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NY LP Con:

## Williams No Longer Saying No

by James A. Brown

*Jim Brown is a resident of Washington D.C. whose efforts to pursue happiness as a minarchist bureaucrat occasionally raise bureaucratic and libertarian eyebrows.*

White Plains, N.Y. - Walter Williams declared that he is "no longer saying no" to suggestions that he run for President as a Libertarian in 1992. The noted economist indicated his potential availability in response to questions following his keynote address to the New York LP's 1989 state convention in White Plains on May 20. Williams stated that he had previously been reluctant to run for office because successful candidates are too often required to "rise above principle." "Lately," he said, "I've been rethinking my position."

While "no longer saying no," Dr. Williams also stopped short of saying "yes." In private discussions prior to the address, Williams is said to have emphasized that his final decision will depend on whether the LP is committed to "run to win," and is capable of raising sufficient resources to mount a credible campaign.

Williams' prepared remarks, which contained advice for LP candidates, fueled speculation regarding his own plans. In his view, Libertarian Party candidates have too frequently over-emphasized (or permitted the press to concentrate on) issues the public considers threatening or esoteric. Williams believes that emphasis on such issues as drug legalization constitutes self-defeating self-indulgence (or, in his blunt memorable phrase, "masturbating in public"); while attempting to discuss such issues as reinstating the gold standard in the general media squanders media attention better spent on more accessible issues. Williams stated that LP candidates can, without abandoning their principles, concentrate on libertarian proposals more easily understood and widely supported by the public.

Several earlier convention speakers, including NYLP state chair Bill McMillen, *Wall Street Journal* editorialist John Fund, and 1984 LP Vice Presidential candidate Jim Lewis also addressed fine tuning the LP's message. Lewis, who recently completed a nine month prison sentence for his income tax challenge, stressed that the LP must become the defender of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. All arguments, he emphasized, can and should be "brought back to the Constitution and the principles on which it was founded." Lewis, who characterized himself as coming out of the LP's "anarchist wing," acknowledged that some might regard this emphasis as a departure from past positions. In Lewis's view, however, "the Constitution is the only game in town," and Libertarian candidates must choose between defending individual rights on the basis of the Constitution or asserting Lysander Spooner's view that it is "a Constitution of no Authority." "Which approach," Lewis asked, "do you think will be more successful?"

LP activist Margaret Fries discussed her research into the origins of the News Election Service (NES), which excluded third party votes from its 1988 Presidential "vote totals." Documents obtained by Fries under the Freedom of Information Act show that NES's formation was facilitated by a waiver granted by the Department of Justice under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The waiver was granted on the grounds that it would "serve the public good," raising the obvious question of whether the NES' 1988 performance met that standard. Fries emphasized that she is simply pursuing research and that (contrary to reports published elsewhere) she is "not suing NES." Earlier in the convention, Fries and LP activist Ludwig Vogel delivered a well-researched presentation on recent efforts to ban so-called "assault weapons." Fries emphasized that such gun control efforts have been targeted based on their images, not their actual capabilities.

The convention's 96 attendees also heard presentations by LP activists Dean Ahmad, Francis W. Porretto, and Robert Goodman, as well as by anti-IRS author Irwin Schiff. It concluded with a business meeting on Sunday at which new state officers and LP national convention delegates were selected. Officers selected included: Chair, Norma Segal; Vice Chairs, Francis Parretto and Vickie Kirkland; Secretary, John Karr; and Treasurer, Bill Stocker.

Selected as At Large members of the State Committee were: Kevin Delaney, Bruce Martin, Gweneth Bear, Bob Gustafson, and Allen Rickman.

Bill Stocker, Bruce Martin, Reed Halsted, Allen Rickman, Doug Willinger, Ludwig



Noted free market economist and columnist Walter Williams is surrounded by LP members at the New York LP convention. His presence fuels the LP boomlet for a "Williams for President" effort in 1992. See related photo essay on page 7.

Vogel, Gwen Bear, Wheatley Bergen, Dawn Davis, Donald Davis, Sandy Feld, Margaret Fries, Bob Gustafson, Douglas Greene, John Karr, William McMillen, Jeff Russell, and Norma Segal were selected as delegates to

the 1989 LP national convention. Margaret Fries was selected to represent the State on the LP Platform Committee (Norma Segal, Alternate), and Kevin Delaney was named to serve on the Credentials Committee. ■

## McCune Garner 4.2%

Cheyenne, WY - Veteran Libertarian Party Wyoming activist Craig McCune received 4.18% in a short but hotly contested 4-way race for that state's single congressional seat. His performance in the April 26 election was the best Libertarian Party congressional showing since 1982, when two California Libertarian Party candidates received slightly larger percentages. The LP record in a 3-way race was set in 1980 in Dan Mahafey's California race, where he received 8.03%.

The Wyoming race was notable for several reasons: McCune's major party opponents spent over a half million dollars each and in the process alienated a large number of home state voters - McCune spent slightly less than \$5,000 but still ran a number of radio and TV ads; the election was one of the shortest on record - 40 days from start to finish - due to unusual Wyoming election law which had never been used before; the LP candidate received widespread media attention including mentions in the *New York Times*, editorial endorsement from the state's largest paper, and front page photo coverage in the Cheyenne paper the morning after the election; and finally, despite earlier hopes for gaining state LP ballot status, McCune was told by state officials that even if he had won the race, the LP would still have to petition to be placed on the ballot in 1990.

### McCune: Known Quantity

Thirty-five year old Craig McCune lives near Cheyenne and is a locomotive engineer for the Union Pacific railroad. The 27 year resident of Wyoming also sells geodesic domes and manages personal real estate in-

vestments in Cheyenne on the side, when he's not working on libertarian causes. He joined the LP in 1979 "as a result of the Clark campaign" he says, and has been state LP chairman since 1986.

The state LP mailing list numbers only about 200, with about 25 activists, but they mobilized quickly for the blitzkrieg campaign, which saw McCune make three full campaign swings around the state. Wyoming's sole U.S. House seat was up for grabs after former incumbent Richard Cheney was nominated for U.S. Defense Secretary in the wake of the John Tower nomination fiasco. Opposing McCune, who was allowed to run as an "Independent Libertarian" after gathering 479 signatures, were Democrat John Vinich, a 38-year-old bar owner who ran a close race against GOP Senator Malcomb Wallop in 1988, and Republican Craig Thomas, a 56-year-old former Marine, general manager of the Wyoming Rural Electric Association and third term member of the State House. Also running was carpetbagging California white supremacist Daniel Johnson, who moved into the state just in time for the race and was said to be an admirer of Louisiana-based former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke.

While McCune received only 1,900 votes in his 1988 congressional foray against then incumbent Cheney, many voters had heard of him through his role as Libertarian Party leader. Most voters were repelled by racist outsider Johnson, and many were turned off by the high voltage, expensive media campaigns of the major party contenders, which

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## McCune

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turned ugly rather quickly. Both major parties poured considerable outside funding into the race, particularly since the Democratic candidate hoped to embarrass the Bush Administration with another House victory. In total, the major party candidates spent in excess of \$1.1 million to contest the seat.

McCune on the other hand, quickly raised about \$1,500 but was frustrated by the slow spread of news about his campaign. Few outside of Wyoming heard of his race before the final week and he was unable to get official support from the national LP. Andre Marrou donated \$1,000 left over from his 1988 LP Vice Presidential campaign and another \$500 from his '51-92' ballot access PAC. According to McCune, all the early funds were earmarked for media buys.

### Ballot Access, Media

Initially, McCune and the state LP were under the impression that a 10% showing in the race would enable the party to avoid the difficult petitioning process for the 1990 election ballot. For one thing, the state attorney had claimed in a 1984 ballot access lawsuit that a 10% showing would be sufficient to put a new party on the ballot. However, on April 25, the day before the election LP activist Larry Gray contacted the Secretary of State's office and was told the vote percentage didn't matter since they would not put the LP on the ballot "even if McCune won the seat." This shocked the McCune camp since they expected to get at least 10%. They considered strategies for a lawsuit, but this ultimately proved moot.

The McCune campaign finally began to receive some outside contributions in the late stages of the campaign, but by then the media buys had been completed. They even turned down funds at the end to avoid exceeding the federal campaign reporting limit of \$5,000.

The McCune campaign nonetheless had a high media profile, in part due to the small size of the state's population and the fact that media purchases were relatively cheap. He also received excellent coverage from the print and electronic news media, who gave him consistent high marks for his presentation and message.

