

American Libertarian

An Independent
Libertarian
Newspaper
Vol. 2 No. 6
January 1988
\$2.00

LP Ballot Drives

The Good, The Bad and The Ugly

by Craig Franklin

Craig Franklin is marketing Vice President for a southern California software firm, a veteran LP activist and well known libertarian folk-singer.

Glendale, CA - The third largest and fastest growing political party in America is already on the ballot in 18 states, has ballot drives ongoing in 6 others, needs no ballot drive in 6 more, and is determined to be on the 1988 ballot in all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Guam. This party learned an important lesson in 1984, when they were on the ballot in fewer than 40 states and were ignored by the media. So they've been working on ballot drives enthusiastically and methodically for over a year now, summer and winter, gathering nearly twenty thousand signatures every month. They use a judicious combination of local volunteers, local donations, outside volunteers, outside donations, and paid professionals where needed. They save money by sleeping in local activist homes instead of motels. Where necessary, their unpaid legal staff files suit to remove some particularly egregious statist roadblock. They have a plan, a timetable, and relentless momentum. And they fully expect to be on the ballot in "Every State in '88".

There's only one problem: the paragraph above describes the New Alliance Party (NAP), not the Libertarian Party. The NAP, mostly black and wholly socialist, is a regional party based in New York City. They were on the ballot in 33 states in 1984, out of 33 tries. (The Libertarian Party was 40 for 52 in 1984, counting DC and Guam.) The NAP is bigger, faster growing, well funded, and better organized than the LP. As a result they're now ahead of the LP, 18 states to 15. And the LP had a 12 to 2 head start at the beginning of 1987.

In the past seven months, the LP has gathered between 10,000-15,000 signatures per month nationwide. In the next seven months, starting January 1, 1988, they need to get 80,000 per month, minimum, to make all 50 states. The plans now in place won't do the job. The Seattle dream of "Every

State in '88" is nowhere in sight. The LP and the Ron Paul presidential campaign are in deep trouble.

But First, The Good News

The LP has ballot status in 15 states, and it hasn't missed any legal deadlines — yet.

Here are the 15 lucky states: Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, California, Hawaii, Maryland, Mississippi, Michigan, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, South Carolina, Texas, Utah, Vermont. Six other jurisdictions have minimal requirements: Arkansas and Guam (fill out a form), Delaware (145 registered voters), Louisiana (\$500), Tennessee (25 signatures), Washington (188 signatures on one day in July). So the LP can probably count on 20 states and Guam.

Overall, the LP needs at least 560,000 raw signatures to get about 400,000 valid signatures to be on the ballot everywhere.

There is still one more official statist hurdle: each state LP must select the names of Presidential Electors and file the appropriate forms with the Secretary of State or the State Board of Elections. State parties typically select Electors at their spring state conventions. (Maybe this year they should auction off the privilege!)

Longtime LP ballot activist Richard Winger is monitoring to make sure that official procedures are followed and that the LP receives official notification from each state that it will, in fact, be on the ballot.

And Now, The Bad News

The LP has 31 small, medium, and large crises looming ahead. Five crises will hit before May 16. The worst one is North Carolina's need for 45,000 valid signatures on that date.

The LP has started late, many states need outside help, and right now, in most states, "Baby, It's Cold Outside". The League of Women Voters has said that third party candidates will only be considered for the Presidential debates if they are on the ballot in enough states to elect a President. If the LP doesn't get going soon, it won't even have that many.

Here are some typical stories: Delaware had ballot status, but lost it recently. They need 145 registered Libertarian voters, but this dropped to 130. The Delaware LP had only 23 official dues-paying National LP members as of the Seattle convention. Most of them are members or inlaws of a single family! (There is grumbling among some Libertarian National Committee members that the LNC should consider rechartering

the Delaware LP to a new set of activists, if some can be found.)

And Delaware is not the only problem. The top 10 counties in California are stronger than the weakest 20 to 30 state LP organizations.

The Wyoming LP submitted over 11,000 signatures for its ballot drive, but had a lower-than-expected validity rate of only 66%. They were 500 signatures short. However, Wyoming — unlike most other states — will let the LP submit additional signatures instead of starting over. They won't be so lucky elsewhere.

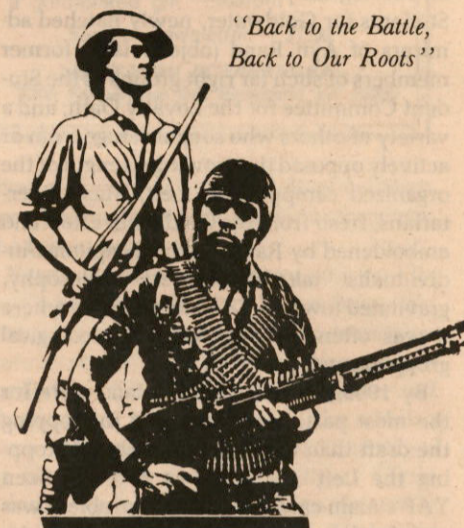
Here's a nice story from the 1980 Clark campaign: In Minnesota, ballot drives start on June 1st. Third parties need 2,000 valid signatures. The parties are listed on the ballot in the order in which they file. John Anderson wanted very badly to be the first third party on the ballot, so the Anderson people started at dawn on June 1st, and by 5 p.m., they had filed more than enough signatures. Too late! The LP had started all around the state at midnight, hitting the all-night truck stops, and filed just after noon. One for the good guys! The bad news is, the Minnesota LP doesn't feel strong enough to repeat this year. (Perhaps the state LP could lay in a supply of Garrison Keillor's Powder-milk Biscuits, which gives "shy persons that strength to get up and do what has to be done".)

Here's some depressing news from South Dakota: In 1984, the Libertarian Party collected more than enough signatures to get on the ballot. But they hadn't cleared the wording on their petitions with the Secretary of State, so the Bergland/Lewis ticket was disqualified. During 1987, Honey Lanham, former National LP Director and co-chair of the Russell Means campaign, spent one year (!) trying to reach agreement with the South Dakota Secretary of State on acceptable petition wording. The idea was to use local Indian voters to get the LP on the ballot, and show how Russell Means could be a major asset to the LP. They didn't get approval in time to gather a single signature.

The Paul campaign, urged by supporters to get SD on the ballot in a pre-emptive first strike, thought it would be rude, and declined. Russell has since moved to Arizona, the Paul campaign is busy with tough states like Georgia, North Carolina, and Florida. South Dakota is now under several feet of snow. The LP is still not on the ballot — and it probably won't be. That would take 7,500 valid signatures. But it only takes 2,500 to get Ron Paul on as an independent, which is probably what will happen. The party deadline is April, by which time the snow will not have yet completely melted.

No third party has been on the South

Continued page 8



YAF Revisited

by Mike Holmes

Mike Holmes is editor of American Libertarian. He was a member of the Libertarian Caucus of YAF and left YAF immediately after the 1969 St. Louis Convention.

Washington, DC - The theme of the 14th national convention of the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), held August 6-8 at George Washington University, was both symbolic and ironic: "Back to the Battle, Back to our Roots."

This theme was illustrated on convention literature by two warrior figures: one an American revolutionary war soldier; the other a black, bandolier-clad Vietnam War grunt, cradling a heavy machine gun.

The theme was symbolic in the sense of YAF's recognition that it had taken a considerable detour after once being America's premier conservative youth organization. YAF national Chair Sergio Picchio, in a post convention interview in the conservative newspaper *Human Events*, noted that until recently "there was personal in-fighting between members of the national leadership, public backstabbing over tiny points on political issues, and even misuse of funds. I don't even have access of the YAF checkbook," he lamented. He also noted an avowed "new direction" of YAF, "away from the tendency of becoming a fundraising organization."

Indeed, this has been the state of YAF ever since the infamous 1969 St. Louis YAF convention, at which the vocal and activist Libertarian Caucus was purged and railroaded out of the organization by its "trad" (for traditionalist) *appratchniks*. The birth of the contemporary libertarian movement is usually measured from that moment, by most observers. Many still active libertarians were either at St. Louis or actively involved in the movement to turn

Continued page 2

In this issue:

The Fort Collins Project
page 3
Dismantling the State
page 5
Animal Rights
page 7

YAF Revisited

From page 1

YAF in a libertarian direction.

"Back to the roots" is symbolic of the fact that in its heyday, YAF constituted a nucleus of anti-New Left, proto-libertarian activists on hundreds of campuses. YAF's roots extend deeply into the development of libertarian consciousness in the U.S. today.

YAF was founded by William F. Buckley and other mainline conservatives, based around ideas expressed in the Sharon Statement in 1960. Early on it was a tiny base from which non-liberal students could coalesce. The early YAF organization was an ideologically unstable amalgam of ex-Students for Goldwater, newly hatched admirers of Ayn Rand (objectivists), former members of such far right groups as the Student Committee for the Loyalty Oath, and a variety of others who sought refuge from or actively opposed the growing strength of the organized campus New Left. Many libertarians, fresh from the Goldwater effort and emboldened by Rand's radical capitalist/individualist "take no prisoners" philosophy, gravitated towards YAF on campuses where it was often the only non-left ideological group around.

By 1969, however, libertarians were for the most part more interested in stopping the draft than they were in merely "stopping the Left", which was and has been YAF's main catechism. YAF's problem was and is that beyond a certain point, its "philosophy" was purely negative: anti-Left, anti-liberal, anti-communist. The underpinnings of this are the usual mushy mixtures of conservative pragmatism, country club Republicanism, right-wing populism (and in some cases, thinly disguised racism and bigotry) and various shades of Christian politico-religious belief.

