theories and murky conspiracies revolving around himself, is expected to have to serve at least ten years of his 15 year sentence before release. He is still appealing while serving his sentence.

True to form, LaRouche blamed a "far reaching conspiracy" for his recent legal troubles, and claimed he would be "assassinated" once incarcerated. LaRouche has run for U.S. president several times as an independent as well as running in the Democratic Party primary in 1988. He has sometimes been misidentified as a "libertarian" by ignorant news reporters, but his cult-like organization advocates Mussolini style corporativism rather than libertarianism.

It is unclear whether his recent conviction and incarceration will deter LaRouche from future presidential bids. ■

groups with cult-like tendencies, especially those evocative of the new left. NAP may not disappear like it's left-wing predecessors, but it is unlikely to surpass the LP electorally in the foreseeable future. Jackson's winning the Democratic nomination in 1992 could even cause it to dissolve. ■

## SleazePAC

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raising" which has "perplexed and confused many LP and BAC donors." Blumert said, "We have no control over an independent PAC, but the '51 - '92' mailing would not have had a fraction of its impact without the participation and endorsement of Bergland and Fielder. Their names on the letterhead add to the illusion that this was an official LP mailing."

In addition to the letterhead names, the "51 - '92" mailing began by saying, "This is urgent. You may be holding the future of the Libertarian Party in your hands right now." On the second page, a sentence read, "PROJECT 51 - '92 is a Libertarian Party project run by longtime Libertarian Party activists for the Libertarian Party." It is these representations which are at the heart of the controversy, since "51 - '92" is not a Libertarian Party project under the control or jurisdiction of the Libertarian National Committee, but rather a totally independent PAC answerable only to Marrou and Emerling.

## Immediate Fallout

The fallout was immediate. On January 13, David Bergland wrote Marrou and told him to remove his name from the PAC letterhead, citing the fact that as "Chief Advisor" his advice had never been sought, particularly on the fundraising letter, and that the representation of the PAC as "a Libertarian Party project" was "misleading," causing confusion with contributors. LP Treasurer Fielder, waiting a week to see how the winds were blowing, followed Bergland's lead and also removed his name from the letterhead. Fielder is still serving as an advisor to "51 - '92."

In the meantime LP Legal Committee chair, William Hall, wrote Marrou and Emerling on January 19 and ordered them to "cease describing your political action committee as 'a Libertarian Party project.'" Hall went on to say, "Your characterization of your PAC as a Libertarian Party project could not only fraudulently induce contributors to support what they understand is a Libertarian Party Project, but could potentially subject both the Libertarian National Committee and your PAC to civil and criminal liabilities for violation of FEC regulations." Hall cited these dangers as a consequence of possible confusion by the FEC over reporting the PAC's activities to the government as a consolidated

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# SleazePAC

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entity with the national LP, as well as problems with state and national campaign spending limits by PACs. He also noted the fact that "51 - '92" failed to include a disclaimer required by the IRS that contributions to the PAC are not tax deductible.

Hall went on to ask Marrou to take two actions. "First, contact in writing all persons who have contributed to your PAC in response to the January 4 fund raising letter, advise them that while supporting Libertarian ballot status, your PAC is independent of an in no way affiliated with the Libertarian Party. Second, advise all such persons that you will at their request forward the funds contributed to the Libertarian Party Ballot Access Committee."

As of mid February, no official response to these requests had been received. The LP did receive promises that future "51 - '92" PAC fundraising letters would not misrepresent the status of the PAC to potential donors. No response was received on the LP demands that prior PAC donors be informed of the PAC's true status and that contributors be offered a chance to re-direct their original PAC contributions if they so choose.

## Questioned Strategy

The basic strategy for "51 - '92" according to their fundraising letter is very simple. Raise about \$750,000 before the next presidential election and spend it on paid petitioners who will collect the hundreds of thousands of signatures necessary.

One example cited was the state of North Carolina, which did not have LP ballot status in 1988 due to the high signature requirement and a newly revised early petition deadline. The Marrou letter said that the price of North Carolina ballot status is \$60,000, and that petitioning there should begin immediately.

However, this "throw money at the problem" approach to ballot access has been questioned by a number of people with considerable experience in the area, including 1988 BAC coordinator Paul Jacob and ballot law expert Richard Winger.

Winger, who told *AL* that his permission was not obtained to list him on the "51 - '92" letterhead as "Ballot Consultant," wrote a critical letter to Marrou after the fundraising letter went out challenging a number of statements made in the letter about past ballot access practices and plans being made for the PAC's future efforts. Winger stresses that he is neutral on the "51 - '92" - BAC controversy.

Jacob, who is currently employed by the rival LP committee, noted that the PAC's plan for North Carolina is "probably illegal on its face" in light of federal and state restrictions on the amount a political action committee can spend in the state, which he contends is a maximum of \$9,000 per year, not \$60,000. He also points out that the federal limit of \$5,000 per state party would make large scale ballot access funding from a PAC very difficult, without careful legal loophole maneuvering to get around the limits. Further, any attempt to circumvent the PAC limitations by channeling money to candidates is hobbled by the fact that PAC's can't dictate to candidates how to spend their contributions "without violating the clear intent of the law," Jacob maintains. Pushed to its farthest limits, Jacob said, advocating a PAC expenditure for ballot access in North Carolina of \$60,000 "could be construed as conspiracy to violate federal and state election laws which could have devastating effects on LP ballot access efforts."

Jacob contrasted the LP's Ballot Access Committee's approach with that of "51 - '92" by noting that the respected petitioning firm of Rick Arnold & Associates told him that North Carolina could only be done for \$60,000 if petitioning were jointly done with

the far left New Alliance Party to reduce costs, and that a more realistic cost figure was in the \$85,000 range. Jacob said that the LP's BAC approach for 1992 ballot access was a blend of outside petitioners plus internal state LP volunteers and BAC supervision of ballot access efforts.

"In Pennsylvania in 1988 the outside petitioning firm got about 75% of the signatures, and that was the state with the largest percentage of outside paid petition signatures," Jacob said. One of the BAC priorities, he said, was to build up state LP parties during the off-election years so that the local component of petitioning can remain high in most instances. "At a dollar per raw signature for outside petitioning," Jacob said, "our 50 state ballot goal would cost well over a million dollars. We think it can be done much cheaper with a combination volunteer and paid approach."

## Marrou-Emerling Response

When asked the reason behind the formation of "51 - '92" PAC, Andre Marrou said the purpose was to "relieve the LP of the tremendous burden of ballot access" so that the LP could concentrate on campaigns during the election year. "We want to help the party, that's all we're offering." Asked why he chose to set up a separate operation from the LP's own BAC, Marrou said "they didn't want to do anything right away, and they want to rely on volunteers. We just want to raise the money and pay professionals to do the job."

