

# American Libertarian

An Independent  
Libertarian  
Newspaper  
Vol. 3 No. 7  
January 1989  
\$2.00

## December NatCom Meeting Shootout at OK Corral

by Murray N. Rothbard

*Economist and historian Murray Rothbard has been actively involved in the libertarian movement and the Libertarian Party for many years. He is sometimes referred to as "Mr. Libertarian."*

*He attended the Oklahoma City LNC meeting as an alternate representative from Region 2. He also actively supported Jim Turney's re-election at the 1987 Seattle LP convention.*

*Rothbard divides his time between New York City and Las Vegas, Nevada, where he is the S.J. Hall Distinguished Professor of Economics at the University of Nevada.*

It was almost like the old days. It was the most dramatic and fateful Libertarian Party National Committee (NatCom) meeting since the glorious weekend at Billings, Montana in the summer of '82, when, in a brilliantly executed maneuver, then LP Chair Alicia Clark managed to oust LP National Director Eric O'Keefe, thereby depriving the malignant Crane Machine of their control of national headquarters. In that way, six years ago, the united Clark forces managed to ambush the arrogant Crane Machine. Similarly, at the recent Dec. 3-4 NatCom meeting, in the equally remote Western town of Oklahoma City, the over-confident LP Chairman Jim Turney rode into town, and, aided and abetted by the treachery of his own supporters, was ambushed and effectively deposed by a rebellious majority of NatCom.

### Background

Jim Turney was originally elected LP Chair at the summer, 1985 national convention. Running against three other candidates, Turney's strength was that he had never held office in the Libertarian Party, and therefore had given no one reason to dislike him. As a perennial audio and video taper of libertarian gatherings, moreover, the affable Turney was known to almost every libertarian. He quickly and shrewdly proceeded to cement his popularity with the Libertarian public by bringing into party leadership two beloved superstars of the movement: Karl Hess, and Dr. Peter Breggin. Although he began with the good will of all, however, Turney seems to have the unique ability of

alienating almost everyone, including his most ardent supporters. And more than just alienating: mention the name Jim Turney to virtually anyone who has had dealings with him, and that person is likely to curse and fume, and roll on the ground in frenzy. In less than two years after his accession to power, a majority of NatCom was driven to censure Turney. But the anti-Turney forces, heedless of the old maxim that he who would strike at the King must be prepared to kill him, stopped at censure and failed to press on to impeachment. Worse yet, the anti-Turney forces, led by the *Berglandistas*, failed to go beyond bitching within NatCom and neglected to educate the party rank-and-file about the record of Turney's incompetence and iniquity. The party masses, who care little and know less about the workings of NatCom, were therefore left to vote their instincts, and hence they voted to re-elect the genial Turney, spurred on by the fact that Turney's opponent was not really a credible candidate.

Turney's re-election at the 1987 Seattle convention was taken as a mandate for his cherished goal of moving national headquarters from Houston to Washington, D.C. (Turney's home is in Richmond, VA, and his support is largely from the D.C. — East Coast area.) The subsequent move to D.C. however accelerated the downfall of headquarter finances and operations. Turney was increasingly in hot water, and very soon, his own hand-picked elected Treasurer, economist Clifford Thies of Baltimore, MD became his greatest sworn enemy. NatCom kept restricting the financial powers of Turney, and, at the Indianapolis meeting in the Spring of 1988, many of Turney's overseer powers were turned over to Thies. However, Turney managed to elude Thies's grasp. And the NatCom, at its August San Mateo, CA meeting, accepted Thies's resignation. Instead, in another move to curb the heedless Turney, it selected an Executive Committee, headed by LP Vice-Chair Dave Walter, to ride herd over headquarters operations. Walter, however, called no meetings of the Execom, and his do-nothing approach allowed Turney to sail ahead on his merry way.

### "Time for a Leadership Change"

During much of 1987 and 1988, blood-letting on NatCom was inhibited by the necessity to preserve unity for the (upcoming or current) Presidential campaign. But in Oklahoma City, the restraints of the presidential campaign were over, and now everyone could afford to cut loose. After all, the major parties undergo considerable structural change after each presidential campaign. As Turney himself put it during the NatCom session at Oklahoma City, it was "time for a leadership change."

Continued page 2

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
JUN 30 1973  
TELETYPE

NR 021 LS CODE  
440PM URGENT 6/30/73 WTB  
TO ACTING DIRECTOR  
ATTN: INTD  
FROM LOUISVILLE (100-6249)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 8/4/00 BY [signature]  
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DEMONSTRATION OBSERVING NATIONAL DRAFT PROTEST DAY SPONSORED  
BY THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY OF KY. (LPK), LOUISVILLE, KY., JUNE  
30, 1973, IS - INFORMATION CONCERNING.

ON JUNE 29, 1973, A LOUISVILLE BASED NEWSPAPER INDICATED  
THAT THE PURPOSE OF NATIONAL DRAFT PROTEST DAY IS TO CALL THE  
ATTENTION OF THE PUBLIC TO THE FACT THAT ALTHOUGH THE DRAFT IS  
ENDING JULY 1, 1973, SO LONG AS THE SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM  
REMAINS IN OPERATION THE DRAFT CAN BE RE-INSTITUTED AT ANY TIME.

END PAGE ONE  
100-0-44593  
11 JUL 6 1973  
651

Copy of the first page of an FBI report issued in June 1973 which covers a National Draft Protest Day demonstration in Louisville, KY. Eight people (including the agent?) attended. (Note that the telex is marked "urgent".) The document goes on to state that the FBI notified in advance the Secret Service, U.S. Attorney's Office, U.S. Marshal's Office, and Selective Service of the planned demonstration.

## FBI Files on LP Revealed

by Greg Kaza

*Greg Kaza is a reporter for the Oakland Press in the Detroit, Michigan area.*

Washington, DC - The FBI maintained domestic intelligence files on the Libertarian Party from its founding in 1971 to the mid-1970s, according to documents obtained under the federal Freedom of Information Act (FOIA).

The intelligence files include references to Dr. John Hospers, the 1972 LP presidential candidate; Tonie Nathan, his running mate; and libertarian anti-draft activity. The files were part of a "domestic security" investigation of the LP, according to internal FBI markings released with the documents.

The CIA did not maintain files on the LP, a similar FOIA request shows.

Thirty-three of the FBI's 46 pages on the LP were released under the FOIA. The remaining 13 pages were withheld under the

so-called 'informant exemption', which allows federal agencies to withhold information which would "reveal the identity of a confidential source or reveal confidential information furnished only by the confidential source."

There is no evidence in any of the documents that the LP or members were involved in illegal activities, and no prosecution occurred as a result of the domestic security investigation. The files were apparently maintained by the FBI for political purposes.

The documents on the LP contain repeated references to informants:

- On Jan. 30, 1974, an IRS agent provided the LP's address in Aurora, CO, to the Denver FBI office, one document shows. The IRS agent's name was deleted by the FBI.

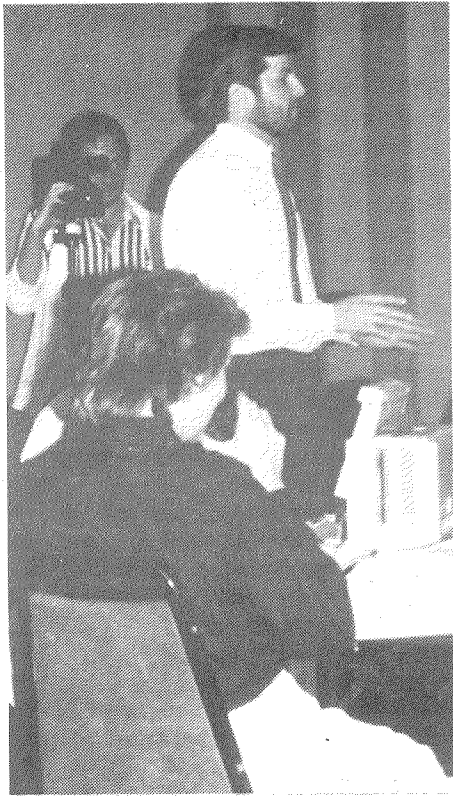
- On Dec. 3, 1974, an unidentified infor-

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Final LP Vote Total  
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Former National LP Chair Jim Turney pleads his case before the Oklahoma City meeting of the Libertarian National Committee.

