

# American Libertarian

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## AL Interview:

## Ron Paul

Ron Paul, 51, is a native of Pittsburgh, PA and is a graduate of Gettysburg College and Duke University Medical School. He was a Flight Surgeon in the U.S. Air Force and served in the Air National Guard. In addition to his other activities, he practices medicine (obstetrics and gynecology) in the Texas coastal community of Lake Jackson, TX 40 miles south of Houston. He and his wife Carol have 5 children and 11 grandchildren.

Ron Paul was elected to the U.S. Congress from the 22nd District of Texas as a Republican four times (1976-84), and unsuccessfully challenged Phil Gramm for U.S. Senate from Texas in 1984. While in Congress Paul gained a reputation as a "maverick" politician for his uncompromising stands on the issues. He was a member of the House Banking Committee where he championed the gold standard and opposed the Federal Reserve System. Former Treasury Secretary William Simon once termed him the "one exception to the Gang of 535" while in Congress.

In 1976 Paul founded F.R.E.E. (Foundation for Rational Economics and Education) which conducts educational activities and publishes the *Freedom Report*. He also runs Ron Paul Coins and the *Ron Paul Investment Letter* and serves on the board of the Ludwig Von Mises Institute.

*American Libertarian* editor Mike Holmes interviewed Ron Paul in late June at the F.R.E.E. offices in Lake Jackson.

**AL:** Ron, what first attracted you to libertarian and free market ideas? What in your background led you to your current positions?

**Paul:** I believe it was a very natural instinct, as I think it is with many people, to have a natural desire to have less government and be left alone. In an intellectual and philosophic sense it was probably during the 60's that I got interested in reading free market economics and was influenced by Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom* as well as reading Ayn Rand's books. One thing led to another, and I was fascinated enough with these libertarian ideas to run for political office, which I did for the first time in 1974.

**AL:** Were you successful?

**Paul:** In '74 I did not win, but it led to win-



Over a spicy Thai lunch in New Orleans, LP presidential contender Ron Paul discusses issues with Louisiana LP members during a break from their recent convention. Photo courtesy of Chris Albright.

ning a seat in Congress in 1976.

**AL:** When did you first become comfortable with calling yourself a libertarian or libertarian conservative? Was that a turning point in your thinking or was it a gradual evolution?

**Paul:** I don't think I was ever uncomfortable with it. Of course I think ten years ago there was a much more politically negative image associated with the word "libertarian". It probably wasn't helpful for me to be called a libertarian and hope to get elected. Today I think it is much easier to talk about being a libertarian and still be elected, whether in the Libertarian Party or the Republican Party or Democratic Party. But I've never been uncomfortable with the word "libertarian".

**AL:** Were you always a Republican? Did you come from a Republican background or was that just a logical choice for you?

**Paul:** No, my family was Republican and my background was Republican so I'm sure that was a significant influence on me.

**AL:** When did you first start to question your affiliation with the Republican Party? Was it after your 1984 Texas Senate race, or had you been thinking about this prior to that time?

**Paul:** No, it was prior to the time I ever ran. It was the utter frustration with what the Republicans and Democrats were doing that I thought it was worth an effort to get into the Republican Party as an activist and try to make them stand for something more than they were standing for. So I would say it's not an accident that I first ran in the year of Watergate because I was sick and tired of it all. Rather than walking away from it at that particular time, I said to myself, "It's such a mess. Instead of just complaining, why don't I get involved and speak out and try to reform the Republican Party." And that would have been in 1974, which was the first time I ran. Of course I tried to do that up until the end of 1986, until I finally gave up.

**AL:** You sent out an articulate letter about why you quit the Republican Party. Was that a traumatic break for you?

**Paul:** No, to me it was strictly a strategy on my part. I had no emotional attachment to the Republican Party. It was to me a very natural thing to do. But it was a total philosophic movement on my part. I really did come to the point of rejecting the idea that the Republican Party could bring about less government. But to me it wasn't difficult. It was very easy to do and something that I probably was ready to do many years

## Speculation Mounts for LNC Races

Katy, TX - Midway through the month of July there is an eerie silence in the top ranks of LP leadership about who is willing to admit interest in running for office. In a series of recent soundings of current or potential LNC officers about their intentions, one can sense the distant echo of many late night transcontinental phone conversations with allies and supporters and ghostly traces of semi-secret meetings to discuss the matter. But only one LP leader is willing to admit definite plans to run for office.

Less than two months away from the election of LNC (Libertarian National Committee) officers and members, only current Chair Jim Turney has publicly admitted he is running for re-election. Even he has not written any formal statement about the matter. Many other potential LNC candidates say they are in various stages of consideration, and it is likely that this logjam of reluctance will break loose as the convention looms closer.

*American Libertarian* was unable to reach

ago.

**AL:** Is there any chance that you might someday become a member of another political party or return to the Republican Party?

**Paul:** I think the odds would have to be considered zero.

**AL:** I understand you have had hundreds of thousands of supporters over the past few years through either your business or political activities. How do you feel about the chances of converting them, or convincing them to support the Libertarian Party?

**Paul:** I think the chances are pretty good. A lot of them have already responded. I think there is always a chance. It was a personal consideration on my part on how much it would hurt me in what I'm doing, in a very personal sense of making a living, because there have been some risks. There certainly are some conservatives and hard money people who aren't particularly interested in the Libertarian Party activities.

**AL:** You have spoke at libertarian gatherings or in Libertarian Party conventions over the past few years haven't you?

**Paul:** I guess the first one that I attended was in 1974. I've done it pretty regularly ever since, national conventions, state conventions throughout all this time.

**AL:** So you're not a newcomer to the party?

**Paul:** No. I would say I probably have attended many more meetings and conventions than the average member of the Libertarian Party. I met and talked with and have known every one of the presidential candidates. And I feel very comfortable with the people who have been around for a while.

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some of the principal potential contenders as of press time.

Also complicating the early LNC race handicapping were two other developments. Current LNC at-large representative David Walter has proposed seven major changes to LNC By-Laws, to be considered by the By-Laws Committee prior to the Convention. These must be approved by a two-thirds vote of delegates at the Convention. Among the changes put forth are: reducing the size of the LNC to 15 (from the current 33), requiring LNC members to serve on working committees, adding a second Vice-Chair in charge of state LP development and liaison, quarterly meetings (one in conjunction with a proposed "council of state LP Chairs"), reimbursing some LNC members' travel expenses, and altering the state delegate allocation formula to the national conventions.

Walter has circulated a number of memos and written an article in the July 1987 *In-*

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## AL Interview: Ron Paul

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**AL:** What prompted you to run for President on the Libertarian ticket?

**Paul:** Pressure. Pressure in the sense that I came back to Lake Jackson with the idea of trying to build up my medical practice and trying to run my investment letter and to keep my F.R.E.E. foundation going.

But I had been talked to many times in the last few years. In 1984 there was a delegation that came to me in my Washington office which included Ed Crane, David Koch and Roger MacBride. And I was also encouraged by Howie Rich to do this in 1984. At that time I said the timing wasn't right and I wasn't emotionally ready for it. I wasn't interested.

Again another delegation came to me last fall, which included Murray Rothbard, Bill Evers, and Burt Blumert, and they started leaning on me, "Why don't you do it? Why don't you do it?" And finally through deep consideration and persuasion on their part, and also I enjoyed politics and enjoyed doing and thinking that there was a chance I could do this without having a divisive effect on the party, I would be willing to give it a try.