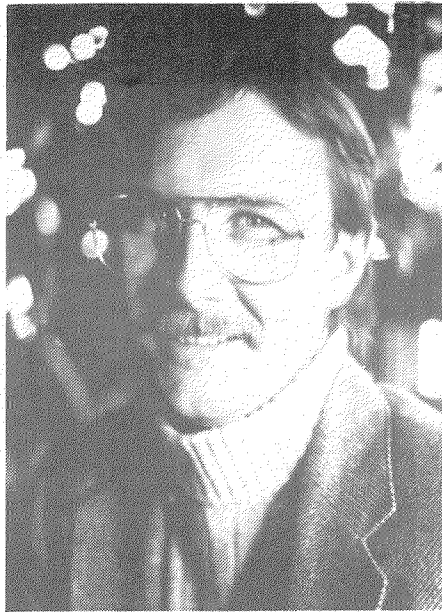
"I bought 30-second spots for \$68 in Cheyenne and \$100 in Casper," McCune told *AL*, and we produced three 30-second spots and one 10-second spot for only \$280." The campaign also ran radio ads.

"I soft peddled things some," McCune admitted, "as I preferred to find points of agreement rather than to merely scare voters. I took the limited government, less government approach to introduce libertarian ideas to voters."

One TV spot showed McCune polishing his classic car, noting that it was the first one he bought at age 19. "This is how I'll take care of your money in Washington" was the theme, using a "straight ahead, honest, no rhetoric" approach.

The second TV spot showed the candidate walking in the mountains with a "this is my home - traditional values" theme. The third showed McCune writing and notarizing his campaign promises about reducing taxes and spending, with "others just make promises, I guarantee them" as the message.

He appeared in two televised debates, and "8 or 9 interviews, lunches or media events a day" during his campaign swings, and made the front page of the regional edition of the *Billings Gazette* (Montana) three times. He estimates he had 24 exclusive TV spots, 3 shared new spots and 25-30 radio interviews during the 40 day campaign. "I didn't get a single negative article and received nothing but encouragement and praise from reporters covering the cam-



Wyoming activist Craig McCune

paign," McCune notes, "and some private analysts were predicting a vote of 12-18% for me at one point." In fact, concern over McCune's impact in the race may have spurred the GOP into redoubling their get-out-the vote effort in the final week of the campaign.

### Endorsements

Perhaps the most surprising development of the McCune campaign was the editorial endorsement of the *Casper Star Tribune*, the state's largest paper, in the Sunday edition the week prior to the election. In an editorial headlined "Wyoming Can Reject Assassination Politics," the editors said, "He is green and untested, has not held elective office, and has little money. Even though his positions are quite moderate for a Libertarian, the label still carries a whiff of radical impracticality. But it is certain that McCune has grown in stature during his impressive and above-board campaign. He is the only real winner." After decrying the dirty political tactics of the major party candidates, the editorial concluded by noting, "Your vote for McCune's clean campaign will send a message to Washington and future generations of Wyoming politicians: 'In Wyoming, we fight fair.'"

He was also endorsed by the *Sheridan Press* and the *Cody Enterprise*.

McCune said that the attention he received in his race helped shape the issues of the other candidates, since "both the Democrats and Republicans began to openly steal my slogans and positions on some of the issues. Gun control was one. And a former Wyoming Governor has been telling me to 'do it again.'"

### Aftermath

All in all, McCune is pleased with the shoestring campaign and the willingness of state libertarians to help him out on short notice. "This was a real people effort. My libertarian friends provided me with food and lodging on the road, and I only spent \$100 on motels during the whole 5-week campaign, with more than 3,000 miles traveled."

McCune went on to note that "we're tickled to death with the results and finally the Wyoming LP broke the media barrier." Though he's convinced that the computerized voting process somehow shorted his final vote tally, McCune says, "we have a better group (of libertarians) in Wyoming than we've ever had, and I want to thank everybody, every true libertarian in the state of Wyoming, for helping in this great campaign." He is quick to note that his wife Rhonda was a big factor in his being able to conduct an active campaign.

Tapes of his TV interviews, debates and campaign commercials are available for those interested. Contact: **McCune for Congress, P.O. Box 1972, Casper, WY 82602.** ■

## Koch Brothers Feud Reaches Congress, Courts

by George Shore

*Mr. Shore is a long-time close observer of the Koch family.*

Wichita, KS - Charles and David Koch are once again making news. In an on-going saga which at times seems to be a case of life imitating art, the Koch's seem to be acting out episodes of TV shows like "Dallas," or "Family Feud." This story involves money, corporate power, litigation, philanthropy, family squabbles and klieg lights from Congress. The only surprise is that *People Magazine* hasn't used it as fodder. Ironically, a libertarian aspect is included, promoted by David's fraternal twin brother William, to the intended detriment of Charles and David Koch as well as denigrating to libertarians. The libertarian involvement is basically irrelevant to the real story, but is being used as a red herring by William Koch in his perpetual feud with his brothers.

### Coup d'etat

Before this story can be intelligently told, a brief bit of Koch family history must be reported. Charles Koch took over the family business in the late 1960's following his father's death. As the second eldest of Fred Koch's four children, Charles had been groomed to succeed his father. Charles' older brother, Frederick Junior, had never been involved in the family business on a working basis, and except for one crucial instance which will be explained later, was never involved in overseeing Koch Industries operations.

Charles Koch was incredibly successful in building Koch Industries. When Charles took over, annual sales were reputed to be around \$250 million a year. Current sales estimates are in the neighborhood of \$16 billion. With Charles heading the company, brother David and his fraternal twin Bill were both involved as executives running offices in New York and Boston respectively during the 1970s. Besides administrative involvement, they both served on the Board of Directors of Koch Industries.

In late 1980, shortly after the presidential election, William Koch attempted an internal coup d'etat which would have ousted Charles as chief executive officer of Koch Industries. William sought the position for himself. William had the assistance of his brother Frederick and some minority shareholders outside the family. He almost succeeded. Charles retained control when he found out about the surprise proxy fight at the last minute, and succeeded in buying out one of the minority shareholders. The fight for control of Koch Industries was short, but this bitter dispute has continued in other forms. Following their initial loss, William and Frederick began litigation in 1981 which resulted in a settlement to William of \$460 million and over \$300 to Frederick for their shares in Koch Industries. But this settlement was unable to end the enmity within the Koch family and has recently led them into the klieg lights of the U.S. Seante Select Committee on Indian Affairs.

### FBI Says "Stealing Oil"

In hearings held early in May, Koch Industries was alleged to have short changed Indian tribes of approximately \$30 million by underpayment of royalties for crude oil collected by Koch Industries from Indian lands. FBI special agent James Elroy described Koch Industries actions this way, "what they were doing is stealing oil. This is theft." This allegedly occurred on reservations in Oklahoma, Utah, New Mexico, and South Dakota between 1986 and 1988. These

allegations occurred following the efforts of William Koch's private investigator to collect evidence of Koch Industries' improper behavior. No one from Koch Industries appeared at the congressional hearing, but Koch Industries executive vice president Don Cordes and company spokesman George Pearson held a news conference in Wichita denying these charges a couple of days later. "Last year, we bought about \$3 billion worth of oil, and they are talking about \$7 million ... that's 0.0023 percent, less than a half barrel for each 200 barrel tank. That seems a very reasonable number," Cordes told the *Wichita Eagle-Beacon*.

Local news coverage was intense. Koch is one of Wichita's largest employers. William, Charles, and David have not publicly spoken about these allegations. Koch Industries does not plan to testify before Congress.

The evidence publicized at the congressional hearings is being turned over the the appropriate federal attorneys in the various states involved. It will be up to the federal attorneys to determine what, if any action should be taken. Koch Industries spokesmen said that any improper measurements of oil were accidental, and that this whole issue was nothing more than the latest chapter of the ongoing dispute between William Koch and his brothers.

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## Family Business at Root of Feud

According to knowledgeable sources, the oil boom in the early 1980s provided the basis for the Bill and Fred Jr. versus Charles and David Koch family quarrel.

Bill and Fred Koch Jr. wanted Koch Industries (KI) to go public during late 1980 to take advantage of the politically induced run-up of oil and gas prices, and attempted to force their brother Charles from the helm of KI in order to do so. Charles successfully stopped their effort, preferring to maintain control of the family business to reaping the oil price windfall then possible by a public stock offering.

Bill and Fred Jr. have pursued legal actions against Charles for allegedly shortchanging them on the forced buyout of their interests, although one federal judge ruled against their \$3 billion lawsuit last year. However, detectives hired by Bill and Fred Jr. have continued to look for evidence of wrongdoing on the part of Koch Industries, which led to the unearthing of the latest Indian oil royalty shortchanging allegations.

