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The Populist Party: Whites Only Need Apply

by Greg Kaza

Greg Kaza is a reporter for *The Oakland Press*, a Detroit, Michigan area daily. Part 1 of his series on America's other third parties appeared last month.

(Second in a two-part series)

Political observers will remember 1988 as the year the Libertarian Party solidified its position as America's third party, while the New Alliance Party emerged as a potential contender for the honor (*AL*, Feb. 1988).

Other minor parties fielded candidates, but only one has the nascent structure and philosophical tradition that could allow it to develop into a serious political force.

The far-right Populist Party, on the ballot in only 14 states, finished fifth in the 1988 election. Populist presidential candidate David Duke, an avowed white supremacist, polled 47,042 votes, about one-tenth the tally of the LP's Ron Paul. Duke garnered fewer votes than former Olympic champion Bob Richards, who received 66,000 votes as the 1984 Populist presidential candidate.

Unlike NAP's Lenora Fulani, Duke failed to raise enough money to qualify for federal matching funds, and his ballot access efforts were handicapped by the demographics of the Populist Party, which has few young people in its ranks.

But the Populist Party's support base, which includes the weekly newspaper, *The Spotlight*, and its racially tinged politics were both staples of former Alabama Governor George Wallace's 1968 presidential campaign. Running on the American Independent Party (AIP) ticket that year, Wallace polled 13 percent of the vote, the largest tally by a third party candidate since Progressive Theodore Roosevelt received 27 percent in 1912.

Wanted: A Great White Hope

"All Americans must be accorded their civil rights, and this must include America's founding white majority."

David Duke

Duke's 1988 campaign was the latest example of the far-right's search for a great white hope capable of equaling Wallace's landmark showing.

Duke's supporters contend that the candi-

date has the potential of becoming the modern-day George Wallace, energizing populist Democrats and even many Republicans in a fashion not seen since Wallace himself faded from the national limelight," *The Spotlight* wrote (25 May, 1987).

The AIP dwindled in the mid-1970s as its conservative base became active in the two major parties. Some thought former Georgia Governor Lester Maddox, the AIP's 1976 standardbearer, would emerge as a successor, but he fared miserably at the polls. Ultimately, these AIP elements and supporters of the Washington-based Liberty Lobby merged in 1983 to form the Populist Party.

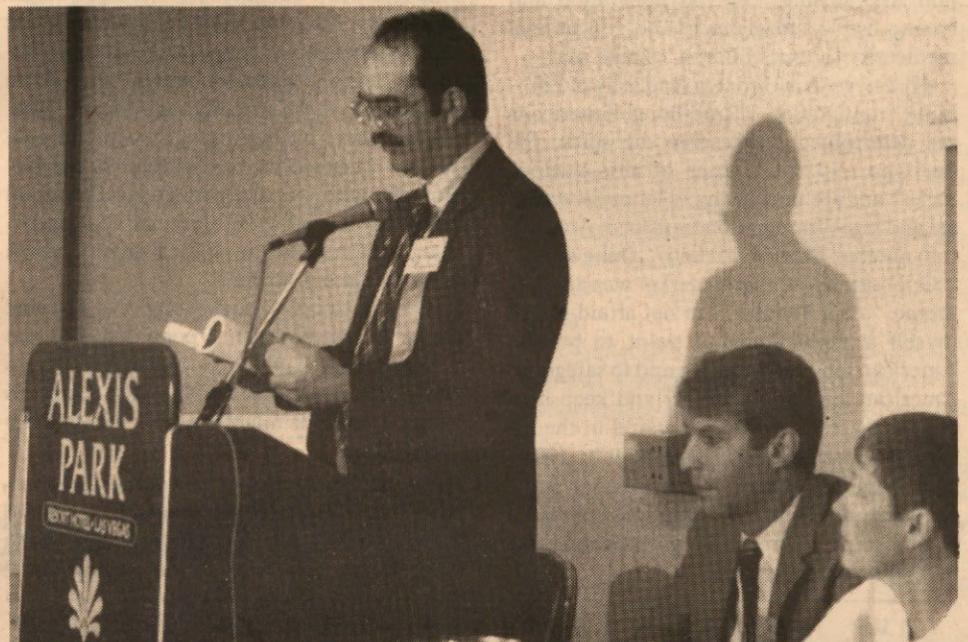
If looks alone were a prerequisite, Duke would qualify as a great white hope. Tall and muscular, with blond hair and blue eyes, Duke looks like nothing so much as Aryan Man. In fact, he is and more. Duke's neo-Nazi worldview is radically different from the right-wind populism that formed the base of Wallace's support.

Duke joined the hate movement while a student at Louisiana State University in the late 1960s, serving as an activist for the neo-Nazi National Socialist White People's Party. The NSWPP is the original neo-Nazi organization in this country, founded by George Lincoln Rockwell in 1959 as the American Nazi Party. The group is the most direct descendant of Hitler's party among all American neo-Nazi groups. This neo-Nazi heritage is crucial to understanding the role Duke is most famous for, the resurrection of the Ku Klux Klan in the mid-1970s.

More than any other modern racist, Duke injected anti-semitism into the Klan, turning it from a group preoccupied with blacks into one that now focuses largely on Jews. Simultaneously, Duke established himself as an articulate advocate of a racism that was publicly tamer than the Klan's private rhetoric, attracting widespread media coverage in the process.

Most observers have focused on the far-right's efforts to recapture Wallace's old base of support, but few have examined a potentially more significant development. The spread of anti-semitism on the far-right has occurred simultaneously with the breakdown of the old liberal black-Jewish alliance. Black nationalists like Louis Farrakhan, a supporter of Jesse Jackson, have engaged in dialogues with white supremacists, and loose alliances have been formed in some instances. One photo distributed by the Duke campaign last year shows him raising the arms of two blacks, Chief Elder Osiris Akkebala and Elder Kenyatta Akkebala, described as leaders of the Pan African Inter-National movement. "Many other black nationalists have subsequently rallied behind Duke's campaign," reads a caption accompanying the

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Libertarian Party founder David Nolan's California/Nevada convention keynote address was pessimistic about the prospects for liberty in the 1990s.