**AL:** Any chance that you would consider the Vice Presidential position on the ticket?

**Paul:** Under the circumstances, I don't think so.

**AL:** Do you have any preference on who would be a good Vice Presidential candidate for you?

**Paul:** I haven't thought too much about this. I don't know if I'm correct on this, but it seems like there has only been one individual who has announced he's running for it. I've run in to him a good bit, and that's Andre Marrou. And I think it's very fascinating to see that he was an elected Libertarian to a state office, which to me is rather impressive. But I certainly haven't made any decision on that. My main concern is making sure that I do the things necessary to receive the nomination.

**AL:** Has this nomination race been what you expected or did you get more competition than you initially anticipated?

**Paul:** Yes. I would say there's more, mainly because my whole idea was to not come in and debate the fine points. But instead to come in and try to smooth over the disagreements in the factions that have existed before. The fact that some of that has sprung up and I have to campaign pretty hard is probably more than I expected. But not more than one should expect. You know in a political race there is no reason that it shouldn't happen. Of course, there were times running for Congress that I never even had an opponent. That doesn't mean I endorse the idea that you shouldn't have opponents, but it sure is nice.

**AL:** Are you familiar with the Libertarian Party platform and basically comfortable with it?

**Paul:** I am pretty familiar with it and have gone over it quite a few times. I can't say that I know every single point in it. For the most part I'm comfortable with it.

**AL:** What do you feel are the major issues facing the Libertarian Presidential candidate in 1988?

**Paul:** I think that the major political issue this year is the total disgust and disenchantment with the Republicans and Democrats. That's what we will capitalize on. We're not going to convert 5 or 10 million people to Libertarianism, but we might get 5 or 10 million votes. Because there are so many people who are disgusted with what they're getting, whether it has to do with taxes, the monetary system, foreign policy or whatever. To me that is the major issue and our job is to capitalize on that frustration.



Ron Paul smiles as he answers questions from Texas Libertarians during a candidate forum.

**AL:** Let me ask you about some of the controversial aspects of your campaign. And let's start with the one I know you hear a lot about. That is your position on abortion, which apparently differs from the official platform. It's an issue that creates a lot of emotional reaction. Some people claim they're not sure where you stand on that question as a presidential candidate. So I'd like to take this opportunity to let you clarify anything you feel is unclear and just explain how you would handle this.

**Paul:** Well, if anyone says I'm unclear it is just because they haven't read and listened to what I said, because the position has essentially been the same over these many years. I've written a booklet explaining my position. My position is basically what I consider a very libertarian position. That the killing of an unborn infant is an act of aggression. I have witnessed and seen 3 and 4 pound infants killed deliberately both inside the womb and outside. I think it is very hard for me as a Libertarian to see the snuffing out of a small life as being something that Libertarians can take casually because it literally is an act of aggression and the killing of a human being. So that is my position and has been my position.

I have always been the first one to admit, what do you do about it, how do you prevent it, what are the rules and regulations and what are the penalties, frankly I don't have the answers to all those things because there are all kinds of ramifications. Politically when I was in Congress as well as running for a national office, my position has been that it is not the business of the federal government. The federal government was not intended to, nor have I ever advocated the federal government intervene in dealing with any crimes that should be handled on a local level. So I have not advocated any federal laws dealing with abortion. And that's basically been my position — that it should be handled on the state level.

**AL:** Would you in principle support on the state level, legislation that might punish women who had abortions? Is this the approach that you might take?

**Paul:** Well, I've never run for state office, I've never dealt with, I've never proposed a law. There are lots of ways it could be handled. I think that courts, judges, juries can all deal with that on an individual basis rather than thinking that we can write an easy law saying that women can be put in jail who have gone through the abortion procedure. There's nothing very attractive to me on that sense. I despise and detest most of everything which government does. But I think in the philosophic sense it is the position that I think is so important, and that is whether or not we can condone the casual killing of a three pound infant and

## Newman Drops Out

Encino, CA - The Libertarian Party's only woman presidential nomination contender this year, Carol Newman, dropped out of the running in early July due to her inability to campaign for the position.

In a mid-July interview with *American Libertarian*, Newman said she "did not want to be a paper candidate. I'm not a quitter, but after getting into the race I realized that I was simply not able to commit enough time to this effort. It was not possible to run the kind of campaign to keep me or my supporters happy."

Newman is a Los Angeles area attorney who specializes in business oriented litigation and she cited several major cases and an 80-hour per week schedule as reasons for her lack of time for her campaign. Additionally, she has also been ill with flu-like symptoms for the past three months. Her health and schedule would not permit her to actively campaign for the presidential nomination.

"I realize my dropping out leaves a void," she said in the interview, "but I didn't want to run if I couldn't actively campaign." In

response to a question she said, "I would accept a draft, or would accept the wishes of the convention if they want me to be on the ticket as either President or Vice-President. I would do whatever the party wants." Newman had previously said she would be willing to accept either spot on the ticket.

"My time problem is mostly this summer, with my heavy litigation schedule and health problems," she said, "and I would be able to make a time commitment to serve on the ticket after this summer if that is what they want."

She said her hope is that someone else might appear to represent her civil liberties campaign orientation, and emphasized that she did not drop out "contrary to rumors" because she supports any of the other LP nomination candidates. She said she was looking forward to attending the Seattle convention and hoped that those who have expressed support for her effort would understand her reasons for withdrawing from the nomination race at this time.

Her withdrawal leaves five other candidates still in the race. ■

think that we can consistently defend liberty in the extreme sense of the word for the individual. So I have not proposed, and I do not know the answers, for what the penalty should be. That should be dealt with on the state level.

**AL:** You said in the past that you would distinguish between your personal opinion on abortion and the LP position should you become the candidate?

**Paul:** Well, I think that would only be proper. I think people would say "Well, what are you going to say?" and I'll just say "I'll tell the truth." If people say, "What do you think?", then I'll have to give them my opinion. If the question is designed to find out what the party position is, it clearly should be given.

**AL:** You are well known as an advocate of free market economics and the gold standard. How do you respond to some Libertarians who contend that you're really more interested in the economics side of libertarian values than the civil liberties side? Do you feel that you would give appropriate attention to individual freedoms in a Ron Paul campaign?

**Paul:** I think that they are doing that just to stir up problems because they obviously don't know what I've done. I mean, have they studied my record on the work on the draft registration, the draft, and my attendance at Paul Jacob's trial, and those kinds of things? How many people really listened to my four or five talk shows a week that I do on radio? Many times on Christian radio I am defending the right of people to smoke marijuana. Anybody who makes that statement, I would say it's done casually and they are inaccurate. The record does not bear out what they say.

Because I've written more books and articles on the gold standard it might have led to that preception. In having dealt with House Banking Committee activities, and because most votes in Congress are more to do with economic issues, that may be the reason. But the amount of effort that I have put in and the amount of time I spend on my speeches and the time I've spent last year on radio programs, I would say anybody who has made that accusation is just not correct.

**AL:** Looking back at your congressional record, are there any votes that you might reconsider or cast differently in the luxury of hindsight?