## Shootout

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Turney, of course, was not contemplating a change in the LP chair. Overconfident and heedless of the rising forces arrayed against him, Turney came to Oklahoma City to propose the immediate firing of arguably the three most competent officials of the national LP: Bert Blumert, who had raised over \$600,000 as head of the LP Ballot Access Committee, and who had managed to get Ron Paul on the ballot in 46 states; Mike Holmes, LP auditor, who, month after month, pointed to the party's increasingly shaky accounting and financial condition; and Paul Jacob, whom Turney himself had hand picked as National Director, and who did an excellent job as field coordinator of the ballot access drive.

Why this egregious firing? In the case of ballot access, clearly because the Turney forces had their eye on the monetary honey pot, \$600,000! Turney proposed to replace Blumert with his crony and former campaign manager Paul Kunberger of Maryland, forgetting (1) that Kunberger is no Bert Blumert, and (2) that, with the presidential campaign over, the glamor of ballot access is inevitably fading. As for Mike Holmes, he is not only a first-rate auditor, but his auditorial acumen is enhanced because, as a long-time LP member, he knows where the bodies are buried. Hence, the Turneyite drive to replace Holmes with the amiable but inexperienced Bill Redpath of Virginia. As for Jacob, he had, like Thies and many others, become disillusioned with Jim Turney, and hence was accused of disloyalty to the Turney regime.

As in Billings six years ago, several Turneyites were so confident that they failed to show up. Presumably, they looked at the agenda, saw nothing fascinating listed, and figured why shlep to all hell and gone at Oklahoma City? A fatal error. They forgot that agendas can be changed. Turney particularly suffered the absence of Turneyites Dave Walter and Don Ernsberger, of Pennsylvania; Ernsberger, in particular, somehow manages to carry an air of moral authority about him which often sways the weaker NatCom members.

### "Plan B"

The anti-Turney forces, a coalition of Berglandistas, Paul campaign leaders, and disillusioned ex-Turneyites, decided going in

to 'he meeting that the constitutional two-thirds NatCom vote necessary to impeach was out of reach. So they settled for an ingenious "Plan B", leaving Turney as ceremonial chairman, chairing NatCom meetings and the convention (the only chair functions absolutely required by party by-laws), while creating a new office: chief executive officer, to run the national party until a final resolution of the continuing headquarters crisis can be made at the national convention next September. In short, to strip Turney of his absolute power, and leave him as constitutional monarch. At the beginning of the meeting, when the agenda is decided on, Lew Rockwell moved to insert, at the Headquarters', Auditor's, etc. reports, a new item: "Consideration of the Performance of the Chair." The vote to insert the Rockwell item was passed by 13 to 10, which proved to be the highwater mark of Turneyite support. The hard core of the ten votes consisted of Turney himself and the Turneyite Machine, headed by Boss Stephen Fielder of West Virginia, and including Kunberger, Vicki Kirkland of New York, Bobby Emory of North Carolina, Sharon Freeman [Mitchell] of the National Headquarters, and Lyn Sapowsky-Smith of California.

### Chaos in DC

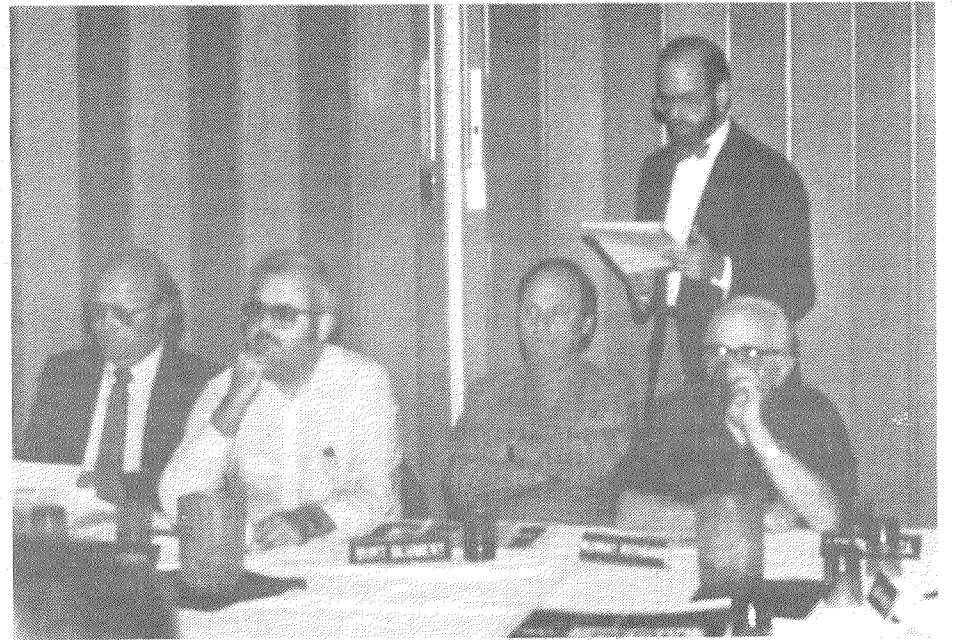
Hour after hour the various reports from and about headquarters and the national party piled up the ghastly record of incompetence, and hour after hour Turney steadily lost support. Mike Holmes was particularly effective investing what is usually a dry-as-dust auditor's report with moral passion about the financial and administrative botch of the Turney regime. The major Turneyite reason for the expensive move from Houston to Washington was to impress the media with the fact that our national headquarters is in D.C. rather than someplace in the out-back. But how do we impress the media with a ramshackle headquarters deep in a ghetto slum?

Some of the more dramatic of the headquarters horrors revolve around the location. For example, headquarters had to report that they had lost \$6000 worth of checks. How did they do that? Because they were in the habit of mailing the checks to the bank in downtown D.C. by UPS and didn't realize that UPS only insures checks to the maximum of \$100. But who the hell mails checks to the bank? Why doesn't one of the staff walk to the nearest branch? Turney's reply: that staff members who walk to the bank get lost and never return, was not to be believed — and, if true, hardly reflected well on his managerial competence. The unspoken reason is that no one wants to walk anywhere in the area and get mugged.

Furthermore, the national office seems to be in chaos. The then present National Director Kirk McKee wandered in as a volunteer and computer specialist and, what with the high turnover in the office, suddenly found himself the Director. The neighborhood pizza delivery boy was inexplicitly hired as the new bookkeeper. Then there is the strange case of NatCom member Sharon Freeman, ex-wife of former National Director Terry von Mitchell, who moved into the national office from Houston to D.C. in November. It turns out that the national headquarters is "renting" a room to La Freeman, at a rate arguably way below the market. Has the national office somehow stumbled into the apartment-rental business?

### Turney Confronted

After the record of headquarters horrors, the topic of the Chairman came onto the agenda, and Lew Rockwell introduced "Plan B": electing a CEO who would assume effectively all powers of the chair except ceremonial. The powerful preamble to the Rockwell resolution read as follows: **Whereas** the present Chair has failed abjectly and continually to fulfill his fiduciary



Lew Rockwell, Jr., reads the original "Plan B" resolution which would have installed a Chief Executive Officer to take over all but the ceremonial duties of the LP Chair. This became moot once Turney tendered his resignation.

responsibility to LP members and donors by insuring that we have an effective and well-managed national office and instead has given us an operation whose internal controls, staff turnover, failure to respond to the National Committee, and general chaos are shameful in an organization whose health is essential to the progress of liberty, therefore be it resolved, etc."