California/Nevada Convention Highlights

Las Vegas, NV - About 180 California LP members, 15 Nevada LP members and 20 Libertarian Party state chairs gathered at the Alexis Park Hotel in Las Vegas over President's Day weekend, February 17-20, to discuss party business and plan for future activities.

This was the first time the California LP had met in convention outside of their home state, and despite the added attraction of legalized gambling and lively nightlife, attendance was markedly down from prior years. In part, this may have been due to post-election letdown. But the innovative articulation idea was meant to solve the perennial northern vs. southern California convention site argument, which usually ends up with lopsided attendance from one half of the state or the other.

But Las Vegas is easily reachable from the L.A. area in a few hours and is a long way from the Bay area, one factor cited in the low attendance, which reportedly resulted in major financial loss for convention organizer Cullene Lang.

In addition to the poor attendance, two of the major speakers didn't show up. Consciousness expansion guru Timothy Leary, who hosted a party for LP presidential candidate Ron Paul during the 1988 election campaign, was slated as the featured attraction at the Friday evening reception to speak about the expansion of human intelligence ("Just Say Know"). But Leary was a no-show; his representative cited ill health as the reason. Additionally, Big Water, Utah Libertarian Party mayor and colorful polygamist Alex Joseph, who has thus far not

been featured at a major libertarian convention, was to appear on a panel of elected LP office holders. But he too, didn't show. Utah libertarians said the convention organizers never told Joseph exactly when and where to show up so he just stayed home (he doesn't lack for company, according to reports.)

Despite this, the dual convention/Council of State Chairs event didn't lack for speakers, once again demonstrating that the country's largest Libertarian Party group can put on quite a show. Among the speakers were former LP presidential candidates John Hospers, Ed Clark, David Bergland and Ron Paul, Indian libertarian activist Russell Means, libertarian economist Murray Rothbard, Reason Foundation president Robert Poole, ballot law expert Richard Winger, Mises Institute president Lew Rockwell Jr., writers John Denninger and Robert Sheaffer, philosopher Tibor Machan, Advocates for Self Government president Marshall Fritz, former LP chair Jim Turney and Independent Institute publications director Jeffrey Hummel. Also featured were LP activists Randall Grindle, Sally Foster, Kim Goldsworthy, Jack Dean, Michael Emerling, Bruce Lagasse, Dagny Sharon, Andre Marrou and elected LP officeholders Tom Tryon and Robert Subers.

LP founder David Nolan gave what many felt was a downbeat keynote address, expressing the view that the 1990's is likely to be a very hostile time for libertarian ideas. This contrasted with the message Murray Rothbard presented, expressing joy over the

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Populist Party

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photo (*The Spotlight*, 25 July, 1988). Duke and other neo-Nazis hope to have Farrakhan organize blacks while they organize white anti-semites.

Despite this tentative opening to the black community, Duke emphasized standard themes during his campaign, including:

- Equal Rights For All - Including White People. "Americans can no longer sit back while our rights are taken away through so-called affirmative action," Duke declared.

- Freedom of Choice - End Forced Integration And Busing. "Forced integration and busing has led to violence and educational mediocrity for our children," Duke said.

- Preserve Our Heritage And Way of Life - Limit Immigration. "Traditional Americans are determined to preserve the spirit, the heritage and the values of this nation. Americans are not willing to let massive illegal and legal immigration transform America into another Mexico or Haiti," Duke said.

Opposition to the free market was another theme. "As a Populist, I'm not afraid to call myself a protectionist. I want to protect American jobs and industry and to safeguard American land and property and keep it in the hands of Americans now and in the future," Duke said (*The Spotlight* 25 July, 1988). The Populist platform is explicitly anti-capitalist, declaring, "International parasitic capitalism is incompatible with nationalism and with free enterprise."

neo-Nazi Order, a domestic terrorist group, as a fallen martyr. (*The Spotlight*, 7-14, Jan., 1985). Mathews died in a 1984 shoot-out with the FBI. Among the Order's crimes were the assassination of Jewish radio show host Alan Berg in Denver, and the \$3.6 million heist of a Brinks armored vehicle near Ukiah, Calif., the largest armed robbery in U.S. history.

Willis Carto, the racist movement's *eminent grise*, directs a network that includes the Populist Party, Liberty Lobby and the Institute for Historical Review, which has tried to popularize the notion that the Jewish Holocaust never occurred. Carto has written, "Hitler's defeat was the defeat of Europe. And America. How could we have been so blind? The blame, it seems, must be laid at the door of the international Jews. It was their propaganda, lies and demands which blinded the west as to what Germany was doing." Elsewhere, Carto has written, "Rewards in politics, in other words, bear absolutely no relationship with who is right in a legal or moral sense but are taken by the team that understands the rules of the political game - which has no rule but power."

The philosophy underlying the Populist Party is not Wallaceite populism, but the revolutionary National Socialism of Hitler's Third Reich. Were the Populist Party to adopt a motto it might well be 'White Only Need Apply.'

The most impressive part of the Carto network is *The Spotlight*, a weekly tabloid newspaper which propagates the view that a vast Jewish conspiracy is destroying white

Duke Elected GOP State Representative

Metairie, LA - In a political bid which garnered him hundreds of times the publicity that his nearly unnoticed 1988 Populist Party presidential bid obtained, former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke successfully beat out a number of challengers to win a vacant seat in the Louisiana State House of Representatives.