Asked about the claim that "51 - '92" was a "Libertarian Party project," Marrou noted that he, Emerling, Bergland and Fielder were members of the LP and it was for the benefit of the party. When Marrou was asked whether anyone who pays the \$15 national LP dues can then expect to fundraise for their private organizations which are not accountable to the Libertarian National Committee, he said that opposition to "51 - '92" was an example of "destructive in-fighting and factionalism which hampers the growth of the LP." Marrou concluded, "we just want to help the Party."

Fundraising Manager Emerling was more candid, admitting that their effort was "healthy competition" to the LP's own BAC and cited jealousy by BAC chair Blumert, and also alluded to slights received by the Marrou VP campaign effort from the Paul campaign, which was also chaired by Blumert. Emerling admitted he made "an editing mistake" in describing the PAC as an LP project and said that future fundraisers would be changed. Emerling also claimed that "we could get the \$60,000 to North Carolina one way or another," but admitted that they had not yet researched the legal aspects of PAC spending limitations.

Neither Marrou nor Emerling have any recent ballot access experience, and the Marrou campaign did not contribute to the 1988 LP ballot drive effort. Marrou cited his involvement with "four Alaskan ballot drives" in the late 70's and early 80's and Emerling cited experience in various states including North Carolina during the 1970's as qualifications for their ballot access leadership. Emerling also said that as of late January, the "51 - '92" mailing had only broken even, although a later report indicated that over \$20,000 had been raised. Emerling said that the Marrou VP campaign ended up with a surplus of about \$14,000 but that the initial funding for "51 - '92" had come from his own pocket.

## Motives

One of the puzzling aspects of this competition is what motivated the sudden outburst of interest in LP ballot access, particularly since the LP's own ballot access committee is still in operation and has hired Paul Jacob to continue on-going ballot access projects.

Some opponents of the "51 - '92" effort, outraged by the misrepresentation of the private project as an official LP operation and

the involvement of recently promoted high ranking LP officers in direct competition to the Party's own committee, have taken to calling the Marrou-Emerling operation "SleazePAC." Critics point out that ballot access has always been a good fundraising draw, and that former LP candidates or LP officers do not have the right to "give away" use of the LP name for private projects.

There is some suspicion on the part of BAC supporters that the Marrou venture had the tacit approval of top LP leadership, citing the front page "puff piece" article in the January 1989 issue of *LP News* on "51 - '92" and mention by LP chair David Walter in a mid-January memo that he was considering abolishing the BAC and the LP Advertising Committee (organized as "self funding action committees" in 1985) at the April LNC meeting in Washington. This was surprising, since no prior hint of any such move had appeared, and many observers feel that the Advertising Committee (which produced a widely appreciated 1988 LP TV commercial) and the BAC efforts were the only two projects demonstrating great success by the LP in 1988, contrasting sharply with the otherwise dismal performance of the national LP during the election year. Some even suspect a deal to turn over the ballot access 'franchise' to Marrou and Emerling in return for their future

political support in internal LP leadership races.

## BAC Plans

In the meantime the LP's BAC has produced its own fundraising letter signed by Ron Paul which has performed well according to early reports, despite the fact that the "51 - '92" fundraiser confused many potential donors who already contributed to "51 - '92." LP chair Walter has also promised Burt Blumert not to abolish the BAC in April and is attempting to mediate between the BAC and "51 - '92". BAC chair Blumert has not ruled out legal action against the "51 - '92" PAC, particularly since he believes many people deliberately were misled. In the past the LP has taken vigorous legal action (in California and elsewhere) when individuals attempted to use the LP name for their own private projects.

The outcome remains unclear. On the one hand, some LP activists have given good reason for many to question their motives and actions. Many LP contributors are simply confused. On the plus side, the rivalry in the ballot access spotlight is a strong indication that the nation's third largest political party is taking seriously the problem of ballot status.

It remains to be seen whether all of this new found interest in the LP ballot access problem will help or simply complicate an already difficult situation. ■



Volunteer Day Coordinator Alan Lindsay (center, with beard) and *American Libertarian* editor Mike Holmes (center, left) presented a Volunteer Day birthday cake to appreciative military recruiters at Houston's Northline Mall recruiting station on January 27. Photo courtesy of Elizabeth Adkins.

# 1989 Volunteer Day a Success

Houston, TX - Libertarian volunteers around the nation celebrated the 16th anniversary of the end of the draft by presenting birthday cakes to military recruiters on January 27th. According to Volunteer Day National Coordinator Alan Lindsay, libertarians in more than 50 cities volunteered to set up events and contact the media. About half of the coordinators garnered news coverage.

The Volunteer Day Project (VDP) also distributed op-ed pieces and several Volunteer Day letters to the editor were published. The VDP submitted an op-ed by *LP News* editor Karl Hess to 85 daily newspapers. That piece, complete with a full width headline, ran at the top of the op-ed page in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, with a circulation of almost half a million. Paul Jacob wrote a special op-ed aimed at college and high school newspapers and some coordinators managed to get it published at local schools. Jacob, co-founder of the Volunteer Day Project and the current LP Ballot Access Committee coordinator served a prison term for refusing to register for the military draft.

The Pentagon caused some last minute problems for the project. Only 4 days before the event, recruiters who had previously agreed

to participate called to say that they had been ordered not to allow the VDP volunteers to enter their recruiting stations. This discouraged some volunteers and caused some events to be called off.

Lindsay says his first phone call reporting trouble came from Peter Schmerl in Tucson, Arizona followed only hours later by a call from Steven Jayne, the Mississippi State LP chair. Both Jayne and Schmerl made calls to regional offices and tried to settle the matter there. They began working to set up alternative events while Lindsay worked his way up through the layers of the military bureaucracy.

Lindsay eventually contacted the U.S. Army Recruiting Command in Chicago. "The Army's primary concern was that they would be accused of supporting partisan political activity. I explained to them that a number of Libertarian Party members were active volunteers in the Volunteer Day Project, but that our organization was not political nor a part of the Libertarian Party," Lindsay said. "They waffled and said they would get back with me the following morning."

The following afternoon Lindsay called

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# Libertarian Outlook

## Competition for the LP

Despite its most successful election year since 1980, the largest libertarian membership organization in the world – the Libertarian Party – is under assault from all sides.

A recent article in *Liberty* magazine heralded "The End of Political Activism" and proclaimed the LP a hopeless failure. A recent issue of *Reason* magazine contained three articles about libertarians in politics: one each advocating becoming Republicans or Democrats, and one written by LP founder David Nolan questioning the usefulness of the Libertarian Party in the 1980s. Not exactly balanced coverage, but symptomatic of the crisis of confidence that the LP now faces.

Successive LP annual budgets have failed to be met, with the LP leadership responding to these failures by doing what comes easiest: lowering the budget for the following year. This "death spiral" is their idea of a solution.