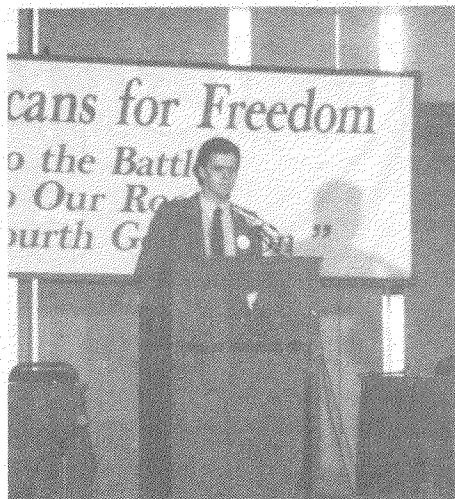
Once the libertarians were kicked out, much of the activist spirit left YAF. They went on to found the Society for Rational Individualism (SRI), which later became the Society for Individual Liberty (SIL) or various independent Libertarian Caucus campus libertarian groups. YAF began to founder as the Vietnam War dragged on. The remaining young conservatives were stuck with defending Spiro Agnew and Richard Nixon. There was a market for that, particularly among older rightwingers who have always been generous with funding groups to "stop the Left", which quickly became the fundraising mantra and primary raison d'etre for YAF. Most of the YAF activists were libertarians anyway, and once they left there was little to stop YAF from becoming the pure fundraising vehicle it has largely been ever since.

The use of a black Vietnam soldier as a YAF symbol is outright fraud, or as Rand would say, "stolen value". The number of actual black Vietnam grunts who were ever YAFers is probably zero. Despite the leadership's trad endorsement of the Vietnam War and the draft, few YAFers of any persuasion dropped their 1-Y student deferments to grapple with the evil comies firsthand. And of the few who did, almost none returned subscribing to the simplistic, almost idiotic defense of the war that YAF clung to until the very bitter end.

The Crusade Continues

But regardless of the convention symbolism, few contemporary YAFers remember the dim days of the late 60's and early 70's. With the actual fighting and dying safely in the distant hands of Third World "freedom fighters" as the YAF world view sees them, militant anti-communism has once again become the vogue.

But just as pro-communist Third Worldism eventually de-railed the New Left and forced it to become little more than



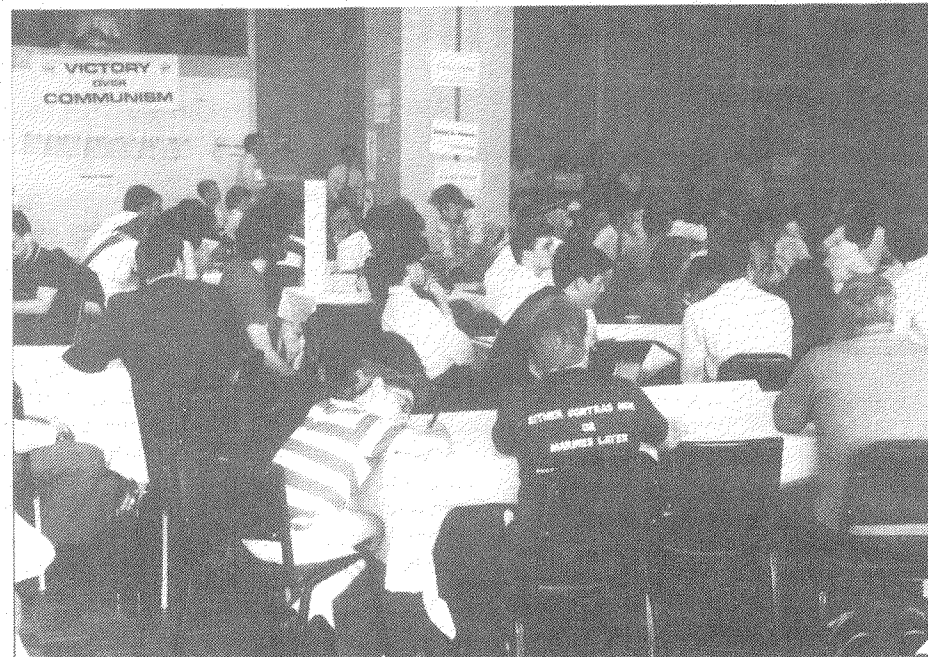
Convicted draft registration opponent Paul Jacob introduced Ron Paul prior to the straw election. At the famous 1969 YAF convention, YAF "trads" attacked a libertarian who publicly burned his draft card.



Ron Paul told YAFers that the two-party system has failed to limit government growth.



American Libertarian and other literature at the libertarian table.



Anti-communist signs and slogans were popular decorations at the YAF convention.

apologists for Mao's Cultural Revolution and the genocide of the Khymer Rouge, the newly developed anti-communist Third Worldism of the New Right YAF has left it as little more than unpaid spear carriers for Bill Casey's guerilla insurgencies. As the Left once hailed every sub-equatorial Marxist dictator as the savior of the masses, the YAF Right now hails every guerilla movement sponsored by the CIA, South Africa or sparked by ancient tribal grudge as holy warriors in the great new anti-communist crusade.

Fortunately, the YAF philosophy also includes an obligatory how in the direction of individual liberty and the free market which leaves an opening for young "libertarian conservatives." The current nascent libertarian presence in YAF (which has been virtually non-existent since 1969) is largely responsible for the invitation the Ron Paul campaign received from YAF to sponsor a table and participate in the presidential speechmaking prior to their mock straw presidential election at the convention. This invitation indicated several things: a small but influential libertarian presence in YAF, particularly in California — the individual liberty aspect of conservatism has never really completely died out in the official YAF theology — plus the quickening political pulse on the right that is signaling the historic battle for post-Reagan succession in the GOP.

While YAF is nominally non-partisan, and occasionally endorses conservative Democrats, particularly in the south, it is otherwise an all but acknowledged junior branch of the Young Republicans, in particular the College YRs. In many places YAF functions as an organized hard-right external caucus of College YRs, whose mission it is to cleanse the larger, wealthier and more ideologically tolerant Young Republicans of

any moderate or overly pragmatic leadership. Many prominent conservative leaders have travelled the YAF-YR-GOP ladder of upward mobility, and the confused array of GOP 1988 presidential contenders has left YAF an opening to perform ideological vetting to judge the most suitably conservative prospects.

The inclusion of Ron Paul was a good sign. The younger, generally less socially conservative YAF members openly acknowledge the power of libertarian ideas even while rejecting them as a package for being insufficiently anti-communist and too socially tolerant.

But what hopped up the YAFers at their Washington convention more than the prospect of being junior-kingmakers was righteous indignation over the recently concluded Iran/Contra hearings featuring newly minted anti-communist heroes and heroines such as Fawn Hall and Lt. Col. Oliver North. One might have thought, judging from the signs and posters condemning communism and praising Col. North at the convention, that there was someone, somewhere in America who was actually pro-communist and who posed some real political threat!

This orientation was evident in the convention speaker lineup, which included Contra apologist Elliot Abrams (Asst. Sec. of State for Inter-American Affairs) as well as half a dozen more speakers representing various guerilla resistance movements, anti-communist front groups, obscure think tanks and self-described "policy institutes". These were amply represented at the literature tables as well. One suspects that most of these outfits end up on the government dole, one way or another.

Perhaps the most pathetic sight at this convention was the 12-year old boy dressed in a miniature camouflage uniform covered

with pins, and a tee-shirt proclaiming "Contras now or Marines later". While he was obviously younger than the college age YAFers, few of them seemed to realize that it is children like him who do the dying in these heroic wars against marxism.

The Students for Ron Paul group, organized by Eric Rittberg and assisted by LNC member Paul Kunberger, were awarded a prime table next to the du Pont for President table and were across from the two-table long South African government display. It was especially telling that the South African table, though well stocked with anti-ANC (African National Congress) and pro-government materials, went totally unmanned during the convention. South Africa has plenty of money, it seems, but no one personally interested in defending their positions.

There was also lots of Ollie North paraphernalia and merchandise, and lots of anti-communist and pro-contra buttons and materials.

The libertarian table was amply stocked with Ron Paul materials, copies of *LP News*, SIL pamphlets, *American Libertarian* and LP brochures. The libertarian contingent was aided at times by LP Chair Jim Turney, Clifford Thies, Milton Lukens, Jim Pierce, Randy Paul (Ron's son), Bobby Taylor and Brian Darling (the latter two are YAF members).

Somewhat surprisingly, aside from the Ron Paul/LP booth, there were no other libertarian groups or organizations represented. Cato Institute Chair William Niskanen was a speaker early in the program but that DC based libertarian think tank didn't sponsor a table. Neither did the Mises Institute, which also has a DC office and sponsors a number of campus and student oriented activities. The Society for Individual Liberty, which claims to be the

Continued page 3

"Freedom Now"

The Fort Collins Project

by Greg Clark

Greg Clark is a long-time libertarian and Libertarian Party activist now pursuing graduate studies in Austin, TX. He recently spent a week in Ft. Collins, CO.

"Libertarians wanted in Fort Collins, Colorado." So begins one of the more intriguing of the hundreds of flyers distributed at the Libertarian Party's national convention last September in Seattle. Billing itself as a five-year project to attract an initial one thousand libertarians to the Fort Collins area, "Freedom Now" is the brainchild of Mary Margaret, a Fort Collins libertarian with extensive experience in political activism.

Mary Margaret (who does not use a surname) is a former teacher and owner of two private schools in Wisconsin and Colorado. Well known among politicians in the area due to a two year stint as a paid Republican Party staffer, she joined the Libertarian Party in 1985. "A friend of mine told me that I was really a libertarian instead of a conservative. I started investigating libertarianism and discovered he was right," she relates. "I raised quite a few eyebrows when I changed my affiliation, but I have been able to make libertarians and libertarian ideas an accepted part of this community."

She states that there are about 100 libertarians currently living in the area, about one-third of them affiliated with the LP. Although she admits that only about a dozen libertarians have moved to the Colorado city due to her efforts so far, she claims that she had elicited a "strong interest" from about 200 people and has received inquiries from at least 100 others, including one from an anarchist group in West Germany. "Someone calls almost every day, and people have just dropped in to visit. People

move on the average of every five years. I am confident that by the end of the five year period I have committed myself to this project, that enough libertarians will move here to significantly change the political climate."