After coming in third in the January primary, Duke beat out the brother of a former Louisiana governor by 227 votes in mid-February to win the state house seat as a Republican candidate. Duke changed his registration shortly after the November elections and won election despite the glare of negative publicity he obtained from national news media and top GOP leaders. He ran on a low tax, pro-white platform in the suburban New Orleans area which only has 33

black registered voters.

Duke withstood repudiation by GOP national chair Lee Atwater and campaign commercials directed against him by top Republicans including Ronald Reagan. After winning election in what was undoubtedly the most publicized state house race in U.S. history, Duke also withstood proposed challenges to his district residency and a proposed boycott by a number of other Louisiana state legislators.

Described by some as a "yuppie racist," Duke easily made the transition from Populist presidential candidate to GOP legislator, demonstrating that third party labels don't necessarily hurt a candidate's chances when switching parties. Ironically, onerous state ballot laws for would-be third party candidates often result in these candidates appearing on major party ballots instead - with occasional success as Duke's election demonstrates. ■

Defamation League for orchestrating many of these plots.

Support for *The Spotlight* peaked during the economic chaos of the Carter years when subscriptions topped 350,000. Today, about 100,000 subscribers remain. The Reagan years have been hard, not easy, on the far-right. Yet *The Spotlight's* subscriber base still exceeds that of all left-wing papers combined, and even right-wing tabloids like *Human Events* are hard-pressed to match it. David Duke even defeated Ron Paul in four southern states - Arkansas, Kentucky, Louisiana and Mississippi.

But the Populist Party is not likely to play a role should another George Wallace emerge. The party's racist leadership has proven anathema to potential right-wing recruits, among them former Congressman George Hansen, R-Idaho. The Populists nominated Hansen as their presidential candidate, but he turned the party down, forcing the choice of Duke. Carto's inability to maintain long-term political relationships does not bode well for the Populists either; Richards defected after the 1984 campaign because of one such dispute.

An economic downturn or radical growth in black anti-semitism could be exploited, but neither scenario is likely given the Populists' current leadership. Expect another failed great white hope and finish far behind the LP in 1992. ■

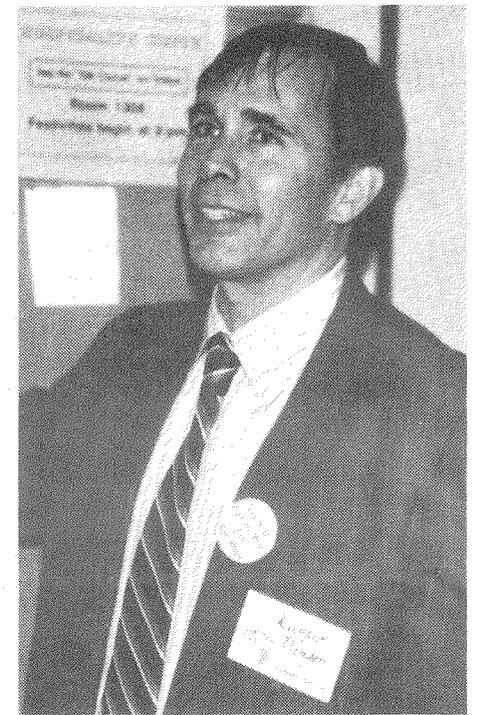
Convention Highlights

From page 1

end of Reagan era and "the new case for optimism", in which he emphasized positive trends such as the "end of the Cold War", the "collapse of socialism" and recent healthy signs of popular distrust of government. Boston radio talk show host and former 1983 LP presidential nomination contender Gene Burns also gave a stirring, upbeat address to an enthusiastic audience, although Burns was not on the original program and apparently was flown in by convention organizers at the last minute with minimum publicity.

The Sunday evening banquet featuring "hard money" financial expert Harry Browne drew the biggest crowd of the weekend, who heard Browne give his economic prognosis ("uncertain and mixed") and later danced late into the evening to a lively rock music band.

Another popular though unofficial event was the open bar and free feed Saturday evening provided by national LP membership chair Matt Monroe, who was actively campaigning during the three day event for election as national LP chair. The free eats



Ballot access expert Richard Winger was on hand to discuss the latest developments of interest to California libertarians and the Council of State Chairs.

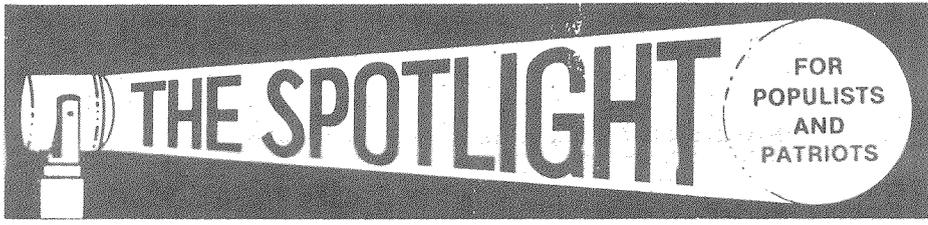
attracted a packed house, who also heard former LP 1984 vice presidential candidate Jim Lewis for the first time since his recent release from federal prison on tax charges, via a live speakerphone hookup.

The LP Council of State Chairs, hosted by former national LP chair Alicia Clark, attracted about 40% of the state chairs or their representatives, and spent most of the weekend discussing their experiences and mutual concerns as well as hearing from a wide range of LP political activists on a number of topics, ranging from fundraising to ballot access to membership growth.

The California convention itself attracted a fair number of attendees to the business sessions, which featured the usual run of rules changes, platform discussion and election of officers and delegates to the upcoming national LP convention. Among the more controversial topics was a symbolic vote on the idea of accepting government matching funds (defeated by a 60%-40% margin) and a Byzantine political maneuver to pre-select the California representatives on the Libertarian Nation Committee in advance of the national convention.

