

# American Libertarian

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## AL Interview: David Theroux

Although still a young man, David Theroux's libertarian career already spans an impressive number of activities.

While obtaining three degrees at UC Berkeley, Theroux organized the Bay Area Libertarian League which distributed books and literature on area campuses. Obtaining his MBA at the University of Chicago, he also established a visiting lecture series there in Austrian economics.

Back in San Francisco, he helped organize the first Cato Institute academic and research programs, including the publication of the *Cato Journal*. When Cato departed for Washington, D.C., Theroux recruited economist M. Bruce Johnson to start the Pacific Institute for Public Policy Research, which Theroux directed until earlier this year.

This spring he founded the Independent Institute, also based in San Francisco, to research public policy issues, as well as a new marketing firm, LibertyTree Network.

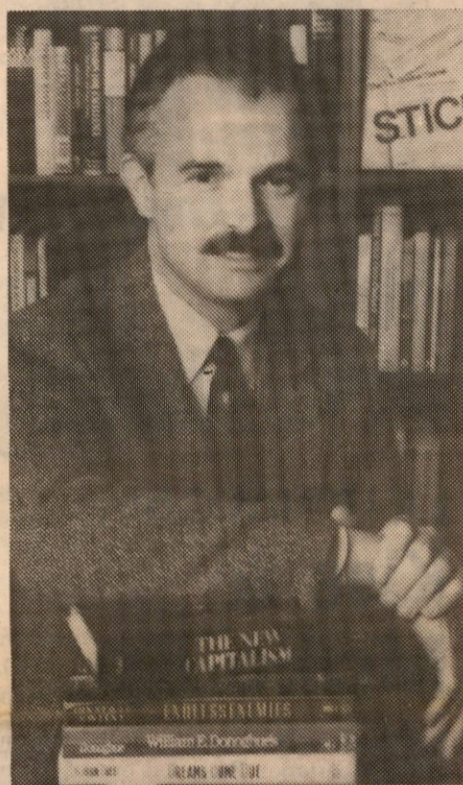
AL recently interviewed him in Los Angeles.

**AL:** What has been your primary motivation to start and become involved with so many different libertarian ventures over the years?

**Theroux:** My main interest has been to overcome two problems that I saw. The two problems I've always felt were holding back libertarianism. One was that our ideas were always being compromised. For political reasons, or for reasons only known to those who were doing the compromising. And it really began around the turn of the century, but has really heated up as the world has become more and more politicized.

The second thing has been where libertarian ideas were pure and presented without compromise, they were almost always presented in a way that would not be effective. They were being very poorly marketed, presented in an antiquated framework that people never seemed to identify with.

My twin interests have always been to advance the paradigm of liberty in as



LibertyTree Network President David J. Theroux

sophisticated a way as possible. And the second thing has been to try and develop ways of marketing these ideas very effectively.

I really don't think there's any major dispute over the issue. I think it's so clear. I think that wherever advances in liberty have occurred, have been where these two problems have been overcome, and to that extent.

**AL:** What's the LibertyTree Network all about?

**Theroux:** LibertyTree is, of course, named after the Liberty Tree in Boston where the Sons of Liberty would meet to talk and advance revolutionary aims of that time.

The idea of LibertyTree Network is essentially to provide in a very accessible, easy-to-recognize and self-interested way for various markets, products which would advance their knowledge, techniques which might be available for them to pursue life, liberty and prosperity. To reduce government involvement in their lives, to understand the world around them.

LibertyTree is intended to develop into a diverse system of enterprises, all of which are aimed at mass marketing products: books, tapes, games, novelties, — really there's no limit — also potential services in the future.

**AL:** *American Libertarian* subscribers probably have received your four-color, 24-page catalogue recently in the mail. How is LibertyTree organized and what is the business objective behind the catalogue?

**Theroux:** LibertyTree is a for-profit company. It's a limited partnership. The reason why we did that instead of being non-profit is because we believe that it's high time that a lot of people who are interested in liberty realize that entrepreneurship is something

we should be doing, not just talking about.

Also there is an advantage to being for-profit, because it gives you information that you just don't have normally. Having been in a lot of non-profit situations in the past I know that from experience you have all sorts of problems that can creep into it, into non-profits, which make them inefficient. Especially when they get into mass exposure. That's one of the reasons that political organizations have problems.

LibertyTree's catalogue is intended to be an initial venture presenting 400 products to markets which have demonstrated their interest in books and tapes and other products related to individualism in some broad sense. It may be entrepreneurship, it might be self-help, it might be freedom in some dimension, it might be issues of war and peace, whatever it might be. There are an incredible diversity of people interested in

individualism in some sense, many of them won't talk to each other, many of them don't understand the other's positions, read each other's publications. But I believe there is an enormous potential market which has yet to be approached.

Libertarians have a great deal to gain by appealing to these markets in ways that would be in the self interest of these people, but could draw them in, and have them crossover into products which would give them a better ideological knowledge of the world.

**AL:** When did you get this off the ground and what's your specific role in LibertyTree?

**Theroux:** I'm the President and the managing general partner. The company began operations the first part of April, last year. We began assembling the whole thing immediately after I left Pacific (Institute). The

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## Paul to Announce

Lake Jackson, TX - Sources close to former GOP Congressman Ron Paul indicate that it is virtually certain that he will announce his intention to seek the Libertarian Party 1988 presidential nomination at the February 13-16 California LP state convention. This action follows on the heels of his January 8, 1987 resignation from the Republican Party, outlined in a letter to GOP Chair Frank Fahrenkopf.

Paul, a physician and four-time U.S. Representative from a district on the Gulf coast south of Houston, (which includes the NASA complex) is also reportedly moving quickly to organize a campaign staff. Among his top advisors and staff are current campaign chair Burt Blumert, Lew Rockwell Jr., head of the Mises Institute (and considered to be the top direct mail expert in the libertarian movement), Nadia Hayes, an experienced campaign organizer, and Bill Evers, a key mover behind the effort to convince Paul to try for the LP nomination.

Paul has also asked former LP Finance Director Matt Monroe, a Houston cardiologist and publisher of the *American Libertarian*, to serve as his campaign Treasurer. Hayes and Rockwell both have previously worked for Paul and are regarded by many as far more experienced in real-world political campaigns than most libertarians. Rockwell has been an LP member for several years and Hayes has been described as a "former Republican housewife who evolved into a nearly anti-political anarchist." Both were instrumental in Paul's unsuccessful 1984 bid for the Texas U.S. Senate nomination, ultimately won by Phil Gramm.

A Paul campaign office has opened in Clear Lake City, a southern suburb of Houston. Paul has already accepted a number of speaking engagements at various

LP state conventions during this spring and summer.

Paul's four page resignation letter to the GOP has already made news, including an Associated Press wire service report out of Washington, DC in mid January. In his letter, Paul explains how as a lifelong Republican he always regarded the GOP as the party of free-enterprise philosophy. However, since 1981 he grew "wary of the Republican Party's efforts to reduce the size of the federal government." Since Reagan has been in office "big government has been legitimized in a way the Democrats could have never accomplished."

Paul's letter goes on to criticize the growth of the government deficit, the government payroll, wasteful defense and foreign aid spending, exploding monetary growth, failure to abolish draft registration or any significant federal departments, and attacks government intrusions on privacy and financial matters under the guise of the "war on drugs" and the ever increasing power of the IRS.

Paul campaign sources indicate that no immediate reply or response was received from the GOP. While the letter said that Paul would "work outside of the Republican Party" he did not specifically mention the Libertarian Party, and as of late January he was not a paid member of the national LP, according to Houston LP office records.

Paul has reportedly been pleased by the response of his home town to rumors of his impending LP switch. The local Lake Jackson paper carried front page stories for two days on the move, which were generally favorable. The local GOP county chair, who supported Gramm in the 1984 Senate race, was also reported to be intrigued by Paul's latest action rather than angry or upset. ■

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## Interview: Theroux

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task involved putting together the company and specifically the catalogue.

The catalogue is intended to be a way of marketing LibertyTree as an idea and also many different products in a diversified way. We're testing many different audiences and different kinds of products. We're going to have a lot of information about what kind of products are appealing to different kinds of markets. From that, we're going to expand and contract and even develop our own products.

**AL:** Who designed the catalogue and picked out the products?

**Theroux:** I did. Really what you have here is a firm started by one person spending an enormous number of hours to get it going. Basically what entrepreneurship is, is dedication to the belief that you're going to succeed if you devote enough time and enough professionalism to learning that business. You have to have that dedication.

If your motivation is just to make money, you're not going to stick with it. You have to have dedication to the product or the service that you're trying to sell.

When I first started researching the product lines, I ended up with about 5,000 different products. I had to narrow that down to about 400 for the catalogue. But there are so many different things for entrepreneurs to produce — tapes, and books and games — and there's never been an outlet for things like this. Now we're developing a way for marketing these kinds of products at no cost to an entrepreneur, at no risk to that person. And yet it will hopefully generate the kind of revenues that will make such ventures possible.

**AL:** How is your test marketing program structured? How many catalogues have you sent out?

**Theroux:** The fall catalogue has gone out to about 400,000 people, in stages. We tested about 25 different mailing lists, which represent different kinds of markets. We'll be testing different kinds of markets over time.

We'll be doing two catalogues per year initially and we may also be doing other kinds of mailings and other kinds of things.

The operation of course, to be sustainable has to make money.

**AL:** How are you handling product fulfillment?

**Theroux:** All of the operations for that are handled from our location in Phoenix. The entire fulfillment is established in a completely professional way, computerized. Our warehouse has everything stocked. Everything is intended to be a first class operation.

**AL:** Are you looking to do the same sort of thing that *The Sharper Image* and the *Banana Republic* firms have done, sort of Yuppie catalogue marketing? Or is that too narrow?

**Theroux:** No, it is too narrow. The so-called Yuppie markets are there. And I think a lot of the interest that exists today in book markets and audio tape markets is from Yuppie markets for entrepreneurship and individual growth kinds of things. But there are many other kinds of markets. Conservative markets, religious markets, civil liberties markets, anti-war markets, it just goes on and on.

People who are involved in movements on curriculum in schools have the same motivation as people involved in the nuclear freeze movement. They are concerned that their lives are out of control and they want to get control over their own lives.

**AL:** How are your results so far?



**Theroux:** It's actually tracking better than we needed to make the project viable. The fall mailing has already been rolled out to those lists which have worked best. We have many other lists which will be tested in 1987.

**AL:** What are your plans for 1987?

**Theroux:** You're going to see more catalogues and a lot of other products which were not available in time for this catalogue. Basically our products in the current catalogue fall into three areas: entrepreneurship and business success, self-help, and themes of freedom or applications thereof. A portfolio of products which libertarians would be very excited to see marketed in this way.

In our future catalogues, we will have more time to do research. Already a lot of entrepreneurs and businesses have contacted us about carrying their products.

**AL:** Without giving away any trade secrets, which lists have tested out best so far?

**Theroux:** So far, the best response has been from people who are ideologically oriented to ideas of freedom somehow. That might be free market, that might be civil liberties, that might be property rights, that might be family-oriented, de-centralization of authority, all sorts of things like that. The second category which also has been successful are people interested in entrepreneurship. Virtually anything that hits the market today that mentions entrepreneurship is a guaranteed success. I think the reason for this is that it is just a step beyond for the baby-boom generation. They are tired of feeling they are being manipulated by bureaucracies. They want to do it themselves.

I think everything — from the health food movement to many of the cultural things we just talked about — is part of this continuing dispersion in society of people wanting to take control of their own lives.

**AL:** If libertarian entrepreneurs want to get in touch with your network, how should they do that?

**Theroux:** They can contact me at our office in San Francisco (*LibertyTree Network*, 847 Sansome Street, San Francisco, CA 94111). We are certainly interested in ideas that people have for products.

**AL:** Thank you for your time and good luck with your venture. ■

## LA LP Nat Com: Kiss & Make Up

Los Angeles, CA - Rarely in the brief history of the Libertarian Party has one of the tri-annual National Committee meetings engendered such intrigue, rumor and speculation. The airways prior to the November 22-23 meeting at the Viscount Hotel, near LAX, buzzed with gossip. The atmosphere was thick with speculation about possible shakeups and organizational coups d'état.

Yet, as in many of these cases, the foreplay was better than the event itself. Despite very real differences which had been raised before the meeting, key Natcom members recognized that problems are best dealt with by cooperation rather than confrontation. While the public harmony, when it appeared, may have been superficial, memories of the 1985 upheavals are still fresh. The unexpected turnover in LP Directors during financially bleak 1986 restrained the impulses of the LP leadership, despite the pre-NatCom rumor mill forebodings.

Despite a number of divisive issues, ranging from the site of the meeting itself to

management of *LP News*, there was a distinct effort to work out solutions without shedding blood, brought on in large measure by the unseen aura of the 1988 LP presidential race, which transcended mere intra-party fuding.

### Baltimore Legacy

The legacy of the prior Baltimore meeting last summer left a bad taste in nearly everyone's mouth. The absence of major Bergland/California faction members and a surprise move by Turney and his supporters to reopen the subject of moving the national LP office back to Washington from Houston, or "contracting out" basic headquarters functions, led to charges of "liquidationism" from those opposed to such moves. Some NatCom members felt Turney had abruptly changed his line in mid-meeting, backing away from earlier Management Committee proposals to trim costs and cut back *LP News*, and instead used the financial crisis as an excuse for these other changes.