In 1984, the national LP raised \$414,000 in what was hardly a banner year for libertarian political action. The revenue for the Party in 1988 was down from 1984 by 25%, at a time

when the separately funded Ballot Access Committee and Libertarian presidential and vice presidential campaigns raised close to \$3 million in all.

Meanwhile, the education oriented Advocates for Self Government organization raised nearly \$200,000 in 1988 and the Libertarian Republican Organizing Committee is boasting of a \$150,000 annual budget. Both members of the 1988 LP ticket – Ron Paul and Andre Marrou – have also formed their own private PACs with ambitious fundraising plans.

Something is clearly wrong here. The LP is facing real competition for its dominance in the libertarian movement and has responded to this by doing nothing but lowering its own expectations.

Competition is a fact of life and political organizations are not exempt. The LP either has to respond to these competitive forces or face inevitable decline and fall.

Third party success or third party Edsel – the choice is stark and clear. ■

## Congressional Pay Raise

In a satisfying display of public outrage, the U.S. Congress was forced to vote down their own proposed 51% pay increase after their original plan for a "no vote" pay increase was exposed by relentless news media coverage.

Anyone else trying to unilaterally increase their own wages by over 50% would have been pilloried as a greedy robber baron. For once, the politicians got a taste of their own medicine.

And despite crocodile tears being shed for our poor underpaid representatives, top level civil servants and judges whose pay scales are also affected, we safely predict that there will be no mass exodus from the public trough by these impoverished public employees. To

date there have been no reports of mass resignations or retirements by judges, bureaucrats or congressmen.

Such evidence reinforces the common sense notion that it was legalized robbery all along, since the market clearing wage for these jobs is evidently much lower than the proposed \$135,000 per year.

The Congressional pay raise ripoff outcry, along with the populist revolt against the proposed "savings tax" to bail out the government savings and loan insurance fund, demonstrates that when government actions become too outrageous, the public can and will react. Chalk up another victory for the taxpayers. ■

## 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.

### Rothbard Crying Wolf

As a subscriber to *American Libertarian* since the beginning, I have always found Murray Rothbard's articles amusing. His victims and subjects have surely laughed, cried and even gotten mad, I am sure.

Is this the same Murray Rothbard who personally pushed and wrote favorably of Ron Paul for President and told us "unless we ran him, the Libertarian Party would self destruct?"

Crying wolf again is getting old! I guess he has to somehow point the spotlight to someone else for the surprisingly poor performance of the greatest thing to come to the LP since him! ("Shootout at OK Corral," Jan. '89 AL.) Alas, Jim Turney. I am no fan of Jim

Turney, I am a National LP Pledger on and off for several years, currently on since January 1987. The National office has not impressed me since the Lanham/Mitchell reign. Paul Jacob, who is praised by Murray was no saint either.

Until we are able to find an individual to walk on water and not get anyone wet in the process, we will continue to have problems at the national office.

Please give us a break on the Crane Machine talk; it is even getting old to me.

**Bruce A. Smith**  
Douglas, MI

### "Whither LDOC?"

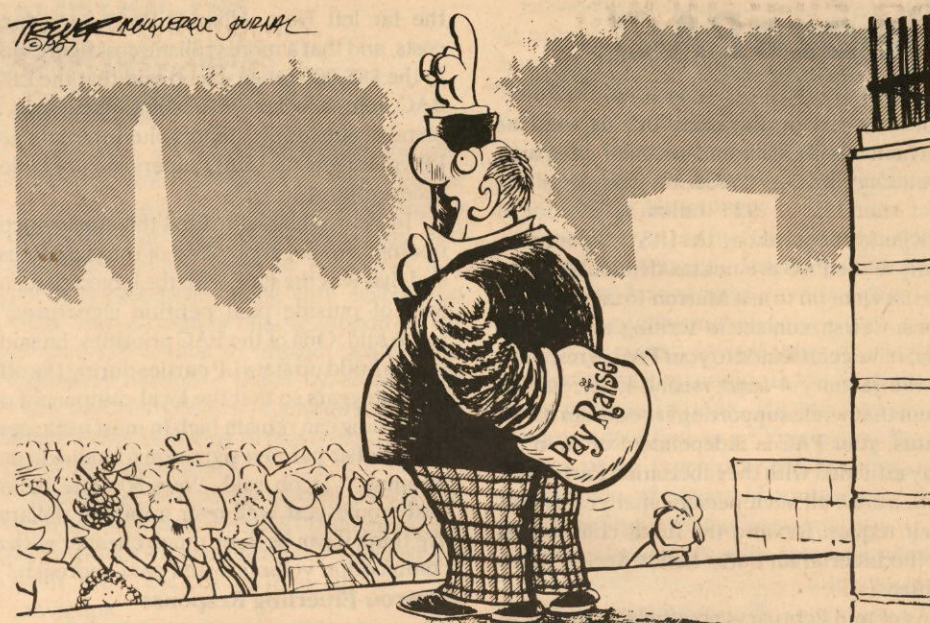
The Libertarian Republican Organizing Committee (LROC) is doing Great Things! Where the hell is an LDOC?

**Stormy MON**  
Denver, CO

### "Thank You"

Thank you for spelling my name correctly.

**Lyn Sapowsky-Smith**  
Redwood City, CA



"IN THE WAKE OF THE IRAN-CONTRA SCANDAL, IT IS UP TO US, THE CONGRESS, TO RESTORE THE PEOPLE'S TRUST AND CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT..."

## Guest Column

## Learning from the 1988 Elections

by Jim McClarin

Jim McClarin has a long history of Libertarian Party activism and is currently Vice Chair of the 1st District of the New Hampshire LP. He is a self-employed remodeling contractor. This article originally appeared in the December 1988 issue of *Libertarian Lines*, the newsletter of the New Hampshire Libertarian Party.

In 1988 we ran our most qualified, most credentialed, most articulate, and most energetic candidate for President in the history of the Libertarian Party. He proceeded to mount the most action-intensive campaign to date, with an itinerary often rivaling that of his major party opponents. He scored early with unprecedented local media coverage for campaign events, and brought in many thousands of first-time Libertarian supporters. We certainly had reason to expect great things from Ron Paul.

As we conjured our visions of success, one automatic assumption by many of us was that the 1980 vote for Ed Clark (922,000 votes) was the baseline below which the Ron Paul campaign dare not slip. Hidden in this choice of a yardstick was a desperate desire to expose the "Bergland disaster" of 1984 (only 228,000 votes) as an unrepresentative quirk of fate, irrelevant to our claim as the "growing Libertarian challenge" to the two-party system.

Yet it is Clark's result, not Bergland's that ought to be discounted as a wild anomaly in our growth chart.

What made the Clark campaign so aberrant was that most of its funding came from a single wealthy individual – Clark's Vice Presidential running mate, David Koch. By pumping in almost \$2 million of his own money (allowable under law only because he was a candidate) David Koch was able to put Clark on all 50 state ballots, hire expertise, and buy a number of 5-minute TV ads for the campaign. All other contributions combined paled to insignificance.