This latter effort was spearheaded by the paid California LP executive director Lyn Sapowsky-Smith (who also serves as a county LP chair, on the California State Executive Committee, and on the Libertarian National Committee), who was a die-hard defender of former LP national chair Jim Turney. She argued that the regional LNC

YOUR WEEKLY NEWSPAPER FROM WASHINGTON



Klansmen And Neo-Nazi's

"I do not hate blacks, but they do not belong here. They were brought here in chains. My number one priority would be to return blacks to Africa."

"I know some of you don't like it when I say 'Jew,' but I'm not afraid to. I'll say it - Jew."

Ralph Forbes and Keith Shive, 1987 Populist Party convention

David Duke is not the only avowed white supremacist active as a Populist. The party has many with Klan and neo-Nazi ties within its ranks:

- Ralph Forbes of Arkansas is a leader of Identity, a racist theology which holds that whites are the chosen people of God, that blacks are inferior and that Jews are the tools of Satan.

- Keith Shive of Kansas is the self-styled leader of the Farmers Liberation Army.

- Joseph Birkenstock of Wisconsin is a Posse Comitatus leader.

- Van Loman of Ohio has a history of involvement with the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

- Jerry Pope of Kentucky is a veteran of the National States Rights Party (NSRP).

All are key state leaders.

The first Populist chairman, Robert Weems of Mississippi, was involved with the NSRP for more than a decade. Weems has been active with the Klan, telling reporters at a 1980 rally that "a race war seems to be coming, and the Klan is positioning itself to serve as the protector of white people." Three years later, Weems wrote, "Organized resistance (to integration) is now left up to a few individuals ... (and) the Ku Klux Klan." (*The Spotlight*, 19 Sept., 1983)

A subsequent chair, Fred Seipold of Idaho, portrayed Robert Mathews, founder of the

civilization. The paper is not explicitly anti-semitic, but works to appear "mainstream" and "respectable."

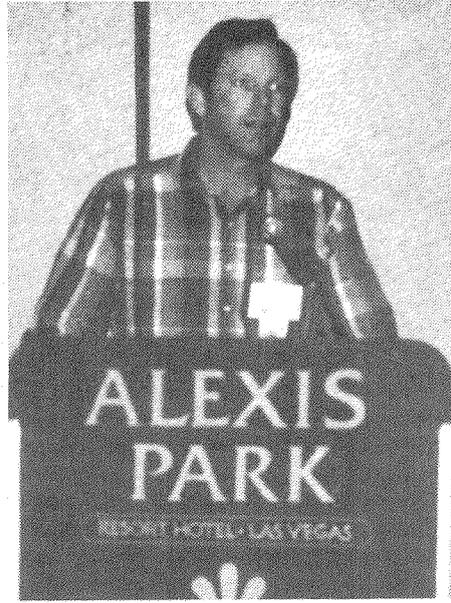
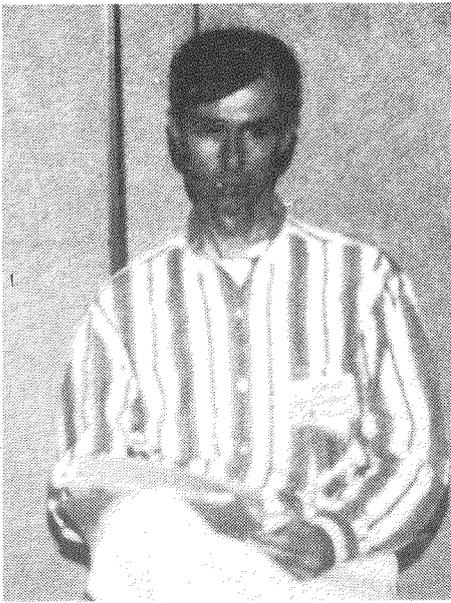
Spotlight On The Movement

"The point of view of the Spotlight is best described as populist and nationalist." *Spotlight Creed*

The Spotlight has been the major promoter of the Populist Party. After Richards' dismal 1984 showing, the paper proclaimed that "the election results show the party has solidly entrenched itself as America's third major political party." Following Duke's poor performance *The Spotlight* maintained "the party has firmly established itself as America's premier third party." (*The Spotlight*, 21 Nov., 1988) The Libertarian Party's continued political success has been especially bothersome to *The Spotlight*, (see related story in this issue) despite the paper's Orwellian attempt to rewrite recent political history.

On another level, *The Spotlight* is the chronicle of the racist movement. Sometimes the wall separating the extra-parliamentary and legal wings can appear rather thin. *The Spotlight* printed sympathetic articles on several reported Order members before their alleged involvement surfaced and founder Mathews used the paper's classified section to recruit. *The Spotlight* has since moved to distance itself from the Order.

But it is conspiracy that *The Spotlight* sets apart. In its pages one can read of plots hatched by the paper's political opponents, a varied lot that includes syndicated columnist Jack Anderson, conservative William Buckley, former CIA agent E. Howard Hunt and one-time AIP leader William Shearer, a defector from the Populist Party. Predictably, *The Spotlight* accuses the Jewish Anti-



Robert Subers (left) and Tom Tryon (right) addressed a session of the Libertarian officeholders panel, detailing their successful experiences as LP members in real world politics. Subers is a City Councilman in Clovis, CA while Tryon is a County Supervisor in Calaveras County, California.

Highlights

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representatives chosen at the national convention caucus didn't reflect the "true sentiment" of the California LP. She was also aided in this effort by former Turneyite turned *Berglandista* Steve Fielder, who was flown in especially for the occasion. The rules change was aimed at pre-selecting the large California region's LNC members prior to the September national convention (which is of dubious legality since national LP By-Laws specify that regions select their representatives at the convention — by the delegates), but the real intent was to punish the California LNC representatives who endorsed the moves at the December 1988 LNC meeting which led to Jim Turney's resignation.