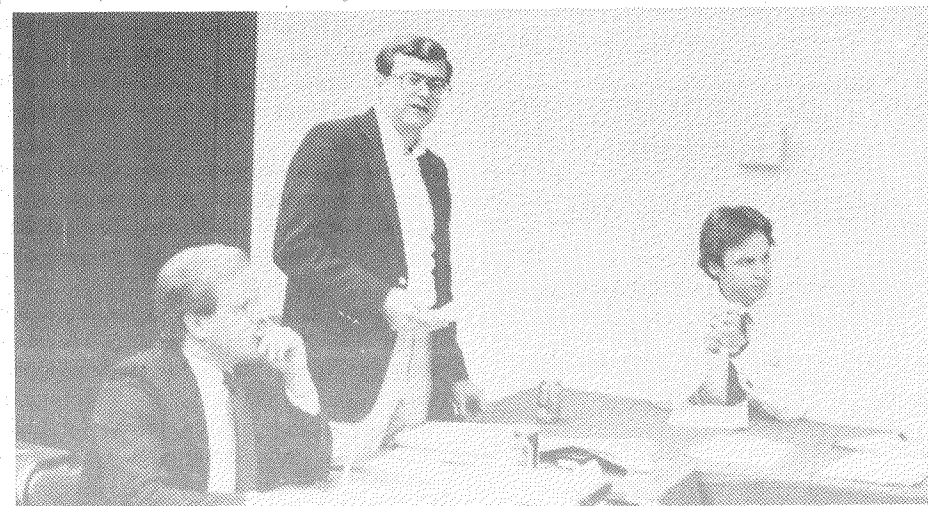
In the meantime, the red ink continued to flow in August and September and national office staff regularly missed paydays. Karl Hess, the acclaimed *LP News* editor hand-picked by Turney, was arousing concern with his perceived support of certain liquidationist measures and his controversial decision to publish a paid advertisement from the Libertarian Republican Organizing Committee urging LP members to join the GOP.

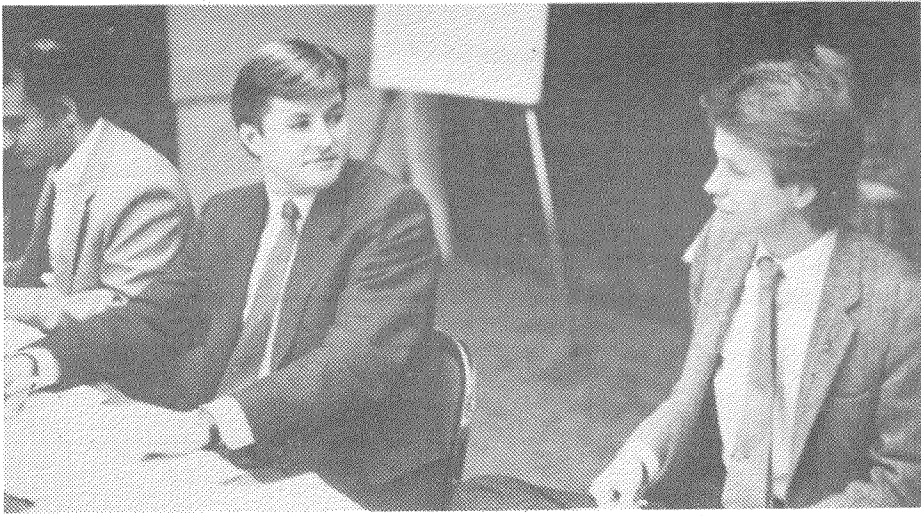
Even the meeting site itself was embroiled in divisive controversy. Just as LP Chair Turney embarked on a six-week business trip to Europe, LP Vice Chair Sharon Ayres and supporters (who also tended to be Turney critics) managed to re-open for a fifth time the location of the fall meeting, long scheduled and re-scheduled for Hawaii. An unusual mail ballot of the NatCom was conducted shortly after Turney left the country. According to Turney, he was not informed of this move in conversations with Ayres immediately before his departure. Citing the need for work rather than "vacation" and the need to tackle the financial crisis, the mail ballot narrowly approved the LA meeting site (home to Turney's most vocal critics) based upon concerns about having a quorum.

In the meantime, Eric Rittberg of Florida (and Delaware) and others circulated letters warning various State LP Chairs and others of the alleged intent of certain "California Crowd" members (including Ayres, Bergland and Evers) to remove Turney and *LP News* editor Karl Hess. The LP Advertising and Publications Review Committee (consisting of Evers, Bergland and LP founder David Nolan) had in September issued a report critical of some recent actions of the *LP News* editor. These activities brought forth numerous telephone calls and letters from some state LP leaders in sup-

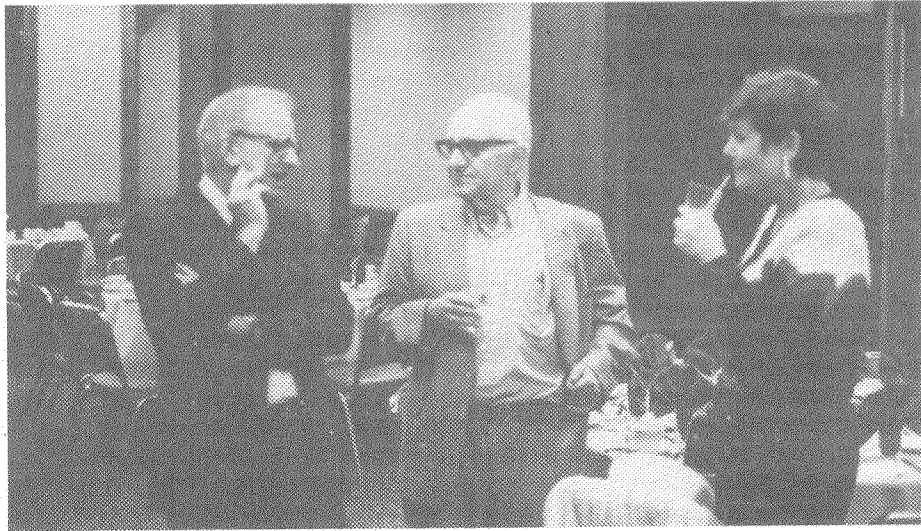
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Management Committee Chair David Walter presented the Treasurer's report at the meeting. Former LP Chair Randy Ver Hagen and NatCom member David Saum later voted with other Committee members for a reduced 1987 LP budget.





National LP Chair Jim Turney (left) confers with newly appointed LP Director Terry Mitchell (right) during the meeting. Despite criticisms aired, the meeting ended on a generally harmonious note.



Libertarian economist Murray Rothbard (center) chats with Taylor Rhodes and Mrs. Robert

Glasco at the pre-NatCom banquet cocktail reception.

## LA LP Nat Com

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port of the status quo and threatened dire consequences if these rumored actions were to occur. Additionally, longtime NatCom member Dale Hemming of Minnesota, unhappy about lack of his 1984 ballot drive loan repayment among other things, made it known he would move at the meeting for Turney's resignation.

### Kiss and Make Up

It was a highly charged atmosphere right before the meeting. Yet, sensing that misunderstandings and conflicts had no obvious safe outcome, the parties held a pow-wow on Friday night.

In effect, the story of this NatCom was the story of the so-called "secret meeting" (or "summit meeting") which occurred on Friday night between Turney and allies and Evers/Ayres and friends. The "invitation only" meeting was an open secret, as various parties wandered around the hotel rounding up stray supporters and advisors.

Reportedly, the main issues were a 1987 cutback in the LP News budget and a promise by Turney that future editorial stances with would be in keeping with LP policies and traditions, and an end to any "liquidationist" moves involving basic LP operations. These measures to a large degree were based upon mutually agreed upon support for the Budget Committee proposals for 1987 which had earlier been hammered out by Turney, Ayres and LP Treasurer Sam Treynor. The "deal" consisted of accepting in principle the new lower budget and an understanding not to support any dramatic calls for leadership changes.

Although Hess has subsequently denied that he was a party to any agreement to modify editorial stances, the substance of the "deal" was adhered to and the remaining meeting consisted of hashing out details.

### On With the Show

Although news of the secret meeting was not officially announced, the practical effects could be immediately seen at the meeting.

After Turney launched into what appeared to be a lengthy opening speech about the importance of cooperation, raising the prospect of better things come, such as the prospect of the candidacy of Ron Paul, NatCom representative Ruth Bennett loudly and forcefully interrupted Turney's sermon with blunt comments about the need to attend to business and to "cut out the crap," including any quasi-endorsement of possible LP presidential contenders.

But things quickly got back on track and took an unusual turn when newly installed NatCom alternative Eric Rittberg issued a personal apology to David Bergland and others for his letters warning of dire plots by the Californians. This gracious apology was quickly accepted.

LP Treasurer Treynor, who was vacationing in the Caribbean, was spared the chore of discussing the grim financial details. The facts were presented by Management Committee Chair Dave Walter and a discussion ensued about the FEC fine levied for late reporting and the Liberty Services computer-related liability. Unhappiness over the FEC fine led to some call for personal liability of the Treasurer for any such fines, but this was eventually rejected as impractical.

The Finance Committee, chaired by Vice Chair Sharon Ayres, presented a detailed report on how to get fundraising back on track in a variety of ways. The meeting room was papered with samples of proposed fundraising letters and materials prepared by former LP Director Perry Willis, who has been acting as a direct mail consultant.

### Budget Realism

The actual budget discussions yielded few surprises or major changes from earlier Budget Committee proposals, totaling \$263,000 in revenues and nearly \$40,000 in debt retirement. The LP News budget was cut by a third, reducing circulation and omitting extra outreach issues, but otherwise leaving the bi-monthly schedule intact. \$5,000 was included for prospecting and a contingent bonus arrangement was added if the budget is exceeded. At one point early in the proceedings, Bill Evers approached Turney and in loud whispers berated him for reneging on the Friday night "deal". Turney listened to this for about 30 seconds and eventually pushed Evers away. Nothing further came of this confrontation and Evers later apologized.

### Ballot Access and the Hemming Gambit

Steve Fielder's semi-autonomous Ballot Access Committee (BAC) staved off an attempt to levy a 10% overhead charge by the national office for providing administrative services, reflecting in intra-LP turf fight as well as the desire of the NatCom to keep the BAC independent from the national LP. Complaints about financial reporting delays were acknowledged, and Fielder proposed paying for one-half of an additional LP employee to handle the BAC paperwork. He also outlined a multi-staged plan for 50 state LP ballot status, which targeted 30 states for ballot status by the beginning of 1988. The only sticking point in these plans is the \$6,000 per month income considered necessary, which is over a third of the entire 1987 LP budget. Twelve states have 1988 presidential ballot status, including Texas and California.

The Dale Hemming call for Turney's resignation hardly made it to the starting gate, and eventually was defeated on a procedural motion.

Among the unprecedented public charges leveled at the Chair during the meeting by Hemming were "disgraceful and abysmal financial mismanagement", "willful failure to comply with NatCom resolutions" and the charge that Turney had become "a autonomous little God." LP News editor Hess was accused of "breach of contract" and LP Director Terry Mitchell, who earlier had been ratified as permanent LP Director, was blamed for all operating problems since Perry Willis became sick in mid spring and was also asked to resign by Hemming.

Turney had little to say about Hemming's dramatic charges, and these accusations resulted in little discussion. The "deal" had already been made and few wanted to upset things on Sunday morning. Hemming's efforts were neatly sidestepped by the NatCom and any violations of prior NatCom resolutions were superceded by the new budget. It did allow strongly felt emotions to be vented, but did not, at last report, improve Hemming's chances for the early retirement of his outstanding \$3,000 loan.

### PlatCom and Finis

After earlier agreeing to postpone the action, the NatCom voted to select the Platform Committee for the upcoming national convention. Some opposed felt no prior notice had been given and suspected Bill Evers, who proposed the idea, of trying to pack the committee with ideological allies. In a lengthy multiple choice vote of over 25 possible members (10 are selected by the NatCom, 10 from the largest state LP's), a diverse group was ultimately selected. David Bergland, who received the most votes, was appointed temporary Committee Chair.

In addition to the business there was a Saturday evening banquet, which was treated to three humorous presentations.

The final business was to schedule the next meeting for April 4-5 at the Ramada Inn Central in Atlanta, GA. ■

## Editor's Note

Due to an unexpected delay encountered in January it became obvious that we would be unable to publish our usual monthly issue in January.

In order to get back on schedule we are publishing the Jan.-Feb. 1987 issue as a double issue. Since it is a twelve page issue, as was the December issue, we are still providing eight pages per month. We expect to resume our normal schedule with the next issue.

We thank you for your patience and appreciate all the calls and letters from subscribers who have expressed their interest in our continued publication.

Mike Holmes  
Editor

## Opposition to Paul Surfaces

Katy, TX - Although he hasn't officially announced as a candidate for the LP presidential nomination, there have already been indications of skepticism about his proposed candidacy. These range from calls for reviewing his voting record to outright threats of quitting the LP if he is nominated.

Northwest Libertarian (LP of Washington) editor Tom Tanaka voiced the opinion that libertarians should carefully consider the Paul effort in the Dec.-Jan. 87 issue, with his editorial "Ron Paul? Maybe." This was balanced by the outright endorsement of the Paul effort by draft registration opponent and LP NatCom member Paul Jacob in the same issue.

The same call for voting record scrutiny and skepticism was echoed in the January 1987 *Individual Liberty*, published by the Society for Individual Liberty, entitled "On Ron Paul... An Agnostic Speaks Out" by Jorge Amador. In this long article, in which Amador details his disappointment with all prior LP presidential candidates for not being radical enough, Amador calls for a close scrutiny of Paul's eight-year legislative record. It is unlikely that Paul's Republican congressional record will pass Amador's muster if Bergland's hard line campaign effort proved unsatisfactory.

The Jan.-Feb. 87 issue of the LP's national paper *LP News*, contains two pro and one anti Paul letters. The "pros" from Jacob and Free Forum bookstore owner Jim Peron, with the "anti" coming from Houston libertarian Jeff Daiell. Daiell criticizes Paul for supposedly voting for a "park barrel harbor project" for his home district while in Congress and his "less than hard core" 1984 Republican U.S. Senate race. Daiell, a Houston area LP activist, was once listed on LP stationery as LP "Public Affairs Officer", a position invented for Daiell to assist him in answering correspondence involving ideological issues.