"Fort Collins is not...in the middle of nowhere. It's here, it's real, and libertarians are welcome."

Fort Collins is a small-to-medium sized city close to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, 65 miles north of Denver and 35 miles south of Cheyenne, Wyoming. A clean and attractive town, it shows evidence of a recent population boom that has fallen off somewhat during the last year. Having grown from 25,000 in 1960 to 65,000 in 1980, the current estimated population is about 85,000. Even so, empty storefronts in shopping centers on the fringe of town and apartment complexes offering discounts point to a presently overbuilt situation. Unemployment was reported to be at the national average, higher than prospering areas on the coasts, but lower than areas hard hit by the energy bust.

Home to Colorado State University, the city has a cosmopolitan flavor common to college towns. In addition to cultural events on campus, Fort Collins has its own arts center and a surprisingly good symphony orchestra for a city its size. The Victorian-era downtown area has been thoroughly restored with plazas and outdoor pedestrian malls, which (in addition to the lack of parking meters) have allowed downtown merchants to hold their own against the two indoor malls south of town. Housing is

reasonably priced with two bedroom apartments in the range of \$275 to \$375, and modest homes are priced around \$50,000. The university formerly dominated the local economy, but recent growth has brought a diversity of employers, including a number of high-tech companies. The climate is definitely seasonal, but extremely hot or cold weather is uncommon.

Politically the surrounding area votes heavily Republican, but the city itself is divided. Local issues, as in many cities which have experienced booms lately, revolve around "pro-growth" versus "slow-growth" camps, with the former currently controlling the City Council. A recent interview by the local daily newspaper with the city's Planning Director shows the current development policy to be "market-oriented." During this year's city budget process the Council, faced with declining revenues, chose to reduce spending rather than raise taxes. City government is non-partisan, and is of the Council-Manager variety.

Much of this may sound attractive to libertarians, but two important questions remain to be answered: do libertarians want to live in an area with a large (or at least larger than average) proportion of other libertarians? And would those libertarians really be able to make a substantial impact on local government?

Certainly the last twenty years have brought no lack of various schemes to create a "new country" or a libertarian community. Some are still trying to get off the ground. But most have ended in abject, sometimes almost comical failure. The concrete boat of the Atlantis project sunk upon launching; the Abaco project was "exposed" in an *Esquire* article which claimed the natives were to be overrun with mercenaries; the erstwhile Republic of Minerva's flag was personally torn off the platform which kept it above the water at high tide by the King of Tonga. But the Fort Collins project is the

first effort to bring libertarians to an already functioning community. "Fort Collins is not in the middle of the South Pacific or floating somewhere in the middle of nowhere," Mary Margaret says. "It's here, it's real, and libertarians are welcome."

As far as the potential political impact of a large group of libertarians in the area is concerned, she points to a local LP member who received 13% of the vote in a nine way race for City Council last year. She cites research stating that an active group consisting of only 1% of the population can have a major political effect. "I've uncovered a lot of 'closet libertarians' here, and they will come out in the open when it is politically safe for them," she states. The fact that local businesses have bypassed government development agencies in favor of a privately financed effort seems to back up her arguments. But then, she also expects the libertarian population to grow far beyond the initial one thousand. Once there is an established community of libertarians, she expects her project to become "self-perpetuating" as it continues to attract more people drawn to an area with a high percentage of like-minded individuals.

Mary Margaret offers information packages on Fort Collins to libertarians for a fee of \$6.00. She also requests that people writing to her about the project enclose a stamped, self-addressed envelope. (She can be contacted at: **Mary Margaret, 1317 Lakewood Dr., Ft. Collins, CO 80512. (313) 484-8184.**)

Needless to say, even if libertarians did come to dominate local politics in Fort Collins, it would offer no protection from the regulations and taxes of the federal and state governments. But, as Mary Margaret points out, it would be a start. "Local government affects people's everyday lives more than the people in Denver or Washington," she says. "We could serve as a shining example that freedom really works to communities everywhere." ■

YAF Revisited

From page 2

largest student campus based libertarian organization, was not represented either, despite the relatively close proximity to Philadelphia, where it is headquartered.

The libertarian table was effectively staffed during the three-day convention and seemed to attract the most interest. It was clearly the most focused ideological outreach group present.

Al Haig had a "Haig for President" booth manned by two volunteers who looked somewhat bewildered by the goings-on and who were clearly uncomfortable around libertarians who stopped by to ask questions.

The adjacent du Pont booth was staffed by several seemingly sharp operatives who were for the most part in sympathy with libertarians, and somewhat defensive and slightly embarrassed about du Pont's mandatory drug testing idea. One of the few blacks in attendance was an earnest young du Pont staffer who appeared to be quite sympathetic to the libertarian presence.

Sweethearts and Billy Clubs

The high point of the convention may well have been the opening banquet event. Venerable YAF founder William F. Buckley, who has been conspicuously absent from YAF in the past few years, turned up escorting none other than Fawn Hall. She was easily the biggest celebrity attraction at the mostly male convention.

In the definitely pre-feminist YAF culture, Ms. Hall (whose claim to fame is being chief shredder for YAF maximum hero Col. North) was named YAF Sweetheart of the Year by an adoring (and panting) crowd

of admirers.

Also present was New Right Congressman Newt Gingrich, *National Review* columnist Joseph Sobran and Jack Kemp, the obvious favorite of the YAF masses. Kemp gave 'em what they wanted to hear and after his straight-down-the-line conservative pitch, he had all but sewed up the YAF presidential straw poll vote.

State Department spokesman Elliot Abrams was the best known of several "freedom fighter" proponents in attendance cheering on the cause, and he was the focal point of a leftist counter demonstration. Pro-Sandinista "peace activists" protesting the execution of Americano *internacionalista* Benjamin Linder, killed in a Contra ambush just weeks earlier, gathered outside the hall where Abrams and others were defending the Contras. When several of the more than two-dozen leftists tried to push their way inside to disrupt the speech, a few of the YAF cold warriors got a chance to show their stuff. Fists flew, signs were torn, a lot of shouting occurred and private security and campus police broke things up. But it was definitely exhilarating for these YAF members to get into a real-live confrontation with the lefties honest-to-goodness and prevail. They were crowing about it for the rest of the convention.

This may have emboldened them for their scheduled demonstration at a local Exxon building, protesting that company's continued presence in Nicaragua. This echoes the YAF line that trading with Marxist or communist nations is bad, conveniently ignoring the fact that this subsidized trade has been endorsed and advocated by every conservative Republican administration from



This computer-generated likeness of Col. North was used to promote a YAF leader's re-election bid.

Nixon to the much beloved Reagan administration.

Several YAFers also went down to Lafayette Park across from the White House, and began taunting some of the anti-contra types who hang out there beseeching Reagan to change his ways. Some of the YAFers got into a confrontation and several were arrested by DC police, who have evolved a highly developed sense of freedom of speech and assembly over the years.

At least one angry YAF mother, deman-

ding to know if I was "press", implored me to expose the terrible brutality of the DC police in arresting these young heroes and throwing them in jail. The outrage over actual behavior of police was ironic coming from the usual pro-law-and-order mentality of the conservatives. According to convention scuttlebutt, several of those arrested allegedly tested positive for cocaine after mandatory police drug tests — but this couldn't be confirmed. Like the old joke says, a libertarian is a conservative who just got busted. . .

The Big Election

The bulk of the other convention action centered around organizational workshops (eg. "Fighting Leftists: Guerrilla Tactics for The Campuses", "Building to Fight the Left", "Using the Liberal Media to Your Advantage", etc.) and various speeches by conservatives about their favorite causes (Senator Steve Symms on "Why Bob Dole Should be President", "Pro-Life Legislation, The President's Initiative", etc.).

Saturday was the day of real politicking, because the YAF Board and top leadership were elected, along with the straw balloting for President. The place was festooned with leaflets supporting candidates for YAF office, nearly all of them touting organizational credentials and endorsements from various YAF luminaries. Little ideological distinction could be detected.

Since YAF serves largely as a training ground for conservatives who then move on to YR's and to Big Daddy GOP, it came as no surprise that most of the energy at the convention seemed to be displayed at the officer nomination speeches and related floor demonstrations. After nearly every nomina-

Continued page 6

Libertarian Outlook

On Critical Analysis

Most people of a libertarian bent consider themselves critical thinkers. In fact, being a critic is usually a pre-condition to becoming a libertarian. After all, if you think everything is just fine-and-dandy, you have little incentive to explore the economics, philosophy and history of individual liberty. Few people who live life uncritically end up with any definable philosophical viewpoint, much less one as radical as libertarianism.

Why then do so many libertarians resent any form of critical analysis of other libertarians? Or of libertarian activities, methods, tactics and strategy to achieve various libertarian ends? Why is wrapping oneself in the sacred mantle of "libertarianism" also supposed to confer a cloak of untouchability and immunity from criticism?

No one likes to receive criticism, and it's understandable that subjects of criticism, fair or otherwise, often resent it and object. Fair enough. But this attitude goes beyond that. Some libertarians resent even the appearance of criticism or hard-nosed analysis of motives or performance from fellow libertarians by or about other libertarians. A good case in point is the recent series of articles in *American Libertarian* on the Seattle LP convention by libertarian economist and author Murray Rothbard.

Rothbard is well known for his critical blasts and trademark characterizations of those who rub him wrong. He clearly writes from a point-of-view. On our pages, his articles are distinguishable from "news" *per se*. And of course, we expect dissent and publish rebuttals when merited.

But whether you agreed with his specific views or not, the process of analysis of events, ideas, proposals, and strategies is a valuable one. There is plenty in the libertarian movement which is far from perfect. If anything, there has been a shortage of good critical outlets for libertarians in the past few years, not "too much criticism," as some argue. Many mistakes and errors could have been avoided if only someone, somewhere had cared enough to point them out and suggest alternatives for the future. Just because someone calls himself a libertarian is no reason to suspend judgment.