**Paul:** There may be a couple. Some have pointed out that after studying 2,700 or so of my votes, that I made 12 mistakes. Well

they might be able to convince me three or four of those may have been true mistakes. Some pieces of legislation are very broad and very complex. Sometimes I had a staff of eighteen trying to figure out what the libertarian position would be on it, and it wasn't always that easy to do.

I would think that with full consideration there may be a couple. But it wouldn't have to do with changing my position on anything. It might be my changing my preception or my understanding of things. But basically, the thrust was always the same. I would think that maybe in my early years in Congress, I probably voted for more military spending than I did in my later years. Because even my NTU (National Taxpayers Union) score went from an 84 up to a 99. The longer I was there the more government I voted against, including the military. So I would think that if somebody wants to take a look back at 1976 and say, "Well, why did you vote for this military appropriation?" Well, I believe in defense and maybe I felt like it was the best to vote for that bill rather than vote for none. Later on I decided that it would be better to vote for none rather than a bill that I did not agree with.

**AL:** Let me just ask you to respond briefly to some topical issues that may come up during the campaign. The first one being the problem of the AIDS epidemic. What do you think a Libertarian should say about that problem?

**Paul:** I think we would have to be more specific, because it is a problem, but the country is filled with problems. You just give them a Libertarian answer that the government doesn't solve problems for people. They just create problems for people.

So therefore if there is an illness in the land and there is a problem with it, somebody else other than the government is suppose to solve the problem. The government should leave it in the hands of private individuals, private physicians, private hospitals, private drug companies to deal with taking care of the problem and doing the research. Private insurance should take care of the people and there shouldn't be this panic in Washington where umpteen billions of dollars are rushed in for research and development and treatment and all these kinds of things. Certainly there should be no government compulsory testing.

**AL:** What about the current situation in Central America, with our involvement in El

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# LNC Races

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dividual Liberty newsletter advocating these reforms, a number of which are similar to other proposals he presented at previous LP conventions. Walter argues that a number of current problems in the LNC operations are the result of the view that the LNC is a legislative rather than an administrative body, and that its large size is unwieldy and encourages lack of individual accountability. He also suggests that his proposal would encourage "slates" of LNC candidates to run who would be committed to work together.

His proposals have drawn some support from the current LNC, including most of its Management Committee, and many LP activists agree that some of the suggestions might solve evident problems. Others contend that most of the problems are "people problems" rather than structural, and many observers find fault with some of the specifics of the Walter proposals.

The second complicating factor with respect to the Chair race is the strong likelihood of the appointment of a new LP National Director. Current Director Terry Mitchell, originally hired as Finance Director, assumed the post in wake of Perry Willis' mid-August 1986 resignation. Mitchell has been privately telling Turney that he is unwilling to continue in his current job "no matter who is elected in Seattle" beyond a brief transition period. Since the LP Chair appoints the Director, anyone seeking that post will be questioned about possible replacements for the LP's highest ranking staff post. The last two elected LP Chairs (Paul Grant and Jim Turney) held over the incumbent LP Directors they inherited.

Mitchell has not publicly commented, but it is believed that he is "fed up" with working for a divided and often ineffective LNC and that working for Turney has proved frustrating. Mitchell, who was the target of an investigation launched by Turney political foes at the Atlanta NatCom meeting, has complained that a National Director is expected to give up many of his individual civil rights to privacy, free speech, and due process. The investigation, covering alleged ethnic jokes at the hq, a "preoccupation with security" and ineffective use of volunteer help, was conducted by Randy Ver Hagen who said he found "no evidence" of the first two charges but some need for the improvement in the use of volunteers.

Whoever runs for LP Chair will have considerable latitude in restructuring LP headquarters staff and operations, and this is likely to be a major issue in the Chair campaign.

The following list is undoubtedly incomplete, possibly inaccurate and is intended to reflect those individuals who have either been mentioned as possible candidates or who have expressed some interest in the following positions, based upon information available to *American Libertarian* as of mid-July:

## LNC Chair

**Jim Turney** - current Chair and the only admitted candidate to date.

**Sharon Ayres** - reportedly considering the race, is being urged by many supporters to challenge Turney. Ayres has been very reluctant to commit due to personal considerations, including the recent brutal mugging of her son which left him badly injured.

**Stephen Fielder** - current Ballot Access Committee Chair and 1985 candidate for LP Chair. Says "I would not run against Jim Turney for Chair."

**David Walter** - current LNC Management Committee Chair and former Treasurer and LNC auditor. Has been urged to run by many supporters but reportedly his current job situation may preclude his entrance into the race.

**Hugh Butler** - former Utah LP Chair and current LNC member. Has been "considering" running for Chair and has visited several state LP conventions to test the waters.

**Carol Ann Rand** - former Georgia LP chair and LNC alternate. Highly regarded by those who work with her, but told *AL* that her job situation and commitment to Georgia LP ruled out any LP Chair race.

**David Bergland** - former two-time LP Chair, presidential candidate in 1984 and current LNC member. Has disavowed intention to run in the past but considered by many to be a potential entrant.

**Andre Marrou** - has been discussed recently as a possible choice. He reluctantly conceded he might accept a draft for the post if he was not the 1988 VP candidate, though has not been enthusiastic about serving on the LNC in the past.

**LNC Vice Chair** (including possible second VP post proposed by the Walter proposal) **Sharon Ayres** - current Vice Chair, has made no comment about running again for this post.

**Dean Ahmad** - current Secretary. Said he would consider accepting a draft for the "second VP" post.

**Paul Kunberger** - current LNC member and Legal Committee Chair. Said he was interested in the "second VP" post if it's created.

**Roger Gary** - Texas LP Chair. Reportedly considering running for Vice Chair.

**Hugh Butler** - (See Chair above). Reports say he may also be considering this race.

**Alicia Clark** - former LP Chair and wife of 1980 LP presidential candidate. Reportedly has discussed this possibility as part of a slate.

## Treasurer

**Sam Treynor** - current Treasurer. Has said he was "considering" a re-election bid depending on who was running for Chair.

**Clifford Thies** - ran for Chair in 1985. Said he would consider this race depending on "geographical balance" considerations with other officer candidates.

**Stephen Fielder** - said he might consider running for Treasurer under some circumstances.

**Mike Holmes** - former *LP News* editor and LNC auditor. A Houston area CPA and editor of *American Libertarian*. Has been discussed as a possible candidate.

## Secretary

**Dean Ahmad** - current Secretary. Has said he would accept a "draft" for re-election.

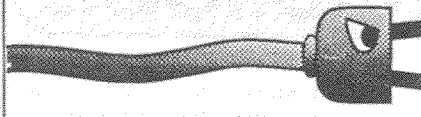
**Gary Johnson** - announced for Secretary in late July. Current Natcom member (at-large) and Secretary of Texas LP. Ran for this post in 1985.

## Other NatCom

Most of above possible candidates are also likely candidates for LNC as regional or at-large representatives, depending upon what changes are made to the existing LNC structure. Many of the current LNC members are likely to announce for re-election as well.

**National Director** Matt Monroe, a Houston cardiologist and publisher of *American Libertarian*, has announced his intention to run for an at-large position and to seek the LNC membership committee Chair if elected. Monroe has been on the LNC since 1981 and was Finance Committee Chair from 1982-1985.


Since this is an appointed position, candidates are not being announced. It is believed that both the Turney and Bergland factions have individuals in mind for this post, though no details have yet been made



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available.