By far the most vehement attack on Paul to date has come from Dallas based Bill Howell, a former Texas LP Chair and NatCom member, parliamentarian at national LP conventions and current Texas LP Treasurer. In mid January Howell issued a six page letter denouncing Paul's voting record on a wide range of issues, and charges that based on his record, "Paul is not a libertarian (not even with a small letter 'L')." Howell contends that a Paul candidacy would "split the party" and that he personally would quit the LP if Paul is nominated and would "publicly warn supporters of freedom that a vote for this man would be a vote against their own prin-

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# Speculation Mounts for Marrou, Means

Porcupine, SD/Homer, AK - While most of the speculation concerning the 1988 LP presidential race has centered around the Ron Paul effort, at least two other potential candidates have attracted interest about possible entries into the race.

Lakota Sioux Indian activist Russell Means is definitely "interested" in running for a major office, according to reliable sources, and may soon announce plans to enter the LP nomination fray. And former Alaska Libertarian state representative Andre Marrou has been recently making the rounds in the "lower 48", including visits to California, Texas and Nevada.

The possible Means candidacy is being backed by Montana LP activist Larry Dodge, who has known Means for several years and is believed to be Mean's principle libertarian contact. Former LP National Director Honey Lanham, currently an Austin, TX based publicist, has expressed interest in the Means effort, in part resulting from her positive reaction to Means after a 1984 meeting in Denver with then LP Chair Paul Grant.

While Means has not been a libertarian activist or LP member (placing him in the same category at Ron Paul), he has been publicly sympathetic to libertarians as demonstrated in an Aug-Sept. 1986 interview in *Reason* magazine. According to one account, while on a speaking engagement at the University of New Hampshire, when asked he said he belonged to no political party. When asked which he would join if so inclined, he startled the audience by saying "the Libertarian Party" and the audience stood and cheered.

Means has primarily been associated with the native American Indian rights movement, and was co-founder of the American Indian Movement (AIM) with Dennis Banks. Means was involved in the shoot-out with federal police at Wounded Knee, SD in the early 1970's, and once spent time in Federal prison on a contempt charge for failing to rise in the presence of a federal judge. While he was originally associated with the New Left, Means has said he became disillusioned with the Left and in recent years has become attracted to libertarians and conservatives. He most recently was involved with Nicaraguan Miskito Indian guerilla movement two years ago and was wounded while accompanying them on a raid against the Sandinista government.

The Means effort currently has no formal organization and is believed to have few financial resources. However, Means backers are planning to have him visit libertarians in Texas and appear at the February California LP convention to announce his candidacy. He is also reported to be planning to attend the upcoming Seattle national LP convention, where he has a number of friends and Indian activist supporters in the area. If he were to secure a place on the LP ticket, it is believed that it would be the first time a native American Indian has sought top Federal office on a recognized political ticket.

Meanwhile, Alaska's Marrou visited Texas in December and January and also made stops in Nevada and California. He has family in San Antonio and Las Vegas, and appeared at several LP sponsored meetings in Texas. Marrou is widely respected and is considered a good communicator, despite his recent problems at the polls. It is believed he wants the VP slot on a possible Paul/Marrou ticket.

Marrou at this time has no official campaign organization and has made no official campaign announcements. One source

## BULLETIN:

### Russell Means Joins, Announces

San Antonio, TX - American Indian Movement (AIM) leader and Indian rights advocate Russell Means announced that he had joined the Libertarian Party and intended to run for the 1988 LP presidential nomination, on February 8 in San Antonio, TX on the first leg of a four city Texas tour.

Means, a resident of South Dakota, was accompanied by former LP Director Honey Lanham and Montana LP activist Larry Dodge. Means said the LP was the only political party compatible with Indian rights and his candidacy would open up new doors and gain new supporters for the libertarian cause.

He is expected to attend the California LP state convention where he will officially announce his candidacy and begin organizing support for his effort. His remarks were covered by the *San Antonio Light* and were carried on the nationwide UPI radio wire.

Means' swing through Texas also took him to Lake Jackson, TX, where he met for two hours with Dr. Ron Paul, another contender for the LP nomination. He traveled on to Houston, where he visited the national LP headquarters, and to speaking engagements in Dallas and Austin.

speculates that Las Vegas-based libertarian communicator Michael Emerling is acting as Marrou's unofficial campaign manager. Marrou has recently been staying with his mother-in-law in Las Vegas. He is also scheduled to attend the upcoming California LP state convention in San Francisco.

Others who have earlier been mentioned as possible LP prospects for 1988, including Earl Ravenal, Stephen Davis, Dick Boddie, and Jim "Libertarian" Burns, are still possible contenders, although no official announcements have been heard and little speculation about them has been voiced of late. ■

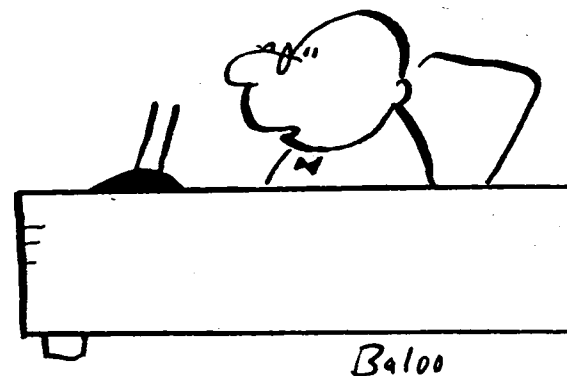
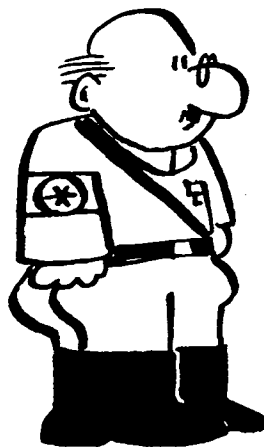
## Walsh to Leave Office

Roselle, IL - LP NatCom member and Roselle, Illinois Village Trustee Gerry Walsh has announced his intention not to run for re-election in April's municipal elections of that Chicago-area suburb.

Walsh, a research engineer for Quaker Oats, cited the heavy time and travel demands of his job as the principle reason for his decision. He was the only independent member of the non-partisan Village Board and first won election in 1983 as the top vote getter.

"I put in my four years. It's unfortunate (because) I would like to see someone in there stirring up a little mischief, but I don't have the time to do it this time," Walsh said in a recent newspaper interview. Among his accomplishments while in office were efforts to encourage municipal services privatization and successful efforts to limit the village's corporate tax rate.

Walsh's decision not to run will reduce the LP's already diminished list of Libertarian Party members who hold public office. Currently two LP members serve as County Supervisors in California, but most LP officeholders hold local appointive positions. ■



"Your work is excellent, Fotheringdale, but it's been brought to my attention that you're some sort of fascist."

## LP Financial Prospects Brighten

Houston, TX - While the national Libertarian Party suffered its worst financial year since 1979 last year, contributions picked up considerably in December and January and early indications point to a return to sound financial status for the LP in 1987.

Since LP financial statements have typically run 3-4 months late, official 1986 income and expense statements are not yet available. But unofficial estimates by *American Libertarian* show that the LP grossed about \$282,000 in 1986 and may have produced a slight cash surplus. While the 1986 amount is about 21% below the original budget set in December 1985 of \$355,500, (described at the time as "conservative and achievable" by party officials), the overall result is considerably better than mid-year results indicated.

For example, the June 1986, financial statements showed only \$132,000 in revenues and reflected an \$18,000 cash deficit. Though not included in the overall LP financial reports because they are accounted for as separate "self-funded action committees", the LP also raised an additional \$15,000 - \$20,000 for ballot drive and TV commercial purposes in 1986. Exact 1986 totals have not yet been made available for these activities either.

The LP headquarters was plagued with the ill health of previous Director Perry Willis from about the end of March until his resignation effective in mid-August. Consequently, fundraising plans of LP Finance Committee Chair Sharon Ayres went largely unfulfilled throughout most of 1986. Only in the last quarter of the year was there much evidence of a coordinated or effective fundraising effort. In particular, the estimated \$34,500 revenue in December was by far the highest of 1986 and exceeds the previous high month of Jim Turney's administration, which was \$34,300 in September 1985, immediately after the Phoenix LP convention. Revenues averaged about \$23,500 per month in 1986.

Considerable attention began to be paid to the financial situation by late summer and drastic cuts were suggested at the Baltimore NatCom meeting. Expenses were pared for salaries, office expenses, computer and fundraising expenses, and total expenses averaged about \$22,000 per month during most of the year. Moves to reduce *LP News* expenses from \$4,500 per month to a lower amount met with stiff opposition, though the new 1987 budget has reduced the size and frequency of the publication and has cut the cost by one-third.

While salaries and vendor payments were often late during much of 1986, the recent

cash influx has enabled all 1984 vendor debts to be retired and considerably reduced other indebtedness, according to LP Director Terry Mitchell. Only about \$4,000 of the original \$40,000 debt undertaken in mid-1984 to finance ballot drive efforts (after the Bergland campaign ceased underwriting these efforts) remains, though at least one creditor is unhappy that the promised one year repayment has taken more than two and a half years. While no one is yet admitting it, the odds are that most LP debts can be retired by the September Seattle LP convention, wiping the slate clean in preparation for the 1988 LP efforts.

While the December 1986 and early 1987 revenues are healthy, traditionally these are strong fundraising months due to seasonal contribution patterns and the fact that the majority of LP members come up for renewal in the three months prior to February 28, the cut off date for LP convention delegate allocations based on national party memberships.

While the LP has never been flush, its finances have seen ups and downs. In 1982 then LP Director Eric O'Keefe was fired in part due to inability to get a handle on the \$200,000 LP debt inherited from the 1980 presidential campaign. This was completely retired by the 1983 presidential nominating convention. While 1984 resulted in record LP revenue, Director Honey Lanham was sacked in mid-1985 partly due to unhappiness with the financial situation. Ironically the monthly LP income average in five months of 1985 before she was fired of \$33,100 has not been approached since. However, with the heightened interest in the LP presidential prospects for 1988, and the end of the Reagan era in American politics, the LP leadership is looking forward to resuming an upward financial growth curve. ■

## Paul Opposition

From page 3  
ciples."

Howell's letter goes on to discuss a number of votes Paul is on record as making and discusses why each was unlibertarian. Included in this attack is Paul's pro "Human Life Amendment" vote against abortion, votes involving voluntary prayer in public school and the Intelligence Agent Identities Protection Act, votes vetoing a District of Columbia gay rights ordinance, votes involving suits against the government by Indians and veterans, and Paul's vote for a cut in "windfall profits" taxes on oil.

Howell's attack is the most detailed to date, and is one of the few which has ever been authored about a LP presidential contender before the official announcement of candidacy. Paul's effort is also unique in that he will be the first LP contender for nomination to actually have a political voting record, even though it was as a member of another party. ■

## FoF Conference: 3-Ring Circus

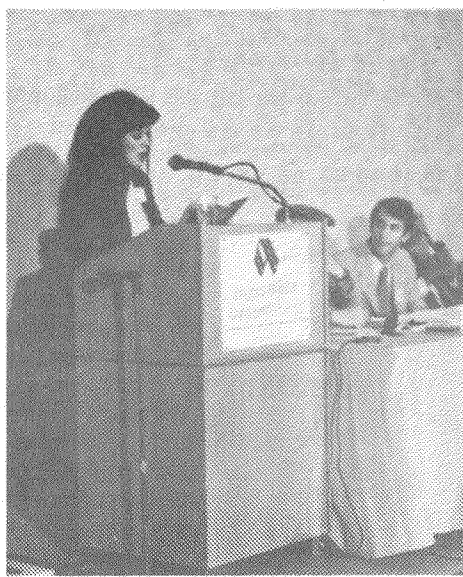
Los Angeles, CA - The annual southern California Future of Freedom Conference, held at the Culver City (LA area) Pacifica Hotel November 7-9, attracted over 350 attendees and was by some accounts the most successful conference of its kind.

### Commie Bashing

The Future of Freedom Conferences were started in 1969 by Shawn Steel and Dana Rohrabacher under the aegis of Robert LeFevre's Rampart College organization, and have usually been the largest non-political gatherings of libertarians held in the U.S. FoF Con founders Steel and Rohrabacher were both on hand for the 1986 event, and both were championing a hard line anti-communist message which has not often been heard at recent libertarian conferences. While most libertarians are anti-communist, amid the hoopla of over 52 speakers and simultaneous presentations on a wide variety of subjects during the course of the three day event, the usually large dose of Commie-bashing and anti-Soviet speeches gave the event an unexpected right wing undertone. Several of the presentations, including both Rohrabacher's (now a Reagan White House speechwriter) and Steel's (a successful LA area attorney) dealt with the evils of the Red Empire and encouraged anti-communist guerilla war in third world nations to roll back Marxist ideology.

While only about ten percent of the events reflected this theme, it was also carried across in debate on libertarian defense policy, anti-communist adventurer Jack Wheeler's speech, and even in the evening banquet speech of libertarian biomedical researchers Durk Pearson and Sandy Shaw. Over 200 diners heard an unexpected discourse on low-cost methods of anti Soviet guerilla warfare including do-it-yourself buzz bombs and a stomach churning description of brew-it-yourself biological warfare weapons.

The repeated appeals to support physical solutions to Marxism, such as guerilla warfare, contrasted sharply with the usual libertarian agenda of defeating philosophical and ideological roots of socialism and collectivism rather than killing off their proponents. It struck some observers as "preaching to the choir" and an orchestrated attempt to influence libertarians to support Reagan's increasingly bizarre foreign policy adventurism, championed most strongly by Rohrabacher and Wheeler. Wheeler has been publicly linked with former NSC staffer Col. Oliver North, whose behind-the-scenes government support of the Contras in the face of Congressional prohibition has made the libertarian



Norma Jean Almodovar addressed the Future of Freedom Convention as part of the "A Lighthearted Look at Sex & Freedom" panel. It was one of the best attended events at the convention.

call for private aid to pro freedom movements appear to be a cynical charade for Reagan administration covert military aid.