With the advent of this Topic A, Turney turned the chair over to an allegedly impartial Oklahoman, Bob Murphy, who however had in fact proclaimed himself as a devoted Turney admirer. When the Rockwell motion was introduced, Lyn Sapowsky-Smith, who was to demonstrate that she was fanatically more Turneyite than even Turney himself, objected that the resolution "violated the bylaws". (Beware when ordinary NatCom members suddenly assume the mantle of By-Law mavens; it usually means that they are losers.) Murphy had to make a crucial ruling: if he ruled that the motion did not violate the bylaws, the Rockwell motion needed only a majority to pass; if however, he ruled it in violation, the anti-Turney forces would need a two-thirds vote to overturn the chair. Fortunately, Murphy disappointed his own faction by ruling the motion not in violation. During the night, Sapowsky-Smith was to work on Murphy, invoking the authority of the sainted Bill White of California (who holds no current position in the LP) who had somehow been invested with mystical powers as parliamentarian, and who had over the phone, declared the motion out of order. This converted Murphy, who was prepared to take the unprecedented step of changing his ruling when the NatCom reconvened Sunday morning to finally vote on the chair question. In fact, those of us in the anti-Turney coalition had plenty of good parliamentarians to back our position, including party Secretary Dean Ahmad, and David Bergland, but if we spent the next morning bogged down in parliamentary jockeying, people would begin to drift to their planes out of Oklahoma City, and the golden moment would be lost. Therefore, Rockwell rewrote his resolution to make the new power position "executive secretary" instead of "chief executive officer," which would counter the objection of the parliamentary nitpickers, but the rush of events was to make this problem obsolete.

In the discussion of the Rockwell motion late Saturday afternoon, Sapowsky-Smith had put her finger on the problem, but, remarkably, came to precisely the wrong conclusion. She pointed out that every NatCom meeting had been wasted in denouncing the iniquities of Turney, and that in August, the NatCom had appointed an Ex-

ecutive Committee to supervise Turney, so why continue to "crucify" this great man? I stated in rebuttal — for I was, indeed, on NatCom as an alternate from California — that, **even if**, most improbably, Jim Turney is a Howard Roarkian figure, a great man beset by the envy of us lowlifes around him, us *untermensch* crucifiers, even so, Turney had demonstrated an inability to work with the majority of NatCom, that no other controls on Turney seem to have worked, and that therefore Turney should have the decency to put NatCom out of its misery and resign. Little did I know he would take me up on this suggestion.

In his defense, Turney whined about the "secrecy" involved in the move, and of the desire of his enemies to avoid frank and open discussion. But what **was it** that we were having? In effect, "discussion" to Turney means a Turney monologue, filled with repetition and bafflelegab that bores his listeners under the table. One great thing about the discussion of the Rockwell resolution is that Murphy had been persuaded to put a four-minute time limit on every person's speech, which of course prevented a typical Turney filibuster.

### Turney Maneuvers Himself Out

Overnight, while Sapowsky-Smith was doing her parliamentary maneuvering, Turney had evidently been brooding on his life. At Sunday breakfast, he sent word through emissaries to the opposition that he was willing to cut a deal: he would accept the resolution **provided** that NatCom elevated to CEO (or executive secretary) Vice-Chair Dave Walter. But we of the opposition regarded the do-nothing Walter as part of the problem rather than the solution, and we sent word back that this deal was unacceptable. Then, in retreat, Turney offered another deal: he would resign as Chair, period, provided we elevated Dave Walter to the Chair position. Well, here was a very different story. The blessing of getting rid of Turney altogether! And besides, Walter, as Vice-Chair, would automatically assume the responsibilities of the Chair unless the NatCom voted otherwise, and any such vote would seem odd to the Party rank-and-file. We signaled back, fine! But then, at the last minute, as the fateful Sunday morning session began, Turney sent word that all deals were off. He had welshed on his own deal! Everyone nodded that this was a typical Turney performance.

But it soon became clear that we had the votes to put in a new executive secretary. Rockwell introduced his "executive secretary" substitute, Turney immediately introducing his Dave Walter-for-executive secretary amendment. During the discussion,

*Continued page 3*

## Shootout

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Secretary Dean Ahmad tellingly pointed out that Walter's "rubber-stamping" of Turney's appointment of the hapless Kirk McKee as National Director made Walter a questionable person for the new position. In the vote on Turney's amendment, the Turneyites only were able to muster 9 votes against 14. In consequence, Turney folded, and he made the offer to resign "on the condition" that we picked Dave Walter as his successor. Great! Falling on his own sword, Turney had brought us the gift, not just of Plan B, but our fondest wish, Plan A! Surely, the Turneyites were the Gang Who Couldn't Shoot Straight! It was indeed time for a "leadership change", and Turney was Number One on the list.

There were some amusing aspects of the near-unanimous vote to accept Turney's resignation and name Walter as the new Chair. One was that Turney abstained on the motion he himself had suggested, not having the fortitude to vote for his own decision to resign. The other was that La Sapowsky-Smith, fanatical to the end and voting against Turney's resignation, started shouting, threatening reference to the Judicial Committee, and generally hurling imprecations on all of our heads. (The JudCom ploy is truly the Loser's last gasp. Even if the JudCom did not have a comfortable anti-Turney majority, the process of raising enough Party petitions to refer matters to the JudCom, as well as the lengthy procedure of that body meeting and sifting evidence, would have taken us long past next September's national convention, when all these matters will be resolved at last.)

### Bergland-Fielder Alliance

And so Jim Turney was out, but unfortunately, his physical presence remained, for Turney continued on NatCom as "Immediate Past Chair" even though he made clear to us at tedious length that he really disapproved of such a post on the NatCom. In addition, though it took Dick Nixon fifteen years to rehabilitate himself in the public eye, Turney irritatingly continued to sound off, as a NatCom member, as if he had not been discredited and disgraced! Not only that, but the middle-of-the-road swing voters, having steeled themselves to act to strip Turney of his powers, now began to dissolve in an orgy of guilt, starting by giving Turney a standing ovation for his years of glorious service to the Party, and blah blah blah.

Dave Walter was not there to pick up the mantle of power, but we were assured by the Turneyites that if he could have been contacted, he would be willing and able to step in a Chair. Dave Bergland was now (unanimously!) moved up from NatCom to the Vice-Chair vacancy. The next important moment came on filling the Treasurer's vacancy, *Berglandista* Sam Treynor having decided to relinquish the post he had agreed to assume in August, when Cliff Thies had resigned in protest. To fill the new vacancy, it seemed to me that justice required renaming Thies, who had been a premature anti-Turneyite and who had been elected as Treasurer at the Seattle convention. The importance of Thies was marked by the fact that Jim Turney, ungracious in defeat, bitterly denounced Cliff during the discussion over the vote for Treasurer.

But now a curious thing happened: in the vote between Thies and Boss Fielder, who had been head of the machine that elected Turney to begin with, the *Berglandistas* joined with the guilt-ridden swing voters and the Turneyites to elect Fielder as Treasurer by a vote of 15 to 6. And this was after Fielder's floperoo as head of the Ballot Access Committee had caused the NatCom to transfer that committee to the capable hands

of Burt Blumert! The vote for Treasurer was therefore a revealing one, the six Thies voters (Dehn, Blumert, Pfiffner, Rockwell, Monroe, and Ahmad — I was at the moment off the NatCom as Treynor assumed the California seat) deserving great commendation. On the other hand, the vote for their ancient enemy Fielder by the three *Berglandistas* (Bergland, Treynor, and Hinkle) smacks of a cozy deal between the *Berglandista* and Turney forces, a deal that does not bode well for the running of the LP for the period until Philadelphia.

A deal between the Fielder and *Berglandista* forces highlights the fact that the *Berglandista* hostility to Turney was always excessively personal. By demonizing Turney personally, the *Berglandistas* were all too ready to come to an arrangement with such Turneyites as Steve Fielder. Forgotten was the main point: that the problem is not so

much Turney the man as Turneyism, in that Turneyism means the Turneyite movement headed by Fielder and Kunberger. Also forgotten was the origin of Turney on the political scene: that Turney and Fielder both ran for Chair in 1985 as an entry, highlighted by the fact that when Fielder had to drop out of the Chair race, he explicitly swung his support to Turney, putting him over the top on the next ballot.