There are three full or part-time state LP directors (FL, TX, AK). Of these, Texas Director Dianne Pilcher is believed to be interested in the National Director post. She interviewed with Turney after Perry Willis

resigned and is widely credited with the success of the difficult 1986 Texas LP ballot drive. She previously served as Director in Florida prior to coming to Texas in February 1986. ■

# Williams Warms to LP

by Steve Smith

Steve Smith is a Birmingham, AL based freelance writer who operates his own firm, Right Word Editorial Services. Smith's work frequently covers business and he has appeared in numerous local and national publications.

He has been active in the Libertarian Party since 1980, is former Alabama LP State Chair, and currently serves on that state's LP Executive Committee.

Birmingham, AL - Ron Paul would be the best salesman for libertarian ideas the Libertarian Party has ever had, thinks Walter Williams.

Speaking at the Alabama LP convention, the noted economist all but endorsed Paul's candidacy, while refusing to close the door on a possible Williams candidacy in 1992 or later. Williams, perhaps America's best known black economist, teaches economics at George Mason University in Virginia.

Asked if he would considered running for Vice President on the 1988 LP ticket, Williams, said, "That's very flattering, but I don't think it is time for me to throw my hat into the fray. I am doing other things that I think are more constructive."

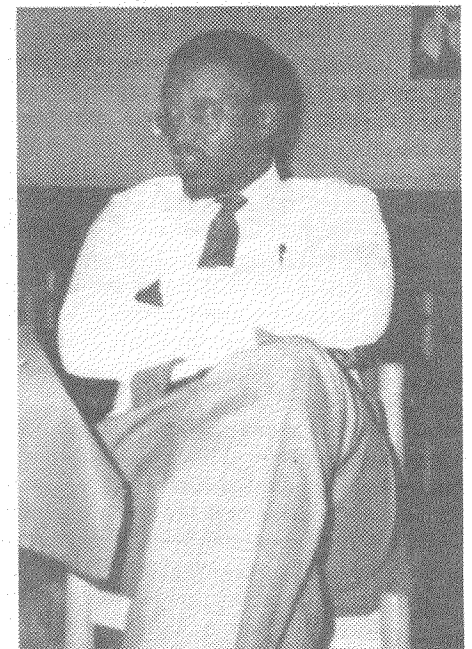
He said he would not take a "Sherman-like stand" on whether he might run for President or Vice President on the Libertarian ticket in the future. He added that he wouldn't even consider running as a Democrat or Republican.

Williams is a hero to many libertarians because of his pro-free-market work, including books and articles pointing out that government actions to help minorities actually retard their progress. The fact that he is black is seen by some as lending credibility to his stand.

The mainstream media usually describe him as a conservative rather than as a libertarian. In conversations with local LP activists, he said he is bothered by the extreme "isolationist" viewpoint of some libertarians with regard to defense.

Nonetheless, he told convention goers the Libertarian Party is "the only political party that I see taking on this uphill battle (to regain freedom), and we all need to get behind them."

Some 100 people attended the convention, tripling the previous Alabama LP record. Speakers also included LP candidates Ron Paul and philosopher Tibor Machan. The convention attracted a diverse group of newcomers and observers, ranging from about a dozen Republican women — some who traveled across the state to attend — to several leather-jacketed bikers seeking signers for their motorcycle helmet law petition.



Dr. Walter Williams takes time from the Alabama LP convention for an interview with a reporter for a Florida student newspaper. He told *Alabama Libertarians* he would not rule out a run for the LP presidential nomination at some future time. Photo by Steve Smith.

In an interview, Williams said Paul would be "far better able to carry the libertarian banner" than any previous LP presidential candidate. "He's very quick on his feet, very wise and very knowledgeable, and he has charisma and personality."

Williams was asked about Russell Means, Paul's leading opponent for the LP nomination. "I don't know Russell Means at all, and so I couldn't evaluate him," he said.

"As far as winning the White House, that's out of the question, but the issue is who can further libertarian ideas the most, and I think Paul is one of the tops."

He said one of the great failings of the LP is that it has not attracted blacks to its fold. "If you look at a group of people who have suffered abuse at the hands of government, indeed it is blacks. Blacks were enslaved because government didn't do its job. After emancipation, they were abused again because government didn't do its job."

"... There are blacks living in slums in Philadelphia and Chicago who will be afraid to go out in the streets tonight. Again, it's government failure to protect property rights."

On abortion, an issue in the LP nominating race because of Paul's disagreement with the party platform's pro-choice stance, Williams said the government "should be totally out of that question altogether."

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# Libertarian Outlook

## Ollie's Follies: To What End?

In some respects it was hard not to admire Lt. Colonel Oliver North's recent performance before the Joint House-Senate Investigating Committee which is looking into the tangled web known at the "Iran/Contra affair," or by any other of its nicknames.

Here was a principled, brave military man who single-handedly made monkeys out of the upper echelons of the Washington power elite — assorted politicians and their hired-gun lawyers. The bemedaled North gave as good as he got, and judging by public reaction, maybe even better. One frustrated attorney for the politicians even fumed after his initial encounter with North, that Ollie wasn't going to "change his convictions," and therefore was likely to come out ahead in the confrontation.

One couldn't help enjoying the Daniel-in-the-lion's den theatre, and watching the politicians and their henchmen being roasted by the very goose they intended to cook. For a libertarian, it was hard not to sympathize with the isolated witness being grilled by the assembled forces of the State, protected only by his wits and his skillful attorney. And North is a man of conviction and principle, whatever one thinks of his convictions and principles. This was a refreshing change from the usual run of sleazy opportunists and power brokers in Washington whose convictions extend only as far as the next political advantage. That the public has responded so favorably to North's display of principle is enlightening and possibly encouraging to libertarians, who have long put principles before expediency.

Even North's Iran-Contra sting of Iran by his privatization of funding for the Nicaraguan Contras was a clever bit of innovation. While tax funds provided the capital for the original arms involved, the taxpayers were at least not paying for the Contra aid when North and his Israeli cohorts tapped into market differentials between supply and demand in the highly regulated international arms market.

But however refreshing the display of clever non-bureaucratic thinking this event demonstrated, one must look at the consequences.

Despite repeated protestations to the contrary, the U.S. government was trading arms to the barbaric Iranian government for hostages in Lebanon. And some of the "profits" of this dubious venture eventually went to the so-called "Nicaraguan democratic resistance," as North termed them. Supporters of the Contras may well feel keeping this movement alive justified this bizarre scenario, which is probably only one of a number of equally dubious covert operations being hidden from the public.

But in the luxury of hindsight we can see what should have been apparent from the outset. There are no "Iranian moderates." Aiding either side of the Iran-Iraq conflict is only making a bad situation worse. Hostages in Lebanon have no reason to expect or deserve American government intervention for rescue. They knew full well any such expectations were and are against explicit U.S. government policy to the contrary, Oliver North and Ronald Reagan not-

withstanding. And if you're going to ransom kidnap victims, why send arms to Iran? Surely a straightforward financial deal (say \$1 million per) would be cheaper.

As for the Contras, in just how many elections has the so-called "democratic" resistance been engaged? What few legitimate civilians involved with the Contra effort there were originally have long since departed. The UNO Contra organization is largely a creation of the CIA and has held no elections. Nor after nearly seven years have they won many "hearts and minds" of Nicaraguans. Nor have they won any military victories. How many hundreds of millions does it take? Economic aid, trade and outright bribery would seem to be a whole lot cheaper to influence Nicaraguan politics than subsidizing this hopeless band of losers.