Even though this complicated stratagem was billed as a pro-Turney effort (albeit much disguised), it received only token opposition from the normally strong anti-Turney *Berglandista* forces in the California LP (led by former LP presidential candidate David Bergland), leading to speculation that a deal had been cut between the Turney and the *Berglandista* forces. This theory was further reinforced when prominent *Berglandistas* ended up with 2 out of the five California LNC spots: *Berglandistas* Mary Gingell and Sam Treynor, along with Sapowsky-Smith, George O'Brien and Jeffrey Neale. Since Bergland & Company were key players in the move to reign in Turney, which led to his surprise resignation, the outcome of this rule change didn't really punish the anti-Turneyites. The main loser of this effort was former Ron Paul presidential campaign chair and current Ballot Access Committee (BAC) chair Burt Blumert, who was not re-elected as a regional LNC representative under the rule change. Some view this as an extension of a "get Burt Blumert" campaign originally begun by Turney to attack key supporters of the Paul campaign in retaliation for alleged slights received during the campaign, (a cause which has also been subsequently taken up by LP national chair David Walter, vice chair Bergland and treasurer Steve Fielder in recent efforts to dismantle the BAC and turn the ballot access franchise over to Bergland supporter Andre Marrou and his "51-'92" political action committee.)

In addition to this Machivellian plotting, the LPC elected new state officers: John Vernon, chair, Neal Donner, southern vice chair, Mark Sweany, northern vice chair, Gail Lightfoot, secretary, and Aaron Starr, treasurer.

In the subsequent Executive Committee

meeting held on Monday, a budget balancing move to lop off half of Sapowsky-Smith's \$24,000 annual director's salary was staunchly defended when she tearfully fled from the room in distress over the prospect of a salary cut, and other budgetary solutions

The Other "L" Word:

Fringe Right Targets Libertarians

by Greg Kaza

Greg Kaza is a Michigan-based reporter who has written about the far-right for numerous publications including *The Washington Times*.

"When Powell realized that he was going to be killed, he tried to make a break." Earl Turner, *The Turner Diaries*

On Dec. 30, 1985, a Seattle federal jury convicted 10 members of the neo-Nazi Order, a domestic terrorist group, on conspiracy and racketeering charges for participating in a crime spree that included armed robberies netting more than \$4 million and the machine-gun murder of Alan Berg. Twenty-three Order members were ultimately convicted or pleaded guilty.

The Order's plan was as stunning as it was chilling — to violently overthrow the U.S. government, termed ZOG, or Zionist Occupation Government — and form an all-white Aryan Nation. Even more stunning was court-room testimony that *The Turner Diaries*, a fictional account, inspired the Order to engage in terrorism. The book was written by Dr. William Pierce, a neo-Nazi writing under the pen name 'Andrew Macdonald.' In *The Turner Diaries*, a racist terrorist group called the Organization uses violence to overthrow the federal government.

The Turner Diaries

Analysis of *The Turner Diaries* and *The Spotlight* newspaper provides insight into the far-right's hostility to libertarians who are condemned as advocates of a capitalism that would allow too great a degree of individual freedom.

Sometimes this political opposition is elevated to the level of physical liquidation, a telling sign of the totalitarian impulses that motivate the far right.

Harry Powell joins the Organization in *The Turner Diaries* under the mistaken belief that the group seeks to reform the system. Powell soon learns how wrong he is, paying for his indiscretion with his life.

"Powell was Unit 5's leader," Pierce writes in *The Turner Diaries*. "Last week, when Washington Field Command gave his

were proposed instead. The original \$1,000 convention franchise fee owed by convention organizer Cullene Lang was also forgiven by the LP in the wake of her financial losses.

The Nevada LP convention was far overshadowed by the much larger California event, and in fact barely met at all in official session. There had been a proposal floated prior to the Nevada convention by Jim "Libertarian" Burns (recently returned from New Hampshire) to form a "Southern Nevada Libertarian Party" separate and distinct from the Nevada LP proper. This notion attracted some attention and generated controversy, but was opposed by the influential Clark County LP (Las Vegas area). Differences were ironed out before the convention and the matter wasn't even brought up. Reno-based NLP chair Dan Becan was re-elected in the major item of convention business.

At the final Monday luncheon, the Karl Bray Award for outstanding activism was not awarded for 1988, but the Samuel Adams Society presented its Sons of Liberty Award for the most effective and principled LP candidate to 80th Congressional District (San Diego area) candidate Dennis Thompson, who ran an active campaign and quadrupled the LP vote in that race. ■

deal with such a situation," Pierce writes. "The eight male members present drew straws, and three of us, including me, ended up on the execution squad. When Powell realized that he was going to be killed, he tried to make a break. We tied his hands and feet, and then we had to gag him when he began shouting. We drove him to a wooded area off the highway about 10 miles south of Washington, shot him, and buried him."

"There is probably no way we can use this group," Pierce concludes about libertarians.

The Spotlight

Spotlight has published repeated attacks on libertarians.

"Such writers as ... Murray Rothbard, who twisted the knife in the back of American servicemen in Vietnam, are among the high priests of this cult," wrote Bob Weems, a self-avowed white supremacist (*The Spotlight*, 12 Nov., 1984). The libertarian-New Left alliance of the Vietnam era proved especially bothersome to Weems. "Historically anti-statist revolutionaries have fellow traveled with communists, weakening the government's defenses and sowing the seeds of decadence among the populace ...," he wrote.

"Libertarians, like their conservative, liberal and Marxist political bedfellows, are internationalist in outlook," Weems concluded.

American Independent Party leader William Shearer argued that the Libertarian Party was a perennial nuisance "emerging from the woodwork" (*The Spotlight*, 17 Dec., 1984), before his falling out with Willis Carto, the paper's brains.

LP 1984 presidential candidate David Bergland condemned the Populist Party during the campaign as "American Nazis in Populist Clothing ... What has happened is that a neo-Nazi party has organized across the country ... Who is behind this hodge podge of fascist, Big Government, racist nonsense? ... Willis Carto ... This man of mystery calls Jews public enemy no. 1."