No other Presidential campaign in modern history in any party has seen such a level of funding by a single individual. It was certainly a freak event in the normal growth of a small political organization.

David Koch and his brother Charles (both billionaires, according to *Forbes*) also bankrolled a number of Libertarian organizations which vastly energized the party prior to and during the 1980 campaign. The 1979 nominating convention was the best-attended ever, and 1980's crop

of Libertarian Party candidates for lower office has never been equaled.

Yet for many Libertarians – the Kochs included – getting only 1% of the vote for an expenditure of approximately 1% of the total money spent in 1980 (by all the candidates for President that year) did not seem like a good deal. A manufacturer would probably expect that ratio of "sales" to advertising, but the Kochs opted to end their benefactor status, sending the Libertarian Party into the throes of severe cash withdrawal.

Continued page 5

## American Libertarian

The *American Libertarian* is not affiliated with any political or non-profit organization. It is an independent monthly newsletter about the libertarian movement and related political, economic and social developments.

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## '88 Elections

From page 4

Adding to the misery was a mountain of debt acquired by the party during the excitement of the Clark campaign, with the result that little post-election action occurred until after the debt was paid.

Little wonder, then, that the 1984 campaign was so anemic compared to Clark's. Yet to the party's and candidate David Bergland's credit, we surpassed the vote total of Roger McBride, our 1976 nominee.

Against this re-appraised backdrop, we should be able to agree that the Ron Paul campaign was a major step forward, nearly matching the Clark/Koch effort in dollars spent, but with money gleaned in small amounts from thousands of individual contributors, the great bulk of whom are new to the Libertarian Party cause.

Today's price for a campaign equal to Clark's would be approximately \$5 million, due to inflation and quadrupled TV ad costs. Hence the lower vote for Paul on less than half the budget in 1980 dollars. Very probably, Ron Paul's more tight-fisted management approach and his greater credibility as an ex-Congressman resulted in more votes than Clark might have gotten on the same budget in 1988.

Having acknowledged Ron Paul's accomplishments, we should next explore the shortcomings of his campaign. How was it mismanaged? What were its mistakes? For example, Dr. Paul had expected to raise much more money than he actually did. Did he somehow sabotage his own fundraising effort?

A short litany of obvious faults springs immediately to mind — faults which not only impeded fundraising, but directly and indirectly lost votes. Those stemmed from the often-noted insularity of the Ron Paul campaign — the candidate's insistence on using his old Congress and Senate campaign staff, to the exclusion of practically anyone else.

Not only were willing volunteers greatly underutilized (quite a trick for a would-be "groundswell" effort), but all kinds of much-needed talent was left high and dry.

Though the candidate "ran and ran hard," to paraphrase *The Wall Street Journal*, and his schedulers did a superb job of shunting him around the country, the campaign had a distinctly pedestrian quality to it. There was no magic, no soaring inspiration, no brilliance or fine honing. Among the shortcomings that hurt the campaign:

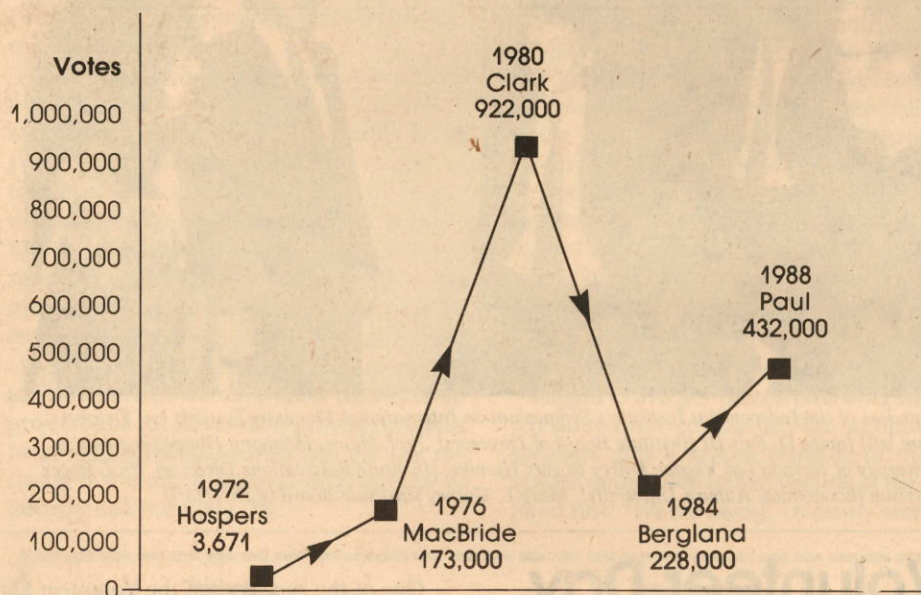
- Alluring candidate photos. The flat, ill-lit, less-than-presidential selections used were simply insufficient. No one on Dr. Paul's staff had an eye for excellence, and advice on the need for professional photographs went unheeded.

- Classy campaign literature — stuff that would be so well-written and tastefully designed that more contributors would want to fund it, more volunteers would want to disseminate it, and more voters and news editors would be impressed with the seriousness of the campaign. Unfortunately, the staff never saw the need for top-notch material — and the campaign suffered because of it. The Libertarian Party certainly contains dozens of superbly qualified writers and designers, but any good professional would have sufficed.

- Coaching on how to dress and act "presidential" and thereby avoid the comparisons of Paul (made by some newspapers) to a soccer coach, a TV evangelist, or a used-car salesman. But no one in the campaign recognized this need.

- Coaching on communication skills. A good dose of libertarian conversion messiah Marshall Fritz, for instance, could have done wonders. Voice control, delivery, and gesticulation needed lots of work. George

Growth In the Libertarian Presidential Vote, Noting the 1980 Clark/Koch Anomaly



Bush got help — and won the election. Ron Paul didn't — and paid the price.

- Coaching on strategy for important television appearances. The disappointing performance on the Morton Downey Show — where Dr. Paul came across as shrill and unconvincing — could, instead, have been a vote-getter.

- Inspired public relations ploys to break into the network news and other major media. No staffer seemed to possess a sufficient "nose for news."

Ron Paul and his staff were no doubt disdainful of the tinsel and gloss surrounding his two vacuous major party opponents. But substance alone is not enough in this TV-dominated age, where voters are conditioned to buy on the basis of packaging. The undershot goals of the 1988 campaign should bear sobering witness to this fact of modern campaign life.

For 1992, then, let us learn the lessons of the 1988 campaign. Let us demand the best: substance and credentials on the one hand, but also a commitment to an open-ended, inclusive team approach to take full advantage of every willing person, and to excellence in every aspect of campaigning, with improvement a daily goal. Then, to make it all visible, let us have the services of a first-class publicist.