In short, the ends don't justify the means. Neither freedom for hostages nor the evils of the Sandinistas justify this tangled web of lies, deceit and expenditure of funds. While there is understandable frustration over these problems, sometimes the best policy is to do nothing. Instead, we should encourage private initiatives and repeal restrictions on private ventures to stop terrorism and topple oppressive foreign regimes.

But Oliver North's principles have led him astray. Once again we learn that lying to the public comes second nature to those in government.

Meanwhile, American hostages rot in Lebanon and monstrous regimes remain firmly in place in Iraq, Iran and Nicaragua. And combatants and civilians continue to die and suffer terrible injuries in those places. Bravery and principles are not enough, Colonel North. First you must determine which principles to apply. ■

## Feedback



### Letters Policy

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

are subject to editing. Send to: Feedback, American Libertarian, 21715 Park Brook Drive, Katy, TX 77450.

### LP Dropout Speaks

Re: "LP Grow or Die," April '87.

I am one of the many LP dropouts and I think a survey of former members might be very useful.

Caught up in the enthusiasm of the '80 campaign I was very briefly active that year. I even voted and spoiled an otherwise near perfect record. It just left a bad taste in my mouth.

No, I didn't become a "born again" statist. I simply shifted my support to libertarian groups whose strategies are more consistent with libertarian principles as I perceive them. And I doubt very much that anyone, once genuinely convinced of libertarianism, would somehow abandon those convictions.

If LPers are really trying to convince 'outsiders' to embrace the philosophy then it might pay to consider how LP activities might be perceived by them. If a prospect observes the LP imitating the Republican rituals, sees the factional infighting, listens to candidates spouting watered down libertarianism, etc., then it might be appropriate



for him to ask, "If there isn't any difference, then what difference does it make?" I know I became very weary of trying to explain why, "Thinking as you do, what are you doing involved in politics?"

Here is my pledge to the LP:

I will gladly become a supporting member again when the 'party' drops all activities which can be perceived as putting a stamp of approval on the traditional political process and instead adopts strategies more along the lines of the following:

At election time, a billboard along the Santa Monica Fwy (Los Angeles) reading: "DON'T VOTE: IT JUST ENCOURAGES THEM. For information call your local LP."

At tax time, a billboard along the Katy Fwy (Houston) reading: "TAXATION IS THEFT. For info. . ."

Increase outreach efforts to school campuses.

Work to revive the tax rebellion.

Continue election year conventions etc. but present the LP as a non-voting group and demonstrate that there is a difference, etc., etc.

There are a multitude of activities in which LPers could participate which would serve to educate but not taint the good name of libertarianism.

It seems to me that there is plenty of evidence that interest in libertarianism continues to grow instead of diminishing as the declining LP membership would indicate.

Isn't it possible that there is a perfectly good reason why "most libertarians prefer to focus on ideas. . ."? Ideas win minds. It must be clear by now that LP office seekers, at least acting in that capacity, don't.

Norman F. Maucher  
Saltillo, Mexico

### Pro Ron Paul

The libertarians seem to be trying to gain respect in the political arena. This year there is a choice between two candidates seeking the nomination of president, Ron Paul and Russell Means.

It seems as if Ron Paul should have no problem in achieving his goal, but then again this is neither the Republican nor the Democratic party, this is the Libertarian party.

This is the year that all libertarians must come together in support of the presidential hopeful who will be able to best educate the public on our principles.

Ron Paul is a practicing physician, editor of a financial newsletter, a businessman and a true believer in the free-market. Russell Means appears to be an opportunist at best and has never been an advocate of the free-

market.

Ron Paul could further the endeavors of the party tenfold, where Mr. Means, has made comment of going back in time. Fortunately we as a people will never go back in time, but what about the party? The choice is yours.

James A. Pearce  
Jacksonville, FL

### Grounds for Ostracism

Unfortunately, your otherwise excellent editorial "On Abortion" (May, 1987 AL) failed to note that Doris Gordon and Dr. Ron Paul, who are opposed to abortion, also call for state intervention to outlaw all abortion from conception. Pro-Choice Libertarians was formed to ensure libertarians are informed of this fact, to defend women's right to free choice, and to clarify the issues discussed in your article.

Some Pro-Choice Libertarian members  
Continued page 5

## American Libertarian

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## Guest Column:

Contracting  
with  
Surrogate  
Mothers

by Clifford F. Thies

Clifford F. Thies is Assistant Professor of Economics and Finance at the University of Baltimore and Treasurer of the Maryland Libertarian Party.

When Rachel saw that she bore Jacob no children . . . she said to Jacob, "Give me children, or I shall die!" . . . Then she said, "Here is my maid Bilhah; go in to her, that she may bear upon my knees, and even I may have children through her." . . . and Bilhah conceived and bore Jacob a son. Then Rachel said, "God has judged me, and has . . . given me a son." -Genesis 30:1

The baby shortage would be considered an intolerable example of market failure if the commodity were telephones rather than babies. In fact, the shortage appears to be an artifact of government regulation, in particular the state laws forbidding the sale of babies. The fact that . . . the costs of production to natural parents are much lower than the value that many childless people attach to children, suggest the possibility of a market in babies. -Richard Posner, *Economic Analysis of Law*.

A bizarre coalition of liberals, feminists and social conservatives is taking shape to resist the growing market in the services of surrogate mothers. For liberals and feminists, the issue is one of sex and class. Surrogate motherhood is seen as yet another tool of exploitation of poor women by prosperous couples.

For social conservatives, the issue is morality. Surrogate motherhood is yet another separation of the several acts involved in procreation from the traditional marriage. Surrogate motherhood is seen as on a par with working women, divorce, abortion, prostitution and who knows what else.

Yet, for Baby M and several hundred other little babies, surrogate motherhood has meant life itself, as well as two loving, caring parents — something which for many children nowadays has not been easy to come by.

With surrogates it is easy to get side-tracked from the main issue. For example, what of the interests of the prospective parents if a surrogate wishes an abortion? All I'll say on this issue is that, because of the inherent difficulty in enforcing contracts with people to deliver labor services, people are almost always paid after their labor services are performed.

A more messy problem involves disputes over custody after the child is born. Assume for the moment that the child was formed from the egg of the surrogate and the sperm of the husband of an otherwise traditional family.

If the surrogate is awarded custody there is the possibility, under present law, that a court would order child support payments from the father. Furthermore, these child support payments might provide the incentive to the surrogate to seek custody in the first place!

To be completely honest I see no easy answer to this problem. Accordingly, those involved are well advised to carefully consider the specifics in contracting with a sur-

rogate. One possibility, involving additional expense, is to avoid using an egg of the surrogate mother. If possible, use both sperm and egg from the couple seeking the services of a surrogate mother.

In the absence of certainty that custody of the child will be awarded the couple, the probable result is that such couples will seek services from surrogates who would be unlikely to make a compelling case that they could provide a good home. Thus, it is predictable that prosperous couples will seek as surrogates women who are poor.

In other words, the appearance of exploitation of poor women by prosperous couples is the result of the law surrounding surrogate motherhood being unclear, which in turn can be blamed on liberals, feminists and social conservatives for resisting today's medical technologies.