While there is the justifiable view that enemies of liberty are legion, and its friends are scarce (therefore, the argument goes, "let's not waste energy attacking our friends instead of our enemies"), there is no reason to suppose progress towards liberty operates under different principles than other kinds of progress. And how does this progress happen?

Hypotheses are advanced, theories advocated, plans formulated and then these abstractions are tested in the real world, against reality. "Success" is then critically evaluated in a number of different ways, depending on the specifics of the situation. Shouldn't this also be the method for the advancement of human civilization via the principles of individual liberty?

While criticism can be wrong-headed, mean or biased, libertarians and their actions should never be considered above criticism. It is noteworthy that the Rothbard articles, which aroused controversy, were the object of a full-fledged campaign (indirectly felt by *American Libertarian*) to keep them from being published. The unprecedented effort to spike critical articles

in our modest journal indicates several things:

Some libertarians are obviously too sensitive to labor in the sometimes harsh vineyards of political hub-bub. Others fail to recognize that our youthful libertarian movement has graduated from the delicate infant stage, where any corrective words must be whispered in soothing, supportive, motherly tones. Our little movement has reached the rambunctious stage where a good swift kick in the pants may indeed have salutary effect.

And finally, let none of us be suckered into a "movement" mentality where the good cause of human liberty is used as a protective mantle for con artists, hopeless romantics, social failures and crackpots to ply their wares without any accountability. The fact that libertarians share broad and sometimes vaguely defined goals does not mean we shouldn't subject ourselves to the harsh glare of the critical spotlight. For if we don't, we are simply fooling ourselves. The enemies of human freedom will not spare us their very worst. We should not venture out from our own protective movement unprepared for harsh scrutiny.

Libertarians should carry on our cause with as much information as possible about the who, what and why of our actions. We may disagree and quarrel, but in the clash of opinions, ideas, and criticism, a clearer truth will merge. Ultimately, that truth is the only weapon we possess. ■

Feedback



Letters Policy

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

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

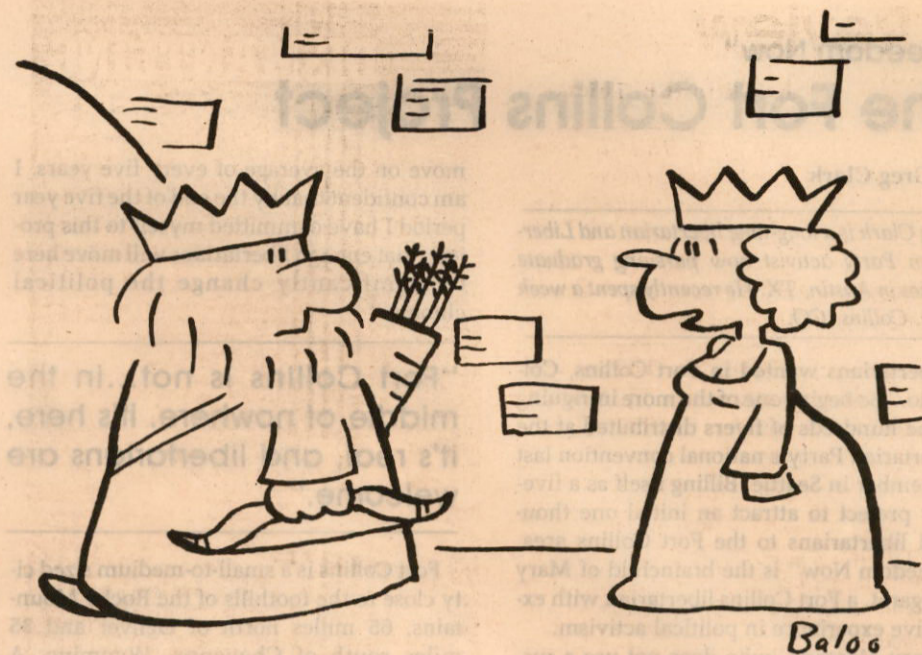
"Character Assassination"

I was sorry to find that Murray Rothbard's article (Sept-Oct AL, "Victory and Defeat in Seattle," Part I) appears more to be an inside view from his intestinal tract (where his head appears to be) than from inside the "Ron Paul nomination victory".

His use of adjectives like "impressive", "formidable", "savvy and hardworking" and "blockbuster" regarding the Paul campaign staff and their efforts are reasonable and deserved. They worked hard, did an excellent job and deserve the kudos. We have a candidate and a campaign we'll be proud of.

But the character assassination of Russell Means, his staff, friends and supporters with words like "marginal folk", "preposterous", "bizarre", etc., is incredible and utterly disgusting. It is idiotic pseudo-intellectual vitriol that the LP, and your publication, can well do without.

Russell Means had the support of some very talented and intelligent people. His actions before, during and especially after the convention have been those of a courageous Libertarian freedom fighter. He's proven himself the kind of individual we very much need in the LP. While Russell didn't



"Another attack on the press?"

win the nomination, he did win the respect and admiration of a large majority of Libertarians, including myself. I supported neither Paul nor Means prior to the convention, but directly afterwards donated to both. They'd both shown qualities worthy of my support.

Unity was a word heard much at the convention, and for good reason. Many of us feared that vicious infighting would cripple our 1988 efforts and leave us with yet another "faction" decrying the LP as they left. Instead we saw candidates who were not nominated — there were no losers there — not only stick with the LP but immediately begin to work for the success of the '88 campaign. It was a victory for all who really want liberty in our time.

Jim Tuttle
Houston, TX

"Neutral"

I am mildly disturbed by Murray Rothbard's implication, in his article on "The Crushing of the Berglandistas," (Nov. 87, AL) that I was a declared supporter of Russell Means prior to the Presidential nominating ballot in Seattle.

The feather-emblem button that I wore on Saturday morning was given to me by a Means supporter to "balance" the yellow rose placed on my lapel by a Paul enthusiast. I was happy to wear both emblems to show my respect for both men, but I was a declared "neutral" in the contest between them right up to the end. Since the convention, I have been an enthusiastic Ron Paul supporter.

As for the races for party office, I endorsed Jim Turney and Dave Walter in their respective contests because I thought each was the best man for the job. I made my choice in each case as an individual, not as a "Berglandista," a "Paulist," or member of any other faction. And I would hope that other libertarians make their decisions the same way.

David F. Nolan
Orange County, CA

An Open Letter to Murray Rothbard

The more I read of your badly misheadlined "Transcending the Factions" (AL, 11/87), the more disappointed I was. Can't we get beyond playing faction games? As one of the best known — and most widely respected — members of the libertarian movement, you could help by resisting the urge to categorize everyone on the basis of whether they happen to agree with your issue or candidate of

the moment, and instead work to build consensus and mutual respect. There are so few of us, and so many real enemies of freedom.

Is it really in the interests of freedom-in-time to judge candidates for internal party office on the basis of who they support in any particular faction-fight? And why on earth should the test of a true "Berglandian" — or true libertarian — be the degree of enthusiasm for one particular candidate for one particular office?

Having little taste for palace intrigue, I try to ignore the power struggles within the LP.

Continued page 5

American Libertarian

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

The *American Libertarian* is sent to subscribers by first class mail. We welcome letters, photos, short news stories and reviews from readers. Signed articles and reviews do not necessarily represent the views of the publication.

We take no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts, which should be accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope.

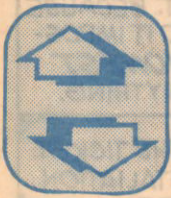
Display and classified advertising is accepted. The publisher reserves the right to refuse advertising at its sole discretion.

Permission to reprint is granted unless marked "copyright". Credit and tear-sheets are requested for material reprinted.

Publisher: M.T. Monroe
Editor: Mike Holmes
Art Director: Sue Bjornseth
Typesetting: Service Photo Copy
Printer: The Pasadena Citizen
Art/Caricatures: Scott Bieser Graphics,
Rex F. May
John Trever

News/Photos/Letters/Ad Information/
Address Changes/Subscriptions:
The American Libertarian
21715 Park Brook Drive, Katy, TX 77450
713/492-6608
Alternate subscription address:
The American Libertarian
P.O. Box 63
Hadlock, WA 98339

In Review



by Clifford F. Thies

Clifford F. Thies is Assistant Professor of Economics and Finance at the University of Baltimore. He is a former Chair of the Montana Libertarian Party and currently Treasurer of the National Libertarian Party.

"The 50 Ways"
(with apologies to Paul Simon)

Dismantling the State. The Theory and Practice of Privatization, by Madsen Pirie. Dallas: The National Center for Policy Analysis, 1985.

*"Just sell the TVA, Jay.
Decontrol dairy, Lee.
Competition for the Post Office, Chris.
Just listen to me.*

*Cede National and Dulles, Fella's.
Auction Conrail, Gail.
Put tolls on the highway, Ray.
And set yourself free.*

*Stop subsidizing Amtrak, Jack.
Tuition tax credit, Edith.
Co-generate electricity, Betty.
Just listen to me.*

*De-regulate the bank, Hank.
Privatize garbage, Midge.
End the Price-Anderson Act, Mack.
And set yourself free."*

Madsen Pirie is President of the Adam Smith Institute in London and one of the intellectuals behind the "Thatcher Revolution." In this book he compiles the methods by which public sector activities were transferred — at least incrementally — to the private sector during the first four years of the Thatcher government. Pirie categorizes privatization into 22 methods, ranging from "Selling the Whole" whereby entire government enterprises are sold, to "The Right of Private Substitution" whereby persons are allowed to substitute private sector supply for government supply and then bill the government.