Because Mary Koch lives in the Charles Koch family compound in Wichita, Fred Jr. and Bill have resisted efforts to turn over the Fred Koch Sr. Foundation assets solely to her, believing once again brother Charles is edging them out of assets in which they believe they have a rightful interest.

While brothers Bill and Fred Jr. share the general libertarian outlook of their late father, who was a major backer of the John Birch Society as well as a follower of the late Robert LeFevre, their intellectual leanings tend more towards pure anarchism rather than the highly political involvement of Charles and David Koch in the Libertarian Party (until 1983) and currently, the Republican Party. They figure political contributions should come from Charles's or David's personal resources, not from the family owned corporation or foundation. ■

## Montana "Free Man" Jailed in Hunger Strike

by Clifford F. Thies

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

Forsyth, MT - Westley Deitchler, 47, who was on a hunger strike since his arrest on March 31, was released from the Rosebud County, Montana jail on April 14 and was scheduled to stand trial on April 21 for driving without license plates and other alleged offenses.

Deitchler was arrested Friday night. According to Deitchler, he was driving home after attending a grandson's basketball game when two police cars pulled up behind him. With their lights and sirens, the police signaled for him to pull over and stop his car. Not recognizing their authority, Deitchler simply continued to drive normally. The police then attempted to force Deitchler to stop by speeding ahead of him and blocking his path. Deitchler continued to drive normally, not speeding or driving recklessly, but nevertheless avoiding the police cars.

The police drove ahead in order to set up a roadblock at the cutoff which leads to Deitchler's home. Deitchler drove past that cutoff and attempted to get home by doubling back from the next cutoff. The police, seeing what he was doing, sped by him in order to set up a roadblock on the next cutoff. Deitchler avoided this roadblock by backing up his car, and then drove home.

When Deitchler arrived home, he parked his car in his driveway. The police arrived shortly afterward and, with guns drawn, arrested him, charging him with driving without license plates, driving without a driver's license, resisting arrest and other offenses. Three days later, and just before Deitchler's hearing, the police also charged him with assaulting a police officer during the course of the "chase." But according to Deitchler, it was the police who were driving recklessly and endangering others. He was acting peacefully and not harming or threatening anyone.

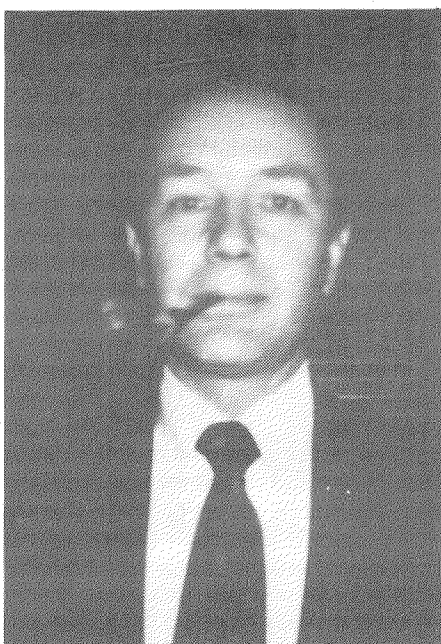
Three weeks prior to his arrest, Deitchler wrote letters to the local, state and federal governments informing them that he was no longer one of their citizens. Instead, he said he was a free trader. Stating that he appreciated certain services rendered by the local government of Rosebud County, he asked that government if he could contract with it on a voluntary basis. Deitchler signed his letters "No Longer Yours," and among other things removed his government-issued license from his car and affixed a wooden license saying "FREEMAN."

Deitchler says that until he was arrested he had not received a response to his letters. He is convinced that he was arrested on a Friday evening so that he would have to spend three days in jail prior to his hearing.

On Monday, April 3, Deitchler was brought to Justice of the Peace Ann Wagner's court. Not recognizing her authority, he did not stand when everyone was ordered to stand upon her arrival. Saying she acted arrogantly, Deitchler gave her "the finger," whereupon she sentenced him to one day in jail.

The next day Deitchler was again brought to Wagner's court. This time there was no seat for him, so he had no choice but to stand upon the arrival of the Justice of the Peace. Hearing the charges, she set a trial date of May 2, and a pretrial hearing date of April 20.

According to Deitchler, this constituted a death penalty because, refusing to eat prison food, his trial date was set after this prob-



*Montana libertarian Westley Deitchler doesn't look like someone ready to die for his principles. But he says he is, and backed his words with a two week hunger strike.*

able life expectancy. Fortunately, County Attorney Marvin Quinlen two days later accelerated the court calendar, setting a trial date of April 21 and a pretrial hearing date of April 13.

During Deitchler's wait for his pretrial hearing, the word got out to the news media of his hunger strike. Following up on phone calls from his friends and supporters in the Montana Libertarian Party, the *Billings Gazette* first covered Deitchler's story. After this Associated Press picked it up, and his story was broadcast and printed across the state. According to Larry Dodge, a widely acknowledged leader of the Montana Libertarian Party, coverage has been quite fair. As one newspaper headline put it, "Libertarian Paying High Price for Liberty."

As his hunger strike continued and pretrial hearing date approached, Deitchler's jail keepers offered him steak, ice cream and cake in order to tempt him to end his fast. In the meantime, his longtime friend and family doctor worked behind the scenes to inform the court that Deitchler's health was in jeopardy and that he wouldn't be a danger to others or to himself if released. There is speculation that County Sheriff Bob Ashe, a high school buddy of Deitchler's, may have also been instrumental in this effort.

On April 13 at his pretrial hearing, Deitchler presented a writ of *habeas corpus* on his own behalf for his release. The next day, Montana District Court Judge Joe Hegel considered the writ. The court opposed his release, even though Deitchler agreed to appear at his trial and to not drive while released, on the grounds that his writ was technically flawed and that since he was charged with assault, he was dangerous. Taking these arguments under advisement, the judge adjourned the court.

At 4:30 that afternoon, on Judge Hegel's order, Deitchler was released from jail. He then had his first meal in two weeks, cauliflower soup and a hamburger at the local greasy spoon, Speedway Diner, with several family members and friends.

With trial and probable conviction on the horizon, the question must be asked: Why would a person risk death rather than comply with the government's requirement to have license plates for his cars? After more than twenty years of study, the answer is clear for Westley Deitchler.

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## Montana "Free Man" Deitchler Willing to Die

Forsyth, MT - During early May hundreds of thousands of Chinese students defied their government in a revolutionary protest against oppression. Tens of thousands vowed that they were willing to starve themselves in a hunger strike to press their demands for freedom. Their action shocked China and the world, and their determination to risk death by starvation gave unprecedented moral weight to their protests.

A month earlier, Montana libertarian Westley Deitchler employed this same tactic in his one-man battle against all forms of government authority which he rejected. A hunger strike - jail - police arrest and an expressed willingness to die for his principles indicate that West Deichler is a very determined man.

And a very stubborn man, perhaps, by some reckoning, even a bit crazy. He describes himself as a "true libertarian" and, though once a congressional candidate for the LP in 1984, he says he's gone beyond the LP and taken his fight up directly with the organs of the State itself.

Deitchler has bombarded prominent libertarians, libertarian publications and various government officials with multi-page letters in the past year detailing his theory of government (or non-government) and outlining his stance on the money question and his obligations to the government and society. One letter in reply to a Montana Tax Department supervisor begins: "Hi weasel."

In one recent letter to Montana's Governor, authored after being jailed for arrest on license plate and other related traffic charges, he outlined his basic world view, which divides society into two basic categories, (echoing Albert J. Nock and pioneering German sociologist Franz Oppenheimer): the trade sector consisting of private endeavors, and the extortion sector, consisting of coercive governmental activity.

Deitchler wrote:

*I know that the first rule of every extortionist is that he must be willing to kill to keep his racket going. If he is not, if he is bluffing, one of his victims sooner or later will recognize his bluff and call it. Then his racket will break down and he'll have to live on his own merits.*

*I also know that the first rule for those who would live free is that they must be willing to risk death to be free or some extortionist will recognize their cowardice, weakness or ignorance and start extorting from them ...*

*You in government give us in the trade sector only four choices. We can be parasites like you, we can be slaves, we can be prisoners, as I was, or we can be dead.*

*I will not be a parasite. I will not be a slave. You have, and used, the power to make me a prisoner, but I'm telling you once and for all that I will die before I'll submit to your will.*

*You are simply people. You are not God. I owe nothing to you and I do not respect you nor fear your power.*

*You may not be aware of just how willing you are to hurt others. Few people will go to the lengths I have to show you and others your nature.*

This excerpt (from a 31 page handwritten letter) captures the essence of Deitchler's argument for active non-cooperation with government, and parallels the sentiments echoed just weeks later by thousands of Chinese defying one of the world's most powerful dictatorships in the streets of Beijing.