The next important vote was the choice of an At-Large NatCom member to replace the now elevated Fielder. The Turneyites and the guilt-ridden middle-of-the-roads continued their new alliance, voting to elect the Turneyite Bob Murphy. The opposition was split, the division between the *Berglandistas* and the Paul people continuing: the *Berglandistas* supporting Sharon Ayres (Bergland's wife) and the Ron Paul people voting for Paul

Jacob.

Finally, as a last snarling gesture, at 4:00 p.m. on Sunday, and after much of NatCom had gone home and a quorum barely remained, the Turneyites tried to get rid of the inconvenient Mike Holmes and replace him with Redpath. Lyn Sapowsky-Smith, as usual, led the charge, with Steve Givot moving an amendment to make Redpath a deputy auditor instead, thereby retaining Holmes in the auditor post. It was a close call, since the Paul members (including myself) had gone off to their planes. Remarkably, Holmes was saved by an 8 to 7 vote, with several formerly staunch Turneyites turning and voting for Holmes (Emory, Johnson, Kirkland).

And so, while the boil was partly lanced at Oklahoma City, and Turney was successfully deposed as Chair — a victory beyond our

Continued page 6

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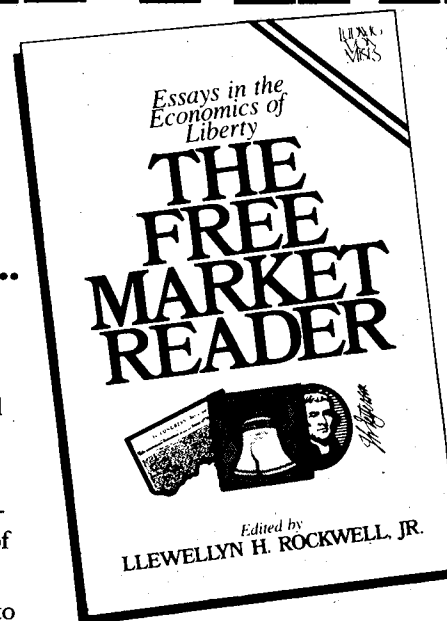
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# Libertarian Outlook

## Spying on the LP

As this issue's article by Greg Kaza illustrates, long time suspicion by libertarians about government spying on the Libertarian Party was certainly justified. And while many libertarians are rightly paranoid about government snooping, the story also illustrates another factor common to such government surveillance: namely, that the spys are usually incredibly thick-headed.

In the case cited in the article, heavy-handed FBI agents relied upon paid informants to dredge up information which the Libertarian Party was desperately trying to publicize all on its own — the purpose of the party, where to send for more information, and who its candidates were. Only a spy agency could turn finding such simple information into a complicated, somewhat mysterious endeavor, generating numerous telexes back and forth between FBI honchos, scribbling initials on each scrap of new data, all procured at outrageously high cost to the taxpayers.

And the image of three FBI gumshoes, huddling around a six person anti-draft demonstration in Kentucky, filling their notebooks and taking secret photos, seems like something out of a Marx Brothers movie, or a Marxist governed country.

But it shouldn't come as a surprise to anyone that this occurred. During the J. Edgar Hoover FBI era, such clumsy snooping was commonplace — seeing Reds under every bed, as it were. The FBI engaged in a 20-year assault on the Socialist Workers Party, complete with informants and internal sabotage. Only after a 12-year struggle did the SWP manage to recover several hundred thousand dollars in damages, about \$200 per FBI violation. And the FBI for a long time paid for over half the domestic membership

of the Communist Party USA in one way or another, Hoover having become the unofficial sponsor of Gus Hall & Company.

The fact that this country is supposed to be a democracy where citizens are legally free to form new political parties seems to have escaped the government. Even today many of the spy files are still buried under the "secret" label, allegedly for fear of divulging critical national security information. There can be no excuse for this, of course.

Such spying was supposed to have stopped in the late 1970's, but we don't buy that. The IRS undoubtedly is wasting tax money doing much the same thing, despite the fact that the LP has never supported illegal activities and is the only political party to require its members to sign an oath forswearing aggression against others. It seems like the top ranks of the Democratic and Republican Parties are filled with con artists, crooks, liars, spies and illegal sellers of arms to Iran, just to name a few things. Yet these political parties with long histories of members convicted of a variety of crimes undoubtedly escape the attention lavished on newer and smaller political parties.

It is sometimes said that the Russian government only believes information when it is stamped "secret" and is procured by the KGB, even if the information comes from a public library. In the case of the American government, information stamped "secret" by the FBI or CIA is almost certainly never to be trusted unless independently verified elsewhere. After all, this is almost the only way damaging misinformation can be used without the legal protection afforded to everyday citizens who are otherwise targets of malicious lies and slander.

It would be nice to think the FBI, et. al. would quit playing Keystone Kop KGB and devote themselves to something useful, like catching car thieves. Oh, for that kinder and gentler nation . . . ■

## Monroe for Chair

We are pleased to report in this issue that the publisher of *American Libertarian*, veteran LP activist Matt Monroe, has announced his intention to seek the position of Chair of the national Libertarian Party. And in case anyone has any doubts about the matter, *American Libertarian* wholeheartedly endorses him for the job.

We would do so even if he weren't our publisher, since his long record of service to the LP and his plans for improvement make him the best qualified and most obvious choice for the job. And by being the first candidate to officially declare, he signaled his intention to earn the position the hard way, by talking and listening to the rank-and-file membership.

The LP is the largest membership organization in the movement, and as such it plays a special role in advancing the cause of individual liberty. As a native of Communist ruled Poland, Dr. Monroe knows first hand the importance of the ideas of libertarianism in order to live as a free and productive human being.

The LP cannot afford to continue to stagnate or suffer ineffective and unimaginative leadership. We believe Matt Monroe can put together a winning team for the LP.

AL will keep our reporting on the LP neutral. But we also want to let you know where our hearts lie. ■

## Feedback



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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.

### Why I Resigned as LP Treasurer

On Sunday, August 21st, near the end of a Libertarian Party National Committee meeting, I resigned my position as Treasurer. This letter explains why I resigned with an eye toward next year, when it will be possible to reform the structure and personality of the National Committee. My immediate reason for resigning was the rejection by the National Committee of a motion I had put forward concerning Jim Turney's article in the May/June *LP News*. It was (and remains) in my opinion that in this article Jim Turney attacked me in my role as Treasurer and member of the National Committee.

For some examples: Jim Turney said he was "tired of criticism. . . suddenly and self-righteously proclaimed. . . tried of mis-



representations. . . This sounds to me like he accuses me of being self-righteous and a misrepresenter. He said, "Of course, there was no Treasurer's report circulated before the meeting. . ." This sounds to me like he accuses me of not publishing reports, which by the By-Laws and by National Committee resolution I'm supposed to do. Concerning certain phone bills, he said "even a brief examination is enough to make clear that the Treasurer made a gross error." This sounds to me like he accuses me of making a gross error.

My motion was very simple. It merely stated that Jim Turney violated the National Committee resolution which established the editorial policy of the *LP News* in that he conducted a "personal attack" on the Treasurer and National Committee. In debate, some members argued that, while "ill-advised," Jim Turney's article did not violate the resolution in question. One member said if Jim Turney had called me a "scum-bag," that would have violated the resolution. But calling me self-righteous, a misrepresenter and a gross error-maker, these — I suppose — aren't "personal."

The motion lost 7-10, with two abstentions and with neither the Secretary nor Vice-Chair (acting as Chair at the time) voting. The National Committee failed to protect me from being attacked in public by the Chair and, therefore, countenanced that I was self-righteous, a misrepresenter and a gross error-maker. Since they would not stand up for me, I did not feel I had any obligation to them, and so I felt free to resign. Since they countenanced that I acted irresponsibly as Treasurer, I felt that I was in fact obliged to resign so that they could elect someone to replace me in whom they reposed the trust necessary to act on the information brought to them.