In his question and answer session, Randian philosopher and anti-communist guerilla war advocate Wheeler dismissed solely private efforts to aid the Nicaraguan Contras as insufficient and suggested that both a draft and a U.S. military invasion of Nicaragua might be appropriate in order to "contain Communism."

### Three Ring Circus

Despite these signs of foreign policy militarism, it would be a mistake to over-emphasize the significance of these presentations. Of far more interest to most attendees were the well attended performances by Shaw and Pearson, which included interesting nutritional and chemical advice, Barbara Branden's discussion of her recent book on Ayn Rand, and presentations by nearly every famous libertarian activist and scholar in the nation.

Conference organizer Dagny Sharon, with the assistance of longtime FoF Con organizer, Larry Samuels, managed to not only put on one of the most interesting conferences of the decade but also produced a reported profit of nearly \$5,000.

According to Sharon, who is still undecided about whether to organize another conference herself in 1987, "this can be classified as something of a libertarian miracle, being the first FoF Con to make a profit in five years and only the second profit in 14 years."

Noting the difficulty of producing a financially successful non-political conference, Sharon explained that several of her marketing methods, such as full page color ads in *Reason* and a full color promotional tabloid, helped boost attendance.



Economist Camille Castorina presented a slide lecture on her world travels. Included were accounts of her arrest in East Berlin and tutoring Red Chinese business students on the virtues of the free market.

Since the conference was conducted in a large hotel facility, during most of the three days except for major presentations and debates, there were three simultaneous events on different topics.

This "three-ring-circus" strategy was deliberate, according to Sharon. One "ring" was devoted mainly to the "oldies but goodies" of the conference/convention circuit, aimed at local students and libertarians who have dropped out of recent activism. The second target group was non-libertarian business owners in the area, who were attracted to the libertarian "trade fair" and a number of speakers on financial, taxation, monetary and technology topics, including investment and technology consultants Gary Hudson, Ron Holland, Karl Hess, Richard Maybury and John Pugsley. The third "ring" was aimed at regular FoF Con attendees who wanted something new, such as Shaw and Pearson, Branden, and the defense debate between Rohrabacher and former LP candidate David Bergland.

Among the high and low points of the event, according to Sharon, were the excellent convention facilities (the best ever, according to former FoF attendees) and the fun she was able to have despite the hectic pace. She was also pleased with the conference hospitality suite, which featured an indoor spa and steamroom, and according to her "9 people can fit into a spa for 6."

In fact, the late night "splash in" provided a much appreciated lighter touch and along with other happenings, such as Dagny Sharon's crowning herself "queen" of the conference complete with rhinestone tiara ("I organized the event, I deserve it, and hey, why should the monarchists have all the fun") proved that libertarian events don't have to consist entirely of serious save-the-world rhetoric.

On the down side, Sharon says that her efforts to attract students fell short of the mark, as did commitments for volunteer help. A threatened protest by the so called "Creative Anarchist Network" (punk anarchist-communists) who threatened to picket the "statist capitalist pig liar" event did not materialize. Only one person showed up to hand out leaflets.

### Highlights

There were so many presentations, it is difficult to single out highlights. Among the most interesting were economist Camille Castorina's slide show of her around-the-world travels, including East Germany ("in East Berlin, people line up for taxis, in West Berlin, taxis line up for people"). Her educational cruise with a group of Chinese business students (Peking variety), whose hunger for information about free market economics was perhaps the most encouraging news of the conference, was strangely

prophetic in the wake of recent Chinese student protests.

Also worthwhile was architect Fred Stitt's slide presentation on the failure of government building codes, speeches by John Hospers, Libertarian International's Vince Miller and economist Tom Hazlett on the international libertarian movement and recent South African developments, and Marshall Fritz, Alicia Clark, Walter Block and Robert Poole on subjects ranging from communicating liberty, poverty, and privatization to Christianity and libertarianism. The most well attended panel was "A Lighthearted Look at Sex and Freedom", which included now famous Norma Jean Almodovar.

Among the main events, the debate between libertarian law student Dick Radford and "patriot" jury nullification advocate Bob Hallstrom attracted a number of conservative tax patriots. The issue was practicality vs. principle and traffic court seems to be the hottest do-it-yourself lawyering forum for constitutionalists.

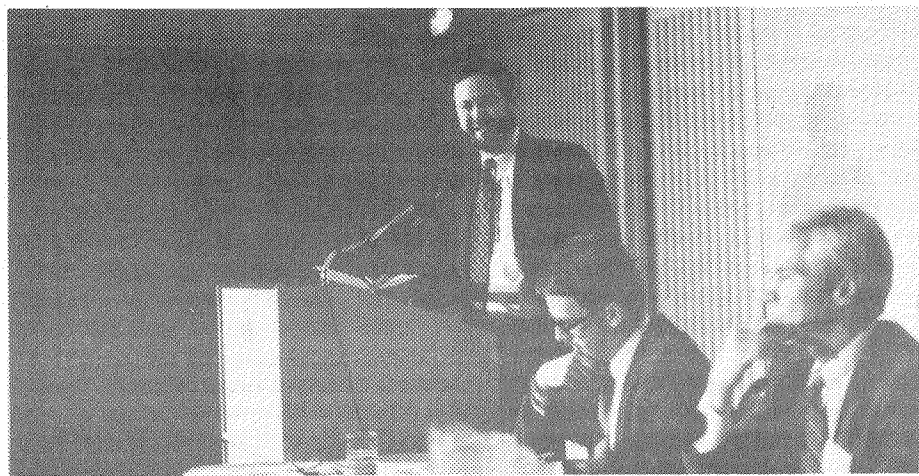
The Rohrabacher/Bergland foreign policy debate and subsequent defense panel did not cover much new ground, although the clear differences over noninterventionism vs. anti-communism at all costs were brought out. The panel presented a range of libertarian positions from LeFavrian pacifism, to non-interventionism, to militant anti-communism, to non-governmental private defense and a number of positions in between.

Durk Pearson and Sandy Shaw have been regular speakers and writers over the past 20 years in the libertarian movement under their previous pseudonyms (which they are reportedly trying to keep secret). While they did speak a length on do-it-yourself guerilla weaponry, and rambled from one unrelated topic to the next, they did cover a wide variety of subjects including their current speciality, medical and aging research, popularized by their best selling books on Life Extension. Included were attacks on the FDA, (private spending on aging research is about 300 times larger than government R&D), their roles as TV and motion picture script writers and consultants, their weird leather sci-fi clothing ("we don't give a damn about what others think" about it brought a vigorous ovation), comments about various health related drugs and chemical treatments, as well as off-the-cuff opinions (Sandy Shaw on animal rights "their rights are what they can get") all contributed to a highly entertaining banquet. This latter was enhanced by the decent food and the absence of political fundraising usually found at libertarian events of this type.

Also well attended was Barbara Branden's Sunday brunch on writing *The Passion of Ayn Rand* and an evening book signing. It was a repeat of similar presentations she has made on the West Coast and Branden reportedly commented that the only two negative reviews so far were one in the neo-conservative *Commentary* magazine and Rothbard's review in *American Libertarian* (July 1986).

While plans are not finalized for the sponsorship of the next Future of Freedom Conference, Dagny Sharon is confident that one will be held. Libertarian entrepreneur Sharon is also establishing a "for profit" business trust which will include her "Liberty On the Air" cable TV program, a possible libertarian rock video, the 1987 edition of the *Free Market Yellow Pages*, and a franchise to market Shaw and Pearson's line of food based on their weight loss program book. (Information about these ventures or future FoF Con plans can be obtained from: Dagny Sharon, P.O. Box 224, Long Beach, CA 90801, 714-531-1807). ■

White House speechwriter Dana Rohrabacher (standing) makes a point during his debate over foreign policy with former LP presidential candidate David Bergland (seated, far right). Rohrabacher argued that the danger posed by Soviet communism overrides libertarian qualms over interventionism, particularly in the area of aid to anti-Marxist guerilla movements. Bergland countered with a principled defense of non-interventionism as a fundamental tenet of libertarianism.



# Libertarian Outlook

## Ideological Fanatics

Libertarians are sometimes depicted as hard-eyed ideological fanatics. In this view, common sense considerations of practicality and considered judgment are swept aside by abstract and unalterable principles.

Leaving aside for the moment the issues of morality versus pragmatism, what are we to make of recent events in Washington, and to some degree, in our own libertarian community?

The public has now been saturated with puzzling bits of information over the "Iran-arms-deal-Contra-aid-scam-and-nobody-knows-from-nothing" affair. To those with a naive view of government, this messy unraveling of bizarre plots, lies, deliberate ignorance, laundered money, evasion and deceit comes as quite a shock. "Tell us it ain't so" cry astonished Republicans, particularly those slowly inching away from the Gipper and edging sideways towards the 1988 presidential starting line.

Democrats, realizing that something must be rotten to cause such a stink, are anxious to discredit Reagan but hesitate to stick the knife in too far. After all, plucky little Israel is knee-deep in the muck, and no one wants to offend America's most powerful political lobby over a mere few million in questionable foreign aid.

But the real problem is that no one really wants to confront the ideological fanaticism which is the primary motivation behind these events.

On the one hand, Russia's ever-trumpeted need for "a warm water port," or "access to the vital Persian Gulf" are the excuses given for the frantic search for the ever elusive "moderate Iranians", which in part motivated the arms trade with the Ayatollah's regime. The Russian bear is always a handy reason for nearly any crazy government scheme. On the back side of the transaction, the faltering effort of the supposedly anti-communist Contras in the holy war against "marxism" in Central America provided the moral justification for apparent illegal government financing of Reagan's favorite welfare guerrilla movement.

Few presidential critics have raised the issue of interventionist meddling in both Iran and Nicaragua. Why is it the sacred duty of American taxpayers to finance government selection in either of these nations?

Whether it is "friendly Iranians" or a "pro-American regime in Nicaragua", the basic premise behind this whole affair has been a rigidly ideological world view which both Democrats and Republicans have long espoused. Namely, that it is somehow up to the American government to select the proper form of government for each and every nation on earth, whether they like it or not. This interventionist mentality, which even transcends (though is often a major part of) anti-communist ideological fanaticism, is a dangerous ideology. It is part of the broader statist interventionism which is the fundamental political problem of our time.

Few libertarians would defend the governments of Iran or Nicaragua today. But government interventionism overseas, whether in Iran, South Africa or Nicaragua, is simply the outgrowth of an ideology which holds that the limits of State power, including our own, have no legitimate boundaries when confronted with "enemies", real or imagined. The list of "potential" threats is ever-changing and endless.

Even in libertarian circles, a strange brand of anti-communism-at-all-costs mentality has crept into certain places.

Hysterical defenses of American imperialism are bad enough on the pages of the admittedly hawkish LP Defense Caucus's *American Defense*, but a standing ovation for Randian-Rambo adventurer Jack Wheeler's simplistic commie bashing at the recent Future of Freedom conference makes one wonder if some libertarians have forgotten the last two decades of American history.

Libertarians should not forget the lessons of Vietnam and the resulting disintegration of the conservative/libertarian youth movement, embodied by YAF. In a large measure, the evolution of the modern libertarian movement was the result of rejection of blind interventionist dogma under the guise of "fighting communism" by those who recognized the broader statist implications of imperial foreign policy.

Even Reagan's administration doesn't seem to believe the "evil empire" rhetoric they use as interventionist justification. As Jack Wheeler harangues libertarians with 1960's era anti-communist sermons, the hard-eyed interventionists in charge back in Washington are busily shipping American military aid to Communist China, voting to subsidize Russian wheat purchases, and eulogizing dead African marxist dictators as "great forces for stability". Interventionism after all, trumps mere anti-communism among real ideological fanatics.

Before libertarians enlist in the latest foreign policy crusade, they should carefully consider in whose army they are joining. Until the issue of interventionism is squarely dealt with, Col. North's defenders and detractors will merely be arguing about who, what and where of the Iranian/Contra arms deal. The real question is why? ■

## 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. Send to: Feedback, American Libertarian, 21715 Park Brook Drive, Katy, TX 77450.

### NAMBLA Revisited

I was amazed by David Bergland's statement in the October *American Libertarian* ("In Review," page 6, 6th paragraph) that the views of "NAMBLA, the North American Man/Boy Love Association... are not endorsed by any libertarian I know." I don't doubt the sincerity of Mr. Bergland's disclaimer but am disturbed by the ignorance it reveals.

Jim Peron, who co-authored *Liberty Reclaimed*, a book which was widely circulated by the LP in promoting Bergland's 1984 presidential campaign, is also an active and vocal supporter of NAMBLA. He spoke eloquently in support of NAMBLA at the 1985 membership conference of the Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns. In addition, Mr. Peron makes his Free Forum Bookstore in San Francisco available without charge to the local chapter of NAMBLA for their regular monthly meetings.



Now that I've brought him up to date, Mr. Bergland does now know of at least one libertarian who supports NAMBLA, so he needn't make the same faux pas again.

I don't think Mr. Bergland is entirely at fault, however, for this gap in his education. On the one occasion when I had the opportunity to speak with him, I said nothing about my involvement with NAMBLA. Why? Because individuals who publicly support NAMBLA are routinely smeared, arrested, and brutalized by the police, often without charges ever being filed. David Groat was beaten nearly to death in a jail for the crime of trying to write a book about police oppression of pedophiles. Gerald P. Jones has had his notes and manuscripts confiscated by the LA police for the crime of publishing a bibliography of pederasty.

Hardly a day goes by that I don't read of another luckless brother being similarly abused. Chronic terror is the one constant of my daily life. It's no wonder, really, that David Bergland, knew nothing of the NAMBLA supporters among libertarians. I certainly did nothing to bring it to his attention, until now.