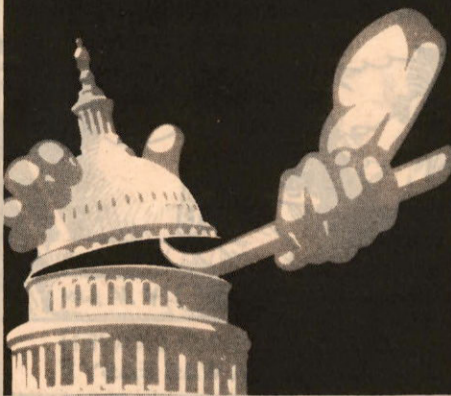
Pirie begins by outlining the arguments for privatization: cost-control, innovation, variety, maintenance of capital stock, etc. He then differentiates privatization from the recurring campaigns to curb "waste, fraud and abuse" in government. These campaigns, Pirie argues and history bears out, are doomed from the start because they fail to address the built-in incentives in government enterprise that outlast and eventually overcome the recommendations of blue-ribbon panels such as President Reagan's Grace Commission.

Pirie emphasizes the design of privatization attempts. Special interests, from those who administer government programs, to the unionized workers of these programs, to consumers of whatever is supplied by these programs, etc., tend to resist change. In many cases this resistance is based more on ignorance and prejudice against the free market than on real economic interest. The challenge to privatization is to design methods that overcome this resistance. An example would be allowing current workers to purchase shares of stock in privatized enterprises at a discount from market value, undercutting the normal resistance of workers to change.

I am intrigued by the apparent trade-off presented by privatization. On the one hand my pragmatic self agrees with Pirie that the challenge to privatization is the design of methods that overcome special interest resistance. On the other hand my idealistic self dismisses the issue of designs as — at best — trivial detail, and — at worst — compromise of principle and loss of potential

DISMANTLING THE STATE

The Theory and Practice of Privatization
By Madsen Pirie



benefit. The book's purpose, however, is not to resolve this difference. It is to show what has actually been done in a particular country and time period.

There is, it seems to me, an important message in the wide range of privatization methods that have worked — in England as outlined in this book as well as in the United States and to some extent in other countries around the world. Today, the political-economic pressure is toward privatization, and this pressure is sufficient in many cases to overcome inertial resistance to change. However, the specific form of privatization that works may be dependent on certain "accidents" of institutional arrangements, timing, and pure chance. The specific form that works in one instance may or may not work in another. Furthermore, the specific form that works may only be found by trial-and-error.

The lesson of **Dismantling the State** may be "if at first you don't succeed, try, try again." After all, there are at least 22 different ways to privatize. ■

Feedback

From page 4

Most of the time, they seem as pointless, self-serving and time-wasting as your incessant labels suggest. But the Paul/Means contest wasn't the Cal/Stanford football game. The fate of the world does not hinge on Ron Paul's candidacy, any more than the fate of the party hinged on Ed Crane's presence or absence. Life will go on. And next week, or next year, you'll find pseudo-reasons to fulminate over those you associate with the "evil" Paulists.

Most libertarians are **individualists**: they make up their own minds about specific issues and candidates, they don't follow like little lemmings after Boss Crane, or Boss Anybody Else. "Paulism as a palpable force within the party. . . ." What's Paulism? Does it mean thinking that Ron Paul was the best of a bad lot in Seattle? Or that he's the best thing since sliced bread? To the extent that NatCom reps were chosen based on who they supported, many delegates may have thought that it would be more productive for the party if Ron Paul's campaign group and the national LP worked together through the election, instead of sniping and squabbling.

There are plenty of genuine points of theory and practice to debate and disagree over. Given the variety of issues confronting us, rapidly shifting alliances within the LP are inevitable. And your not-so-funny little game of trying to force people into neatly labelled — albeit constantly-changing —

groups with cutesy names make the building of the **next** alliance of individualists all that much more difficult. And when the battle lines are drawn on the next issue, or the one after that, you'll probably want some of "us" — or is it "them"? — on your side.

Lou Villadsen
Santa Monica, CA

"Lazy" Rothbard

Murray Rothbard's lambast of Alan Greenspan (Dec. 87 AL) and, by a leap of faith, all Randians as power seekers would be a good laugh if it did not reflect so badly on Dr. Murray N. Rothbard the scholar.

I have never been able to understand why Dr. Rothbard is so eager to engage in intra-libertarian controversies, wasting his energy on such easy muckracking, while he rarely if ever shows up in the national media lambasting the government and all of its apologists. Why doesn't Rothbard attack, say, Gore Vidal or John Kenneth Galbraith or Robert Lekachman, et al.?

Frankly I suspect no one will publish his unsupported, careless and purely polemical diatribes outside libertarian circles. What is a shame is that Rothbard is a good polemicist. But he seems lazy. He could have done a careful job on Greenspan, showing us how this man's decisions were worse than what could have been made in his circumstances. But as it stands, all we have is the flair without the substance — cute allegations and denunciations that we cannot trust because they rest on mere venom, not facts. This is really sad — the waste of a good mind.

Tibor R. Machan
Auburn, AL ■

Media Watch



A Tribute (?) to Ayn Rand . . .

Hollywood, CA - The 1987 movie "Dirty Dancing" has a scene in which a man — after getting a woman pregnant and refusing to help her in any way — explains his position to another woman thusly: He lifts up a copy of **Ayn Rand's The Fountainhead** (the book's title and author clearly visible) and says his philosophy is expressed in the book.

He recommends it to her and says she can

borrow his copy provided she returns it because he has a lot of notes in the margin.

Now Who Was the Question?

Hollywood, CA - You know you're famous when you become part of a quiz show. On the November 11 episode of the TV game show "Jeopardy", in their Tournament of Champions, the following clue was given: "The answer is: American Indian Movement activist who came in second for the 1988 Libertarian presidential nomination."

Rand Fans Noted

New York, NY - The venerable *New York Times*, hardly a hotbed of Objectivist support, carried an interesting feature on September 13 concerning the impact Ayn Rand has had on a surprisingly large number of current and former advisors and bureaucrats associated with the Reagan administration.

Among those mentioned as having been influenced by Rand and her philosophy include recently appointed Commerce Secretary **C. William Verity Jr.**, who keeps the "code of competence" from *Atlas Shrugged* on his desk.

Also mentioned are current Fed Chairman **Alan Greenspan**, GOP presidential aspirant **Jack Kemp**, former Reagan advisor **Martin Anderson**, and former presidential staffers **Douglas Bandow** and **Kevin Hopkins**.

National Gazette Restarted

Decatur, MI - Former LP VP candidate and tax resister **Jim Lewis** has resurrected the *National Gazette* newspaper after its 194-year absence from the political scene.

Begun by Philip Feneau, a State Department clerk who worked for Thomas Jefferson in 1791, the paper was a fiery organ in favor of Jeffersonian democracy and opposed to the Hamiltonian federalists. The paper ceased publication after a yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia in 1793.

Jim Lewis, who is listed as publisher, and **George Johnson**, who is editor, have restarted the paper to publicize Jeffersonian-style constitutional limited government.

The first issue contained articles about Jefferson, government subsidy of nuclear power, the FCC and "legislating morality" by Ron Paul. The paper is monthly and subscriptions are \$10 per year (payable to Johnson Graphics). For more information contact: **National Gazette, P.O. Box 317, Decatur, MI 49405.** ■

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

**Keep up with the Movement!
Subscribe to the
American Libertarian**

Sent to you by **first class mail** every month.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Special Charter Subscription Rates: ☐ 1 yr. \$20 ☐ 2 yrs. \$38 ☐ Back issues \$2
Outside N. America, add \$5 to all prices. Gift and library subscriptions welcomed.

American Libertarian, 21715 Park Brook Drive, Katy, TX 77450

YAF Revisited

From page 3

tion speech, two-thirds of the audience would get up, don straw boaters sporting a candidate's name, and noisily march around the hall chanting slogans and shouting the candidate's name for five minutes. Lubricated by the free beer smuggled on to the premises and cooling off in back, the floor demonstrations were the main entertainment at the convention.

After that concluded, there were a number of resolutions debated, mostly condemning governmental and private endeavors deemed insufficiently anti-communist by attendees. There was also quite a competition to come up with wording that was the most homophobic and inflammatory over AIDS and other "pro-family" measures.

When Ron Paul was first invited, his campaign hoped that he would be able to tout his LP candidacy in a forum with other GOP presidential aspirants. However, aside from Kemp, none of the others appeared. Even their announced surrogates (George Bush Jr. and Barbara Haig, for example) were no shows on Saturday.

Various YAFers or campaign functionaries did make nominating speeches for most of the GOP candidates, and Bush, du Pont, Haig, Kemp and Robertson had presentations given with varying degrees of enthusiasm. J. Andy Messing Jr., a close friend of Col. North and president of something called the National Defense Council Foundation (which sounds like something North dreamt up) gave a rip-snorting speech in favor of Bush. This fell on deaf ears. Messing himself is a decorated ex-Special Forces soldier and an authentic military Cold Warrior. He's actually faced "communist bullets". His impassioned defense of Bush, highlighting his WWII military credentials, brought polite applause but little enthusiasm from the YAFers, who seem to judge bravery by the strength of rhetoric rather than the degree of actual danger faced. The very mention of Bush's name, despite his GOP front-runner status and slavish defense of the popular Gipper, was enough to bring consistent loud boos and jeers from the assembled audience on several occasions.

The libertarians were worried that Ron Paul, who had an earlier engagement at the Virginia LP convention, wouldn't show up in time. Finally he arrived and was introduced by Paul Jacob, who made an earnest and carefully tailored appeal for support based upon common ground with conservatives.

Paul gave an effective 20 minute speech in which he lambasted the government, hit hard at the IRS but also challenged Ronald Reagan on his record. Paul's lead-off, citing Karl Hess's famous "extremism in defense of liberty is no vice" remark, was the high point of his speech, coming as it did after a horrifying litany of IRS and regulatory abuses. He also appealed to the always present anti-communist sentiments by bluntly pointing out the extent to which trade with communist nations is heavily subsidized by the government and various government funded banking institutions. This brought some applause but also some nervousness. His remarks attacking the bankruptcy of the two-party system — reprising his February letter of resignation from the Republican Party — brought about an eerie silence and some scattered boos.