Another potential problem concerns birth of physically or mentally impaired children. It is easy to imagine that the expectant parents would be disappointed, and might even blame the surrogate for smoking or drinking or drug-abuse, etc., during the pregnancy. However, whether anyone is to blame or not, it is inevitable, with increasing use of surrogates, that impaired children will be born.

The answer to this potential problem is actually simple: contracts with surrogates should provide insurance so that the baby will be guaranteed care. Presently care for the impaired is provided, by and large, by state-run institutions. These forms of social insurance are inappropriate for purely private, market-based transactions.

Most of the side issues involved with surrogates derive from the newness of this service. Expectations of those involved are not well-formed because of a lack of prior experience. The law applying to this issue has yet to be formed for the exact same reason. Accordingly uncertainties and prejudices make for an emotional debate and inhibit the efficiency of the market.

With experience these side issues should be clarified. Already there is discussion of a "fair" price for the services of a surrogate mother.

However, the real issue with surrogates is much more simple: what is the role of the State in deciding how people will live their lives? A spokesperson for the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights was somewhat correct to say that if people can contract for the services of surrogates then how are they to be prohibited from "consensual adultery, prostitution and baby-selling?"

The Catholic League is right in seeing the connection between freedom in one sphere of human activity and freedom in other spheres. The Catholic League, irrespective of its own name, believes that the role of government is to force us to do its will.

The Catholic League is wrong insofar as it sees a breakdown of government-mandated morality as resulting in no morality. What constrains "consensual adultery, prostitution and baby-selling" in a free society is not the government's police, but the widespread and mutually-reinforcing beliefs of the people.

(In fact, unless "consensual adultery" has some special meaning, it violates traditional marriage contracts, and so would be prohibited in free society. And, notwithstanding Judge Posner quoted above, babies are not the property of their parents or guardians, and cannot be bought or sold in a free society.)

For libertarians the role of law and of a libertarian state is to establish the rules for property and contracting, thus enabling people to live peacefully and freely with each other. For libertarians the evolution of law which Baby M has given occasion to contributes to our own liberty. ■

## Feedback

From page 4

are also opposed to abortion, but define themselves as "pro-choice" to emphasize their equally strong objection to state intervention. They favor voluntary means of dealing with the problem such as sex education and adoption.

Pro-abortion pro-choicers certainly encourage early term abortion (90% are already performed in the first 12 weeks) and most are uncomfortable with, or opposed to, late term abortions (most of which are performed for health reasons or because the mother, often merely a child herself, did not know she was pregnant). Some, including myself, would encourage strong social sanctions such as shunning or ostracism against a woman capriciously having a late term abortion. However, such cases are already few and far between. Women take the matter of pregnancy very seriously.

Pro-choice libertarians ask only that anti-abortion libertarians be honest about their true positions. I'm sure all libertarians would agree that chronic unrepentant dishonesty is grounds for ostracism from any organization.

Carol Moore  
Los Angeles, CA



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## Ron Paul

From page 2

Salvador and supporting the Contras. And a second question related to that, what about our recent escalation of involvement in the Persian Gulf with the reflagging of foreign oil tankers under the US flag?

**Paul:** I don't think we should be doing it. We should be out of the Persian Gulf and I think we should be out of Nicaragua. Anytime we ever get involved it should be determined on whether or not there is a direct threat to our security. It should be done through a much more legitimate means, which is through the debate in the Congress. It should be much more open, nothing secret and the litmus test should be whether or not our national security is directly threatened.

**AL:** And you don't feel that either of these two situations constitute such a threat to our national security?

**Paul:** I don't think so. I don't see how they are a direct threat, mainly because in one breath we are pretending that the Soviet Union is the evil monster who is about ready to invade us, and at the same time we continue to subsidize their allies in so many projects around the world.

**AL:** That leads me to my next subject, which is both arms control with the Soviet Union and trading policies with Communist nations. What is your position on Gorbachev and the current initiatives for arms reduction. The second question concerns your current position on trading with Communist nations including military sales to China and subsidized trade credits to the Soviet Union, Poland and countries like that?

**Paul:** If I'm not mistaken, I think the LP platform states that we should encourage the concept of disarmament treaties. And I think if there is ever one place in our foreign policy that warrants debate and discussion and deliberation on our part, it should be in that area. Because I don't happen to place a lot of confidence in what our government does as an individual government, let alone the combination of agreements between our government and the Soviet government. I place little value on that.

I think we should have the weapons necessary to defend ourselves and that we ought to do it and provide the defenses we need. If we don't need 30,000 missiles, and 10,000, or 5,000 or 500 would be enough, just do whatever is necessary. And not pretend that we can trust negotiated treaties with the Soviet Union. I think that is far too naive, and I don't think they are worth a nickel.

That doesn't mean I think that we should have more weapons. I think we should have a lot less, but not based on the confidence of a treaty that has so little value.

On trade I think that the freer the trade and the more trade and the more travel between individuals, the less likely you are to fight wars. Therefore I would encourage travel between Communist countries and thereby I would encourage trade.

But I would immediately, if I had anything to say about it, abolish all subsidized trade. And that's what you're talking about when you're talking about weapons sales to Red China and the Soviet Union. All these sales involve either directly or indirectly subsidized sales from the American taxpayer. I think if there's a weapon that's been developed by taxpayers' money and it's super technology and it's good stuff, I can't quite see why we should be so bland as to let somebody sell that to people who have sworn to bury us and to be expansionist. I don't happen to like that. But for free trade and free travel, I would let people travel and trade. And I think they ought to collect their

own bills.

**AL:** Do you support the Strategic Defense Initiative, defense spending sometimes known as "Star Wars"?

**Paul:** Not in its current form. I like the concept of thinking about how we might be able to defend ourselves from an incoming missile attack. I think the current program just completely lost any sense of restraint. It's involving international agreements on building these weapons, the technology is questionable, and the expense is outrageous. The current "Star Wars" in that program is something that I couldn't endorse, but I don't think I closed my mind completely to the idea of "should any dollars ever be spent on thinking about how a missile might be shot down." I think that's conceivable. I don't endorse the current trend that we're in right now with "Star Wars".

**AL:** Do you have any problems with the Libertarian position on open immigration?

**Paul:** Well, I have a little bit of a problem in the political sense that some people are going to have trouble understanding it. But in the philosophic sense, no, I don't have any problem with it at all.

**AL:** What about Government-funded space development and exploration projects? Your Congressional district at one time included most of NASA.

**Paul:** I don't endorse it. There's some space technology that can be used for defensive purposes. Therefore some of it would be legitimate. But I could not endorse the entire NASA budget program, because much of it was commercialism and sort of a combination of government and business, I was not able to support and vote for the NASA appropriations.

**AL:** Your major opponent seems to be basing much of his campaign on this issue. How do you feel about the current treatment of Indians by the government?

**Paul:** I think it's a tragedy what has hap-

pened to the Indians over the years. And of course, my solution may not be the same as some other Libertarians. But I would think that the sooner we just turn every bit of land over to the Indians and give them full deed and full ownership of that land, I think the better off we would be. I believe that the government shouldn't be involved in the reservation concept and the socialization and the caring for Indians. That to me is just an utter tragedy.

**AL:** Let me move into the campaign realm. What sort of campaign effort do you envision a Ron Paul presidential campaign in terms of leadership, organization, financial objectives and vote objectives?