That, then, is the immediate reason why I resigned. Let me now address the real or underlying reason. For as long as I can remember, the LNC has been little more than a battle-ground where the so-called leaders of the party meet to hurt each other. It is as though members believe their enemy not to be the State but to be their fellow Libertarians.

Actually, I don't think the problem is that Jim Turney confuses me for our real enemy. I think the fault is in the **structure** of the Libertarian National Committee, a problem which should be addressed by the By-Laws Committee at the next national LP Convention. I think the National Committee is too large, non-representative, and puts too much of a burden on its (volunteer) Chair. I think half the problems would be resolved simply by halving its size!

Because the LNC is so large, its members do not get to know, work with or develop trust and loyalty in each other. At the same time, the Chair (by organizational design and personal disposition) works only with selected members of the National Committee, distancing himself from the group as a whole, and putting himself into a confrontational position.

It would not be appropriate in this letter to go into much detail. Nevertheless, let me say that we not only need to reform the structure of the National Committee, we need to directly change its personality. We need a Chair who is disposed to working with others and who, specifically, is part of a functioning Executive Committee. For members of the LNC, we need men and

*Continued page 5*

## American Libertarian

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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.

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ISSN 0897-2176

Publisher: M.T. Monroe  
Editor: Mike Holmes  
Art Director: Sue Bjornseth  
Typesetting: Service Inc.  
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



## Bulletin Lewis Released on January 27

Old Saybrook, CT — Jim Lewis, the 1984 Libertarian Party vice presidential candidate convicted last April on three counts of "willful failure to file" income tax returns and sentenced to 1 year in federal prison, was released exactly nine months after entering Allenwood Federal Prison and returned to his Old Saybrook, Connecticut home on January 27.

Lewis still faces a \$4,000 fine and two years suspended sentence for his conviction, but the details were unclear about restrictions on his activities upon release. Lewis could not be directly contacted as of press time, but his mother, Mrs. Dorothy Lewis, said she was in regular contact with Jim during his prison stint and that "he has done fine" while inside. She said he had been paid 46¢ per hour while working as a clerk in the prison shop that makes furniture for the Pentagon. "A fine thing for a libertarian to do," Mrs. Lewis joked.

Lewis has worked on a book while in custody and "he has to go to work, I have to eat," Mrs. Lewis jokingly remarked when asked about her son's immediate plans.

January 27 is also being celebrated as Volunteer Day by libertarians, marking the 16th anniversary of the presidential order in 1973 which ended the military draft. So libertarians had two reasons to celebrate the date this year, and Jim Lewis will undoubtedly appreciate his new found freedom from government control.

Jim Lewis can be reached at: Jim Lewis, 2 Neponsett Ave., Old Saybrook, CT 06475, (202)388-2046. An update on this story will appear in the next issue. ■

cluding abortion, can work both ways. Paul also earned votes because of his opposition to abortion. I get letters from libertarians, both men and women, who say they have either quit the LP or won't join it because of the platform's support for abortion. They probably take their views into the election booth, too.

For some voters, certain issues are litmus tests. A libertarian candidate can pass their test and still not get their vote, especially when an opposing Republican or Democrat also passes their test and the race seems close.

**Doris Gordon**  
National Coordinator  
Libertarians for Life  
Wheaton, MD ■

## FBI Files

From page 1

mant provided information of an unspecified nature to the Denver FBI office, another document shows. The document is heavily censored.

• On April 15, 1975, "An unidentified caller advised that Libertarian Party member (FNU) DRIELING" resided at a Denver area address, another Denver FBI document shows. FNU is an FBI acronym for "first name unknown." The document may have been generated in connection with LP anti-tax activity, which traditionally occurs on that date. "The caller states Libertarian Party is leftist radical group" which appeared on the television four days earlier, the document said.

Other FBI documents show the agency considered the LP a right-wing political group:

• "It appears from the literature that the captioned organization is a right-wing party with one Dr. John Hospers running as the candidate for President of the U.S. on the Party ticket, who is the director of the School of Philosophy at the Univ. of Southern California; and Mrs. Tonie Nathan, the Libertarian Party's Vice Presidential candidate, who is a broadcast journalist in Eugene, Oregon," a Denver FBI document dated Sept. 19, 1972 states.

The files include copies of literature distributed by the Hospers/Nathan campaign. Among them, several cited in connection with the LP's identification as a right-wing group:

• "McGovern: The Dangerous Decoy," a leaflet attacking 1972 Democratic presidential candidate George McGovern. "McGovern must be recognized for what he is... a decoy," the leaflet read, "whose greatest danger is that he will lure us into voting for (Richard) Nixon, as 'the lesser of two evils.'" "It will take courage to resist this temptation."

• "Restoring Liberty To America", a copy of a July 4 speech by Hospers.

• "Break Free From Big Brother", a Hospers/Nathan campaign leaflet.

• "The 1972 Platform of the Libertarian Party", which was adopted at the first LP national convention in Denver on June 17-18, 1972. Hospers and Nathan were nominated at the convention.

Analysis of the FBI documents reveals the agency kept at least three separate files on the LP. All three files contain the internal FBI marking "100" — which identifies the enclosed documents as part of a domestic security investigation. The term "domestic security" has never been precisely defined by the FBI, but is often used interchangeably with "internal security", which is used by the agency in reference to "extremist" and "subversive" groups. The FBI Manual of Instruction defines these as "activities aimed at overthrowing, destroying or



THE SHINING CITY ON THE HILL

undermining the Government of the United States or any of its political subdivisions by illegal means or denying the rights of individuals under the Constitution or prohibited by statutes." "Extremists" are generally black or Native American radicals or members of white racist groups. "Subversive" groups include the Communist Party USA and other leftist groups that exercise rigid control over their rank and file membership. The FBI documents do not specify whether the agency considered the LP "extremist" or "subversive". However, under FBI procedures in effect at the time, any activities designed to promote social change could be investigated by the agency.

The FBI opened its first file on the LP, a "dead file", on Sept. 19, 1972. A "dead" FBI file is opened when no immediate investiga-

tion is anticipated, but when the resident SAC expects to receive enough information to conduct such an investigation at some point in the future. (SAC is an FBI acronym for Special Agent in Charge; agents who head local Bureau offices.) A Sept. 19, 1972 Denver FBI document states, "It is suggested... that files be opened incorporating the information from the Libertarian Party since this office will no doubt receive several inquiries re. the organization."

The four pieces of Hospers/Nathan campaign literature were placed in the dead file with other information, according to the document. An unidentified informant provided some of the literature the document shows. "The pamphlets received by the informant have been placed in... the dead file," the document said.

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## Feedback

From page 4

women who can respect each other, and who aren't concerned about what purse strings the Chair controls.

The importance of reforming the National Committee should be obvious. How are we ever to get such men and women to serve if service continues to entail bickering and infighting? Service in the cause of liberty should be joyful. For me, it quickly became self-sacrificing.

For better or worse, the structure of the LNC can only be addressed at next year's national Convention. In the meantime, all of us have a real job before us. That job is bringing our political campaigns to successful conclusions, and then following-up with building the party for the future. Remember: nothing less than liberty in our lifetime is the hope of the Libertarian Party.

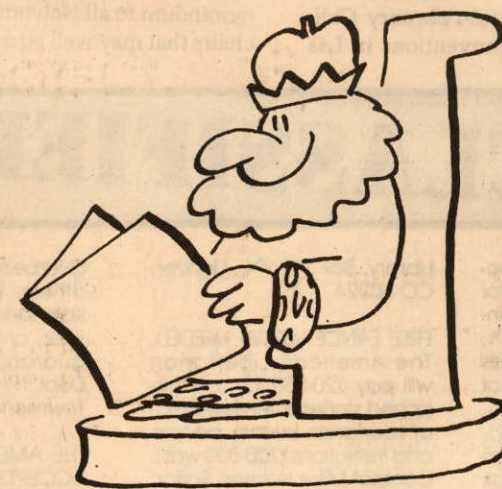
**Clifford F. Thies**  
Baltimore, MD

### Ron Paul's "Gender Gap"

In your November 1988 issue editorial you wrote that one factor which may have hurt Ron Paul's campaign is "an LP 'gender gap' among libertarian-oriented women voters who couldn't swallow Paul's anti-abortion viewpoint." Of course, Paul's campaign was also hurt because many couldn't swallow his views on other issues, such as being in favor of an open border. The editorial didn't mention any others, but they may have been a bigger factor.