To his credit Paul told the YAFers things they didn't want to hear, and he didn't try to soft peddle areas of libertarian disagreement with conservatives. Overall, he appealed more to similarities than differences, and ended up with stirring rhetoric about

the value of individual freedom and the need to support the free market.

Ron Paul got a significant amount of applause after he finished and the question-and-answer session went on nearly as long as his speech. Most of the YAFers agreed with his ideas but disliked his leaving the GOP. One long question about "what will you do if I can go out and buy heroin after a hard days work and shoot up to relieve tension" was effectively countered with the example of doing the same thing with a bottle of vodka (which is equally lethal), and pointing out black market economic implications and the right to control things you put into your body.

Skeptics weren't instantly convinced but the feeling from most libertarian observers at the convention was that if Kemp or someone else equally hallowed by conservatives isn't nominated by the GOP (according to one popular button, the YAF "dream team" is Kemp and Jeanne Kirkpatrick), most YAFers will support Paul over Bush or Dole. At one point earlier in the convention, Senator Steve Symms (himself once a member of SIL) admitted this his son is supporting Ron Paul and has even donated money to his campaign.

The YAFer's surrounded Paul after he left the podium and he spent another half-hour answering additional questions on the floor.

Paul's speech concluded the straw vote preliminaries and the voting quickly ensued.

The voting was a typical YAF affair: a head count showed fewer than 100 people actually on the floor or in the halls, even by generous estimates. Yet the final YAF tally in the straw vote totaled 190 votes counted. Who knows, maybe some votes carry more weight than others? At any rate, the bad old YAF of old, with rigged elections, has not been exorcised yet.

The final tally, however rigged, proved interesting. Jack Kemp was the clear favorite with 83 votes, or 43%. Second place came to Col. North (who wasn't even nominated) with 34 votes or 18%. (YAF nostalgia buffs will be glad to know that Phillip Abbott Luce, who won his claim to YAF fame in the early 60s when he defected from the pro-Castro Progressive Labor Party long since defunct and subsequently hit the lecture circuit denouncing the New Left for a living — is alive and well as chairman of something called Americans for a Sound Foreign Policy, which is promoting Oliver North for Vice President).

Next came 18 votes (9%) for Nevada's Paul Laxalt, who promptly dropped out of the race two weeks later. These may well have been "insider votes", since all 18 came from the DC YAF group, presumably all paid YAF staffers and friends. So much for climbing on the Laxalt bandwagon.

The pro-libertarian elements in California YAF were expected to provide the bulk of Ron Paul's votes. But at the last minute they all defected to Texas GOP Senator Phil Gramm (16 votes, 8%), who defeated Paul in a bruising US Senate primary in 1984. High treason indeed! (Gramm wasn't nominated either).

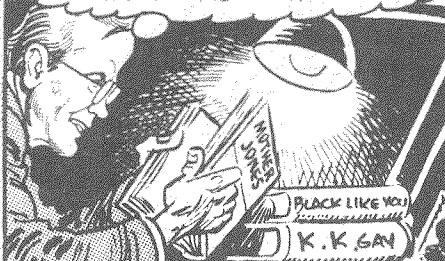
Rev. Pat Robertson came in next with 11 votes, Ron Paul received only 9 votes (5%), followed by Haig with 6, du Pont with 5, Bush with 2, Pat Buchanan with 2 and Arizona Governor Ev Mecham with 2. Dole and Fawn Hall also got one each.

Paul beat out several far better known GOPsters, including the likely Republican nominee, but failed to uncover any massive libertarian sentiment latent in YAF. The conservative game-playing continues.

The libertarian booth packed up as the convention wound down after the voting, and several interested YAFers were encouraged to attend the Seattle LP conven-

AS THE PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES APPROACH, THE CANDIDATE WORKS LATE INTO THE NIGHT TRYING DESPERATELY TO FORMULATE HIS POSITIONS ON THE MAJOR ISSUES OF THE DAY.

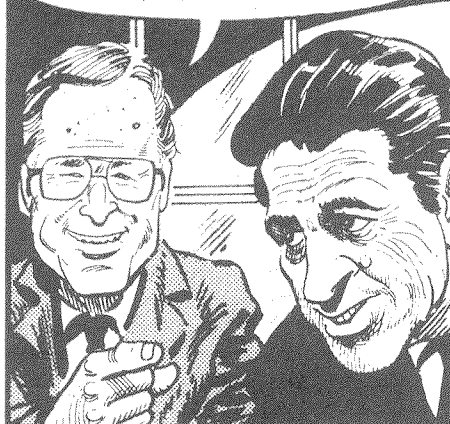
OKAY, I'VE DECIDED. I'LL BE PRO-CHOICE AND ANTI-NUKE, OR WAS THAT PRO-NUKE AND ANTI-ABORTION?



WHOEVER SAID CRAVEN OPPORTUNISM WAS EASY?

AND INDEED IT WAS'NT. BECAUSE GEORGE BUSH FOUND IT IMPOSSIBLE TO STATE HIS **HONEST** OPINION ABOUT ANYTHING.

YEAH, CAP, THAT'S THE TICKET. MASSIVE NUCLEAR RETALIATION. WHAT A GREAT IDEA.



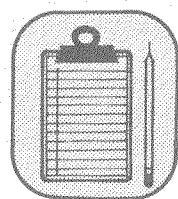
This anti-George Bush cartoon (also featuring former Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger) circulated at the YAF convention illustrating the suspicion young conservatives have of the VP's ideological convictions.

tion (a few did later). The surplus libertarian literature was distributed to various campus representatives with libertarian sympathies. Perhaps the most important result of the entire event was the discovery of a handful of sincerely interested libertarians within YAF ranks who were very excited about meeting real live libertarians.

Only one libertarian (who was paid to tape the event) was on hand for the Saturday evening banquet, where arch rightwing Congressman Robert Dornan of California held sway for over 3 hours denouncing communism (what else?) and praising Col. North and his related endeavors. Dornan also devoted a half hour denouncing libertarians and the libertarian movement heresy.

But like it or not, the libertarians are back, both within YAF and — most importantly — without it. YAF will soon be faced with a choice between a George Bush or Dole type traditional Republican or Ron Paul's Libertarian Party effort, barring an upset victory by the conservative wing of the GOP. Judging from this YAF convention — at least among the hot-blooded young conservatives — principled libertarianism has at least a fighting chance against the pragmatic allure of real political power. ■

Political Notes



Washington, D.C. - Dead certain 1989 prediction: according to Senator Donald Riegle, Jr., a member of both the Senate Finance and Budget committees, a tax increase in 1989 is "almost a sure thing, regardless of what campaign promises are made" this year.

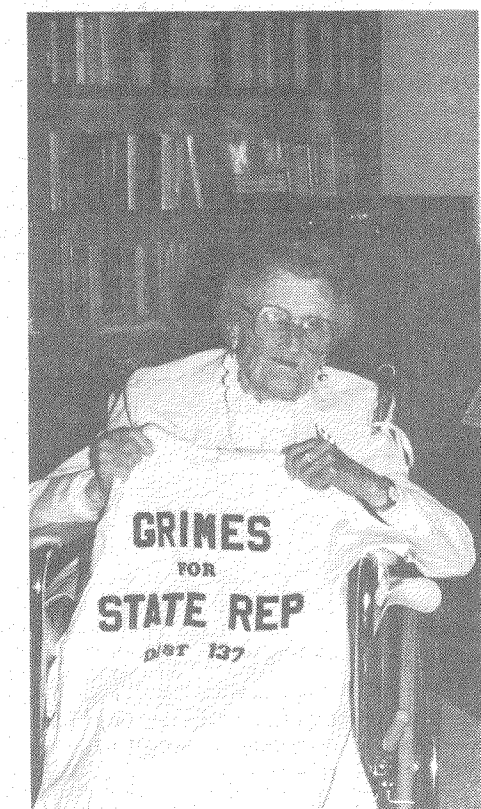
In an early January statement, Riegle predicted that there is virtually no chance of a tax increase in 1988 and that any increase in 1989 will probably take the form of an income tax "surcharge", that is, increasing the recently reduced maximum tax rates again.

Boston, MA - Libertarians across the country have been impressed and heartened by the success of Knowledge Products extensive tape series on the U.S. Constitution. Especially because the product has been a big commercial success and because of the involvement of three well known libertarians. Jeffery Hummel, George Smith and

Wendy McElroy — well known libertarian writers and speakers — were contracted to script several of the tapes which were then narrated by Walter Cronkite, among others.

The libertarian input was said to be particularly noteworthy in the tapes dealing with the Bill of Rights and constitutional history sections. The project has been financially successful, according to reports, defying the usual dismal economics of libertarian-oriented educational projects. This commercial venture (Knowledge Products is not a libertarian organization) is not without its own element of irony.

George Smith and Wendy McElroy are best known as founders of the anti-political Voluntarist movement, which in its heyday advocated LeFevrian style anarcho-capitalism and Spoonerite anti-constitutional philosophy. Although the formal Voluntarist organization is largely defunct, some libertarians find it amusing that founders of the "purer-than-thou" anti-political libertarian wing have found commercial success selling scripts about U.S. constitutional history. ■



Aileen Grimes, the world's oldest libertarian, celebrated her 100th birthday at a party hosted by Harris County LP Chair John Kormylo in Houston on December 16. In 1982 Grimes ran for state representative in Texas on the Libertarian ticket and still actively supports the LP.

"Animal Rights" Broadens Libertarian Definition

by Matt Kesler

Matt Kesler is a physicist, free-lance writer, and owner of Haines Solar Energy Corporation, a manufacturer of solar electric products.