**Paul:** That's hard to predict. Everything I've always done in the past is to always do my best. Get the most votes and raise the most money. And all I can say is we have already been very encouraged. Our rate of return on our fundraising efforts is greater

Continued page 8

## The Culture of FREEDOM

Libertarian Presidential Nominating Convention  
Seattle Sheraton Hotel September 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 1987



On September 3rd to 6th hundreds of Libertarians will gather in beautiful downtown Seattle for the 1987 Libertarian National Convention. The thinking is growing that this will be the most exciting convention the LP has yet had.

Already two important public figures have announced they would seek the Libertarian nomination for President. They are **Ron Paul**, a former GOP congressman from Texas, and **Russell Means**, the outspoken advocate of Indian sovereignty. Both have abandoned bipartisan politics to join the fight for liberty as Libertarians. The choice of either Means or Paul as LP standard bearer, men with two very different approaches and constituencies, will indicate a clear preference in strategy by Libertarians.

The excitement won't all be on the convention floor however. We have planned a full program of speakers, panels, and social, art, and entertainment events beginning on the 2nd. We are calling it **The Culture of Freedom**. The occasion will be both memorable and historic.

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Convention committees will begin meeting on Sept. 1st. Meal functions include four breakfasts, the Presidential Banquet, LP birthday soiree, and Puget Sound Cruise. Exhibits will be open to the public.

Watch for a special convention tabloid with detailed information on scheduling and programming. For more information call (206) 329-5669.

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## Williams Warms to LP

From page 3

He added the abortion issue would be muted "if we had a market for the sale of babies. . . . If my wife and I couldn't have a baby, we would pay \$20,000 for one, and I'm sure a woman contemplating abortion might accept it."

William's convention speech described the growth of government at the expense of individual freedom.

He said Americans in recent decades have shown a "deep and abiding contempt for freedom" that has permitted that government to move toward totalitarianism.

He contrasted free market transactions with actions of government, labeling the former "seduction" and the later "rape".

"An example of seduction would be where I walk up to my grocer with \$2 in my hand and I say to him, 'Look, if you make me feel good — give me that gallon of milk, I'll make you feel good — give you the \$2.' He walks away happy, and I walk away happy."

"... Rape is a relationship where we say, 'Unless you make me feel good I'm going to make you feel bad.' That would be the case where I walk up to the grocer with a gun and I say to him, 'Unless you make me feel good — give me the gallon of milk, I'm going to make you feel bad — blow your brains out.'"

"... Widespread private ownership or control of property is consistent with the minimization of rape. Widespread government ownership or control over property is consistent with rape maximization."

"In other words, government is the major source of organized rape in the world throughout man's history."

Williams said many people reject the free market because they fail to realize that most good is not done in the name of good.

"If you ask me what is the noblest of human motivations, I would say greed. I say that to some groups and people say, 'Williams, why don't you temper your remarks? Call it enlightened self-interest.' But I think greed is fairly descriptive."

"Rain or shine, the people of New York have beef and bread on their shelves. Do you suppose that the reason why the Texas ranchers, and the Kansas farmers, ensure that New Yorkers have beef and bread on their shelves every day is because the Texas ranchers and the Kansas farmers like New Yorkers? . . . They don't give a damn for New Yorkers, but they care for themselves."

Williams concluded his often humorous talk with the observations that there may be no remedy for the erosion of freedom.

"In the Bill of Rights. . . our founding fathers had insight to say Congress shall make no law abridging free speech. . . . But where in the Constitution does it say there's a restriction on how much of our earnings each year government can take? I see nothing in the Constitution that prevents government from taking one-half, three-quarters, or all of it."

"I think we would have had a better Constitution if that Bill of Rights had just said, Congress shall make no law, period."

The Alabama LP had planned to donate autographed copies of Williams' book, *The State Against Blacks*, to Birmingham-area schools and colleges for their libraries. Every school was invited to send a representative to the convention to receive the book, but not one responded.

"Most of them are government schools, so maybe that explains it," said state LP Chair Frank Monachelli. "Nevertheless, we are



Professor Tibor Machan philosophizes with Alabama LP convention goers. The prolific author and academic said he is working on a TV series similar to Milton Friedman's "Free to Choose," and a book that will be his magnum opus on individual liberty. Photo by Steve Smith.

going to see to it that the books reach some libraries because of the good they could do in the hands of students."

The party had planned to include the Williams book in a "freedom shelf" along with *Restoring the American Dream* and Bastiat's *The Law*. Nearly 100 book sets, worth several thousand dollars, were to have been donated. ■

## LDC: Down But Not Out

Thousand Oaks, CA - The Libertarian Party's Defense Caucus (LDC) is the oldest and largest organized caucus within the party, but according to some long time LDC members, current financial problems and organizational burn-out have pushed it to the brink of extinction.

The LDC, originally called the Adequate Defense Caucus, was founded in 1980 and has published more than 40 issues of its respected newsletter, *American Defense*. Since the early 1980's the LDC has lobbied for a stronger libertarian military position and Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) measures at national and state LP conventions. But according to Michael Dunn in a memo dated May 10, "as a matter of practicality and honesty, I think it is necessary to recognize that the Libertarian Defense Caucus is *ipso facto* extinct, and that our supporters should consider themselves discharged from any obligations or expectations." Until earlier this year, Dunn was editor of *American Defense* (since 1982) and was perhaps the most visible proponent of LDC positions within the libertarian community.

Dunn's memo cites the fact that his final issue of the newsletter and two prepared by his successor, Hank Phillips of Austin, TX, were produced but never published or mailed due to apparent lack of funds. Dunn also cites Phillips' "intention to resign as Editor, based on the Caucus's inability to honor its publishing commitment."

In a recent interview with *American Libertarian*, current *American Defense* editor Hank Phillips said that situation "was a source of misery" and that he was "frustrated about a lack of feedback" concerning the newsletter. He said he was "not



## Students for Ron Paul Libertarian Candidate for President

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excited about publishing it six months late" and "is not optimistic" about the situation. Phillips had his first two issues printed but his second two have yet to appear. His assessment was that the LDC problem was a financial one based on a failure to communicate.

Dunn also said in a recent interview that he did not think this problem was the result of any ideological change in the libertarian movement or a dispute within the LDC. Rather, it stemmed from the "Steering Committee" type of collective leadership in which no one person is the chief executive responsible for ramrodding actions or solving problems.

Dunn described the problems as "sloth, grandiose ideas and utter lack of realism" on the part of the LDC's Steering Committee and recounted his considerable frustration over the years in meeting the announced publishing schedule. He also suggested that at some point in the future he may initiate a new publication or group with a similar viewpoint to the LDC, but made it clear that it would be completely separate and would not be a successor organization.

Former LDC Steering Committee member Darlene Brinks, who resigned two months ago, said it was possible that ideological considerations account for part of the reason for the LDC's trouble, but that it was probably more a matter of "burnout", citing her own personal history of supporting the LDC financially and with volunteer efforts, but eventually having to concentrate more on her personal family problems.

She suggested that the LDC should become a "watchdog organization rather than a publishing support group," but that this idea met resistance from Steering Committee members Sally Foster and George

Abrahams. Brinks was a co-founder of the LDC in 1980 and said at its height in 1983-84, the Caucus had from 350-400 members and supporters. She said of the current Steering Committee group, "while we may all disagree about what to do, we still get along on a personal level."