A candidate's position on any issue, in-

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## Monroe Announces for Chair

Houston, TX — Current LP Membership Committee Chair, long time Libertarian National Committee member and *American Libertarian* publisher Matt Monroe, announced his intention to seek the chairmanship of the national Libertarian Party, in a late January statement.

Monroe, 48, is a Houston based cardiologist who has experience in LP fundraising having served as Finance Chair for the Texas LP, national LP, and the 1988 Ron Paul presidential campaign. In a prepared release, Monroe stated, "the size of the national LP has fluctuated since 1985 but essentially the party has stagnated in terms of members and finances. It is obvious to me that the Libertarian Party needs new leadership with fresh ideas in order to grow. As LP chair, it will be my job to produce those results and gain the support of the people who made the 1988 campaigns and ballot drives a success."

Among his campaign platform proposals are:

- reduction in the size of the Libertarian Committee,
- support for a monthly LP newspaper,
- support for reduced national LP overhead and more services to state parties and members,
- plans for short, medium and long term programs to build the LP. This includes professional management, a "permanent campaign" during the non-election years to sponsor speakers and ballot access projects, and an "LP 2000" plan to develop local LP leadership, candidates and aid student campus libertarian organizations.
- support for moving the LP nominating convention to election years like the major parties, and encouraging libertarians with business and organizational experience to become active in the LP leadership.

Monroe is originally from Poland and became active in the libertarian movement during the early 1970's. He is the first LP chair candidate to officially announce and says he intends to "earn the respect and support of the LP membership" by an active campaign for the office. He will make a formal appearance at the mid-February California/Nevada state LP conventions in Las

Vegas and intends to visit other state conventions in 1989. He is also organizing a campaign committee for supporters.

Other chair candidates are likely to emerge before the September Philadelphia convention, although some prominent party members have already ruled themselves out of contention. 1988 LP VP candidate Andre Marrou has said he "was not a candidate for elective LP office" and LP Chair David Walter and his SIL co-partner Don Ernsberger have also told people that they were not interested in the LP chair post.

The Monroe/LP Chair Committee can be reached at **Monroe/LP Chair, Dr. Matthew Monroe, 1213 Hermann Drive, Suite 655, Houston, TX 77004, (713) 524-2919.** ■

## Shootout

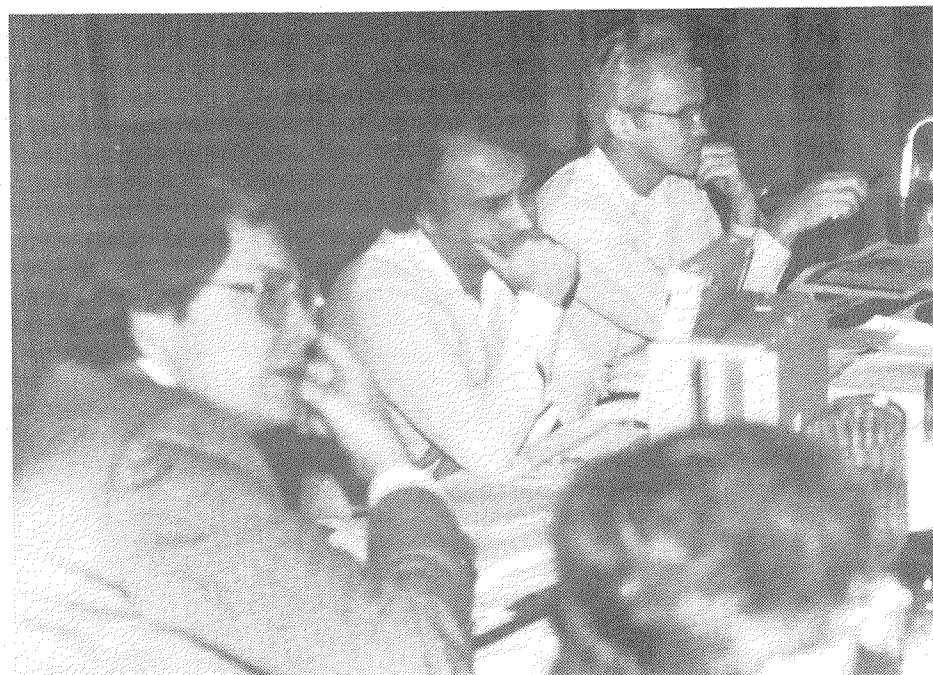
From page 3

wildest dreams — the basic malady at national headquarters continues. As one knowledgeable LP observer commented, "One test will be whether La Freeman [Mitchell] is evicted from the office."

### Aftermath

Since the meeting, events have more than borne out these concerns. The LP has since been ruled by a curious new coalition: a *troika* of Walter, Bergland and Fielder. Bergland has been talking glowingly of a new-found enthusiasm for Boss Fielder. Dave Walter at first reacted by planning to resign at the April meeting. One crucial concern for Walter is that he is co-head of the partnership operating the Philadelphia convention next summer, so that he may well find it difficult to fulfill both responsibilities at once. Moreover, some critics are worried that Walter is engaged in an inevitable conflict of interest between his jobs as Chairman of the party and as head of the Philadelphia enterprise at the same time.

But it took only a few days for the lure of power to induce Walter to change his mind. On December 10, only a week after assuming power, Walter issued a remarkable memorandum to all Natcom members and state chairs that may well go down in the annals of



After David Walter was elected the new LP Chair, newly elected Vice Chair David Bergland chaired the remaining portion of the Oklahoma NatCom meeting, which mostly dealt with 1989 budget issues.

our party. It was virtually a Speech from the Throne: Walter issuing orders and edicts, appointing a host of committees and subcommittees. Walter seems to have forgotten, amidst the heady rush of his new position, that NatCom members and state chairs are volunteers, and are not employees subject to his dictates.

Instead, Walter had the effrontery to issue peremptory orders for action to state chairs, threatening them with the ultimate punishment of decertifying the state parties if they disobeyed. Not only that: Walter also threatened that the "minimum standards" which he will impose on them on pain of decertification will be raised every year (!) because of "standpar performance will not long be tolerated." I tell you, if I were a state chair receiving his outrageous memo I would quickly tell Dave Walter what he can do with his memo and his threats and where precisely he can go. If Walter's program is carried out, we are in danger of losing a lot of our state parties, and self-destructing in a giant blowup.

What Walter and other authoritarians forget is that strong leadership — which is most definitely needed in the national party — cannot be exercised by issuing threats and commands. A party of volunteers, especially in an individualistic party like ours, will not sit still for Speeches from the Throne. Failure to realize this fact was the fatal mistake of the late, unlamented Crane Machine, and they, at least, did have a cadre of Machine employees who **would** meekly follow orders. No — strong leadership in the Libertarian Party can only be exercised by a national chair who will use friendly persuasion, who will work **with** the state parties and not over them.

In the meanwhile, things at national headquarters continue very much as usual. In his infamous memo of December 10, Walter expressed his full confidence in Kirk McKee; three days later, McKee was out, replaced by someone else. The pizza delivery boy continues as bookkeeper. And as for La Freeman, she remains a tenant, and Walter's memo states that she will do so unless eventually replaced by a temporary intern.