"The Bergland argument is pure nonsense, and the cheapest kind of political shot," concluded Shearer, terming the LP an "irresponsible fringe element."

Since *Spotlight* supporters have never achieved political power in this country, one can only speculate as to whether they would go as far as Pierce. ■

Norma Jean Paroled

Hollywood, CA - Former "cop turned call girl" Norma Jean Almodovar was released on three years parole December 14, 1988, after earlier being partially freed under a four-month-long work furlough program. Almodovar has attracted considerable publicity as a former civilian LAPD traffic officer who moonlighted as a call girl and later authored a manuscript detailing corruption in the ranks of Los Angeles' finest.

She gained attention as the 1986 Libertarian Party candidate for Lt. Governor and was later sentenced to a three-year prison term in July 1987 on a pandering charge after being entrapped by a former co-worker. She served 19 months behind bars, (including four months at the halfway house in Los Angeles where she lived and worked during the day at Southern California Gas Company) and expects to have to fulfill another three years of supervised parole. (Her time behind bars was reduced for "good behavior".)

According to a newsletter put out by the "Friends of Norma Jean" committee, Almodovar is currently appealing for a new trial in federal court on the grounds that her

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Andrew Macdonald

unit the assignment of assassinating two of the most obnoxious and outspoken advocates of racial mixing in this area — a priest and a rabbi, coauthors of a widely publicized petition to Congress requesting special tax advantages for racially mixed couples — Powell refused the assignment. He sent a message back to WFC saying that he was opposed to the further use of violence and that his unit would not participate in any acts of terrorism."

The Organization arrests Powell, and places him on trial. "Powell was then given an opportunity to speak in his behalf," Pierce writes. "He did so for more than two hours, interrupted occasionally by a question from one of us. What he said really shook me, but it made our decision easier for all of us, I am sure ... His were the motivations of a libertarian, the sort of self-centered individual who sees the basic evil in government as a limitation on free enterprise..." Powell was the epitome of economic man."

"We had no real choice in deciding Powell's fate ... There was only one way to

Libertarian Outlook

Bush: the First 60 Days

It has been a little over two months since George Bush was inaugurated and so far, libertarians have little to cheer about. In contrast to the Reagan first term, which started out with a fierce libertarian rhetorical bang (and quickly fizzled out into nothingness), the Bush regime has been launched with a heavy-footed statist establishment Republican thud.

Immediately out of the starting gate, Bush & Co. floated the ill considered "savings tax" to bail out the bankrupt FSLIC. Fortunately, the idea of taxing savers to bail out the government for the inevitable consequences of its fractional reserve/regulatory nightmare creation in the S&L industry was quickly exposed and rejected.

Next came Bush's endorsement of the Congressional pay raise grab, despite GOP rhetoric about "cutting government spending." That, too, was quickly torpedoed by public opinion.

In the wake of those debacles Bush headed for a friendlier clime, namely Communist China, where he promptly caved in when not-so-liberal authorities shanghied an invited dissident guest from a banquet Bush was holding. Bush's barely whispered "regrets" about this heavy-handed totalitarian action spoke volumes about Bush's true posture on human rights and

civil liberties. He's no Jimmy Carter on this score, or even a Ronald Reagan.

Next came his endorsement of gun control, in the guise of banning "assault weapons." Evidently quickly forgotten were the Bush commercials blasting the Duke's gun confiscation position during the recent election campaign.

But even this was quickly overshadowed by his die-hard attempt to force sleazemeister John Tower down congressional throats as Defense Secretary. So much for talk about raising the ethical standards in government.

Still on the agenda are expanding the powers of the newly appointed "drug czar" (where in the Constitution did Bush find that office?) and his Treasury's plans for third world "debt relief" - i.e. - international bank bailout at (guess who?) taxpayer expense.

We remember our libertarian brethren who argued just a few short months ago that Bush was the "best possible" choice for President. We wondered at the time if perhaps they knew something we didn't. Let's hope not.

If the early Bush record is the "kinder, gentler nation" he promised, include us out. As for Bush's libertarian apologists, they now have their work cut out for them. We're anxiously waiting to hear from them. ■

world can do no better than this at such a crucial time, then perhaps we should just shave our heads and start burning books to make the debacle complete.

Years ago, I asked a learned Libertarian what he thought it would take for us to finally achieve a truly free society. His answer was "About 2,000 years of evolution." He may have been right, but I'm not content to wait.

The Libertarian Party remains the best vehicle to bring the message to society at large, but it needs to focus on the ideals that brought us here, and we need to keep the dream of freedom for all people alive in our thoughts and actions.

Yes, it's a long hard road; but therein lies the joy and the glory. We can do better than this.

Kennon Baird
Houston, TX

NAP Inaccurate Votes

Your February 1989 issue contains an article by Greg Kaza about the New Alliance Party which is loaded with inaccurate facts about Libertarian Party vote showings.

Kaza wrote, "In Nebraska, NAP candidate Chambers polled 2% (for the U.S. Senate), more than any LP U.S. Senate candidate."

The truth is that **three** 1988 Libertarian Party US Senate candidates got a higher percentage than Ernie Chambers: Ken Schoolland, LP candidate for the US Senate in Hawaii, got 8,948 votes, or 2.76%; Rick Tompkins, LP candidate for US Senate in Arizona, got 20,849 votes, or 1.79%; and James Frye, LP candidate for the US Senate in Nevada, got 5,523 votes, or 1.61%. Ernie Chambers got 10,372 votes, or 1.55%, barely any better than the North Dakota LP showing for U.S. Senate of 1.50%.