I invite others who, like me, are libertarians, and who do support NAMBLA to write Mr. Bergland, (c/o Orpheus Publication, 1773 Bahama Place, Costa Mesa, CA 92626) so that he will continue to be informed about our presence in the libertarian movement and our activities on behalf of NAMBLA.

Eric Blair  
San Francisco, CA

### Not Monsters

Recently I received a copy of a letter from Eric Blair which was written in response to David Bergland's statements concerning NAMBLA. I felt it necessary to clarify my position and the misunderstanding that led to Mr. Bergland's remark.

First of all I am not a member of NAMBLA nor do my own personal interests run in the direction of most of their members. My support is based on those principles on which libertarian philosophy is based.

After seeing a copy of Mr. Blair's letter I called Mr. Bergland and discussed the issue of NAMBLA with him. In the course of the conversation I learned that his comments were based on an erroneous understanding of NAMBLA's positions. As I understand the organization's positions, they do not conflict with the Libertarian Party platform in any way. As a matter of fact the most recent copy of their newsletter published a large section of the LP national platform.

While NAMBLA is quite capable of defending itself I will point out that they do not

advocate that boys **should** have homosexual sex as soon as possible. The organization only supports the right of all people to enter into voluntary sexual relationships. They therefore advocate the abolition of age of consent laws.

Mr. Bergland informed me that if my understanding of NAMBLA is correct then he too would be counted as supporting those positions. Mr. Bergland's comments were based on the popular distortions propagated by the media, conservatives like Peter Schwartz, and police vice squads.

The second part of Mr. Bergland's statement was that he did not know any libertarians who supported NAMBLA. He tells me that at the time he wrote the piece he **did not know** any libertarians taking that position. Now he does and would not make the same statement.

Many years ago I attended a seminar at Harvard Divinity School dealing with age of consent. A young man in his early teens

Continued page 7

## American Libertarian

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## Feedback

From page 6

presented his case for the abolition of these laws and I was greatly impressed. For years I said nothing on the issue because I was afraid of what people would think; afraid of what the government might do to me; afraid that I would be misunderstood and ostracized. But as I have witnessed hysterical crusades destroy the lives of the men and boys involved in these relationships I have realized that I can no longer stand on the sideline and hide. The destruction being imposed on non-coercive individuals, both men and boys, is too much to endure. I couldn't live with myself if I refused to speak out.

I understand that this is a very difficult issue for many people, including many libertarians. But the difficulties are usually caused by misunderstandings about the nature of such relationships. I have, over the last two years, seen many libertarians investigate the facts, calmly and rationally, and change their minds. I also know some libertarians who have done the same and are still opposed to these relationships though they have become slightly more supportive. My own position is that there can be no firm rules applying to all cases. Some boys will benefit from such relationships and some will not. It can only be decided on a case-by-case basis and that decision is best made by those involved and should not be left up to State.

I can assure you that members of NAMBLA are not the monsters they are made out to be. I can also assure you that the boys involved are not being coerced or exploited, they are willing, happy participants acting in what they believe to be their own

rational self-interest.

Finally I would urge libertarians to keep an open mind on this issue. Do not assume that you have enough facts to draw conclusions at this time. Much of what you assume is most likely tainted by the biases of the media and the police. Stay neutral until you have the opportunity to investigate the facts. And then, and only then, should you make up your mind.

**Jim Peron**  
San Francisco, CA

### Losing Its Monopoly

Congratulations on the December issue of *American Libertarian*. We have come to regard the *AL* as a valuable nonpartisan source of news on the movement and look forward to its arrival each month. Thanks are especially due for the superb supplement covering our World Conference in Stockholm. We were particularly delighted by the insightful reporting by John-Henri Holmberg. The observations by him regarding the emotional impact of this event on the Swedes surprised and moved even those of us who were there.

One thing this event revealed is that the U.S. is losing its monopoly on intellectual heavyweights and, as our friend Greg Christensen of the Pacific Institute who also attended Stockholm noted, there are now a notable number of first-rate libertarian intellectuals appearing on the scene in Europe, South America (and in the Orient we might note).

It all bodes well for the future of freedom and we thank you for informing your readers of these encouraging developments.

**Vince Miller**  
Chair, Libertarian International  
Richmond, VA ■

## Guest Column:

## Promote Better Group Process

by Carol Moore

Carol Moore is editor of the quarterly networking newsletter *DECENTRALIZE! — Non-Violent Radical Decentralist Strategies*. Box 106, 632 Cloverdale, Los Angeles, CA 90036, (\$3.00 for 4 issues. \$1.00 sample.)

The October, 1986 *American Libertarian* included a report by libertarian decentralist Michael R. O'Mara on "American Green Decentralists". It described the loose North American network of ecologically-oriented anarchists, decentralists, yuppies, yuppies, and Green party-ites that calls itself the Committees of Correspondence. (Named after a network of liberty-seeking groups organized in the early years of the American Revolution.)

O'Mara described conflicts over admitting groups with Yippie connections which arose in the August "Interregional" meeting of Green groups in San Francisco. I attended that meeting as a delegate of the Southern California Green Assembly and lobbied successfully for an inter-organizational conflict resolution clause in the provisional By-Laws. I missed the next Interregional meeting, held November 22-23. Reportedly, with the most vocal anti-Yippie individuals absent from the meeting, and the one Yippie on his best behavior, participants focused on continued discussion of By-Laws for the network and on the National Green Gathering to be held in August 1987 in Massachusetts.

However, that weekend I did attend and observe part of the Libertarian Party National Committee meeting in Los Angeles, later socializing with participants. I came away from both the August Green and the November LP meeting with the same feel-

ings of discomfort and even despair. Partially, it was my own "radical decentralist" ambivalence about "national" organizing of any kind. But mostly it was my unhappiness over the inability of the majority of well-intentioned delegates at both meetings to deal with the power-trips and psychodramas of a few disruptive members.

Certainly there are always legitimate debates and conflicts over ideology and strategy. But too often these get mixed up with struggles for personal dominance (especially between males) and/or acting out of personal problems. I believe paying more attention to process would surely help libertarians (party and non-party) solve two major movement problems: attracting and keeping more women activists and promoting greater cooperation, efficiency and enthusiasm in activist groups.

Struggles for personal dominance (by individuals or cliques) can be manifested through verbal domination (talking too often, too loud, too long); continual nitpicking and criticism; inflexibility and dogmatism; putdowns and one-upmanship; avoiding feelings and intellectualizing; condescension and paternalism; manipulation of the organizational process; harboring hidden agendas and secret plans; gossip and smear campaigns; outright hostility and "trashing" sessions; and efforts to exclude or drive out unwanted individuals from the organization. When libertarian fondness for economic competition translates into ruthless competition for power and control within the organization, many libertarians are understandably turned off to activism.

Personal problems are often the source of the most outrageously disruptive behavior.

As I know from my own involvement in various self-help groups, those who've grown up in homes troubled by alcoholism, violence, or other problems are strongly attracted to social and political change organizations because they desire to protest and change a world they believe has and still does make them miserable.

These individuals can be both extremely anti-authoritarian (since they couldn't trust authority in their own homes), and overly controlling (since they feel they must be in control to prevent everything from falling apart). Moreover, many are actually addicted to the excitement of creating and sustaining conflict in their life (re-creating the environment in which they grew up.) They may have problems with alcohol or substance abuse themselves.

When such troubled individuals are active in a group often more time is spent on internal struggle than constructive activity.

However, there are solutions for non-

disruptive activists who are too often left confused and disheartened by dominance, conflict and irrationality. One is open discussion of dominance behavior and agreeing that it is acceptable for individuals to speak out against such behavior, privately or publicly. Another is making mediation and conflict resolution part of the basic agreement for participation in the political organization (written into the By-Laws, if necessary).

There should be a consensus that it is individuals' responsibility not to dump their personal problems on the group. Also, group members should extend appropriate emotional support for those individuals who are responsible enough to seek needed therapeutic help. Finally, we must all remember that successful political organizing — just like successful friendship, partnership or marriage — requires time, patience, hard work, patience, pain, patience, love, and patience! ■

## Notable Quotes



### Why We're Glad Sam Konkin's Crystal Ball Is No Better Than Any- one Else's

"...previous historical clues lead me to predict the call-up and dispatch of U.S. troops to Central

America and/or the Middle East just before or after the November 1984 Presidential election. ... With near certainty, judging by the irrevocability of the Reagan administration's determination towards war, the War will be here by January 1985 at the latest and acknowledged by all. On this, I stand. Prepare yourself, libertarian."

"The War to Come. ... Has", *New Libertarian* 12, October 1984.

"My own guess is that the Central American War has been delayed by unexpected circumstances and will crank up well before the 1985 Congressional Elections."

"War and Crack-Up Boom", *New Libertarian* 13, April 1985

### The Only Good Government is a Dead Government

"Right-wing, left wing, colonialist, capitalist, Marxist, all governments are anti-Indian."

Miskito Indian anti-Sandinista guerilla leader

Brooklyn Rivera, *The Wall St. Journal*, January 9, 1987

### But Did He Ask Ed Messe?

"I have never met a young man who was emotionally scarred by looking at a centerfold in his formative years," said Gary Bradley, Libertarian candidate for State Senate, explaining his stand on pornography.

Brighton, MI *Argus*, October 29, 1986

### And We Thought They Were Just Stupid...

"In calling congressmen hypocritical for their anti-drug stance, Ron Paul revealed, in effect, why the solons in Washington seem to have cranial activity remarkably akin to that of winos. ...

"I've seen many of them (congressmen) drunk on the House floor," Ron said."

Paul Harasim, *The Houston Post*, January 4, 1987

### With 10 Wives, Hey, Who Cares?

"I support a free market and individual and personal freedom," (Alex Joseph) said. "Polygamy demonstrates that Libertarians believe in a free market, and that the government should leave people alone. That's why I joined them."

"But," he added, "I'm no more a Libertarian than I am a Republican."

James Howells, *Salt Lake City UT Tribune*, November 3, 1986. ■

**Keeping Up with the Joneses?  
And the Clarks, the Tryons, the Pauls,  
the Rothbards, the Berglands, The Cranes,  
the Randolphins, the Jacobs, the Givots, the Dodges  
the Nolans, the Konkins, the Hesses, the Marrous, the Lewises...?**

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## Arizona LP Chair Endorses Republican

Phoenix, AZ - Arizona LP Chair Peggy Jeney publicly endorsed controversial GOP gubernatorial candidate Evan Mecham in a well publicized press release in mid-October, although this was a personal endorsement rather than an official LP position. Mecham subsequently won the election.

And former Arizona Republican Congressman Sam Steiger, who later joined the LP, joined the Mecham administration in a paid capacity as a liaison between the Governor's office and the state Highway Department and prison system. Steiger worked in the Mecham campaign as an advisor, and one Arizona LP source speculates that Steiger is under pressure to re-join the GOP.

Mecham was something of a surprise upset in his November victory, where the incumbent Democratic Governor chose not to run again (reportedly he has his eye on the 1988 presidential race) and the moderate-independent-liberal vote was split between the Democrat and an Independent candidate.

Mecham has been described as an "old-fashioned conservative" with strict Constitutional and "Old-Right" leanings. Mecham was also a strong proponent of anti-drug legislation and his libertarian endorsements were tempered with disavowels of his position on victimless crimes. Mecham's term has already proved controversial, with his refusal to follow his

predecessor's tradition of declaring a state holiday for Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday. Mecham cited the absence of legislative approval for making such a move, which angered civil rights groups and black organizations nationwide.

Mecham's LP endorsement by Jeney was based upon his promise to cut the sales tax and limit the powers of the Department of Public Safety, and his consistency in his conservative beliefs which she believes will prevent him from becoming a pawn of special interests. Jeney's endorsement was a topic at the October 15th ALP State Executive Committee meeting, where some members were unhappy that Jeney's personal endorsement was incorrectly reported as an ALP endorsement. The state's largest paper, the *Arizona Republic*, initially reported the story this way.

The state LP newsletter *The Activist* carried an explanation by Jeney in its November edition along with a dissenting view by ALP activist Duncan Kunz.

The ALP faced a rough election year in 1986, with the state party failing to obtain ballot status for the first time in its existence due to a disorganized ballot drive effort which resulted in the forced resignation of then Chair Ken Sturzenacker.

Whether Libertarian support of the Mecham effort and Steiger's involvement in his administration will result in any libertarian influence in state politics is open to question. One long time LP activist is rumored to have changed party affiliation to Democrat in order to become involved in local politics. In the meantime, the LP's Ballot Access Committee has sent full time petitioner Mark Shepard to the state, where signatures are already being gathered to ensure Party ballot status for the 1988 elections. ■

## Montana Prop. Tax Elimination A Post-Mortem

by Kyle Rothweiler

Kyle Rothweiler is a free-lance writer, cartoonist and composer. He is also co-founder of *The Life-Forceman'ship Institute*, a Bozeman, MT think tank.

Bozeman, MT - In spring of 1986, in the Bitterroot Valley in western Montana, four middle-aged sisters, all farm wives bored with baking pies, set out on a crusade. They left their modest spreads and began a statewide petition drive, along with a handful of supporters. It's not clear what inspired them or where they got the chutzpah to do it, but the four grandmas (125 grandkids total) sallied forth to abolish property taxes in Montana. Perhaps, like Joan of Arc, they heard voices. Perhaps Gordon Kahl was whispering down their chimneys.

The chief ringleader was the eldest, Naomi Powell, a tough old broad who knew exactly what she was doing. Montana is the Ethiopia of the Wild West, or at least the Appalachia. Abolishing the Marxist property tax monstrosity would pump some much needed hormones into the state's impotent economy. Powell is no anarchist, but neither is she a mealy-mouthed moderate. She made this clear from the beginning of the attempt to place Constitutional Initiative 27 on the November ballot.