The issue of unfilled subscription obligations appears to loom large in the recent controversy, particularly since there are an estimated 300 current *American Defense* subscribers, according to LDC Membership Chair and Publisher George Abrahams. He also is the person repeatedly mentioned by other LDC members who actually gets the newsletter printed and sends out renewals, and in this sense has become the de facto LDC chair.

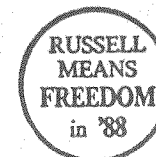
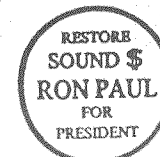
And Abrahams is not nearly as pessimistic about the current situation as are Dunn, Phillips and Brinks. "The LDC is not defunct," Abrahams said in a early June telephone interview, "and we will be in Seattle at the LP convention with a table." He noted that he had recently found a cheaper printer for the newsletter but did admit that "the LDC is in bad financial shape."

"But reports of the death of the LDC, to borrow from Mark Twain, are extremely exaggerated," Abrahams noted, "and we will try every effort to maintain our financial commitments." He said that membership was as low as 208 at one point but had recovered to its current size.

"We need a sugar daddy," Abrahams said, "and we would be happy to accept any contributions to continue our work."

Inquiries and contributions can be directed to: **Libertarian Defense Caucus, P.O. Box 7761, Thousand Oaks, CA 91359-7761.** ■

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## Ron Paul

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than any other campaign I've ever been in. So the funds are coming in. Several hundreds of thousands of dollars have been raised already.

I would certainly set as a mental goal, at least a reasonable goal, would be to do as well as John Anderson did in the 1980 campaign. I think the frustration level is so high, I think the conditions are so right that there is no reason why we can't think in terms of raising five million dollars or more.

**AL:** Do you anticipate using the same staff you have worked with in the past and who are currently working in your nomination effort?

**Paul:** I think so, because the staff that I have had for the last ten years has served me very well in both fundraising and management of the key office positions. But the staff obviously is going to grow and be different and include many who have worked in the Libertarian Party. It's already bigger than the staffs have been in the past, because it's a much bigger effort. So it's going to involve a lot of new people. But when you come down to the core three or four or five people who have been the key close advisors of mine and who have helped and been successful in winning campaign, I'd be foolish not to keep them very close to what I'm doing.

**AL:** Your main opponent Mr. Means has issued a debate challenge. How do you respond to that?

**Paul:** Well it's disappointing. You know I told you earlier about the conditions I thought I was coming into. Which was hopefully not having anything seen as divisive and in terms of not concentrating on disagreements. I spent eight to ten years in Washington feuding with Democrats and Republicans who disagree most of the time with what Libertarians believe. So coming into the Libertarian Party where I figured that most of us agree on things 99% of the time, all of a sudden it's sort of exhausting me to think that I should concentrate on trying to debate with someone I disagree with

1% of the time.

Because quite frankly all of us have very strong beliefs and we don't change our ideas easily, and our political campaign should be built on a very positive effort. And it's also very legitimate. You're campaigning and you're a challenger and you want to get a debate out. I've done it many times myself. It's a normal thing and there's nothing wrong with it. But I'm not particularly enthusiastic about it, but willing to do it. The only thing I've said is that if we do it and if there are six candidates, we have to treat everybody equally. Nobody gets special privileges. As long as we can get the six people together we can talk about the issues and everybody gets a full hearing.

**AL:** Can you identify your main anticipated campaign themes for the 1988 Ron Paul campaign?

**Paul:** Not precisely, because it's a year off or so and I think it would be wrong to make a political decision. Who knows what will be happening in the Persian Gulf?

It might be a foreign policy issue. We also might be in the midst of a roaring recession and depression or a rapid inflation and that might be the thing people see as the number one concern. So you go where the action is and you go where the people are concerned. Then you offer a Libertarian solution, a Libertarian explanation of what is happening.

The general theme obviously has to be personal freedom. This is what the whole thing is about. And applying this to whatever is the key issue, I think, is the technique to the campaign.

**AL:** Do you anticipate any appeal from Democrats (someone like Senator Tom Bradley) or a Republican (someone like du Pont or Dole) in terms of adopting Libertarian themes along the lines that Ronald Reagan did (at least rhetorically) in 1980?

**Paul:** They are going to try to do it. I think it is a sad mistake for Libertarians or anyone close to the Libertarian Party to think that a moderate has anything to do with Libertarianism. A moderate actually is much more harmful and damaging to the move-

ment to support than to support a principled conservative or a principled liberal. So I think they are going to use that rhetoric and try to soften up and try to get people to come over into agreeing on those principles. Hopefully those who are either in our camp or close to our camp would never consider it. That, of course would be our job, to make sure they see the difference. It's much more important to pick a principled Libertarian over a totally unprincipled moderate.

**AL:** How do you envision the Ron Paul campaign as helping to build awareness of Libertarian ideas and building membership in the party? Any specific thoughts on how that can be done with a presidential campaign?

**Paul:** Just with a very visible campaign. Meaning you've got to raise some money and you've got to be on TV and you've got to get into debates and you've got to get people paying attention. The bottom line, tragically, is raising money. You've got to have the money. You've got to get out there and you've got to get your TV ads on, then you have to have people. You have to have rallies. Instead of crying about not getting attention from the media, you have a reason for the media to cover you. And you do that

by numbers.

People are impressed with John Anderson because he had a following. George Wallace got attention, even though he was from the other side of the spectrum, because he had a following. He had numbers. We have to do the same thing. Because we're absolutely right on our ideas, we have the best philosophy, but that in itself is not enough. You have to get endorsement by large numbers and make a tremendous effort to bring people together, have a large number of people turn out for events, as well as raising money to get on TV.

**AL:** One final question: Why does Ron Paul care about fighting for freedom?

**Paul:** I think the benefit that we get from living and fighting for a free society just outweighs the short term benefits of stashing away a little few more gold coins, which I guess can give you economic security. I'd like to have a little bit more than temporary economic security. The ultimate goal is to have a society where you don't have to worry about somebody knocking on your door and hauling you off.

**AL:** Thank you, Dr. Paul and good luck with your campaign. ■



South Carolina LP leaders turned over 5,000 petition signatures opposing a state City-County income tax to Rep. Herbert Kirsh, Chair of the State House Ways and Means Committee in an April 28 press conference.

LP leaders David Morris and William Griffin presented the petitions from across the state, and for the second year in a row the SCLP was given credit by state news media for killing the proposed tax. Photo by John Heaton.

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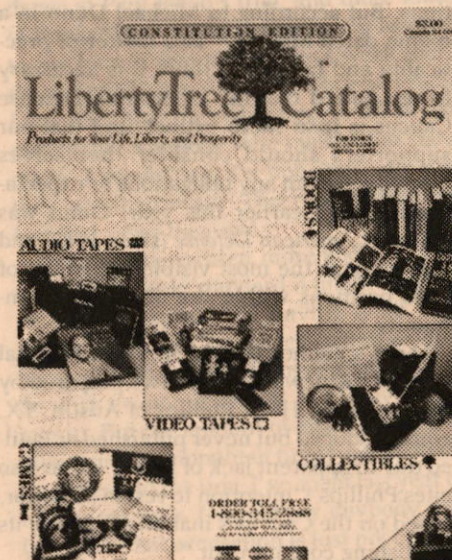
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