Richard Winger
San Francisco, CA

Fulani SF Votes

I found Greg Kaza's article on the New Alliance Party interesting but I'm afraid he was taken for a ride. He didn't allow his natural journalistic tendencies to operate or



CRACK HOUSE

he would have checked the vote totals claimed by the Fulani campaign. Kaza reported that Fulani received 4.8% of the vote in San Francisco's Castro district and 5.2% in the Fillmore area of the city. He reported that both these districts are "predominantly gay areas." Well, this whole section of his article is in error. While the Castro is heavily gay that is not true for the Fillmore. More importantly, Fulani's claims to have received this high a vote total, like many of her claims, are total fabrications. Fulani did not beat Ron Paul in any area of San Francisco. Her totals in the Castro were under half a percent and in the Fillmore it was equally as low.

Kaza isn't the only journalist to fall for the Fulani lie. I first came across these claims in a gay newspaper from Washington. That paper simply reprinted a Fulani press release verbatim. (Since most gay papers have no professional journalists they often reprint whatever is sent to them without checking the facts.)

When I first read the claims I checked the official vote totals from San Francisco and no manipulation of the figures could bring Fulani's vote totals to such a high percentage. So contrary to Kaza's claim, Fulani's vote totals in San Francisco do not "signal another trend." Unless the trend he is referring to is her failure to win votes in the gay community.

While Ron Paul wasn't viewed by many people as a "pro-gay" candidate, he managed to outpoll Fulani in San Francisco's gay community even though her people campaigned vigorously in the Castro. In other words, Ron Paul did about twice as well as Fulani in gaining gay votes without making much of an effort.

Jim Peron
San Francisco, CA

Both Winger's and Peron's letters point out the pitfalls of reporting third party votes without careful checking.

*In Kaza's defense, the article was written in December 1988 before many of the third party vote totals were available in accurate form, and sometimes unreliable sources (such as party newspapers) were used as sources instead. **AL** should have double checked the totals and updated those in error in the time available prior to publication.*

We are happy to note that the LP results were better than originally reported. Ed.

New Alliance Report

I read with interest the article about the New Alliance Party. I have been receiving their newspaper, *The National Alliance*, since October, in an attempt to learn more about the methods and strategies they use. I've found that what they don't publish is more intriguing than what they do.

First, I was disturbed that they were able to offer a weekly newspaper, over 20 pages long, at a subscription price of \$10/year. How could they finance it, and why can't we libertarians do that? At least part of the answer is that each issue has about five pages of advertising. These ads are for movies, hairstyling, psychological therapy and a variety of services, all based in New York City. This indicates that most of the paper's distribution is in New York, not nationwide. If we want a weekly libertarian paper, perhaps we should either aggressively pursue national advertising or publish it on a local level.

An issue of *The National Alliance* typically has a few emotionally-charged articles about political or social matters. But it is not

Continued page 5

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.

"Forgotten Why We're Here?"

I am proud to be a Libertarian, and have always felt privileged to have been present - albeit somewhat tangentially - at the founding of the Libertarian Party in Denver in 1972.

To me, Libertarian ideals and goals represent the best hope of mankind. The prospect of a truly free society remains as fresh and exciting as it was when I was first introduced to the idea by a good friend many years ago.

Over time, my muddy philosophical and political leanings were cleared and crystallized by the high concepts of individual liberty to which I was exposed. I was changed by it, and remain so today.

I don't pretend to be an intellectual or a party insider, so perhaps I don't understand all the nuances of the recent turmoils which have plagued to national Party leadership; but from my reading of the *American Libertarian*, I find much to be discouraged about.

I see politically experienced Libertarian intellectuals bogged down in unbecoming peccadillos. I see time and money being wasted. I see people evidently trying to make a fast buck at Party expense.

Have they forgotten why we're here?

It seems to me that a simple look at the headlines today would be evidence enough that statist, religious fanatics and fascists are breathing down our necks and are closing fast. I mean, wake up!

If those of us who share the vision of a free

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Feedback

From page 4

a purely political paper. It has movie and music reviews, and a personal advice column. Here, we get a glimpse of the psychology advocated by Drs. Lenora Fulani and Fred Newman. It is very much oriented towards the 'empowerment' of women, gays, and minorities. It views mainstream psychology as bourgeois, sexist and racist. I was surprised to learn that, by sending flowers on Valentine's Day, I was engaging in bourgeois, sexist romance.

There are no hints of dissension in issues of *The National Alliance*. Unlike libertarian newspapers, there are no letters to the editor that present contrary views, and there are no reports of conflicts within the party administration. In fact, there is no reporting of party administration at all, beyond a single puff piece that said the National Committee had met and discussed things. Could it be that all these strong willed, emotional people agree on everything?

I called a few New Alliance Party offices, including the main one in New York, and asked them what the National Committee did. The people answering the phones, presumably party activists, said they didn't know. When I suggested that the NatCom might do budgeting, the response was a non-committal "maybe." NAP members are apparently being kept in the dark about how their party works.

The New Alliance Party denies that it is a front for Lyndon LaRouche or for Dr. Fred Newman. In one article, the author dismissed the accusation that the wealthy Newman was bankrolling the party, and said that the party was supported by thousands of contributors. I find this very strange: membership in the New Alliance Party is free, although they ask for \$10. In the six months I've subscribed, I have not received any solicitations for contributions. The NAP attempts to appeal to the lower class, and Fulani received only half the votes Ron Paul did. Where is their money coming from? What is the size of their budget?

I have not learned what I hoped to learn about the NAP. I don't know their ballot access strategy, their party organization, their budget, their membership size, or the issues they face in running their party. And I don't think they want anyone to know these things. But I'm not as concerned about them as I once was. They are overly emotional, very angry, secretive, and vague about their platform. I believe these characteristics will prevent them from having wide appeal.