Relatively few libertarians share tactical imperative of non-cooperation with the State to the death. But it is an argument elegant in its simplicity. Yet one of undeniable power and sometimes effective

in its practice.

### Day in Court

Wes Deitchler had his proverbial "day in court." He acted as his own attorney before a six person Montana jury and conducted his defense *pro se*. The results were mixed.

The most serious charge assaulting a police officer was dismissed when the jury failed to believe the police in the face of witnesses to the contrary. Deitchler says jurors "learned that the officer lied." However, during much of the trial prosecutor Marion Cleinon cut Deitchler off when he attempted lengthy constitutional objections to the charges.

Nonetheless, Rosebud County jurors found him guilty of five charges: eluding a police vehicle, failure to heed a policeman, failure to carry a driver's license, improper license plates and failure to provide proof of liability insurance for his car. Forsyth, Montana, a small town about 100 miles east of Billings in a county of only 8,000 people, was not willing to tolerate "free man" Deitchler driving around with his own license plates.

He was sentenced to 30 days on the eluding the police charge, with credit for the two weeks he already spent in jail after his initial arrest. He was fined a total of \$350 on the four other charges, plus \$550 in court costs, plus \$40 in "surcharges" tacked on. The fines were suspended at the time of sentencing on May 2, but not the surcharges or court costs, on the condition that Deitchler perform 100 hours of community service within the next 60 days.

The surcharges are payable immediately but Deitchler is pursuing his appeals in state court, a process which may take several months. "I'll probably end up back in jail," Deitchler told *American Libertarian*, "and I will undoubtedly continue my fast." He only weighs about 170 lbs. and dropped 22 lbs. in the two weeks of his hunger strike during his initial incarceration.

He's also not planning on paying the court costs or surcharges. "I'm going to ask them what the 'money of account' is, and of course, they won't know or won't tell me. I will only pay in the lawful money of account and they won't say what it is," he says. Referring to the "money-is-gold-only" argument popular in some tax protest circles (and shared by many libertarians, though few make a point of not using paper money), this tactic is likely to result in a contempt of court citation at some point. Deitchler, it would seem, is spoiling for a rematch.

But as for now, the former Peace Corps volunteer and Montana State University student body president is still carrying on with his fight against government to the death.

"I am a pure libertarian, not a member of any group, acting as an individual. I just want the government to obey the Constitution," he says. Like the Chinese students, he is willing to lay his life on the line to see if the "extortion sector" is bluffing.

He can be contacted at Box 300, Colstrip, MT 59323, (406) 748-4688. ■

### BEAR ARMS OR WEAR CHAINS

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# Libertarian Outlook

## Wanted Li Peng, Dead or Alive

Notorious Chinese murderer Li Peng, wanted dead or alive. He is known to associate with elderly Chinese gangsters in a walled compound in or around Beijing, China.

Travels often in the company of a heavily armed gang going by the name "Peoples Liberation Army," which is responsible for massacre of more than 3,000 innocent stu-

dents, workers and bystanders in early June in Beijing.

Li Peng should be considered armed and dangerous. *American Libertarian* offers \$1,000 reward (payable in currency of choice, or gold) to anyone responsible for bringing this criminal to appropriate justice, or upon proof of Peng's death by those claiming the reward. ■

## Lessons of Tiananmen & Tbilisi

Unfortunately, in the last resort, Mao was right. Political power does indeed grow out of the barrel of a gun. When only the government has guns, sooner or later the citizens become victims of government terror.

Chinese rulers deserve our hatred and contempt. They, not the students, should be on the receiving end of AK-47 assault rifles.

And while the dead religion of Communism mows down citizens in Tiananmen Square Beijing, let us not ignore the poisoning of innocent protesters in the USSR under the tutelage of Comrade Gorbachev. While he may be the best Russian ruler in some time, that isn't saying much. No other nations (with the possible exceptions of Syria and Iraq) are known to have used nerve gas to suppress dissent, a sickening revelation which seems to have escaped those entranced with Gorbomania. When will Mr. Glasnost bring his poison gassers to

justice?

We can applaud positive change in the USSR, but we cannot silently let statist atrocities go unnoticed or forgotten. Accidental poisonings at Bhopal India rightly brought about demands for justice and compensation to victims by the responsible private parties. Can the world demand less for the deliberate massacring of innocent civilian victims in the streets of Tbilisi, Georgia USSR or Beijing China?

Behind every Tbilisi or Tiananmen there is a calm intellectual rationale, which at its root ends up with the same message: the State is supreme and the individual must obey or else.

Statism is the curse of the 20th century. And if the world is to survive until the 21st century, this malignant disease will have to be eradicated as thoroughly as smallpox and the plague. ■

## Year Three

As *American Libertarian* concludes its third year of publication we are pleased to note that despite whatever problems may exist, the libertarian movement as a whole still flourishes. Indeed, there is a worldwide revolt against statism in various forms, and few new intellectual trends which endanger the moral and philosophical supremacy of libertarian ideals. At best, oppressors of mankind find themselves limited to hysterical half-truths and outright lies, or resort to naked brute force to maintain their positions of power.

Libertarianism still have a long way to go, however. Our movement remains tiny, often unheard and impotent, confounded by minor divisions and unrealistic expectations. As in any new and spiritually invigorating movement, there is solidly based optimism mixed with unquestioning naiveté. All too often the self-assumed label "libertarian" is seen as some kind of Good Housekeeping seal of approval. As a newspaper dedicated to reporting what libertarians actually do, in addition to what they say (or say they're going to do), the libertarian promises-to-delivery ratio still stands in sore need of improvement.

But character, courage and outright heroism abound in our movement, as does the steady quiet progress of many libertarian activists in furthering the vision of individual liberty and responsibility. Libertarianism is slowly growing into adulthood, learning to critically view the real world and evaluate matters objectively, both good and bad. It is our hope that on these pages information is provided to help aid that important process.

Our continued thanks to all of our subscribers, advertisers and writers who make this paper possible. ■

## Feedback



### Letters Policy

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

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

### Attempt an Outreach to Populists

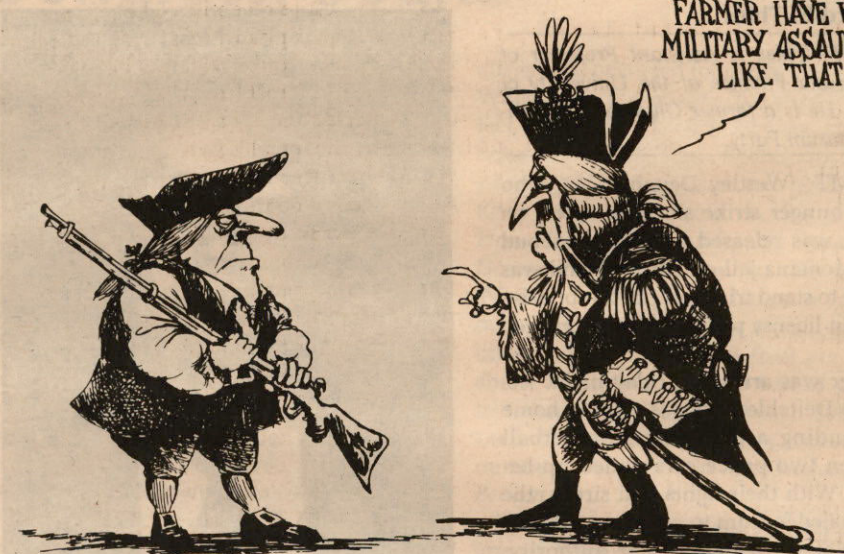
Each of us has our own perspective, based on our background, experiences and training. Greg Kaza's articles in your March issue, "The Populist Party: Whites Only Need Apply" and "The Other 'L' Word: Fringe Right Targets Libertarians," are an indication of how a particular perspective can sometimes make us less willing to engage in outreach activities to particular groups.

During last year's presidential election campaign, *The Spotlight* carried several articles about Dr. Paul's campaign. While their editors made their support for the Populist presidential candidate quite clear, their article about Dr. Paul's opposition to U.S. intervention in the Persian Gulf was good enough so that I chose to have it reprinted as campaign literature, and it certainly proved to have prophetic value after the Iranian airbus tragedy. In August 1988, they conducted a lengthy interview with Dr. Paul which was certainly fairer than the Establishment news media's treatment.