By offering our best in 1992, we will no doubt crest that freakishly premature benchmark set by Clark/Koch in 1980, and move on to eventual victory and a Libertarian society. ■

## Independent Institute Update

by George L. O'Brien

*George O'Brien is a free lance writer and libertarian activist living in the San Francisco Bay area.*

San Francisco, CA - Jeffrey Rogers Hummel, libertarian scholar, writer, and lecturer, has joined the staff of the Independent Institute in San Francisco. The addition of Hummel corresponds with a major increase in visibility of the Independent Institute.

The Independent Institute was formed in 1986 by its President, David Theroux. The purpose is to support and publish "Academically based studies in political

economy and public policy." In particular, the Institute concentrates on "areas usually avoided for political or special interest reasons." The Independent Institute will "look at public issues not in terms of prevailing political expediency", but instead will examine "the entire scope of policies — past, present and even those likely in the future."

According to Theroux, "We chose the name Independent Institute to emphasize our independence of special interests and to show there are no 'government sacred cows' that cannot be touched." This program is designed to "unmask the true nature of government" with attention to rigor in scholarship so that the work will stand up to scrutiny. At the same time, the

results will be put in a form which is accessible to non-scholars and the general public.

Theroux has extensive experience in this area. After receiving an MBA from University of Chicago, he served as Vice President of Academic Affairs at the Cato Institute and later organized the Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy.

The new Publications Director, Jeffrey Rogers Hummel, has a BA in history from Grove City College (where he studied under Austrian economist Hans Senholz) and he received his Masters and all but his dissertation in Economic History from the University of Texas at Austin. Hummel served in the Army, completed Officer's Candidate School, and was tank platoon leader (five tanks and 20 men). While he has since worked primarily as a free lance writer and lecturer, in 1982 he also served as the Research Director for the State-wide Libertarian Party campaigns in California. Most recently, he wrote scripts for Knowledge Products series of audio cassettes. (The latest program on "American Wars" will be narrated by George C. Scott.)

The Independent Institute will publish a series of books which will include:

- **Regulation and the Reagan Era: Politics and the Public Interest**, edited by Roger Meiners and Bruce Yandle.
- **Taxing Energy: Oil Severance Taxation and the Economy**, By Robert Deacon, Stephen DeCanio, H.E. French, and M. Bruce Johnson.
- **Agriculture and the State**, By E.C. Pasour, Jr.
- **Higher Education and the State**, edited by John W. Sommer.
- **American Education: The Private Challenge to Public Schools**, by Donald Erickson.
- **Arms, Politics and the Economy: Historical and Contemporary Pro-**

*Continued page 6*

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## Update

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- spectives, edited by Robert Higgs.
- **Liberty and Constitutional Law**, by James Huffman.

The Institute distributes these and other books and cassette tapes through the 500,000 circulation *Libertytree Catalog* which includes book reviews by Jeff Hummel and others.

Other activities of the Independent Institute include national honorary dinners for major figures in libertarian thought, such as the one held for James M. Buchanan (Nobel Laureate) and scholars conferences such as the one on International Free Monetary System in October, which included Larry White, Sir Alan Walter, Leland Yeager, Hans Hoppe, Richard Timberlake, Richard Rahn, Jr., Huston McCulloch, and other top scholars.

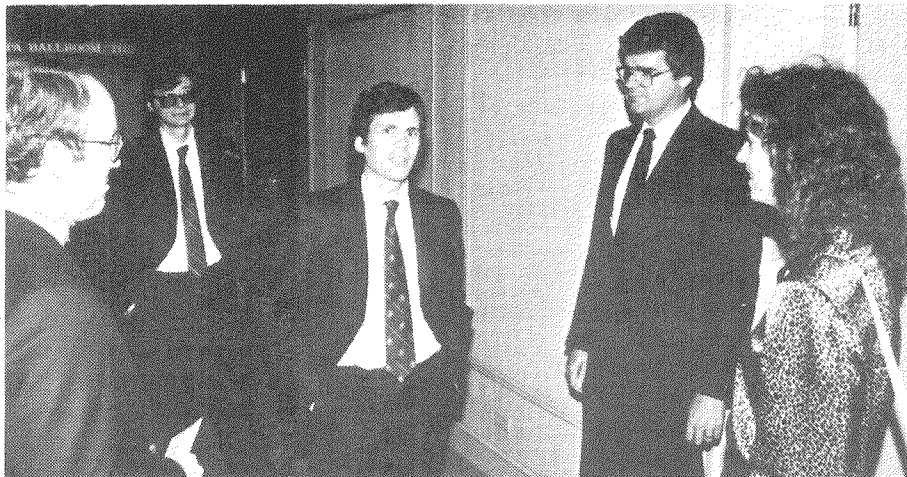
The Institute distributes "Op-Ed" articles written by both its staff and research scholars. These have already included pieces in the *Wall Street Journal* by Fred McChesney, Robert Higgs, and E.C. Pasour, Jr.

A regular newsletter, *The Independent*, analyzes key public issues and reports on the many projects of the Institute.

The Independent Institute also coordinates the activities of the National Center for Privatization which publishes a monthly newsletter, *Private Solutions*.

The Independent Institute is taking a leadership position in advancing libertarian ideas to the academic community, business, media, policy making circles as well as the general public. With a Board of Directors of entirely libertarian business leaders, there will not be the pressure to avoid certain issues or opinions. Since sound scholarship is a necessity, libertarians should expect careful and authoritative writing with none of the unsupported assertions often found elsewhere. Libertarians should find the kind of intellectual support to make our case to even the most skeptical critics.

For further information, contact **The Independent Institute, 350 Sansome St., San Francisco, CA 94104** or phone **415-434-2976**.



Attendees of the Independent Institute's Symposium on International Monetary Systems last October: (from left) James D. Fair III (Institute Board of Directors), Prof. Hanns-Hermann Hoppe (Economics, University of Nevada Las Vegas), Jeffrey Rogers Hummel (Institute Publications Director), Prof. Roger Garrison (Economics, Auburn University), Mary L. Garvey (Institute Board of Directors).

## Volunteer Day

From page 3

again. "They backed down completely," he said, "They ordered the recruiters to receive our volunteers and to graciously accept the birthday cakes. It turns out that a lot of our problem was caused by the LP sponsorship of Volunteer Day in 1988. The decision to do this an non-partisan independent committee saved the project."

Although some libertarians have argued that the draft isn't much of an issue anymore, the very week of Volunteer Day Democrat Sam Nunn introduced a bill in the U.S. Senate to enact a program of National Service. Since then, that bill has attracted an increasing amount of publicity and support.

Paul Jacob and Alan Lindsay started the Volunteer Day Project in 1987 and in 1988 the event was coordinated from the LP National headquarters. With the turmoil and turnover that later developed there, it appeared that there would be no Volunteer Day this year.