CI-27 would have completely eliminated taxes on all property. Furthermore, it would have required voter approval for increasing income taxes or starting a sales tax, which the state has never had. It was clearly an attempt to hack away as much of the state government as possible in one swipe. In the "pro" argument for CI-27 published in a voter information pamphlet, Powell stated quite bluntly, "We do **not** need a sales tax.

We do **not** need increases in income taxes or other taxes. We do need a 20% reduction in government excess and waste." The sisters weren't fooling around.

In the summer, soon after they garnered the 38,000 signatures necessary to get the initiative on the ballot, the four sisters — Powell, Carol Bancroft, Marjorie Prowse and LaRue Mousely — began getting some press attention. Powell made some shockingly revolutionary statements about people paying for what they get. "The property owner shouldn't be required to pay for the education of other children, too," she was quoted in the *Great Falls Tribune* on August 31. "People should be responsible for their own children. If they want them educated, they shouldn't be there with their hands out."

The reaction from the state educational establishment was immediate and vociferous. For some reason, many Montanans have an almost psychotic pride in their government school system. Because Montana is something like fourth in the nation in per capita student spending, some citizens think they are living in a mecca of learning and are extremely touchy about the subject.

Nor was the teaching bureaucracy the only government tentacle to writhe. State officials from Governor Schwinden on down denounced the initiative in hysterical terms. One official compared the results of the passage of CI-27 to that of a nuclear holocaust. Figure fudging, hyperbole and lies polluted the pure Montana air. The epidemic of panic was in fact wonderfully hilarious and entertaining. The bureaucratic vermin were swarming around madly, terrified of the taxpayers' revenge in November.

Both major political parties, the Montana Chamber of Commerce, and almost every other conceivable collective jumped on the



anti-27 bandwagon. The most nauseating spectacle was that of the "free press" shoving its way into the orgy of bootlicking. Not a single state newspaper sided against the government in favor of property rights. When the state took the initiative to the Montana Supreme Court in an attempt to have it declared unconstitutional in October (one of the most despicable moves in the campaign), the *Great Falls Tribune* went into rapture in expressing its approval. (The court upheld the constitutionality of CI-27, 4-3.)

On the other hand, the press was responsible for one of the bright spots of the CI-27 battle — letters to the editor. In the struggle for something as fundamental as property rights, hard-core individualists will come out of the woodwork, and suddenly the editorial pages of the state newspapers became a forum for sound ideas instead of the usual muddle-headed mush. People no one had ever heard of wrote in explaining that property taxes were outlined in the Communist Manifesto, and that the tax abolition movement was in the tradition of the lynching of outlaw Montana sheriff Henry Plummer by the Vigilantes.

As the campaign wore on, it became clear that even many people sympathetic to CI-27 did not have a clear understanding of it. I sat stunned at a meeting of the Bozeman Property Owner's Association as the assembled victims of state oppression discussed, not various techniques of disemboweling bureaucrats, but methods of appeasing them. I expected this group to be in the front wave of radicalism, and they **were** radical — when it came to eliminating property taxes. For the rest, all they could talk about was means of **replacing the lost revenue**. They didn't seem to understand the idea of simply eliminating taxation.

More and more one heard from friends and enemies alike that the passage of CI-27 would make a sales tax necessary. Montana is one of three states that doesn't have a sales tax, and the residents loathe the tax worse than a sheep with green monkey disease. Despite the best efforts of our sleaziest politicians, past attempts to institute one have met overwhelming defeat. Since the voters kept being bombarded with the idea that the revenue lost from property would have to be replaced, rather than just eliminated, a lot of them were apparently spooked.

And on the Sunday before election day, a statewide newspaper ad sponsored by one of the initiative's most vocal spokesmen assured the readers that the state schools would lose no funding because "the Legislature will be required to increase state aid to schools to at least partially offset the loss of property tax revenue." So much for people being responsible for their own children.

CI-27 lost at the polls, of course, and no doubt because it was so radical, not because it wasn't radical enough. With all the water-muddying engaged in by various factions, it was clearly a case of black vs. white. The voters decided on that basis, whether they knew it or not. As it was, the measure received a surprising 44% of the vote. But does that percentage signify that Montanans are less prone to the slave-mentality than the rest of the country — or more?

Hard to tell. But when using the democratic process, there's always the chance that no matter how libertarian or virtuous the proposal, more than half of those who bother to vote will prefer not to change things. ■

## Mises Institute Seminars

Washington, DC - The free market oriented policy and educational organization, the Mises Institute, has started off the year with a pair of seminars which present an in-depth look at economics, past and present.

Over the weekend of January 9-11, the Mises Institute presented the second in a series of seminars on topics in "The History of Economic Thought", taught by well known libertarian Austrian economist Murray Rothbard.

And on February 23, the Institute is sponsoring a roundtable seminar on "What's Wrong with the Economics Profession: The Austrian and the Libertarian Critiques", featuring Dr. Walter Block of Canada's Fraser Institute and the *Review of Austrian Economics*.

The seminars are conducted at the Mises Institute Washington, DC offices and more information may be obtained by contacting: **Mises Institute, 322 Massachusetts Ave. N.E., Washington, DC 20002, (202)543-7676.** ■

# LROC Attacks "Sectarianism"

Palo Alto, CA - The Libertarian Republican Organizing Committee (LROC) has launched a blistering attack on what it describes as the Libertarian Party's "sectarianism", in the first issue of their new publication, an 8-page newsletter entitled *Libertarian Agenda*.

The publication is the first official pronouncement of the LROC since the November elections and was apparently authored entirely by LROC organizer Justin Raimondo, *Agenda's* editor. Raimondo, along with Colin Hunter, Eric Garris and Alexia Gilmore, are the only names identified in the publication as LROC members. Earlier this fall the LROC said it had several hundred interested libertarians on their mailing list.

Hunter, Garris and Raimondo were all at one time Central Committee members of the LP's Radical Caucus (RC) organization, a small but vocal lobby which urged greater ideological purity within LP ranks. Other Central Committee members of the Radical Caucus, which splintered at the 1983 New York LP convention over the issue of Ravenal vs. Bergland, included Murray Rothbard and Bill Evers, both of whom have disavowed any connection with LROC.

Raimondo, Garris and Hunter were also behind the now defunct *Libertarian Outlook* magazine, which listed Raimondo as editor of its one and only August 1985 issue. LROC announced its existence in May of 1986 and subsequently urged LP members to join the Republican Party and support libertarian tendencies within the GOP. A controversial paid ad from LROC was run in the pages of the *LP News* urging party members to consider their strategy.

The bulk of the first issue of *Agenda* consists of a lengthy analysis of recent LP activities and articles which have appeared in *LP News*.

This analysis reflects the fact that to date, all of LROC's efforts have been focused on wooing disaffected LP members rather than participating in any GOP related activities. Noticably absent is any discussion of libertarians who have actually joined the GOP, such as Alaska's Dick Randolph or Washington state's DeAnn Pullar, or the growing involvement with GOP presidential contender Pierre DuPont by libertarians associated with Charles Koch and the Cato Institute. Even the discussion of California's unsuccessful "new libertarian" U.S. Senate contender Ed Zschau, which in part sparked the LROC phenomena, is discussed only in the context of an article about Zschau printed in a summer 1986 issue of *LP News*.

The background of the key LROC organizers adds to the confusion, since Raimondo and Garris were the so-called "revolutionary tendency" faction within the already hardline Radical Caucus, which at one time issued blistering attacks on Ron Paul, arguably the only actual "libertarian Republican" ever to surface. Subsequent LROC pronouncements have urged that Ron Paul run in 1988 GOP primaries as a libertarian Republican. Paul himself has recently quit the GOP and is likely to announce as a LP presidential candidate contender.

This "rehabilitation" of Ron Paul is left unexplained, although Raimondo's article includes a disavowal of various materials which were published under his editorship of RC newsletter *Vanguard*, which he says was not "under his control" and implies that Bill Evers actually controlled.

The analysis of the LP, entitled "The LP in the Eighties: The Politics of Sectarianism" begins with what amounts to a defense of the pro-Ravenal faction of the RC, which is

now apparently the core group behind LROC. The article goes on to define the political sin of sectarianism as "exclusive or narrow-minded attachment to a sect. That is, attachment to the interests of a particular organization over and above the progress of the ideas themselves."

The remainder of *Agenda* goes on to describe financial and membership difficulties of the LP, as described in both *LP News* and the *American Libertarian* and a lengthy critique of various articles in *LP News*.

Ironically, this critique, which repeatedly attacks current *LP News* editor Karl Hess for "sectarianism" and bias in news coverage, begins with the statement that "under the editorship of Karl Hess, the *News* has abandoned the usual puffery and the contents come much closer to reflecting the actual state of affairs within the LP."

Among the topics in recent *LP News* criticized by Raimondo include Hess's attack on "religious right" domination of the GOP, the favorable coverage of the libertarian take-over in Big Water, Utah, and Jim Peron's article discussing the California Zschau effort. The thrust of this discussion is that LP members and their "sectarian" leadership are "dreamy-eyed utopians" who unrealistically would rather espouse moral purity and toil away hopelessly in the third party vineyards than effectively influence politics in the "real world" of GOP politics.

The article concludes with disparagement of Norma Jean Almodovar's recent California Lt. Governor LP candidacy, the "obscure libersign" used in the Seattle LP convention's logo, and the gloomy prediction that the LP's 1986 financial difficulties doom it to continuing irrelevance.

*Libertarian Agenda* is described as an "occasional journal" and no subscription price or frequency is listed. For more information, contact: **LROC, 1200 Hamilton Ave., Palo Alto, CA 94301 (415) 325-1563.**

## Norma Jean Fights Jail

by Neil E. Wright

Neil Wright was campaign Chair during the 1986 Almodovar for Lt. Governor race in California. He is also one of Norma Jean's brothers.

Hollywood, CA - Norma Jean Almodovar, the 1986 Libertarian candidate for Lieutenant Governor of California, was back in court on December 15, 1986. That was the day that the Los Angeles County District Attorney's appeal of her probation sentence was heard by the Appellate Court. She was originally convicted for "pandering" on the testimony of a former LAPD Traffic Division co-worker who said Norma Jean tried to get her to try prostitution.

Arguing for the D.A.'s office, Deputy District Attorney Dirk Hudson told the court that Norma Jean's probation sentence should be overturned and she should be returned to state prison for a minimum of three years, because the "crime" she committed was "worse than rape or robbery", and she magnified her "crime" by writing a book which would cause "disrespect for law and order." Although the confiscated manuscript (*From Cop to Call Girl*) was never introduced as evidence at her original trial, the District Attorney's brief made 57 references to the manuscript and her budding literary career as reasons why she

should face the minimum state prison term for her "crime".

Larry Teeter, Norma Jean's attorney, lashed out at the D.A.'s office in his argument to the bench, citing the D.A.'s brief as proof of Norma Jean's allegation to the Probation Department hearing officer that she was entrapped by the police department for writing a book which would expose abuse and corruption in that department.

In a sharply worded editorial January 6 in the Los Angeles *Herald Examiner* columnist Ben Stein stated:

"Among the reasons cited by the district attorney for a mandatory prison term was the amazing claim that the crime of pandering was compounded by her having written a book attacking a public institution and public employees.

"Something is desperately wrong here. To this lawyer's eyes, Almodovar was not arrested for pandering at all. She was arrested, charged and put in prison to keep her from completing a book about clearly important matters of public policy. You may agree or disagree with her criticism of the police department — and I have not seen the specifics, since the manuscript was seized by the police — but you must allow her to speak, if she can be charged with a crime solely — or even partly — to keep her from airing her views about the police department, the First Amendment is completely meaningless.

"The district attorney is apparently deeply confused about what the Constitution even means. He went on record in a brief as saying that Almodovar should be thrown in jail not only for pandering but also for daring to criticize the government."

And so the fight goes on. As this writing, we are still waiting for the appellate court to hand down its decision. As readers of this publication know, Norma Jean has worked hard to further the cause of freedom. She has spent everything she had and has gone deeply into debt.

Her fight against the statist, who are attempting to silence her by imprisonment, must succeed. If she fails, then no one who criticizes the government is safe. And if criticizing the government becomes a crime in itself, which the district attorney is apparently attempting to make it, all the "freedoms" we supposedly enjoy in this country become meaningless.

To find out what you can do to help, please call: (213) 382-6445, or write: **Norma Jean Productions, 1626 N. Wilcox Ave. #580, Hollywood, CA 90028.**

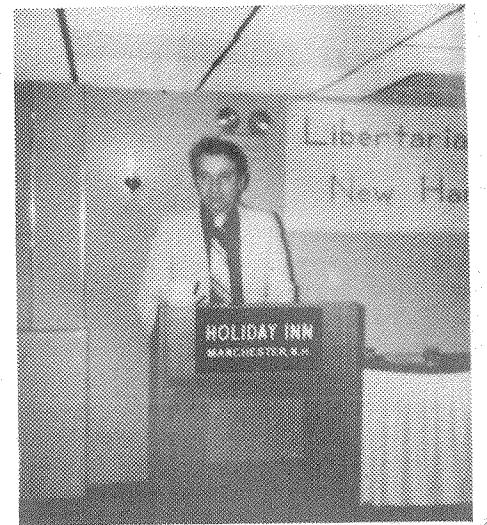
## Cato Monetary Conference

Washington, DC - The libertarian-oriented Cato Institute is sponsoring their fifth annual Monetary Conference on February 27-28 at the Capital Hilton in Washington.

The focus of this year's event will be "The Financial Services Revolution: Policy Directions for the Future" and will include the history of banking, regulation, the efficiency of current financial regulations and the future of financial institution. Speakers include Anna Schwartz, George Benston, George Kaufman, James Meigs, Joe Cobb and Gerald O'Driscoll and other scholars and economists.

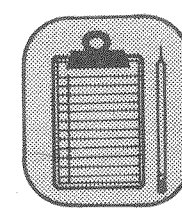
Costs for this conference are partially underwritten by the Olin and Ford Foundations, and by Sears and Chase Manhattan.