And what of Jim Turney? Since the fateful meeting at Oklahoma City, he has become more absurd than ever, following the Sapowsky-Smith line of taking matters to Big Brother JudCom. In particular, Turney wants to know from the JudCom whether the original Rockwell Resolution violated the by-laws. He is also muttering about whether or not Sam Treynor should have been certified as California rep after he resigned as Treasurer. In this latest JudCom

ploy, Turney is adding more absurdities to the Sapowsky-Smith concept. For, first, the original Rockwell resolution is now moot, since it was never acted upon, and no judicial body can consider a moot (i.e. inapplicable) case. And, second, trying to get actions of a body overturned weeks or months later because of allegedly improper credentials violates every canon of common sense as well as parliamentary procedure. For then, every action would always be up for grabs at a later date, and no organization or committee could ever accomplish anything.

The bottom line then, of all these dramatic events is that the ouster of Turney merely scratched the surface of the trouble in the national party. Turneyism without Turney will solve no problems in the long-run. A definitive solution for our party will have to await the Philadelphia convention. ■

## LP Woes Under Turney

Washington, DC — While the national LP office has often been criticized for failing to meet all the expectations of members, performance took a sharp drop for the worse in 1988, particularly after moving to Washington, DC.

Some examples:

- Staff turnover accelerated to a new record, despite the fact that libertarians have always been anxious to work for the national LP. Turney welcomed Paul Jacob's departure in April as National LP Director, when Jacob began his successful temporary assignment as ballot access coordinator, and Turney later forced Jacob's resignation in November. Turney also drove computer expert Alan Lindsay from the staff in May of 1988. By the end of Turney's reign, average staff experience on the job was less than four months.

- Membership processing finally ground to a halt, despite the fact the LP has a computerized membership card system. Membership cards were last sent out in November 1987, when the office was still in Houston. Jacob ordered new cards in spring of 1988, but he was severely criticized by Turney for spending "too much money". Acting Director Kirk McKee never did get any membership cards out, although he promised the Natcom last August that it would be done "within 30 days." These still haven't been sent as of mid-January 1989, although LP Secretary Dean Ahmad said it should take

Continued page 7

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## Turney Woes

From page 6

about 15 minutes to get the system operational. Meanwhile, the monthly membership renewal process has been spotty, and few believe this was done regularly either.

Unpaid bills piled up, particularly during the latter half of 1988. The LP still owes \$3,600 dating back to 1987, despite assurances from Turney's supporters that "all past due bills had been paid." No accurate financial statements have been distributed since June, which makes the true financial picture a matter of conjecture. But LP staff members were paid late on a regular basis.

\$6,000 in bank deposits were "lost" by JPS, a system Turney insisted upon to put money in the bank. About a third of this was never recovered, and UPS doesn't insure checks. \$600 in payroll tax deposits was also "lost" in the same way, and the LP now must pay the IRS, plus penalty and interest.

The party fundraising process fell apart during 1988, despite the fact that Turney ally Paul Kunberger was his handpicked Finance Chair. Only one direct mail fundraiser was sent in 1988 (in April) and long time contract telephone fundraiser Alexis Thompson was sacked by Kunberger in February in favor of in-house telephone fundraising. But Turney insisted on treating the in-house telephone fundraisers as employees rather than contractors, and this operation fell apart by August. The monthly Liberty Pledge system remained, but monthly reminders, the pledge newsletter, and envelopes were not sent out for several months in the latter half of 1988. With direct mail, telephone, pledge and membership fundraising all suffering, the financial picture rapidly worsened.

Turney initiated no new projects or literature, and reprinted very little old material other than "outreach" LP News issues, which were produced by an outside contractor. The *Activist News* newsletter, edited by Turney in 1987 disappeared in 1988, leaving the two dozen subscribers wondering what happened. Party literature previously available was used up and never replaced.

Although the LP budgeted \$30,000 for 1988 ballot access (about 5% of total costs), only action by then LP Treasurer Thies and continuation of Paul Jacob's salary managed to fulfill this commitment. Thies resigned in disgust in August after Turney publicly attacked him in the party paper *LP News*. The NatCom voted for Turney to apologize to Thies for this unprecedented attack, but Turney never did.

Financial reports, chair reports, headquarters reports and other party communications ceased to be produced by early fall of 1988. The headquarters suggested they didn't have enough money for postage to mail these out to 30 NatCom members. This excuse was not persuasive.

The successful student intern program, begun by Paul Jacob, fizzled out during the summer, when the fall interns were told that space in the headquarters previously used to house interns was "no longer available." Ground floor D.C. headquarters space remained empty during August, September and October, until Turney political ally and LNC member Sharon Freeman arrived to take up residence.

LNC member Don Ernsberger reported during June that hundreds of instant membership cards, containing names of new prospects, were piled up untended in the headquarters. It is still unclear whether these inquiries were ever entered into the LP data base or sent party literature. ■

## FBI Files

From page 5

Subsequently, the FBI opened a second file on the LP, a "dissemination file", on an unspecified date. Information in the file was released to other law enforcement personnel:

• A May 13, 1974, Denver FBI document states, "writer received a telephone call from (deleted). (Deleted) wanted to know a little more about the Libertarian Party. He was furnished information..."

• A July 2, 1974, Denver FBI document states, "(Deleted) stated (deleted) San Francisco FBI had no information of group. (Deleted) stated the Liberation (sic) Party stated their National Headquarters was located in Denver, Colorado. (Deleted) requested to know if this was true. Limited information... were given to (deleted), that is The Libertarian Party was founded in Colorado in 1972 and held its national conven-

tion in Colorado and that it is basically unknown to most voters. (Deleted) was also given the address of the Party in Aurora, Colorado, and Dallas, Texas."

• A Dec. 5, 1974, Denver FBI document states, "(Deleted) advised the captioned party (deleted)."

The documents contain only fragmented references to the third FBI file on the LP, which was withheld in its entirety under the "informant" exemption. Other information from the file was withheld under the "national security" exemption, which allows federal agencies to withhold information "in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods."

Most of the FBI documents describe LP activities in Colorado in the early to middle 1970's, but the agency also kept information on Hospers' 1974 campaign for California Governor. On an unspecified date in 1974,

an unidentified informant provided the FBI with a Hospers for Governor leaflet entitled, "Government Outlawed It". A biography of Hospers included with the literature contained underlined references to his background, i.e. childhood in Iowa and prior teaching position in Minnesota and New York. However, one of the Denver FBI documents reveals that "no reference was located for" Hospers in non-LP FBI files, and there are no further references beyond the aforementioned 1974 campaign.

No prominent libertarian besides Hospers is cited in the FBI documents, though an extensive FOIA request for information on novelist Ayn Rand is pending. The request includes the period when Rand appeared as a friendly witness before the House UnAmerican Activities Committee. A third unrelated FOIA request has already uncovered more than 300 pages of U.S. State Department documents that mention

Continued page 8

## DR. MATTHEW MONROE Libertarian Party Chair

**Past:** Born in Warsaw, Poland, 1941, left in 1967 when his original scientific research was suppressed for political reasons (later published in the *Journal of Biological Chemistry*). M.D., School of Medicine, Wroclaw. Ph.D., U.C., San Francisco & Berkeley. Attended Columbia University Libertarian Conference, 1971. Joined the Libertarian Party, 1975. Texas LP Finance Chair, 1980-1982. Elected to Libertarian National Committee, 1981. National LP Finance Chair, 1982-85. Developed and successfully implemented national LP telephone fundraising, the monthly Liberty Pledge program, and the Torch Club program. Finance Chair, Ron Paul Libertarian for President, 1988.

**Present:** Married with two children. Practicing cardiologist. Member, Denton Cooley Cardiology Society. Membership Chair of national LP, 1987-present. Developed "Instant Membership" program, which has brought in over 2,000 new members. Publisher, *American Libertarian* newspaper.

**Future:** "To carry out its mission, the Libertarian Party needs competent, professional management, entrepreneurial leadership, and more financial resources to fund important projects."

"The Libertarian National Committee is just too big to manage effectively. We don't need a mini-legislature. We need a capable board of directors with business and management experience to prepare the LP for the 1990's and beyond."

"The national LP should perform as a service organization. It should provide professional ballot access and political development services to state and local parties. Cut the overhead and provide more benefits to members, like a monthly party newspaper."