As Ohio Ballot Access Chairman for the Ron Paul campaign, I also notified the editors of *The Spotlight* about our state party

MSH/100 THE ORANGE COUNTY REGISTER

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convention and they printed the announcement for several issues. One evening, I attended a financial seminar which Liberty Lobby sponsored. Although I was not allowed to make my request for signatures as part of the program, Courtney Smith, the organizer, had no objection when I obtained the signatures of about half of the participants at the end of the program. Actually, their response made that evening one of the most encouraging of a very long, hot summer.

Many Ohioans who would have supported David Duke if he had been on the ballot were persuaded to support and vote for Dr. Paul due to mutual concerns in several areas.

Members of Liberty Lobby and Populists share many of our positions in areas of major importance; support for the Liberty Amendment (although David Duke failed to endorse it), repeal of the Federal Reserve System, a strong, unyielding support for the right to keep and bear arms, and opposition to foreign aid and intervention, the United Nations and world government, U.S. troops in Europe and peacetime conscription. Most of them have a healthier aversion to high taxes and big government than the average citizen. Rather than widening a chasm of suspicion, it would be better to attempt an outreach on the basis of these areas of mutual agreement.

As for *The Turner Diaries*, most Populists with whom I have been in contact reject the philosophy of National Socialism and glorification of Adolph Hitler. The current (April 10, 1989) issue of *The Spotlight* even offers for sale copies of Garett Garret's great libertarian commentary, *The People's Pottage*, which is correctly described as a "long out-of-print classic." Certainly, it would be as wrong to extrapolate *The Spotlight's* economic, political and philosophical positions from this promotion as it would from their review of *The Turner Diaries*, but it seems clear to me which tendency we should encourage.

Finally, David Duke's successful campaign to become a Louisiana state legislator deserves a few comments. I personally must express admiration for anyone who can defeat two Presidents of the United States in one election campaign, and cause such consternation in the Establishment leadership of the Republican party.

More importantly, despite his past statements and affiliations, Representative Duke is no more a racist than Jesse Jackson. Also, and this fact cannot be stressed too excessively, he ran his recent state campaign on what are basically libertarian principles: support for the \$75,000 Louisiana property tax exemption and opposition to racist "affirmative action."

Certainly, if we recognize and defend (as we certainly should do) the rights of prostitutes, pornographers, homosexuals and drug users, we should apply the same standards to those white people who are concerned about the preservation of their race.

David Macko  
Solon, OH

### On Libertarian Youth

*Youth Connection*, the newsletter of the Libertarian Student Network, is endorsing Matt Monroe for chairman of the Libertarian Party. Our primary reason is that Monroe, along with Mike Holmes, has shown a level of professionalism in putting out *American Libertarian* that is nowhere to be found in the Libertarian Party.

Monroe's plans to develop an active student body are...

Continued page 5

## American Libertarian

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

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## Feedback

From page 4

dent organization, of course, must also be applauded. I therefore take strong exception to John LaBeaume's April letter, which I can only interpret as a result of his overzealous modesty and humility. John doesn't yet seem to realize the importance of his potential to develop a large high school following in the St. Louis area.

In regard to Mr. LaBeaume's particular points, they are just plain wrong. Youth does not indicate to the media passing fads; it indicates future trends. The youth of today become the policy-makers of tomorrow. Nor do youths tend to outgrow their beliefs. While Leonard Read founded the modern libertarian movement by establishing its first think tank in 1946, there was not a sizable, recognizable movement until about 1,000 youths organized the Society for Individual Liberty in 1969. Aside from a couple infamous members of Congress, these individuals did not "outgrow" their beliefs. Witness this newspaper. Witness the proliferation of libertarian think tanks and the expansion of the libertarian movement throughout the world. Growing up for libertarians has meant learning to, and acquiring the means to, become more effective in pursuing the cause. As far as the New Left goes, they **ought** to outgrow their beliefs, but as the success of such periodicals as *In These Times* and the *Utne Reader* demonstrate, they have not.

Of course, the main point the Libertarian Party must consider in deciding whether or not to reach out to young people is whether or not this is an effective strategy. Have successful movements tended to be composed of young or old members? What of the failures? Organizations like the John Birch Society and Liberty Lobby/the Populist Party are notable for two things: the old age of their members and their failure to influence American society. From their perspective, the world's going Communist and it's the fault of the disrespectful, unpatriotic and Godless younger generation.

On the other hand, organizations with philosophies far more extreme and appalling than these groups have developed movements which have carried out successful revolutions. The secret was to be hip and attract young people. For instance, as Leonard Liggio writes, "Nazi recruitment drives were aimed at youth, especially through the schools," and furthermore, "the most important focus for (Nazi) activity was the young, and it was the young who carried the National Socialists to power."

Murray Rothbard adds that "of a sample of 994 Nazi party members before November 9, 1923, a sample including a considerable proportion of leaders and activists, 195 were 21 years or less; and fully 610 were under 31 years of age. The same pattern holds for the leadership cadre ... Out of a group of 25 local SA leaders, 3 were under 21 and 17 under 31. Out of 16 leaders at the provincial or central party level, 3 were under 21 and 6 under 31. Out of 45 municipal party leaders ... 2 were under 21 and 24 under 31. Very few Nazi leaders were over 40. By 1928, the membership of the Nazi party, now a mass party was over a hundred thousand, of which fully half were under thirty years of age."

Likewise, the Leninist movement was also very young. Rothbard points out that by 1917, the average age of the delegates to the Sixth Bolshevik Party Congress was only 29.

In this day and age, young Americans grow up seeing Communism and Nazism as the supreme evils of their world. The failures of "our own" government are readily apparent and the government's

schools don't exactly generate much affection for the State.

I've found mainstream middle-class high school students quite receptive. The potential of an anarcho-capitalist legal system to eliminate the need for any State whatever draws particular interest from the students. Of a class of seniors, generally half the males and half the females sign up for more information. Younger students tend to show less interest; but of course, there are exceptions like Mr. LaBeaume, who showed up well before high school.

So much for the mainstream. What about the youth counter-culture? We're all familiar with their favorite symbol. Thanks to them, those cute little "A"s wrapped in circles are everywhere. The message I hear from these kids is that the idea of anarchy sounds good to them but they don't know how it would work. I tell them that's what the Libertarian Party is about — explaining how it would work.

Anarchy has been made hip thanks to the alternative music scene. Ground-work has been laid for the libertarian movement. It's up to the Libertarian Party to take advantage of it. We can make libertarianism and individualism hip — and I say it's about time!

Masses of students, however, can only be reached through a youth movement. For some reason or other kids don't trust people over thirty. The older set comes back from classrooms musing about how the students have been hopelessly brainwashed by the school system. No, young people have to be reached through their peers. This means building up cadres of libertarians in their teens and twenties to invade the classrooms.

**Terry Inman**  
Editor, *Youth Connection*  
Auburn, AL

### "Typical of Cover-Up Mentality"

Mr. Ted Brown's reply (May '89 AL) to my letter is typical of the cover-up mentality that has been rampant among the Libertarian Party leadership for a long time. Note that he does not rebut a single charge that I leveled against Ms. Lang's handling of the LPC convention. All he wants LP rank-and-filers and friends to do is to sit tight, shut up, and pay up. The attitude holds that it is impermissible for any libertarian to call our alleged "leadership" to account for their actions. No wonder the Party is not in better shape!

Continued page 6

## Erratum

(Due to a printing error, parts of two paragraphs in the "Future of Freedom Con Report" on page 6 of the May 89 AL were inadvertently omitted from the story. The missing material is shown below.)

One of the most revolting aspects of the government's scheme was the use of postal inspectors who would write people, often for years, attempting to entrap them. Some of the letters were extremely pornographic. Some victims of the entrapment would be approached for several years before they finally consented to purchasing a magazine or photograph, which may not even exist. Once they consented, a federal task force with automatic rifles would sweep into the victim's home, ransack it looking for evidence and arrest the individual, often in view of television cameras. This crusade has led to several suicides.

"The Failure of African socialism" was the next topic on the program. George Ayittey, a native of Ghana, a director of the West Africa Relief Development Corporation and a fellow at the Hoover Institution, discussed how and why socialism is destroying Africa.

## Transitions

Willis E. Stone, 89, on March 2, 1989 of heart failure. Stone was founder of the Liberty Amendment Committee in 1944 and ran it for 33 years, which is dedicated to passage of a constitutional amendment that would drastically reduce the scope of government, remove it from most business operations it conducts and eliminate the federal income tax.