For more information contact: **The Cato Institute, 224 Second St. SE, Washington DC, (202) 546-0200.**



Author Howard Katz (*The Paper Aristocracy, The Warmongers*) addressed the New Hampshire LP state convention, held last October. Photo courtesy of Tom Ross.

## Political Notes



Fresno, CA - After more than a year of battle with the IRS, Marshall Fritz's Advocates for Self-Government, aided by attorney David Bergland, has finally secured an advance ruling granting it provisional 501(c)(3) tax exempt status as an educational organization. The ruling is expected to be made permanent this summer and will remain in effect provided that the organization continues its non-political direction.

Under this status, contributions (past and present) to the Advocates are considered charitable deductions for income tax purposes. While sometimes thought of as being automatic for non-profit organizations, the tax exempt designation has been increasingly hard to obtain, particularly during the Reagan administration.

Included in the Advocates' determination letter is this officially approved IRS description of libertarianism (suitable for framing):

*Libertarianism is a philosophy. The basic premise of libertarianism is that each individual should be free to do as he or she pleases so long as he or she does not harm others. In the libertarian view, societies and governments infringe on individual liberties whenever they tax wealth, create penalties for victimless crimes, or otherwise attempt to control or regulate individual conduct which harms or benefits no one except the individual who engaged in it.*

Tucson, AZ - Former LP Director Perry Willis, who resigned last summer due to illness, has subsequently been involved in a number of projects, including direct mail consulting. He is also reported to be forming a political action committee, possibly to be called WINPAC. Details have not been announced, but it is reported that the committee will concentrate on raising money for libertarian candidates running for offices at various levels of government and will concentrate on potentially winnable races.

Seattle, WA - There has been at least one major personnel shake up since the 1987 LP Presidential Convention was awarded to the Washington State LP. Former National Committee member and Convention Committee Chair Skip Barron, who was primarily responsible for obtaining the convention bid, resigned both positions in October in the face of personal commitments and unhappiness over the pace of convention plans.

Barron was replaced on the NatCom by

Continued page 10

## Political Notes

From page 9

Ruth Bennett, formerly of Colorado, who was the principal organizer of the 1981 Denver LP convention. Barron was eased out of the convention spotlight, and day-to-day organizing details have been taken over by Richard Shepard, a young Seattle-based attorney who is now the convention's Production Director.

While these changes were made with little public controversy, some Washington libertarians are reported to be unhappy with the lack of progress on certain aspects of convention planning and heavy financial commitments. In the meantime, convention organizers are proceeding with plans which include an innovative "Liberty Bucks" discount advance purchase offer and are lining up speakers and events.

More details on the event, scheduled for Labor Day weekend (Sept. 2-6), can be obtained from: **The Culture of Freedom, LP Presidential Nominating Convention, P.O. Box 23108, Seattle, WA 98102.**

San Francisco, CA - According to Richard Winger's authoritative *Ballot Access News*, statewide third party candidates, excluding independents and local candidates, racked up 9,182,628 votes. The biggest cumulative totals were obtained by the Libertarian Party - 2,813,710; and the Illinois Solidarity Party (non-LaRouche-controlled Democrats) - 2,259,680. (*Ballot Access News*: 3201 Baker St., SF, CA 94123; \$5)

San Antonio, TX - While reliable state LP financial information is difficult to obtain, recently released data about the Texas LP shows it rates in the top two or three in funding for 1986.

In the first 11 months of 1986, the Texas LP raised about \$50,700 and spent a little over \$49,000 (mostly on the statewide ballot drive which resulted in status for 1988). Of that total, over \$22,000 was raised via

their monthly "Independence Pledge" effort, while \$15,000 was contributed by the National LP's Ballot Access Committee.

Texas LP Director Dianne Pilcher, based in San Antonio, hopes to raise at least that much in 1987 to fund six speakers bureaus, activate new campus groups, reduce the party's left-over 1984 debt, and prepare a slate of state and local candidates for the 1988 elections.

Anchorage, AK - The rather weird saga of former Alaska LP gubernatorial candidate Mary O'Brannon is drawing to another conclusion, according to recent press reports. Apparently, O'Brannon owed some \$2 million to former customers of her various Yellow Page publications for which she sold ads but never delivered. Under a court order to pay, she recently declared before an Anchorage Superior Court that her total assets amounted to \$63, a broken computer and some costume jewelry. She claims she is living off loans from relatives and is also unable to pay the more than \$110,000 in state civil penalties assessed against her for the failed directory operations.

What happened to the alleged \$2 million in ad revenues is apparently unexplained, as is much of her history during 1986, when she was the object of a nationwide LP search and at one point claimed she was injured in an attempted kidnapping.

San Diego, CA - Think libertarians are all just pale intellectual types arguing over how many anarchists can dance on the head of a pin? Well, maybe. But San Diego's Sara Baase is setting out to break the stereotype.

She's organized a series of Libertarian Hikes which began in January around the San Diego area. Hikes are 7-10 miles, and picnic lunches are also planned. Baase is continuing a tradition she started in the San Francisco Bay area which was also successful and is being continued by local libertarians. ■

This event will undoubtedly be a warm-up to the Seattle event and several possible LP presidential ticket contenders are expected to be on hand.

The convention will be held at the Clarion Hotel at the San Francisco airport and costs range from \$195 on down, depending on events attended.

For more information contact: **Fred Stitt, Box 456, Orind CA 94563** or convention coordinator **Linda Torno, (415) 254-9393.** ■

## Libertarian Officeholder Abolishes Office

Santa Barbara, CA - After a three-year effort, the Mission Canyon Fire District (Santa Barbara, CA) is being abolished, saving each district household over \$200 per year in special assessments. The District Board of Directors was chaired by libertarian Lou Villadsen, who reports that 75% of the voters in the district agreed that the district was an expensive and unnecessary waste of their money. "The LP can't count me as an officeholder now," she said, "but we can point to a small victory. There are probably hundreds of these little districts all over the country, sucking up tax money because nobody ever looked at whether or not they're really needed. Our Board went to a lot of work to gather the data and prove the case objectively, and it worked!" ■

## "Tax Patriot" Libertarian Alliance?

by Jo McIntyre

*Jo McIntyre is an Oregon-based free lance journalist and editor of The Oregon Libertarian. In light of calls for a tactical alliance between libertarians and self-styled tax patriots, American Libertarian asked McIntyre to take a closer look in Oregon, where the tax protest movement seems to be flourishing.*

McMinnville, OR - "David Willis (formerly of AFA): You know what you have taken. Does your conscience not impress you to return and settle your debts?"

So runs the plaintive note at the bottom of page 13 in the November issue of the Network for Citizen Enlightenment (NCE) newsletter, published in Clackamas, Oregon.

The NCE is one of a number of Christian tax patriot newsletters circulating in Oregon and Willis is one of a number of con men circling about the movement. If O. Henry or Mark Twain came back to life today, they would recognize this type immediately. The rube-conning, snake-oil salesman isn't seen much in sophisticated, urban areas of the U.S., but Clackamas County and southern Oregon are hotbeds of redneckism and ripe for the plucking.

A closer look at Willis and his modus operandi may lead some libertarians who have called for an alliance with the Christian patriot tax protest movement to rethink their positions.

Late last summer, the editor of *The Patriot Review*, also of Clackamas, published a long and scathing article denouncing Willis for actions that, "not only hurt us, but the entire Patriot-Freedom Movement."

Willis is tall, younger than most movement leaders at about 30, has black shiny hair cut short, smooth and pale skin, pearly-white even teeth, and a charming, snaky smile. When he appeared at the Oregon Libertarian Party 1986 Convention in April, hanging adoringly on his arm was the heavily made-up, but young and beautiful wife of a jailed tax patriot.

His assigned topic for the convention appearance was "The Tax Resistance Movement," but instead he talked about his latest scheme, the one that may have resulted in the disappointment of his Christian patriot friends as well as a few Libertarians.

His idea had to do with printing "scrip", a term that often was printed and pronounced "script" by people who didn't know that scrip is substitute money. It isn't counterfeit, because there is no attempt to look like "real" money, but it functions like real money. In this case, Willis was offering to act as the mint, taking a hefty cut (in "real" money, natch) for performing the service of putting the plan together. Since all paper currency relies on the confidence of the users, his plan to exchange paper for goods could only work if many people participated. Unstated, but clearly implied, was the idea that the real benefit of this scheme came from making non-taxable transactions (not taxable, because not reported).

Larry Reed, a distinguished Idaho college professor and Executive Director of the respected Center for the Study of Market Alternatives in Idaho, sat in on Willis' talk at the convention.

"That was the biggest collection of economic fallacies, half-truths and misunderstandings I have ever heard in one sitting," he commented in amazement when the talk was over. Aside from the dif-

ficulty in correcting such a mish-mash of ideas purporting to explain how we got where we are today economically, Reed said he didn't challenge Willis' presentation because he didn't think it was polite to interrupt a fellow invited speaker. As he left the lecture room Reed was heard muttering to himself, "caveat emptor..., laissez faire..., the market place of ideas. . ."

Con men aren't the only problem with the tax patriot movement, though they seem to flourish in that atmosphere. Though their slogans are beguiling and their motives for the most part are sincere, their theories of why people don't have to file tax returns or pay income taxes are not often persuasive to federal judges. Some Libertarians in Oregon, it is rumored, are in danger of prosecution right now because they listened to and paid these people for advice.

Libertarian Party policy in Oregon has been, "Do whatever you want on your own time, but do not associate the party with these activities." The reasoning is that those in a political party are still trying to work within the system to change it, rather than trying to become invisible or to rebel.

As for networking with the patriots, this is one "net" libertarians might want to avoid. Oregon Libertarians once split the cost and use of a State Fair booth a couple of years back.

That proved to be a mistake. Some of the "patriots" had such intricate, non-realistic political theories, many of which required serious government intervention to implement, that many Libertarians felt very uncomfortable sharing the space.

David Willis is actually just an extreme example, from a group of people whose basic values are incompatible with libertarians' respect for individual rights, civil liberties and the free market. ■

## DuPont Attracts Lib. Support

Washington, DC - Although most libertarians have been focusing on the upcoming Libertarian Party presidential effort, some libertarians associated with former LP kingmaker Ed Crane and his financial backers Charles and David Koch, have begun serious efforts to aid the GOP effort of former Delaware Governor Pierre DuPont IV.

DuPont, the first 1988 GOP presidential contender to formally announce, was reportedly interviewed over the weekend of Nov. 15-16 by former LP National Director Eric O'Keefe, now a commodities broker in Milwaukee and Chicago. (This was, coincidentally, the same weekend as the Los Angeles LP National Committee meeting).

O'Keefe, who was fired from his LP post in mid 1982 by then LP Chair Alicia Clark for failing to cope with the \$200,000 LP debt, recently said to an LP telephone solicitor, "I'm not a libertarian." His interrogation of DuPont was apparently an effort to see if DuPont's ideological viewpoints would be acceptable to the Crane-led Koch political apparatus.

DuPont has made some libertarian-type comments about foreign policy and economics, and was actively seeking ideas from the Cato Institute prior to the announcement of his candidacy, possibly to distinguish himself from the soon-to-be-crowded GOP presidential pack. However, his presidential candidacy announcement was marked by his call for a nationwide mandatory urine testing program for all American high school students, a proposal

Continued page 11

## CA LP Slates Convention

San Francisco, CA - The California Libertarian Party, the largest state LP in the country, has scheduled a star-studded lineup for their Washington's Birthday weekend (Feb. 13-16) state convention.

The Saturday evening banquet speaker will be well known psychologist and former Rand protégé Nathaniel Branden, and the Sunday evening banquet will feature authors Milton and Rose Friedman. Milton Friedman is a Nobel prize winning economist and perhaps the best known free market advocate in the nation.

Other speakers and workshop hosts include Ed and Alicia Clark, David Bergland, John Hospers, Karl Hess, Poul Anderson, Anthony Fisher, Marshall Fritz, Murray Rothbard, Andre Marrou, David Theroux, Keith Hensen, Dick Boddie, Fred Stitt, Eric Drexler, Arron Wildavsky, Michael Emerling, Norma Jean Almodovar, and Ron Paul.

Attendance is expected to be in the several hundred range and many of the panels focus on the national and international impact of libertarian ideas, visions of freedom — now and in the future — and strategies for communicating libertarian ideas. Concurrent with the over two dozen panels and workshops, including several receptions and humorous presentations, will be the regular business sessions of the California LP. These will include election of officers and delegates to the National LP convention in Seattle.



## Dupont Support

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which has all but eliminated him from most serious libertarian consideration. Reportedly, DuPont passed the "O'Keefe test" on this issue by arguing that such a drug testing move would actually encourage students to enroll in private schools and discourage support for the public school system.

Needless to say, this line of argument has not overcome doubts about DuPont's libertarian bona fides, prompting one well known libertarian theorist to suggest that DuPont's argument doesn't go far enough. "Why doesn't he call for shooting every fifth high school student in public school," notes economist Murray Rothbard, "surely that would be an even greater incentive to attend private schools!"

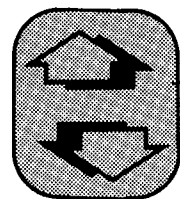
The DuPont effort is attracting even stranger political bedfellows, despite his semi-libertarian views on issues such as Social Security and tax cuts. *Newsweek* columnist George Will, regarded by many libertarians as the premier apologist for statism in the U.S. today, authored a surprisingly warm column in the Dec. 22 issue describing a recent DuPont vote expedition into New Hampshire. Though Will seems more impressed by the fact that DuPont is a hockey fan than by his proto-libertarian ideology, it is tempting to think that where Will sees smoke, there must be fire. Of some kind, anyway.

Whether the DuPont boomlet will make any headway in the increasingly crowded GOP primary field (it's easier to keep track of Republicans who aren't running) the famous libertarian "Crane machine" is starting to crank up behind the DuPont effort.