Libertarians for Animal Rights (LFAR), a group based in Bethesda, MD, is dedicated to the inclusion of animals and unborn humans among those with rights, according to National Director Joe Armour. With "a handful" of supporters, the hope of eventually influencing the philosophy of the nation, and the realism of a veteran Libertarian, Armour has made it his job to champion the rights of those with no voices of their own.

Armour intends to advance his philosophy through a strategy emphasizing education over short-term political action. Defining the proper role of the government as the protection of natural rights, Armour believes that natural rights extend to unborn humans and "the higher animals" and asserts that "biologically unnecessary violence against animals and unborn humans should be prohibited."

Armour, a vegetarian, publishes a newsletter, *Peace and Freedom*, quarterly ("or when funds allow"), and has begun what he concedes will be an extended effort to increase LFAR's membership above its present miniscule size. By advertising in periodicals read by libertarians, animal rights advocates, and pro-life activists, Armour hopes to attract "a few hundred" members from among those who already fundamentally agree with his ideas. ("Associate members" are accepted upon payment of a membership fee; "full members" must sign a statement of full support for the fundamental ideas behind LFAR.)

The thirty-year-old historian founded Libertarians for Animal Rights in late 1985, after becoming convinced that three unconnected movements should be linked. The biggest of these, according to the Canadian-born Armour, is the "pro-life" or anti-

abortion movement, which he claims is supported by about 45% of Americans. Both the libertarian movement and the animal rights movement claim much smaller support among the general population, but are backed by impressive bodies of literature and healthy cadres of activists.

Armour considers all three philosophies to be parts of a larger and more consistent whole. He cites Murray Rothbard as a major influence on his political philosophy, and recommends works by Peter Singer (*Animal Liberation*) and Tom Regan (*The Case for Animal Rights*) for those unfamiliar with animal rights philosophy.

What is Animal Rights Libertarianism?

"The philosophy of animal rights libertarianism advocates a society of complete freedom and nonviolence, a society dedicated to total respect for the rights of all higher life forms. It is a synthesis of three already well-established philosophies: libertarianism, animal rights and unborn human rights.

The central idea underlying this philosophy is very simple: that all humans have a right to live our own lives in our own ways as long as we do no violence, to or in any way violate the rights of other living beings. All libertarians believe in the concept of natural rights, that human beings have certain inalienable rights based on our fundamental human nature. Animal rights libertarians differ from conventional libertarians by applying the concept of natural rights not only to born humans but also to higher animals and unborn humans."

from *Peace & Freedom*, the newsletter of Libertarians for Animal Rights, April 1987.

A graduate of the University of Virginia with a History major, Joe Armour became a Libertarian during the Ed Clark campaign of 1980. He remains an LP member, and enthusiastically supports the candidacy of Ron Paul for President, while hoping that future LP candidates will support animal rights. According to Armour, neither Paul nor the LP has a position on animal rights, and the platform debates of recent years have left the national party with a position on abortion with which the LFAR sharply disagrees.

Armour admits, however, that electoral politics are not his strong suit. He views the education of those under thirty as the avenue for influencing the society of the future. "Once a clay pot hardens," he explains, "you can't change it. I think most people become set in their ways by the time they reach twenty-five or thirty, so it's important to reach them early in order to influence their ideas."

His short-term strategy is realistic to the point of being casual: he intends to publish the scholarly yet lively *Peace and Freedom* as often as possible, and to advertise as much as possible, in order to gradually find the few hundred people nationwide which he believes are already fundamentally in support of his ideas. Armour hopes that these, in turn, will form the nucleus of a grassroots organization which will influence first the libertarian movement and later the population in general to accept the rights of animals and the unborn. Armour will consider his efforts successful "if most of the population has at least been exposed to the philosophy within fifty years or so."

By combining a quixotic devotion to uncommon ideas with a realistic assessment of the amount of time required to achieve major influence, Joe Armour's Libertarians for Animal Rights joins the academy of small but thoughtful special-interest groups within and around the libertarian movement. While the Libertarian Party exercises its political muscles in the coming campaign, Armour and his supporters will continue to add to the diversity and quality of its intellectual support.

Libertarians for Animal Rights can be reached at 7829 Cayuga Avenue, Bethesda MD 20817, (301) 320-5344. A one-year membership is available for \$10. ■

Libs Protest Anti-Porn Rally

by American Libertarian Special Correspondent

Cincinnati, OH - When Art Linkletter and Jerry Kirk's National Coalition Against Pornography (NCAP) came to Cincinnati in November for a regional conference, little did they know that a dozen members of Libertarians for Greater Cincinnati had decided to stir up a counter-protest. They had not met with protests before.

NCAP's troops arrived Friday, November 13th, at downtown Cincinnati's Hyatt Regency Hotel waving banners of "Stand Together Opposing Pornography," proclaiming the continuation of its "S.T.O.P. Campaign". But outside the hotel late Saturday afternoon they were met by libertarians carrying signs such as "Don't Tread on Me," "Keep Your Morals Out of My Bedroom," and "Legalize the First Amendment."

A reporter from the *Kansas City Times* was on hand. She was covering NCAP's several city tour which had begun in her hometown the previous weekend. No protesters showed up in Kansas City, she explained. She was amused that several passers-by at the

LIBERTARIAN INTERNATIONAL



Building a Free World

Libertarian International is an organization of individuals dedicated to spreading the ideas of liberty to the far corners of the earth.

Get involved now in a rapidly expanding network of libertarians from close to 40 different countries and participate in what may well be the ultimate libertarian "foreign policy".

A \$20 membership includes LI's monthly newsletter, *Freedom Network News*. A \$35 "Sustaining" membership includes a gold-plated gift "Liberpin".

Sample newsletter — \$1.00

LIBERTARIAN INTERNATIONAL
9308 Farmington Dr., Richmond VA 23229

Hyatt joined the libertarian demonstration upon learning that the picketer's views matched their own.

News coverage of the demonstration was excellent. It kept the story before the public throughout the weekend. Two television stations and both of Cincinnati's newspapers carried it. A *Cincinnati Enquirer* reporter and photographer covered the scene for a Metro piece on Sunday. A photo on page one showed libertarians Carolyn DeJager, Clyde Adams, and Charlie Johnson heatedly debating with NCAP member Kimberlay Hahn about First Amendment issues. The story on page two had a lead paragraph about the demonstration before reporting on the NCAP convention.

Association of Libertarian Feminists (ALF) member Bonnie Kaplan told Channel 5 News reporters that the dangers of censorship are real, while Sally Moore, speaking for Libertarians for Greater Cincinnati, told Channel 9 News that the government has no business dictating adult choices in sex and entertainment. Moore's and Kaplan's comments were broadcast when the demonstration was covered on evening and late night news.

The story continued through to Monday in *The Post*, which does not publish on Sunday. A reporter, who was delighted finally to meet veteran libertarian letter writers Everett DeJager and Sally Moore, printed a lengthy column about the convention on page 1 of their Local News section. The story reported the exemplary efforts of a NCAP member who was doing the Lord's work by closing down Oklahoma City escort services, adult bookstores, adult theaters, and nude dancing. It ended with a paragraph about the libertarian demonstration.

The protest was successful largely due to the efforts of Sally Moore. She wanted to protest last year when NCAP came to Cincinnati. This year, when Moore learned of the convention, she telephoned about fifteen local activists Saturday morning and spurred most of them into quick action. Moore brought hastily made, but effective, signs for protesters to carry. Kaplan brought an ALF position paper and a news release she had written that afternoon to distribute to the media representatives. Although the release was quoted only briefly in one news story, Kaplan believes that the exercise of writing it helped her in speaking to the television and radio reporters.

The excellent news coverage was attributable to Moore's able preparation, and to scheduling the protest to coincide with the ending of the convention. Although libertarians did not demonstrate in order to confront NCAP members, their tenacious

Continued page 8

DECLASSIFIEDS

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

WANTED: PROFESSIONAL FUNDRAISER to work for the Ron Paul presidential campaign. Duties to include personal contact fundraising, coordinating committee fundraising, and administration. Salaried position with built-in incentives. Contact Nadia Hayes, (713) 333-1988.

1987-88 FREE MARKET YELLOW PAGES. 104 pages. \$5. Buy in the free market! Box 224-AL, Long Beach, CA 90801.

FREE LANCE WRITER NEEDED. The American Libertarian

will pay \$20-\$50 for commissioned stories, interviews, etc. of libertarian events, people and institutions (200-800 words). Contact Mike Holmes, Editor, for more information (713) 492-6608 (10 am - 6 pm CST).

"HOLD ON AMERICA, The Libertarians are Coming!" Inspirational LP '88 Convention T-shirts in Red, White & Blue. \$9.95 or 2/\$18 plus \$1.50 postage. quality 50/50 mix, specify S,M,L,XL. T.O.L. - Box 56815, New Orleans, LA 70156.

WE PAY FOR PUBLISHED PHOTOS. The American Libertarian pays \$10 each for published news photos and will give credit. Black and white preferred, and we can return originals. Identify subject matter and dates and send to American Libertarian or contact Mike Holmes, Editor, (713) 492-6608 (10 am - 6 pm CST).

THE AMERICAN LIBERTARIAN ACCEPTS DISPLAY ADVERTIS-

ING. Send for rate sheet or contact Mike Holmes, Editor, (713) 492-6608 (10 am - 6 pm CST). Reach our unique and interested audience.

LIVING FREE newsletter discusses practical methods to increase personal freedom, including self-reliance, alternative lifestyles, guerilla capitalism, nomadism, ocean freedom, pirate radio. Live!y, unique. \$8.00 for 6 issues, sample \$1.00. Box 29-AL, Hiler Branch, Buffalo, NY 14223.

BULK SHIPMENTS of back issues of American Libertarian available to campus and libertarian study groups for cost of shipping. Contact Mike Holmes, c/o American Libertarian for arrangements.