The "Liberty Amendment" (House Joint resolution 23) has been passed by about a dozen state legislatures around the nation. ■

## In Review



**Novak on Liberty and Faith**  
by Jeffrey A. Tucker

Mr. Tucker is a fellow of the Ludwig von Mises Institute and is managing editor of their newsletter

### The Free Market.

**Free Persons and the Common Good**, by Michael Novak, Lanham: Madison Books, 1989, 234 pgs., hdbk, \$17.95.

This is a rare and extraordinary piece of scholarship that has special relevance for libertarians. For the first time, and with elegance and lucidity, Michael Novak has integrated the concept of the "common good," as developed in the Catholic intellectual tradition, with the classical concept of the liberal society. And in doing so, he refines and enhances the way both are conventionally understood.

Mr. Novak, ex-socialist, author of 20 books, and the George Frederick Jewett Scholar in Religion and Public Policy at the American Enterprise Institute, is a virtuoso in handling the history of ideas. Two of his most prominent recent books include *The*

*Spirit of Democratic Capitalism and Freedom With Justice*. Both had a noticeably conservative tone — the view that free enterprise tends to undermine values — but the present work moves markedly toward libertarianism.

In it, Novak draws from a wide range of thought, including that of James Madison, Alexis de Tocqueville, John Rawls, Hilaire Belloc, G.K. Chesterton, Jacques Maritain, Yves R. Simon, Lord Acton, Adam Smith, and F.A. Hayek (who receives both tough criticism and high praise).

His central argument is that harmony exists between libertarian individualism and the common good. He rests his thesis on the thought of two giants from both traditions: St. Thomas Aquinas, the top Catholic Church theologian, and Ludwig von Mises, the famous free-market Austrian economist. St. Thomas is credited with adding an individual dimension to the concept of the common good, and Mises, with adding a social dimension to the idea of individual action within the liberal order.

Especially notable is Novak's fresh and original treatment of Mises. The Austrian economist is often characterized as being concerned solely with atomistic individuals, private interests, and the possession of material goods. But Mises also said that everyone "must take into consideration, in everything he does, not only his own immediate advantage, but also the necessity, in every action, of affirming society as such." Nowhere else is this puzzle so fully explored. The result is to rescue Mises from his rights-based detractors who have long accused him of sliding into the fallacies of Bethamite utilitarianism.

Novak also finds a "convergence ... between the view of von Mises and those of the Catholic bishops" since "the most striking feature of the recent Catholic definitions of the common good is their emphasis upon the fulfillment of persons and their free associa-

Continued page 8

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# Koch Feud

From page 2

## Foundation Split

The Koch's feuding landed them on the front page of the *Wichita Eagle-Beacon* on two consecutive days for unrelated stories. The oil story was covered in the *New York Times*. The same day congressional hearings were held on the oil theft charge, the *Eagle-Beacon* reported May 9 on squabbling concerning family philanthropy within the Fred C. Koch Foundation. This, too, has led to litigation. Ironically, the foundation distributes only \$300,000 a year, and is only a small portion of the philanthropic donations the Koch family regularly distributes.

Once again the dispute pits Charles and David against William and Frederick. To complicate matters, their mother is now involved in this part of the feud. Ownership of the foundation was split, with family matriarch 81-year-old Mary Koch having 16 of 100 shares in the foundation, Frederick having the same amount, and the other three brothers with 22-2/3 shares each. In 1984, Mary became the sole board member of the foundation. William and Frederick balked at this arrangement, believing that this would place more resources under the control of Charles and David. Charles and David responded that this arrangement simply allowed Mary to dispense funds to Wichita and Kansas charities she was particularly interested in supporting. Mary is now recuperating from a mild stroke, and future control of the Fred C. Koch Foundation lies in the arrangements Mary has made for her controlling shares, and in the

outcome of current litigation in a Kansas court. Mary is believed to have avoided involvement in the wrangling between her sons over control of Koch Industries, but the eventual disposition of her foundation shares is bound to continue the enmity.

## Playing the "Libertarian Card"

In court testimony concerning the Fred C. Koch Foundation, William played the "libertarian card" in an effort to discredit his brothers. William described Charles' donations to libertarian causes as "a personal embarrassment to the Koch family." The *Eagle-Beacon* rehashed in detail the libertarian activities of Charles and David while ignoring their split with the Libertarian Party in 1983, and with what many believe is their split with the libertarian movement in general. The largely Koch funded Washington, DC based Cato Institute is described as a "libertarian oriented think tank." No mention was made of any of the more recent donations given to Republicans by David Koch, or of the Koch support of the Pierre DuPont for President campaign. Charles was also reported as a donor to the Washington Legal Foundation and the Taxpayer's Foundation.

Resolution of the Fred C. Koch Foundation lawsuit will occur within the next few weeks, but the acrimony is unlikely to disappear. The losers can always appeal. William is still pursuing a lawsuit in federal court claiming that he was inadequately compensated in receiving only \$460 million from the 1981 buyout of his Koch Industries shares.

Litigation among the Koch family members is likely to continue to make their lawyers rich, anyway. If William's efforts are

## Allegations part of old feud between Kochs, official says

WASHINGTON, May 9 (AP) — Investigators implicated a Kansas-based family in an oil theft case, saying the allegations are part of an old feud between the Koch brothers.

## Koch shortchanged Indians on oil, Sen. says

WASHINGTON, May 9 (AP) — Sen. Charles McClellan, D-Kan., said today that the Koch family had shortchanged Indians on oil. McClellan said the Koch family had been paid for oil that it had not delivered to the Indians.

## Philanthropy behind wealthy Kochs' latest tiff

The battling billionaire Koch brothers' feud has brought headlines both in their Wichita home-town and national newspapers.

unsuccessful in forcing congressional or legal action against Koch Industries, or in fighting over the foundation, there is still the whole matter of succession which is looming on the horizon. Only Charles has established a family, with a son and a daughter now in their teens. For the foreseeable future, Koch Industries lies firmly in the grasp of Charles, who is now in his mid 50's, and his younger brother David. But the final chapter of this feuding family has yet to be written. ■

## Deitchler

From page 3

The economy, says Deitchler, consists of two parts: The trade sector and the extortion sector. Those in the trade sector pursue their goals by the peaceful means of production and exchange. Those in the extortion sector pursue their goals by threat of the use of force. But, for the most part, those who are in the extortion sector and those who support it do not believe they will actually have to follow through with their threat. If a person wants to be free, he therefore has to be willing to risk death. Those in the extortion sector may not be willing to kill when one of their victims calls their bluff.

Deitchler's twenty years of study began with Ayn Rand's *Atlas Shrugged* novel after his return from three years with the Peace Corps in Ethiopia. What most impressed him was that in this novel, there was a mind that actually thought. After this he read Rand's other works. Then came the Libertarian Party and the discovery that he was "not alone." In 1982 he was an LP candidate for U.S. Congress and received 3,400 votes.

Although he has a B.S. in Secondary Education from Montana State University, he chose not to work in the public schools. Instead, he has worked a series of odd jobs in farming and ranching. When construction began on four large power generating plants in eastern Montana, he began work as a carpenter, his current trade. ■

## Feedback

From page 5

Mr. Brown's letter also reflects the attitude toward "free enterprise" and entrepreneurship that infests the LP leadership. If the "entrepreneur" makes money out of conventions, he or she gets to keep it; but if he or she loses money, everyone and his brother rushes in to sympathize and to try and bail the loser out. Some free enterprise! It sounds more like the welfare state mentality to me.

Mr. Brown's memory is defective; until the 1981 national convention, the national LP controlled the conventions and their programs. Since the Party controlled the con-

## Senate's Inquiry on Cheating Of Indians Cites Oil Concern

WASHINGTON, May 9 (AP) — Investigators implicated a Kansas-based family in an oil theft case, saying the allegations are part of an old feud between the Koch brothers.

## Koch family now at odds

WASHINGTON, May 9 (AP) — The Koch family, which has been a major force in the Libertarian Party, is now at odds, according to a report in the *Wichita Eagle-Beacon*.

## Philanthropy behind wealthy Kochs' latest tiff

The battling billionaire Koch brothers' feud has brought headlines both in their Wichita home-town and national newspapers.

ventions, their basic thrust was toward educating the Party and outsiders about liberty, and not, as it has become since, trying desperately to make money by bringing in showmen and Big Names, even if these names, as in the case of Harry Browne, are deeply hostile to the Libertarian Party.

On one point I must modify my original letter. Mr. David Nolan's positive proposal for the movement turns out to be not "some crackpot PAC," but something far more ridiculous. It seems that Mr. Nolan has discovered that television is very important these days. He therefore proposes that libertarians should purchase their own TV network. He concedes that such purchase would cost "several hundred million dollars" [it's more like several billion, but at those figures, who cares anyway? What's a few billion in Fantasyland?] How to accomplish this feat? It's all very simple. It seems [and I kid you not] that we should keep sending Mr. Nolan money, and that when he amasses enough dough, he'll buy that network of our dreams.