Lindsay credits 1980 LP presidential candidate Ed Clark with keeping the event alive. "Volunteer Day just would not have happened without Ed Clark," says Lindsay, "Ed took an interest in Volunteer Day from the start and he insisted that we make it succeed."

One of the successes of the Volunteer Day event was the coordinator kit. The organizers used their experience from last years event to compile instructions, check-lists, tips, and sample materials. The result was a kit that included almost everything except the birthday cake. Partly because of the kit several people who had never organized a political event before were able to organize a Volunteer Day event successfully.

Lindsay stressed the gains since last year, noting the op-eds, the increased participation and an agreement by the Army Recruiting Command to make an advance determination next year. As for next year he said, "Ed Clark's post Volunteer Day advice can be summed up in two words, 'start earlier.' That is the plan and we are already obtaining advice, volunteers and coordinators for next year." The VDP plans to enlarge the op-ed program as well as the number of local events next year.

For more information about The Volunteer Day Project, a copy of the 1989 news clippings or a copy of the coordinator kit, call or write: **Volunteer Day Project, 2300 Lazy Hollow, #330-D, Houston, Texas 77063, (713) 974-4402.**

## Proclaim Liberty Convention Plans Set

Philadelphia, PA - Convention Associates, organizers of the 1989 Libertarian Party national convention, have recently announced the initial details of the four-day event scheduled to begin Thursday, August 31 at the Wyndham Franklin Plaza Hotel in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Among the main functions at the convention will be the election of new national LP officers and LNC members, platform and by-laws revisions, featured speakers and a special panel session on goals and strategies for the LP in the 1990s. Convention organizers have also scheduled an excursion to Atlantic City, a tour of old Philadelphia, a "major name speaker" (to be announced) and a convention banquet and other hosted luncheon events. Wednesday evening, August 30, will also feature a "20th Anniversary of the Movement" banquet sponsored by SIL including a "roast" of *LP News* editor Karl Hess.

Pre-convention sessions on the platform, rules and by-laws and credentials will begin earlier during the week and the official opening session will start Friday morning, September 1.

Convention Associates is the partnership organizing the convention under contract

with the national Libertarian Party. Principals of Convention Associates are Linda Morrison, a professional public relations manager, and David Walter and Don Ernsberger. All three are long time libertarian activists and Walter and Ernsberger are both members of the Libertarian National Committee. Walter recently assumed the LP chairmanship and he and Ernsberger are organizers of the Society for Individual Liberty (SIL) one of the oldest membership organizations in the libertarian movement.

Because it will be the first LP convention since 1983 to be hosted in a city east of the Mississippi, organizers expect a bigger turnout from east coast libertarians than past conventions. Room rates at the 758-room Wyndham Franklin Plaza Hotel, described as a "luxury hotel", will be \$75/night for a single and \$85/night for a double, plus tax.

The hotel is in downtown Philadelphia near historic landmarks, shops and restaurants and the hotel itself has full health and fitness facilities along with three restaurants and a bar. Exhibit space will be available.

The convention package price (until 4/15/89) for the all-inclusive registration is \$199.85. A basic package excluding special events, the banquet and breakfasts, but good for the business sessions, major speakers and exhibits, costs \$74.95 prior to April 15. The SIL "20th Anniversary" banquet and roast is tentatively set at \$40 and must be purchased separately.

More information and advance registrations can be sent to "**Proclaim Liberty**", P.O. Box 338, Warminster, PA 18974. Hotel reservation information will be provided after April 15.

AL will update convention information as it becomes available. ■

## Dunbar Named New LP Director

Washington, DC - Although newly appointed LP Chair David Walter "hit the ground running" with a toughly worded memo to state chairs dated December 10, just six days after he was elevated from LP Vice Chair in the wake of former LP Chair Jim Turney's unexpected resignation, one of the major items in his initial memo became quickly obsolete by the pace of on-going events.

### New Director

Although Walter's memo said "I have given Kirk McKee a vote of confidence and he has expressed a desire to stay on until September," the following week McKee turned in his resignation. Walter said McKee had received a job offer from his former employer which McKee felt he couldn't turn down. It was known even prior to the Oklahoma LNC meeting that McKee had asked for more money to stay on with the LP.

In the wake of this unexpected development, LNC Secretary Dean Ahmad was brought on as a contract "acting interim National Director" until late January. In the meantime, the LP's Executive Committee conducted a hasty candidate search and agreed to hire Nick Dunbar, a longtime LP activist from Florida, where he recently worked as a manager at a Holiday Inn. Most LP activists who learned of this development familiar with Dunbar praised him highly, and noted his active participation during the difficult Florida ballot drive in 1988. Although he didn't arrive until late January (and his family is not due until after the school year is out), most observers express confidence in Dunbar's ability to deal with the many prob-

Continued page 7

## DECLASSIFIEDS

Ads in the De-Classified section are \$10 per insertion for up to 20 words, with remaining words at 30¢ each, payable in advance. All ads are subject to the approval of the American Libertarian. Send copy and payment to: **De-Classifieds, The American Libertarian, 21715 Park Brook Drive, Katy, TX 77450.**

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Rothbard, Sheldon Richman, Evan O. Waters, Mike Holmes, David Ramsey Steel, Ross Overbeek, Doug Casey and others. Written by and for libertarians. Six issues per year, only \$18. Money back guarantee. Order: Liberty, Dept. MH, P.O. Box 1167, Port Townsend, WA 98368.

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## Dunbar

From page 6

lems facing the LP headquarters.

### Money, Money, Money

Although one of the main problems to be solved is the extremely rapid turnover of LP staff (the longest serving LP employee was hired in December), the always present problem of bill paying is still present.

The 1989 national LP budget was reduced by 10% from 1988, to approximately \$304,000 (not \$400,000 as reported incorrectly in the November 1988 *AL*). This is arrived at by adding back the \$36,200 telemarketing costs netted out from revenues in the official budget. But reports from knowledgeable sources indicate that the LP was flat broke as of mid-January and the situation remained grim in February, although the budget is only about \$25,000 per month, salaries have been paid late and little progress has been made on past due debts, such as the nearly \$2,000 still owed on the 1987 Seattle convention.

The budget itself is also somewhat unusual, largely drawn up by newly promoted LP Vice Chair David Bergland and Treasurer Stephen Fielder late during the Oklahoma City LNC meeting. Budgeted direct mail income dropped from the 1988 budgeted amount of \$60,000 to only \$12,000 in 1989.

Also, a \$15,000 amount was budgeted for a BAC coordinator. This is intended to be 1/2 of the salary of a ballot access field coordinator supervised by the separately funded Ballot Access Committee, which itself raised nearly \$600,000 in 1988, almost double the amount raised by the LP national office. However, this line item was included in a newly created "surplus" category, and apparently the BAC coordinator will only be paid if there is a \$3,000 per month cash surplus; an unlikely prospect given past budgetary shortfalls. Former National Director Paul Jacob, who served as the BAC field coordinator during the successful 1988 ballot drive effort, has been named as the BAC coordinator for 1989.