COMPLETE SET OF BACK ISSUES of American Libertarian (from 7/87). Special offer! Only \$25.00. Order: Back Issue Offer. American Libertarian, 21715 Park Brook Drive, Katy, TX 77450.

Eleanor Culberson
Travel Consultant
(713) 558-9068

Affiliated with Travel Express
2825 Wilcrest, Suite 165, Houston, TX 77042
Telephone (713) 266-1400

nomos

Studies in Spontaneous Order
Founded December, 1982

Tim Griffin
Subscription Manager

Subscriptions:
\$15 a year/6 Issues
\$3 Sample Copy
Call 1-800-621-2184

Suite 212
727 S. Dearborn Street
Chicago, Illinois 60605
312-663-9777

Michael E. Holmes, CPA

21715 Park Brook Drive
Katy, Texas 77450
(713) 492-6608

Anti-Porn Rally

From page 7

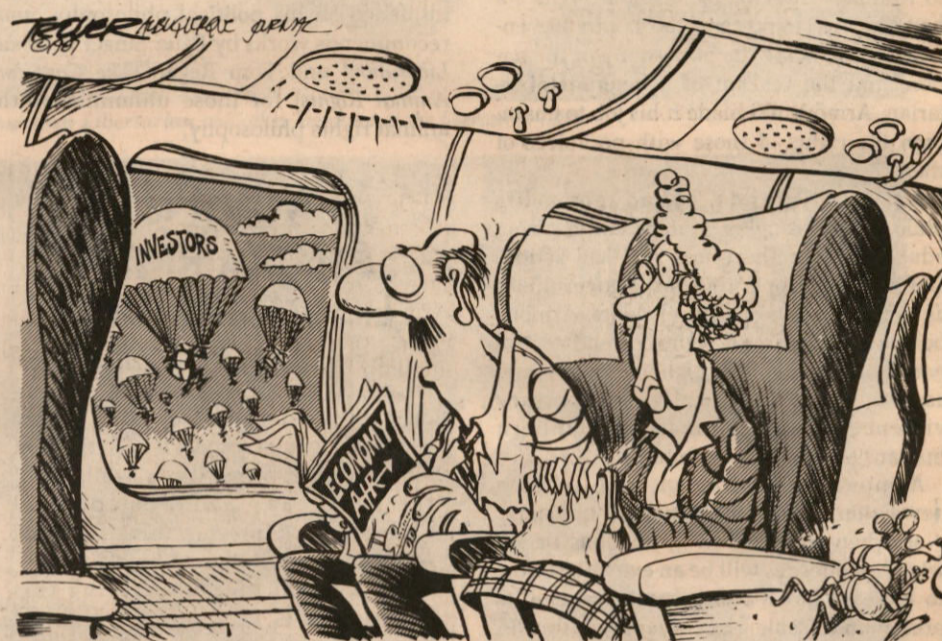
arguing presented a good opportunity for news stories about the controversy. The libertarian protest was covered because it added an extra dimension to an event that the news media was already reporting. Piggybacking the demonstration onto a bigger, newsworthy event proved an excellent strategic move. The demonstration also gave libertarians an opportunity to contact other groups. Moore got a warm response from The Crazy Ladies Book Store, and Kaplan got the same from members of a local Quaker meeting. Several of the demonstrators reported afterwards getting encouragement from co-workers who had seen them on the news.

Unfortunately not everyone in Cincinnati is sympathetic. NCAP considers Cincinnati a model city because of local legal repression of activities related to sex, drink, and drugs. Cincinnati libertarians are all too familiar with Rev. Jerry Kirk and his group.

Kirk, a neighborhood minister in Cincinnati and a founder of NCAP, had just returned from a kick-off stop in Washington, D.C. Local news showed President Reagan congratulating him for his hard line efforts against smut.

Moore wanted to show that not everyone in Cincinnati agrees with Kirk. She hopes that libertarians will demonstrate in favor of the First Amendment at future NCAP meetings in Cincinnati and in other cities such as Memphis, Tulsa, and Kansas City.

"Bring a kid to your protest," Moore urges, referring to little Henry Van Styn, son of libertarian Kathy Van Styn, who told NCAP members "just say 'no' to censorship." Even young Henry decided to carry a picket sign and present his growing libertarian convictions to NCAP members. A group of young girls who stopped to ask what censorship is, responded to the explanation with "How dare they!" It shows that even children appreciate the danger of government interference in privacy, Moore explained. ■



"THIS IS YOUR CAPTAIN SPEAKING. THERE IS NO CAUSE FOR PANIC. EVERYTHING IS FUNDAMENTALLY SOUND... FUNDAMENTALLY SOUND... FUNDAMENTALLY SOUND..."

LP Ballot Drives

From page 1

Dakota ballot since 1932. It's too bad. (A case of not enough doctors, lawyers or Indian chiefs.) It would have been easy to do last summer. And South Dakota is not the only state where that is true.

The three toughest states are Florida (56,318 valid signatures), Oklahoma (37,671), and North Carolina (44,535). Figuring a validity rate of 65% and a small buffer, it means gathering more than 200,000 signatures in these three states alone — at a typical paid cost of 60 to 90 cents a raw signature.

Even some of the easy states will need outside help. New Jersey needs 800 valid signatures, Rhode Island a 1,000, New Hampshire 3,000, Maine 4,000. One activist could do each of the first two, and three activists could do each of the second two. But after 15 years of organized activity, these state LPs can't get on the ballot unaided.

In 1984, Bergland campaign manager Bill Evers condemned weak state parties as having a "welfare mentality", wanting to be subsidized by the presidential campaign. Some states replied essentially as follows: "Look, getting the presidential ticket on the ballot is **your** ego trip and you should pay for it. Why should we subsidize **your** ballot drive? We'd rather spend the money building on the local level." This acrimonious debate will be repeated anew in 1988, especially since Ron Paul clinched his first-ballot nomination in Seattle by pledging \$300,000 ("if the money is there") for "Every State in '88".

Meanwhile, LP ballot status suits are pending in Oregon and Oklahoma. If the LP loses both cases, it will need another 130,000 raw signatures — of which 11,000 have been collected (in Oregon).

Overall, the LP needs at least 560,000 raw signatures to get about 400,000 valid signatures to be on the ballot everywhere.

At 75 cents a raw signature, counting all expenses, that's \$420,000. The National LP has budgeted \$40,000 for ballot drives, or about 10% of the total needed. The state and local LP's can manage another 20% or so, with local volunteers and local fund-raising. That leaves \$300,000 for the Paul campaign to shoulder — exactly what Ron Paul promised in Seattle.

The Ugly

Is the money there? Well, in round numbers, the Ron Paul campaign raised over \$750,000 in 1987. It cost them \$250,000 to do it, leaving a net of \$500,000.

How much has been spent on ballot drives by the Paul campaign? Before the nomination, they spent \$6,000 in Arizona and \$2,000 in Michigan. After Seattle, they spent \$4,000 on Steve Fielder's salary for two months, and loaned \$2,100 to the Georgia LP. The total is \$14,100, or less than 2% of the total Paul campaign money raised so far. This is less than the total raised and spent to date by the self-funded Marrou for Vice President campaign.

The only bright spot in all this is that LP activists all over the country woke up just before the LNC meeting in Florida in December. They called the Paul campaign and expressed their concern about the ballot drives. Ron Paul was quoted as saying, "When I was a Republican, I was never called at home. But now, the phone never stops ringing."

He sent campaign manager Nadia Hayes to Florida to attend the National Committee meeting. The LNC, after some internal bickering, decided that ballot drives were more important than almost everything else in the budget except moving the headquarters to Washington, and voted to scrap all other new activities until the ballot drives were over. Furthermore, if more money is raised than was budgeted, all of it goes for ballot drives. They left it up to Finance Chair Paul Kunberger to raise the money.

One dedicated libertarian activist can put New Hampshire on the ballot. One...can do Rhode Island. Or New Jersey. Ten stout-hearted men and women (not afraid of frostbite) could do South Dakota in a month.

Seeing this commitment, Hayes promptly pledged that the Paul campaign would fund the expensive, difficult, and early deadline North Carolina ballot drive, and others as needed down the road. For once, the LP and the presidential campaign shared the same strategic vision: get on the ballot, whatever it takes. However, the Paul campaign has not actually spent any money as of early January in North Carolina.

In early January, Ballot Access Committee chair Burt Blumert met with Nadia Hayes to formulate ballot access strategy. Locating a new ballot access coordinator was a key topic. And rumor has it that Blumert quietly talked to the man who got the Clark/Koch ticket on the ballot everywhere in 1980: Howie Rich.

There is No Magic.

One dedicated libertarian activist can put New Hampshire on the ballot. One activist can do Rhode Island. Or New Jersey. Ten stout-hearted men and women (not afraid of frostbite) could do South Dakota in a month.

Unless every state gets going right now, with signatures, money, organization, and a place for out-of-town petitioners to sleep, the LP is going to blow at least one state.

Can the Libertarian Party succeed? They did it in 1980. And the New Alliance Party is going to do it in 1988. Ron Paul must be prepared to write a check for \$300,000 soon to back up his Seattle "Every State in '88" campaign promise.

The winning formula for 50-state "just like the big boys" ballot status appears to be sound organization, generous contributions and serious work by party supporters. (Contributions to the Paul campaign earmarked "for ballot drives" might do wonders.)

If Libertarian Party members don't get serious about ballot drive efforts, they might well find themselves coming in behind the energetic (if not somewhat totally wrongheaded) New Alliances. The advertising claim, "the Libertarian Party: America's Fourth Largest", won't sound any better in 1989 than it does right now. ■

COMING ATTRACTIONS

Jim Lewis on Trial

Interviews: Tibor Machan, John Trever, and Robert Poole, Jr.

LaRouche Targets Libertarians

Campaign Reports

The Paul Campaign and the Future of the LP

Reviews: "Torture", "Capitalism for Kids"

Plus cartoons, political notes, media watch and more...