In other words, Mr. Nolan's new strategic path for liberty is that we should all send him lots of money! Can you believe this guy? How much longer do we have to pay moral tribute to our Founder? It's about time that we send him off to a well-deserved retirement, and tell him, in the spirit of the final message of Nathaniel Branden to Ayn Rand: "Thank you David, and GOODBYE!" with the emphasis on the final word.

Clarabelle Ward  
Scottsdale, AZ

## Need More Students in LP

John LaBeaume's letter to the editor in the April issue of *AL*, is the most ridiculous letter ever printed in your magazine! How anyone could even suggest that a proposal put forth by LP chair candidate Matt Monroe, to recruit more young people into the Party is a bad idea, is beyond me.

I completely disagree with LeBeaume's assertion that having more younger Libertarians in the party than older ones would discredit the party in the eyes of the media. On the contrary, I believe that the media would look at the LP's ability in attracting younger voters, while the two older parties struggle to attract youth, as a positive force. Furthermore, older LPers are not as willing as they were in the late 70's to undertake activities such as draft protests, and marijuana smoke-ins, which attract media attention, as their younger counterparts.

In addition, in order to have a successful ballot access drive, it is absolutely essential to have a committed number of young petitioners. While older LPers are good at providing the funds for party activities such as ballot access, it is those under 30 who provide the necessary enthusiasm and energy to get the job done.

Ron Paul did a magnificent job recruiting

Continued page 7

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## Feedback

From page 6

students into the LP during the '88 campaign. He spoke on nearly 200 campuses nationwide to tens of thousands of students. As a result, much momentum was built up within many college Libertarian groups and many new ones were formed. It is essential that the LP does not allow this momentum to dissipate.

The biggest problem the Party faces today, is not its lack of commitment to TV advertising as some have suggested, but rather its lack of commitment to student outreach. While many party leaders in the past have promised to increase Libertarian activity on college campuses, to date, besides the efforts of the Paul Campaign, absolutely nothing has been done to help the Libertarian student movement. The LP NatCom never allots money for student outreach. No Libertarian speakers bureau has been formed. Students cannot even get any decent Libertarian Party literature to pass out on campus. I hate to say this, but LROC, the Cato Institute, NTU and FEE have been far more willing to provide outreach literature to our Libertarian Campus Clubs in Florida than has the LP.

As the founder and former Director of the Students for Ron Paul, I applaud Matt Monroe's suggestions for improving Libertarian student activity. Having had the pleasure of working with Dr. Monroe on the '88 campaign, I know from first hand experience that he backs his words with actions and money. I am confident that he will implement his student outreach proposal, and that students across the country will benefit from it. Therefore, I would urge all of my fellow Libertarian students to support his candidacy for LP chair.

**Eric Rittberg**  
Florida State University  
Jacksonville, FL

P.S. We here in Florida are considering forming a "Students for Charles Murray/Walter Williams '92." Any other students interested should contact the UF College Libertarians.

### Roots

I have a question that's been on an off my mind for the past few years. David Nolan is often mentioned as the "principal founder" or "main founder" of the LP. Assuming he didn't do it alone, who are the **other founders**? I never hear them mentioned. Does anyone possess a list of the First Members? Is the very first document containing the words "Libertarian Party" still in existence?

I imagine the day when thousands visit the Shrine, walking with hushed footsteps past the slouching guards, to gaze with wonder upon the — fake parchment? Napkin? Envelope?

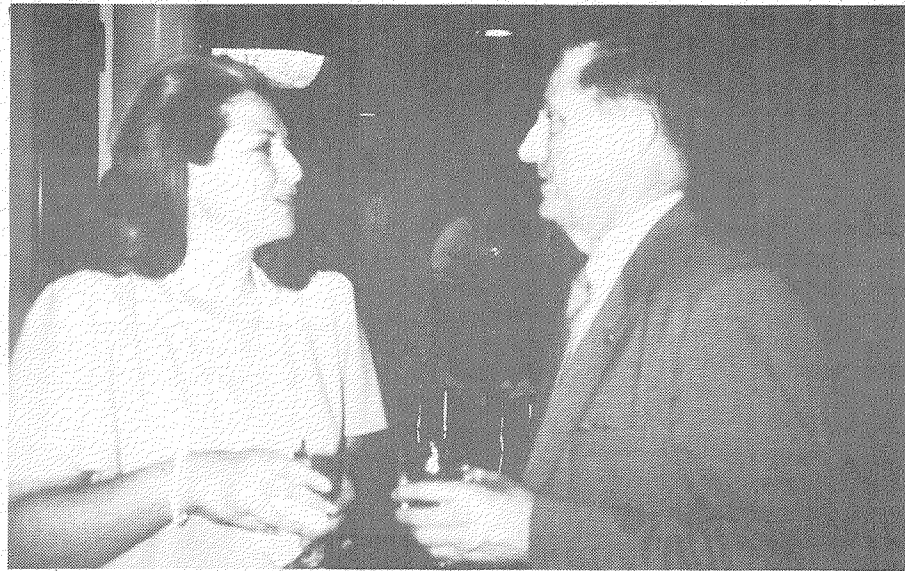
**David J. Kramer**  
Sunnyvale, CA

### "Armchair Idiot-logues"

The story in the April *AL* on the Connecticut state LP chair quitting because he didn't "believe in the effectiveness of political action any more" is a recurring theme in the Libertarian movement. Frequently those who claim to be non-political libertarians, or who use the "anarchist cop-out," are simply wimping out, since you find that they don't advance liberty by "educational" means either.

The problem is that the movement's philosophical nature attracts armchair "idiot-logues" who are unable to operate effectively in the real world to influence the average person. Because they live in a world of abstract principles instead of concrete pragmatism, they pursue grandiose unworkable schemes instead of setting realistic goals

## Who Was Who at NY LP Con



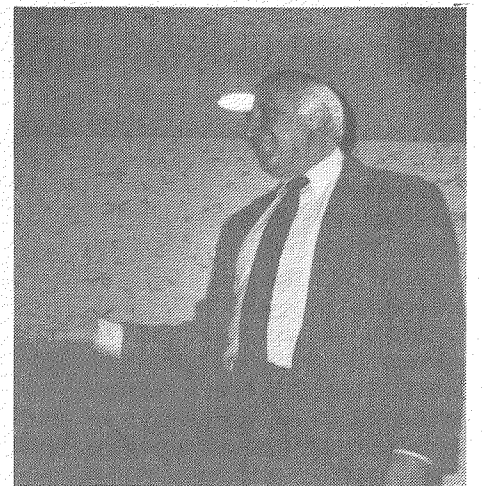
NYLP activist Gwen Bear and 1984 LP Vice Presidential candidate Jim Lewis enjoyed the convention social hour.



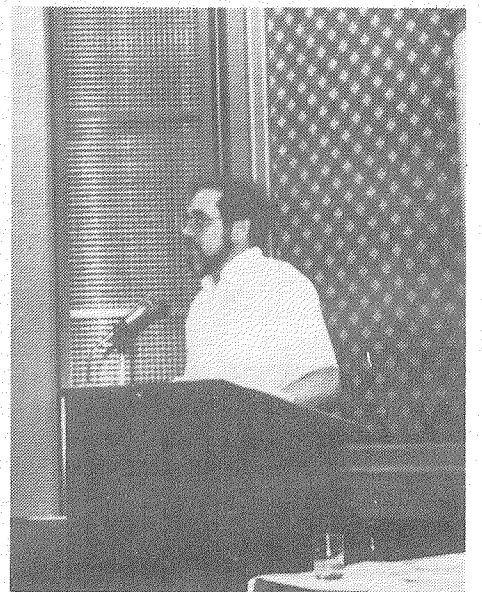
Margaret Fries and Reed Haisted argue for the right to bear arms at the New York LP convention. All photos by James Brown.



Margaret Fries and Wall St. Journal editorialist John Fund deal with media issues at the convention.



Tax protester Irwin Schiff.



New York LP chair Bill McMillen.



Convention crowd watches Norma Jean Almodovar's appearance on the Morton Downey Jr. show (on tape) during the cocktail party.

using proven grassroots organizing and selling techniques. When the former fail, the anti-political nature of libertarianism gives them the rationalizing excuse to blame "political action" instead of their own actions.

Fortunately, the California LP, after nearly being destroyed by this attitude in the mid '80's, is beginning to outgrow this infantile intellectual tantrum throwing. As your articles on it show, LP activists here are succeeding through political action in limiting and cutting back the size, cost and power of the state. Hopefully, other libertarians throughout the country will pick up on this trend setting state party activity and also use grassroots organizing, initiatives, legal action and lobbying to effect real world political change. The public just can't be expected to support an organization that does nothing more than run paper candidates every few years who get fractions of a percent of the vote.