"The three central goals if I am elected as national LP chair are 1) **Managing for Growth** - finding, hiring and motivating the best people we can find to end stagnation, provide our organization with new prospects and members, and raise the necessary money to pay for new programs; 2) **the Permanent Campaign** - where full-time ballot access and political development professionals carry forward the work usually done only during major election years. This also means professional advertising (print, TV and radio), lobbying, public speaking engagements by LP representatives, and active public relations efforts; and 3) **the LP 2000 Program** - the LP in the year 2000 will be led and run by those we recruit and train in the next few years. This means starting an active student organization program, funding workshops and student conferences, and producing new literature and recruiting campaigns to find new members and develop future leadership in every state party."

"The Libertarian Party already has wonderfully generous and hardworking supporters, the best ideas in politics, and an American public increasingly fed up with the two-party choices. All we need now is solid, capable leadership for our party. I am assembling a team which will provide that leadership, and I sincerely hope you will join me in this very important work." - Matt Monroe



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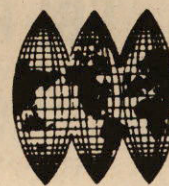
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## Final LP Vote Total

Washington, DC - After the official vote tallies have been certified, and after ballot access expert Richard Winger tracked down hundreds of write-in votes and other LP votes omitted from the official tallies, the Libertarian Party 1988 presidential ticket of Ron Paul and Andre Marrou garnered 432,355 votes, or .47% of more than 91.6 million votes cast in November. All third party votes combined totaled just under 1%, and the LP ticket received almost double of the number of their nearest third party rival, the far left New Alliance, which received 217,272, and which was on the ballot in all 50 states, four more than the LP ticket.

The LP ticket received almost more votes than all other third party votes combined, and a post-election issue of *Time* magazine gave credit to the LP for being the most significant third party organization. Earlier vote totals reported in *AL* and elsewhere were based upon incomplete wire service compilations or projections. But the mid-November Richard Winger LP vote total projection published in the November issue of *AL* of 432,370 proved uncannily accurate, only 15 votes off the latest total, although individual state totals have varied considerably in some cases from earlier estimates.

Although no additional elected LP members have yet surfaced, the Idaho LP reported additional results in December which added to their already impressive total of large vote percentages received for state legislative office. In addition to the results reported in *AL* in November, the following Idaho state house candidates received the vote percentages shown in parentheses in their two-way races: Larry Fulmer (21.44%), Reese Jones (16.52%), Peter Hull (16.06%) and John Redd (15.66%). These results put them in the top ten finishers in their categories. Idaho, particularly eastern Idaho, had the strongest percentages of any state for their state legislative candidates in two-way races.

Ballot access expert Richard Winger also reported that his mid-January projections indicate that the 91 LP U.S. Congress candidates received between 460,000 - 470,000 votes, somewhat more than the presidential ticket. The LP ran congressional candidates in only about 21% of the districts, and Winger projects a nationwide vote total of 2.25 million LP votes had the party run candidates in every U.S. House race. Of course, third party downticket candidates traditionally outpoll their presidential aspirants, and because 99% of incumbents win reelection to Congress, many third party congressional candidates participate in relatively uncontested races.

No highly unusual voting patterns have yet emerged for the LP results, and in general the 1988 LP ticket outpolled the 1984 ticket but ran well behind the 1980 effort. There were exceptions to almost every rule, however, in some cases due to ballot line placement and other technical factors.

Some research has been done which indi-

cates that TV advertising, when present, made a measurable impact on the LP vote. Kansas, Connecticut and parts of California have all been cited as examples.

Tables 1 and 2 present the updated vote results on a state-by-state and overall basis.

**Table 1:  
1988 LP Vote by State**

State	Paul-Marrou
Alabama	8,460
Alaska	5,459
Arizona	13,351
Arkansas	3,297
California	70,105
Colorado	15,483
Connecticut	14,071
Delaware	1,159
D.C.	554
Florida	19,781
Georgia	8,435
Guam	129
Hawaii	1,999
Idaho	5,313
Illinois	14,944
Indiana	0*
Iowa	2,494
Kansas	12,533
Kentucky	2,118
Louisiana	4,115
Maine	2,700
Maryland	6,748
Massachusetts	24,251
Michigan	18,336
Minnesota	5,109
Mississippi	3,329
Missouri	523*
Montana	5,047
Nebraska	2,534
Nevada	3,520
New Hampshire	4,502
New Jersey	8,413
New Mexico	3,268
New York	12,109
North Carolina	1,263*
North Dakota	1,315
Ohio	11,989
Oklahoma	6,261
Oregon	14,811
Pennsylvania	12,051
Rhode Island	825
South Carolina	4,935
South Dakota	1,060
Tennessee	2,041
Texas	30,355
Utah	7,473
Vermont	1,000
Virginia	8,336
Washington	17,240
West Virginia	28*
Wisconsin	5,157
Wyoming	2,026
<b>Total</b>	<b>432,355</b>

\* = write-in votes tabulated

Sources: Richard Winger, January 1, 1989  
*Ballot Access News*, updated thru January 11, 1989 by Winger.

**Table 2  
1988 Presidential Vote Totals, Including Third Parties**

Source: Richard Winger as of 1/11/89, wire service reports

Party	Candidates	Votes	% of Total
Republican	Bush/Quayle	48,881,011	53.37
Democrat	Dukakis/Bentsen	41,828,350	45.67
Libertarian	Paul/Marrou	432,355	.47
New Alliance	Fulani	217,272	.24
Populist	Duke	47,042	.05
Consumer	McCarthy	30,903	.03
American Independent	Griffin	27,818	.02
National Economic Recovery	LaRouche	25,530	.02
Right to Life	Mara	20,504	.02
Workers League	Winn	18,662	.02
Socialist Workers	Warren	15,603	.01
Peace & Freedom	Lewin	10,370	.01
Prohibition	Dodge	8,000	*
Workers World	Holmes	7,846	*
None of the Above	not applicable	6,923	*
American	Dennis	3,477	*
Socialist	Kenoyer	3,878	*
Grassroots	Herer	1,949	*
Independent	Youngkite	372	*
Third World Assembly	Martin	236	*
<b>Total votes</b>		<b>91,588,101</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Total 3rd party &amp; independent</b>		<b>878,740</b>	<b>.96%</b>

\* = less than .01%

## FBI LP Files

From page 7

Hospers and eight other libertarians involved in an abortive attempt to establish a laissez-faire republic in the South Pacific in 1980.

The FBI and CIA reported maintaining no information on two now-defunct, self-styled "radical" libertarian groups — Students for a Libertarian Society and the Libertarian Party Radical Caucus. SLS was founded in 1978 and became defunct in 1982. The LPRC was founded in 1979 and became defunct in 1983. "A search... revealed no record identifiable with Students for a Libertarian Society and Libertarian Party Radical Caucus," a document from the FBI's FOIA-Privacy Act Section states.

The two groups were founded after restrictions were placed on the FBI's ability to gather domestic intelligence on political groups in 1977.

However, the FBI maintained an active interest in LP anti-draft activities before the restrictions were imposed. A June 30, 1973, teletype from the Louisville FBI office to Acting FBI Director Clarence Kelley states, "Demonstration observing national draft protest day sponsored by the Libertarian Party of Kentucky, Louisville, KY, ...is information concerning..." The following paragraph is deleted under the informant exemption. Elsewhere, the document reported, "A leaflet published by the LPK... indicates... is one of 31 branches of the Na-

tional Libertarian Party (NLP), founded December 1971, in Denver, Colorado. Local authorities, Secret Service, United States Attorney's Office, United States Marshall's Office, Guard forces of new federal building and Secret Service telephonically notified... of plans for demonstration.

Two speakers addressed "a group of eight marchers" at the rally, the teletype noted.

All of the FOIA requests were filed in connection with research for an essay on free market intellectuals in the post-World War II era. Additional FOIA requests on prominent advocates of the free market are pending and the results of these inquiries will be made public in connection with additional research on this subject. ■

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