However, LP Chair Walter informed Jacob in December that the LP's portion of his salary would not be forthcoming until finances improve. Meanwhile, the Ballot Access Committee is footing the entire bill. Although there is no money for ballot access in the LP budget unless there is a surplus, a new item called "office redecoration" totaling \$2,000 is shown as a headquarters expense. It would seem that potted plants take precedence over ballot access in the official 1989 LP budget.



Newly appointed LP Director Nick Dunbar. Shown here in the "pizza boy" ensemble popular with the LP office staff. Photo by Earl Howard Studios.

### Other Matters

Meanwhile, the other item sent out with Walter's original memo, a separate memo from Party Secretary Dean Ahmad, noted that the by-laws (changed in 1987) require a national LP membership cut-off date of January 31 rather than February 28 for dele-

gation size allocations to the upcoming national convention. This particular glitch was hastily fixed when the official opening day of official convention business was moved up one day, which advanced the membership cut off date by a full month, to the traditional end of February deadline.

Membership chair Matt Monroe had planned the usual national LP January membership mailing, which also normally helps swell the size of state delegations to the national convention. But he was told there was no money for such a mailing by the national LP. So he began a program of encouraging state parties to do their own membership mailings. Ron Paul signed a membership letter sent out by the Texas LP, for example.

Fortunately for the LP, many state parties are doing their own renewal or membership projects and the larger than normal revenues from memberships usually bail out the national LP from financial difficulties in January and February. ■

## F of F Con Slated for March

San Francisco, CA - The 1989 Future of Freedom Conference (FoF Con) will be a two-day affair held at the Fort Mason Center in San Francisco March 25 - 26, according to conference organizer Jim Peron. The FoF Con is the oldest continuously held libertarian conference in the nation, dating back to 1969. It was not held in 1988 due to organizational and financial difficulties, and the event was turned over to Peron, who operates Free Forum Books and is the chair of the San Francisco Libertarian Party. For the first time in its 20 year history, the FoF Con will be held outside of the Los Angeles area.

Pegged at \$75 per person (\$85 after March 15) admission covers the ten announced speakers plus a special showing of the re-release of the 1942 Italian version of the Ayn Rand film "We the Living," recently restored

and re-edited. Unlike many libertarian conferences and conventions, this one is not based at a major hotel and does not include a banquet.

Among the featured speakers are former Reagan advisor Martin Anderson, speaking on "Inside the Reagan Revolution," author Robert Sheaffer discussing "Resentment Against Achievement," business critic Paul Weaver on "How Business Betrays Free Enterprise," Ghanaian economist George Ayittey presenting "The Failure of African Socialism," attorney Larry Stanley and professor John Dececco analyzing the state of sexual liberty and government censorship, Mises Institute president Lew Rockwell on "Lies and More Lies: Government and the Economy," and Greg Christensen contrasting "Competing Legal Systems."

Also featured are Soviet exile Mikhail Bernstam on "Economic Liberty Under Gorbachev" and former LP Vice Presidential candidate Jim Lewis discussing his recent experiences

Continued page 8

# Future of Freedom '89

March 25th & 26th

Fort Mason Center, San Francisco

### MARTIN ANDERSON

"Inside the Reagan Revolution"

Former chief domestic and economic policy adviser to President Reagan (1980-1982). Author of several books on national policy, urban renewal, welfare reform and conscription.

### ROBERT SHEAFFER

"Resentment Against Achievement"

Sheaffer is a founder of the Committee for the Scientific Investigation of the Paranormal and author of *Resentment Against Achievement*.

### GEORGE AYITTEY

"The Failure of African Socialism"

Ayittey is from Ghana and a National Fellow at the Hoover Institution with a PhD in economics. He has written for the *Cato Journal*, *Policy Review*, and the *Times of London* and is completing his first book, *Africa Betrayed*, to be published by the Cato Institute.

### JIM LEWIS

"In the Belly of the Beast"

Lewis, a vocal opponent of the income tax and the IRS, was the Libertarian Party's candidate for Vice President in 1984 and has just finished a sentence in federal prison for battling the IRS.

### JOHN DECECCO

"Sexual Liberty Under Attack"

DeCecco is Professor of Psychology and Human Sexuality at San Francisco State University and is Director of the Center for Research and Education in Sexuality.

### LARRY STANLEY

"Pornography, Censorship & Entrapment"

Stanley, an attorney from New York, is a leading authority on pornography and censorship and police entrapment.

### PAUL WEAVER

"How Big Business Betrays Free Enterprise"

Weaver is the author of *The Suicidal Corporation* published by Simon & Schuster in cooperation with the Cato Institute.

### MIKHAIL BERNSTAM

"Economic Freedom Under Gorbachev"

Bernstam, born and educated in the Soviet Union, is now a fellow at the Hoover Institution.

Plus GREG CHRISTAINSEN on "Competing Legal Systems" and LEW ROCKWELL on "Lies and More Lies - Government and the Economy."

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**Part I****Austrian Economics - Boom,  
Sell-Out & Revival**

by Murray N. Rothbard

Murray N. Rothbard — student of Ludwig von Mises and the world's leading Austrian economist — is the S.J. Hall distinguished professor of economics at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, and is Vice President for academic affairs at the Ludwig von Mises Institute.

The second part of this article will appear in the next issue of *American Libertarian*.

**The Austrian Boom**

In 1974, leading Mises student F.A. Hayek won the Nobel Prize in economics, a startling change from previous Nobel awards, exclusively for mathematical Keynesians. 1974 was also the year after the death of the great modern Austrian theorist and champion of freedom, Ludwig von Mises. Hayek's prize sparked a veritable revival in this long-forgotten school of economic thought. For several years thereafter, annual scholarly week-long conferences gathered the leading Austrian economists of the day, as well as the brightest young students, and the papers delivered at these meetings became published volumes, reviving and advancing the Austrian approach. New York University, followed later by George Mason University, established an Austrian graduate center; and in San Francisco, the Cato Institute was launched, committed to Austrian economics and free markets. This and similar organizations began to establish week-long instructional seminars which included Austrian economics on the program. Hillsdale College in Michigan, moreover, after purchasing Ludwig von Mises' library from his widow, established a Ludwig von Mises lecture series. Austrian economics was being lustily revived from forty years of neglect imposed by the Keynesian Revolution — a revolution that sent the contrasting and once flourishing school of Austrian economics down the Orwellian memory hole.

In this burgeoning Austrian revival, there was one fixed point so obvious that it was virtually taken for granted: that the heart and soul of Austrianism was, is, and can only be Ludwig von Mises, this great creative mind who had launched, established, and developed the twentieth-century Austrian school, and the man whose courage and

devotion to unvarnished, uncompromised truth led him to be the outstanding battler for freedom and laissez-faire economics in our century. In his ideas, and in the glory of his personal example, Mises was an inspiration and a beacon-light for us all.