According to usually reliable sources, Crane has asked Howard Rich, co-owner of New York's celebrated Laissez Faire Book-service, to run the DuPont campaign in the crucial New Hampshire primary. Additionally, Doug Bandow, former editor-in-chief of the Koch-funded libertarian magazine *Inquiry* (defunct since 1983), syndicated columnist and part-time Cato employee, has recently become a "political advisor" to the DuPont effort. Whether any more former libertarian activists sign up with the DuPont effort remains to be seen, particularly since several former Crane political associates are quietly applauding the incipient Ron Paul LP effort.

Considering the wide-open political race for major party presidential nominations in 1988, it is not surprising that some candidates are taking on a distinct libertarian coloration, at least on some issues. But so far, no "libertarian Democrat" presidential contenders, real or imagined, have yet been sighted. ■

## In Review



by Randall Grindle

Randall Grindle is a northern California-based libertarian activist.

**The Politics of the American Civil Liberties Union**, by William A. Donahue, Transaction Press, 366 pp., \$14.95.

The ACLU has always cultivated a public image representing itself as the champion of the Bill of Rights, civil liberties and individual rights. Now **The Politics of the ACLU**, an exhaustively researched and documented ethnographic history of the Union, reveals that the ACLU has consistently functioned, not only as a civil liberties organization, but as much of an advocate of the Liberal-Progressive politics of "social justice" and "egalitarianism" as the Americans for Democratic Action or the National Lawyer's Guild. To characterize the ACLU and its activities succinctly, the book quotes ACLU founder Roger Baldwin, who wrote in 1933 that "Civil Liberties, like Democracy are useful only as tools for social change". (p. 51).

To understand the ACLU, one must understand the nature of contemporary or collectivistic liberalism. "Liberalism is the conjunction of two ideals. The first is that of individual liberty: liberty of thought, speech, religion and political action; freedom from government interference with privacy, personal life and the exercise of individual inclination. The second ideal is that of a democratic society controlled by its citizens and serving their needs, in which inequalities of political and economic power and social position are not excessive", according to NYU philosophy professor Thomas Nagel from his chapter **Reading Nozick**. Nagel then goes on to chillingly reveal what is the greatest influence on modern liberalism: "The most formidable challenge to liberalism, both intellectually and politically, is from the Left. It is argued that strong safeguards on individual liberty are too great a hindrance to the achievement of economic and social equality, rapid economic progress from underdevelopment and political stability(!)".

In the first two chapters of **The Politics of the ACLU**, "Liberalism and the ACLU" and "Civil Liberties, Equality and Social Justice", it becomes clear that because of the incessant left wing pressure within the ACLU in the direction of social utilitarianism that the Union is inherently incapable of adequately defending the libertarian or

autonomistic liberal side of the liberal political equation. For the ACLU to effectively advance individual liberty would require that the organization systematically tackle the job of counterbalancing the collectivistic philosophical doctrine of "legal realism" or "legal positivism" which currently entralls our legal system. This doctrine maintains that human rights do not derive from our intrinsic nature as individuals, but rather that our rights are socio-political constructs, and thus what we may or may not do with our lives is simply at the whim of judges, politicians and, shifting majorities of public opinion. The philosophical foundations for the re-establishment within the legal system of the notion of inalienable natural individual rights have recently been reconstructed by libertarian political philosopher Robert Nozick and by liberal political philosopher John Rawls; legal scholarship to support natural rights claims appears in the *Arizona Law Review*; and the California State Constitution's Declaration of Inalienable Rights provides the literal framework on which to hang this interpretation. But when this reviewer offered to help the Southern California ACLU set up such a program, he was told that adopting an ACLU individual autonomy program would not be possible because it would be offensive to some of the ACLU's membership!

Refusing to recognize individual autonomy as a civil liberties issue on a par with equality, the ACLU has subsumed its individual liberty interest under the concept of due process, an approach which backhandedly sanctifies statism. The Union has relied on the due process interpretation of the fourteenth amendment to define "reasonable" or "legitimate" state interest or governmental intrusion. But as Henry Mark Holzer conclusively demonstrates in his 1983 book **Sweet Land of Liberty — "The Supreme Court and Individual Rights"**, without inalienable natural individual rights there has simply been no limit on governmental power. Due to its social utilitarian approach, the ACLU is losing one individual liberty case after another.

**The Politics of the ACLU** also points out another manifestation of the ACLU's left-wing bias: despite the fact that the latest ACLU pronouncement on "Economic Justice" (by NYU Law Professor Sylvia Law in ACLU President Norman Dorsen's new book, **Our Endangered Rights**) includes a recognition that "property maintains independence, dignity and pluralism in society by creating zones in which the majority

has to yield to the owner. . . Indeed in the final analysis the Bill of Rights depends upon the existence of property rights", nevertheless the ACLU has consistently refused to recognize the Lockean imperatives of personal property rights and personal economic liberty as civil liberties issues. So when this reviewer submitted to it the case of particularly heinous civil liberties violation of a rural couple who were each sentenced to 6 months in jail for building a porch on their mobile home without government permission, the local ACLU affiliate refused to take the case. While one wouldn't expect a liberal organization to embrace full capitalist property rights or to abandon all forms of redistributionism, absent **any** concern for self ownership, personal property or freedom of exchange, there is a conspicuous and significant hole in the ACLU's claim to be a comprehensive civil liberties organization.

In the third chapter of the book, "Civil Liberties, Communism and the State", it becomes apparent that the ACLU remains unconcerned that to achieve the goals of equality and social justice, it necessitates a repressive state apparatus which must inevitably crush individual liberty. As late as 1934, after Lenin and Stalin had been turning Russia towards bloody totalitarianism for years, ACLU founder Roger Baldwin wrote "When the power of the working class is once achieved, as it has been only in the Soviet Union, I am for maintaining it by any means whatsoever. . . The Soviet Union has already created liberties far greater than exist elsewhere in the world" (P. 138). And a nominee elected to the 1985 Northern California ACLU Board of Directors stated as his qualification the belief that "There is a difference between the repression necessary for a just and equitable society and 'surplus' or unnecessary repression." The ACLU is one of the very few organizations which recognizes this distinction. I am proud and honored to be considered for service to it in this endeavour".

In the fourth chapter of **The Politics of the ACLU**, "Civil Liberties, Civility and Social Order", its conservative author quotes the libertarian social critic Albert Jay Nock who wrote "I do not recall a single liberal of my acquaintance who impressed me as having the least faith in freedom, or a shade of faith in its possibilities. On the contrary, I have always found the liberal to have the greatest nervous horror of freedom and the keenest disposition to barge in on

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## DECLASSIFIEDS

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DECENTRALIZE! Non-violent strategies for anti-nation-state anarchists, \$3.00 for 4 issues. Carol Moore, Editor, Box 106, 632 Cloverdale, Los Angeles, CA 90036.

## Future of Freedom Conference



Life extension researchers Durk Pearson and Sandy Shaw addressed the FoF Con banquet on a variety of subjects ranging from homemade weaponry, the FDA, to recent research findings in biochemistry.



Jeffrey Rogers Hummel discusses defense and foreign policy during the panel discussion following the Bergland/Rohrabacher debate. Seated, from left, philosophy professor John Hospers and Freedom School's Kevin Cullinane.



Self Government Advocates director Marshall Fritz presented an animated talk on "Liberty, Strategy and Victory." David Bergland (seated, left) and Dick Boddie (right) discussed "the Libertarian Temperament" and "Communicating Liberty."

## Voluntary Defense Survey

West Columbia, SC - David Morris, editor of the South Carolina libertarian publication *Sandhills Libertarian Gazette*, recently released the results of a survey project he initiated on attitudes and feasibility of non-governmental funded national defense. According to his sampling of 85 people (about half from South Carolina and most being libertarians or those who demonstrated an interest in libertarianism) about \$45 billion per year could be raised through purely voluntary contributions alone for defense of the U.S., and the preferred methods of raising funds are the establishment of a private defense endowment fund and a national lottery.

Morris, who began the survey as a result of 1984 campaign activities in which the defense issue was raised in response to public concerns over libertarian opposition to compulsory taxation, admits that the survey is not necessarily scientifically valid nor broadly reflective of all possible private defense alternatives. We spent over two years seeking responses and tabulating results and the survey represents the only attempt in contemporary libertarian history to quantify preferences on this subject.

Among his findings were that respondents said they would contribute an annual average of about \$1,750 for national defense, or about \$2,100 if tax credits and a mixture of public/private funding were offered. About 80% said they would volunteer to serve in some military capacity if U.S. territory or shipping were attacked, and under such circumstances would contribute about \$10,300 annually for defense. A crude extrapolation of this amounts to about \$253 billion annually, indicating that respondents would pay voluntarily in time of war about \$30 billion more than is annual spent by the government on defense and related items.

Most respondents said they would agree to spend from two and a half to over four weeks annually in some kind of defense related training, depending upon payment, indicating strong support for National Guard type citizen militia.

Only a third of respondents said they would volunteer for service if a freedom-loving nation (other than the U.S.) were invaded by a totalitarian state, although somewhat more might volunteer depending upon specific circumstances.

Surprisingly, respondents said they would agree to contribute \$1,300 annually in voluntary "foreign military aid", extrapolating out to nearly \$33 billion, not much less than current government aid, in the same case of foreign invasions of

freedom-loving nations other than the U.S.

A number of possible arrangements to handle voluntary national defense funding were offered, ranging from the endowment and lottery idea to voluntary levies, site protection, insurance fees and contract arrangements. While none of these options have ever been discussed in much practical detail, most respondents preferred the endowment and lottery idea. In the 1985 issue of *American Defense* (published by the hawkish Libertarian Defense Caucus) editor Mike Dunn estimated that \$100 billion per year invested in a privately managed endowment could after 17 years yield an annual total of \$400 billion per year in interest/dividend income to finance U.S. defense without further taxation. However, not a great deal of analysis has been done on this or other private defense proposals.

The "Voluntary Defense Survey" results may be the first step in examining the issue from the standpoint of libertarian preferences and concrete proposals, despite the severe limitation of the methodology employed.

For the complete results of the survey, contact: **David Morris, Sandhills Libertarian Gazette, P.O. Box 2297, West Columbia, SC 29171.** ■

## In Review

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the liberties of the individual and whittle them away at every accessible point" (P. 237). Curiously the author of the book then goes on to devote some of the remainder of the book to proving that he and his conservative ilk share this same nervous horror of freedom, as he tells us of his belief that "Unbridled Libertarianism yields libertinism not liberty" and that "liberticide is a condition that emanates from the enervation of social control over the individual. . ."; "Despotism awaits the fully liberated individual" who is an "exposed, anomic, socially naked individual" immersed in the "contemporary chaos of cultural anarchy, hedonism and generalized flouting of idols" (P. 340-341). It is obvious that the author would substitute for the doctrinaire left wing idols of the ACLU his own right wing authoritarian state apparatus dedicated to ruthlessly exorcising the "depraved" libertarianism of John Stuart Mill from the "social order".

Despite this shortcoming, **The Politics of the ACLU** remains fascinating reading as the most comprehensive, knowledgeable and thoroughly researched critical historical analysis of the ACLU ever



Bob Hallstrom, co-founder of the Barristers Inn School of Common law, (standing) debated libertarian Dick Radford (far right) over the merits of representing yourself in court and the issue of jury nullification. Both agreed on fundamentals but differed on the practicality of "tax patriot" type legal defenses.

published. More importantly, this book adds credence to the growing body of criticism, such as the recent comments by well known Harvard Law Professor and ex-ACLU Board member Alan Dershowitz about the ACLU's anti-civil libertarian left-wing bias. With America moving away from left-wing values, some of the more astute ACLU members are finally becoming aware of the alternative civil libertarian perspective.

ACLU President Norman Dorsen's latest book closes with this observation: "Contemporary Reaganism is not far from the liberal populism of Jimmy Carter with its emphasis on individualism and the decentralization of power. It is in fact a deliberate throwback to revolutionary American Republicanism, stressing individual virtue, warning of the potential corruption and despotism of powerful government and specifying dispersal of power as the antidote to governmental threats to individual liberty. . . for [ALCU type] civil libertarians, the problem is how to respond to libertarianism (our new name for classical liberalism)." ■

## COMING ATTRACTIONS

AL Interviews: White House speechwriter Dana Rohrabacher; Indian activist Russell Means

World's Oldest Libertarian

CA LP Convention Report

Atlanta LP Natcom

Libertarians in Congress?

Is the LP in Trouble? Final Installment

Reviews: Bieser on "The New Cartoon Art", Sablatura on "Reporters and Government", Thies on "Dismantling the State"

## Media Watch



### The Libertarian Implosion Explained

Los Angeles, CA - Those hunting high and low for explanations of the much-touted "libertarian implosion" of the 80's (now hopefully halted) just weren't looking high enough, according to a serious (?) article in **Carol Moore's** recent issue of **DECENTRALIZE!**:

One theory [of diminished political activism] attributes this to the 11.5 year cycle of sunspots, which vary from 5-10 sunspots per year at the bottom of the cycle to 150-200 at the peak of the cycle. Sunspots and solar flares send off tremendous electro-magnetic energy which has been shown to disorient and excite humans. Studies have shown a definite, if weak, correlation between sunspot cycles and numbers of protests, riots, revolutions and war. . . The sunspot cycle was at its last peak in 1980 and now is just pulling out of the bottom of the cycle. The next peak will be in 1992. It might be a very big year!

### Critical Review's Critical Reviews

New York, NY - While the jury is still out, early response to **Laissez Faire Books'** new publication *Critical Review* hasn't been too favorable.

Published in a scholarly journal format, early subscribers have said it's dull. It contains the usual spate of articles about why Marxism and socialism are bad and don't work and why the free market is preferable. Most libertarians have heard it before and apparently don't feel the need to go through it all again. ■