And two corrections on your April article on the California LP registration drive! It takes 2% of the vote for a statewide office, not 5% to retain party ballot status in California. And the California LP office number is (408) 243-2711, not the 800 number you published, which reaches an inquiry operator in Los Angeles.

**Randall Grindle**  
Lower Lake, CA

### Children's Rights Seminar

Currently, the "Children's Rights" plank in the Libertarian Party platform implicitly raises but does not address an important issue: Under libertarian principles, do parents **owe** their dependent children care and protection? Or do they have a right to choose to abandon them on Mt. Everest?

The plank says, "Whenever parents or

other guardians are unable or unwilling to care for their children, those guardians have the right to seek other persons who are willing to assume guardianship ... "

The problem is, what if the unwilling parents or guardians are unwilling to make any effort to seek a substitute and their dependent children are unable to do so for themselves? Do libertarian principles permit them to abandon their children? Even if the children will die?

The plank, unfortunately, gives us no answer. Nor does it indicate whether the parents have any obligations to their children if they seek but fail to find a willing substitute.

The Libertarian Party Platform Committee will meet in Philadelphia at the national LP convention this August and will entertain suggestions for amending the platform. Many libertarians support replacing "the right to seek" wording with "the obligation to find." Others wouldn't mind an explicit "right of abandonment" wording, and still

others like the Children's Rights plank as is.

Libertarians for Life has tentative plans for an extra-curricular panel at the convention (Thursday evening, Aug. 31) to discuss this issue. We would like to make participation in this panel as broad as possible, not just an LFL event. For this reason, we are looking for a panelist to speak in favor of the right of abandonment position, and for others who may have an in-between position. LFL supports the parental obligation position.

If you can suggest good panelists, please contact Libertarians for Life at 13424 Hathaway Drive, Wheaton, MD 20906, (301) 460-4141. Please include their addresses and telephone numbers, indicate where they stand on the issue (some reasoning supporting their stand would be appreciated), and include any other information you think pertinent. Prompt replies would be helpful.

**Doris Gordon**  
Wheaton, MD



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## In Review

From page 5

tions." Novak asks: "Is this so different from the analogous emphasis attributed to the liberal tradition by Austrian economist Ludwig von Mises?"

But Novak's point is of even deeper significance. Most Americans, and indeed most people, have a caring spirit, a desire to promote the lot of others besides themselves, and individual happiness is often interconnected with the happiness of others. Novak's new approach praises this and argues that the market can be a primary vehicle for human beings — who need each other and whose fates are interdependent — to fulfill their common ideals.

Throughout the text, Novak succeeds in recapturing the language of common action — too often willingly surrendered to statist — for the advocates of the free society. But not for cynical strategic reasons. He has an honest conviction that the individual and common dimensions of society find a peaceful resolution within liberal institutions. The market is a "social device for achieving the common good," he argues, which is not at variance with "self-interest, rightly understood."

## MICHAEL NOVAK FREE PERSONS AND THE COMMON GOOD

Conservatives, once again, will be pained by Novak's claim that markets foster moral virtues, if the book's review in the *Washington Times* is any indication. Charlotte Low Allen, writing there, finds classical liberalism "wanting on the spiritual side." But to the unbiased, Novak has made the case. The existence and sustenance of markets, he says, require respect for laws, rules, and traditions; they teach and inculcate desirable values by rewarding rule-keeping, honesty, courtesy; and they honor courage when tempered with moderation and realism.

To reflect this emphasis on markets, Novak has developed a broader conception of the common good that includes "the full spectrum of organizations that mediate between personal and social life" and the unplanned outcome of millions of individual purposeful acts, the results of which offer not an end-state, but a benchmark for future progress.

Is "enterprise" properly defined as a moral

virtue? Novak thinks so. And he defines it magnificently: "Enterprise is that quality of alertness and innovativeness of mind, attuned to practical reality in virtually every sphere of human activity, that image of the Creator written into human liberty itself."

Conventional wisdom thinks Catholicism proper and liberal institutions are irreconcilable. But again, Novak departs from convention, noting that Pope John Paul II is "the first Catholic pope ... to place (the virtue of enterprise) into the quiver of Catholic social thought in his encyclical of later 1987." In doing so, the Papacy is rediscovering the Catholic intellectual tradition of medieval Europe; it was the scholastic's concern for the common good which led them to explore the patterns that governed trade among people and founded the discipline of economics.

Other features of the book include: severe criticisms of the religious Left and how it has ignored, misrepresented, and trivialized the arguments of the liberal tradition; a practical distinction between rightly and wrongly understood self-interest, rooted in de Tocqueville; a revisionist history of the use of the term "common good," showing how and why it fell out of favor in Vatican II; critical commentary on the American Bishops' economic letter; plus much more.

This is not just another religious-based polemic for capitalism: nowhere does Novak engage in questionable and scattered "proof-texting" from Scripture. It is an immensely serious study that addresses religious issues in a scholarly way.

For too long, this debate has been between those who see religion as statist mysticism, and fundamentalists who sound like hired straw men for their opponents. There is another way: ancient, learned, religious, and individualist. And this book has recaptured it.

For its scholarship, originality, and controversial conclusions, this book shouldn't be missed. It will challenge libertarians, especially to those who tend to deprecate religious traditions. It will challenge Christians and conservatives who have dismissed the liberal tradition as egocentric. It is more likely than any book in recent memory to force a broad-based rethinking of the liberal society and its meaning. Michael Novak, *laudamus te!*

## Political Notes



### Taxpayers Just Say "No"

Washington, DC - The Federal Election Commission (FEC) is actively lobbying Congress to modify the Presidential

Election Campaign Fund checkoff option on individual U.S. income tax forms. Only 21% of all 1040 returns had the "yes" box checked indicating that the taxpayer wanted \$1 to pay for federal presidential primary and nominating campaigns, even though checking the box doesn't affect the tax liability owed.

The FEC fears that without changes (meaning: eliminating the present taxpayer



Mises Institute president Lew Rockwell Jr. (L) joined conservative commentator Patrick Buchanan (R) on the May 25 edition of the Cable News Network program "Crossfire" on the subject of the Exxon Alaskan oil spill accident. Rockwell's persuasive depiction of Exxon as a major victim of the accident left "Crossfire's" liberal commentator Tom Braden speechless at one point and got Ralph Nader's energy spokesman Ed Rothchild to admit that his true goal was to have average citizens "consume less," that is, become poorer.

choice) they will run out of money to dole out to aspiring politicians sometime during the 1990s. Apparently they haven't gotten the message that 80% of taxpayers don't want their taxes to fund political campaigns.

## Florida LP Convention Fun

by Charles Manhart

Charles Manhart is a former Florida State LP chair and current candidate for national LP vice chair.

Orlando, FL - The Florida LP convention Memorial Day weekend showed how much fun being a Libertarian is in Florida. We were entertained by a rock'n'roll band, a rag-time group, and a concert violinist, Libertarians all. Hospitality abounded, along with dancing, dining, and discussion. In addition we got a lot of work done, received the best media coverage ever and even turned a profit.

The theme was grass-roots party building. Each speaker seemed to tune in to this goal and cover one aspect of how to achieve it. Russell Means led off with the need to demonstrate concern for people as well as an abstract philosophical belief. Gene Burns covered person-to-person recruiting and the importance of keeping commitments. The Marshall Fritz seminars drew a good attendance, as did the presentation by Andre Marrou on starting a county LP affiliate. We learned something from each, and maybe taught them something in return. They all seemed to enjoy the festivities immensely.

Coalition building was a related aim. All libertarian leaning groups we could reach were invited to have a booth at the "Idea Bazaar." Enough responded to make it wor-

thwhile. The coalition building prize went to Marshall Fritz for his "Can a Christian be a Libertarian?" panel discussion. He, Mark Skousen, and three clergymen, with enthusiastic audience participation, had an enjoyable and informative time. None of the three clergy became an instant libertarian convert, but all became friends, aware of common ground with libertarian and open to future cooperation.

The convention was so productive and pleasurable that the Florida LP is considering adding a mid-year conference as a regular event. If so, the same rules that worked so well this time will be used. These are: Keep it simple. Keep it affordable. Give your own people a chance to shine. Spread the load so everyone does a little, nobody does too much. And have a clear goal and work towards it. Above all, be sure each person attending feels welcome, wanted, and respected. ■

## COMING ATTRACTIONS

Atlas Model Spreads Freedom

Cato Targets "Drug War" Failures

LP Ballot Access Update

'88 Campaign Spending Report

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