**Surrender and Takeover**

But then, in the midst of this flourishing development, something began to go wrong. After the last successful conference in the summer of 1976, the annual high-level seminars disappeared. Proposals to solidify and expand the success of the boom by launching a scholarly Austrian journal, were repeatedly rebuffed. The elementary instructional summer seminars continued, but their tone began to change. Increasingly, we began to hear disturbing news of an odious new line being spread: Mises, they whispered, had been "too dogmatic," "too extreme," he "thought he knew the truth," he "alienated people."

Yes, of course, Mises was "dogmatic," i.e. he was totally devoted to truth and to freedom and free enterprise. Yes, indeed, Mises, even though the kindest and most inspiring of men, "alienated people" all the time, that is, he systematically alienated collectivists, socialists, statists, and trimmers and opportunists of all stripes.

And of course such charges were nothing new. Mises had been hit with these smears all of his valiant and indomitable life. The terribly disturbing thing was that the people mouthing these canards all knew better: for they had all been seemingly dedicated Misesians before and during the "boom" period.

It soon became all too clear what game was afoot. Whether independently or in concert, the various people and groups involved in this shift had made a conscious critical decision: they had come to the conclusion they should have understood long before that praxeology, Austrian economics, and uncompromising laissez-faire were popular neither with politicians nor with the Establishment. Nor were these views very "respectable" among scholars. The small knot of wealthy donors decided that the route to money and power lay elsewhere, while many young scholars decided that the road to academic tenure was through cozying up to attitudes popular in academia instead of maintaining a commitment to often-despised truth.

But these trimmers and renegades did not wish to attack Mises or Austrianism directly; they knew that Ludwig von Mises was admired and literally beloved by a large number of businessmen and members of the intelligent public, and they did not want to alienate their existing or potential support. What to do? The same thing that was done by groups a century ago that captured the noble word "liberal" and twisted it to mean its opposite — statism and tyranny, instead of liberty. The same thing that was done when the meaning of the U.S. Constitution was changed from a document that

restricted government power over the individual, to one that endorsed and legitimated such power. As the noted economic journalist Garett Garrett wrote about the New Deal: "Revolution within the form": keep the **name** Austrian, but change the **content** to its virtual opposite. Change the content from devotion to economic law and free markets, to a fuzzy nihilism, to a mushy acceptance of Mises's ancient foes: historicism, institutionalism, even Marxism and collectivism. All, no doubt, more "respectable" in many academic circles. And Mises? Instead of attacking him openly, ignore him, and once in a while intimate that Mises really, down deep, would have agreed with this new dispensation.

And so: most of the younger Austrians shifted away from Mises, and began to place the label "Austrianism" on diametrically opposite views. Some like Mario Rizzo and Gerald O'Driscoll sought new gurus in the irrationalist French philosopher Henri Bergson; others, headed by Don Lavoie and Jack High of George Mason's Center for the Study of Market Processes, and also including the Howie Rich-published journal *Critical Review*, went even further to embrace such nihilist "hermeneuticians" as the Nazi philosopher Martin Heidegger and his disciple Hans-Georg Gadamer (although it should be added that the latter found it perfectly easy to shift to a pro-Soviet posi-

tion when the Russians occupied his area of Germany). There was increasing talk of a "synthesis" with Marxism, and of dropping any references to the free market, as it presented a danger of alienating their Marxist comrades.

While academics prated of hermeneutics and of synthesis with Marxism, the more policy-oriented opportunists pursued more Establishmentarian strands of statism. The San Francisco-based Cato Institute moved to Washington, where they found that trips down the Corridors of Power were made smoother by pushing Austrians out to tiny, marginal roles at their economic policy conferences while proudly featuring Keynesians, monetarists, and supply-siders. All too soon, the Austrian economists were discarded entirely. Hillsdale College managed to find a long series of Ludwig von Mises Lecturers, none of whom by any stretch of the imagination could qualify as Misesians.

In the meantime, the Foundation for Economic Education, at Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, long committed to the free market, was no help at all in stemming this tide, its former vibrancy and scholarship having sunk gradually but all too surely into the endless time-serving repetition of innocuous and non-controversial clichés about "freedom".

(Part II will appear next month.) ■

**Jim Lewis Out  
But Not Down**

Old Saybrook, CT — 1984 Libertarian Party vice presidential candidate Jim Lewis was released from Allenwood Federal prison on January 27 after serving 9 months on one of three convictions for "willful failure to file" his federal income taxes.

In an exclusive *AL* interview, Lewis said he was treating his newly won freedom "as a furlough" and indicated that he was unsure of what his exact plans would be during the initial period after his release. He received a one year sentence for each conviction and the remaining two years were suspended provided Lewis complies with his probation requirements, pays a \$3,000 fine, pays his back taxes and files his tax returns.

Lewis suggested that he might have problems with some of these requirements and didn't rule out the possibility serving additional time in lieu of paying the back taxes. With one year imprisonment for each conviction and three months off for good behavior, Lewis would only have to serve another 18 months to completely discharge the original sentence.

Allenwood is "not a country club," Lewis observed, and said his immediate priorities were to "get a decent meal, see my family and answer the piles and piles of mail" that had stacked up in his absence. "Make sure to let everyone who wrote me know how appreciative I am and to thank them for me," Lewis said.

Lewis said he spent most of his time working in the business office of the prison fur-

niture shop typing invoices, and also had a chance to teach U.S. history to inmate classes. He also said he was able to vote for the 1988 LP ticket on an absentee ballot after considerable correspondence with Connecticut authorities.

Lewis said there were other politicians inside with him, but no other libertarians. He was able to copy some SIL position papers and also distributed copies of Marshall Fritz's postcard sized "world's smallest political quiz" to other inmates. "I did make two political finds," Lewis said. "One was a New York City gay rights leader who once helped organize a march of over 100,000 people. The other was the inmate NAACP chapter leader. Both were interested in libertarian ideas after much discussion and I am following up with them now that I'm out."

Asked how he saw the 1988 political season, Lewis said, "I'm not discouraged by what I've seen in the LP performance in the elections," and added that he planned to remain active in the Connecticut LP.

He said his probation officer was emphasizing the need for him to get a job, a problem compounded by the fact that government travel restrictions require him to get a permit to leave the state. His previous employment was as a national salesman for a bookbinding firm, a job which would be difficult to perform under the travel ban. He is also required to keep "reasonable hours" and avoid associating with unsavory people, which may or may not rule out his many libertarian friends.

"I'm not sure of exactly what I'm going to do," Lewis concluded, adding that he would like to finish his book on the American constitution. "But I imagine I'll keep pretty busy, one way or another." ■

**F of F  
Conference Set**

From page 7

with the IRS and the federal prison system.

The conference will also have an exhibit area and Peron estimates attendance between 75 - 150 for the event.

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