Robert E. Alexander
Waltham, MA

"Major Weakness of the Libertarian Party"

I enjoyed Greg Kaza's piece on the New Alliance Party (Feb. 89 *AL*). I noticed, though, that he continued your policy of referring to the Libertarian Party as "the nation's third largest party." We all know that we are on top in terms of number of candidates run, total votes received and percentages of the vote received. We should keep in mind, however, that when we tell ourselves that we are the nation's third largest party, we are not talking about the size of our organization.

Actual membership figures may not be available; but, publication circulation figures are. Where does the Libertarian Party with its 5,000-6,000 readers of the bi-monthly *LP News* stack up? The New Alliance Party boasts a 100,000 circulation for its weekly *National Alliance*. The Populist *Spotlight* boasts a 200,000 weekly circulation. The Socialist Workers Party manages to get its *Militant* out weekly to its

8,000 subscribers and promotes its student group with a 6,000 run *Young Socialist* every other month.

Your readers deserve to be aware of these figures. They highlight the major weakness of the Libertarian Party, a weakness that sorely needs to be addressed.

Terry Inman
Editor, *Youth Connection*
Auburn, AL

NAP: "Why Bother?"

I noticed that you devoted extensive front page coverage to New Alliance Party candidate Lenora Fulani in your February issue.

Why did you bother? By all accounts, her candidacy was a disaster. A postmortem, as your item on Lyndon LaRouche, would have been appropriate. The only thing we can learn from Dr. Fulani's presidential campaign is that millions of dollars of taxpayers' money can't buy a lot of votes.

Gerry Walsh
Roselle, IL

For the record, our article on the New Alliance Party was the first of a two part series by Greg Kaza on other third parties in America. So far the NAP story has generated more letters than any other subject published in our past several issues. Ed. ■

Guest Column:

Do We Gotta Have Heart?

by Murray N. Rothbard

Murray Rothbard is a frequent commentator on the libertarian scene.

In the January/February issue of *LP News*, Mr. Charles Alan Dews, founder of the Green movement of Texas, writes a friendly but despairing article about Libertarians. The trouble with Libertarians, says Mr. Dews, is that we are all "icy" "cold" intellectuals, and that's because we are mostly males. The Green movement, on the contrary, is mainly run by women, and is therefore overflowing with love and warmth, since women are more tuned in to the "web of life." In short, his injunction to Libertarians is akin to the song from *Damn Yankees*: "You gotta have heart! Miles and miles and miles of heart!"

Mr. Dews is scarcely the first person to raise this charge, and I for one believe it is high time this twaddle be refuted. In the first place, considering Mr. Dews' wailing about animals and the environment, and his attack on any further economic growth, one is tempted to reply to his smug thesis: "Greens are Libertarians with heart," that, on the contrary, "Libertarians are Greens with brains."

But how about the charge of being "icy" and cold logicians? [Hell, he even calls Ron Paul "icy"!]? I am tempted to paraphrase *Skylock*: "If we [libertarians] are pricked, do we not bleed?" Besides, in all my forty-plus years in the libertarian movement, I have never met anyone who might be accused of being an icy logician. And no one has ever accused me of being a Pollyanna about the movement!

In fact, the only person I ever met in my life who could qualify as an icy logician was my friend in high school, Charles Rosen, who later grew up to be a distinguished pianist and musicologist. And he was no libertarian. Far from being repelled by Rosen, I thought he was a fascinating character. After all, there are plenty of kids in high school who ooze warmth, albeit in a bumbling kind of way, but how many high school sophomores carry themselves like Clifton Webb?

As for the paucity of women in the libertarian movement, on this as on all similar matters I am an optimist, because things are far better now than in my early days in the movement. In our Circle Bastiat, which flourished in New York during the 1950s, there were, in the "inner" circle one female out of about eight or nine people, and in the "outer" circle of another dozen or so there was one woman (or, as we used to say in that benighted epoch, "girl"). If you add in the broadest possible movement of everyone I knew in the Northeast, out of several dozen more, there were about two or three females. Things are a lot better than that nowadays!

But, on a broader level of analysis, the icy male/warm female theory simply doesn't work. In the Republican Party, for example,

not exactly a group distinguished by warmth and the milk of human kindness, there are plenty of women. In narrower ideological movements, the Randians, who were scarcely overflowing with universal love for all creatures, had just about as many women as men. And in more activist and less ideological groups, outfits like the Hell's Angels, who are again not distinguished for their love and warmth, seem not to lack for female consorts.

So what is the reason for the low female/male ratio among Libertarians? I don't have any sure answers, but one thing I do know: the common icy male/warm female hypothesis should be tossed out; it just doesn't work. ■

Media Watch



1988 FPA Awards

Columbus, OH - The libertarian-oriented Free Press Association (FPA) held its third national conference and seventh annual Mencken Awards ceremony last November in Los Angeles and attracted over 100 journalists and supporters of the FPA's "absolutist" First Amendment approach to journalism.

The attendees heard prominent journalists and the event generated nationwide radio and newspaper coverage. Among the 1988 winners were:

- Debbie Nathan, for her investigative report in the *Village Voice* of unjust molestation accusations in the El Paso, TX area;
- Charles Levendosky, for his editorial in the *Casper, WY Star-Tribune* blasting the government's "war on drugs;"
- Ben Sargent, for his *Austin American-Statesman* cartoon on Jerry Falwell's lawsuit against *Hustler* magazine;

- Linda Mizejewski, for her *Harper's* memoir of her trip to Romania; and
- Ronald Hamowy, for his book *Dealing With Drugs*.

FPA Director, Michael Grossberg, also announced that the 1989 Mencken Awards would be held in New York City and the 1990 site would be San Francisco. The now-quarterly FPA newsletter will also become bi-monthly, according to Grossberg.

More information about the organization can be obtained at: **Free Press Association, P.O. Box 15548, Columbus, OH 43215.**

Libertarian Micro-Fiche Publishing

Berrima, Australia - Down Under libertarian, John Zube, has recently distributed a tract (printed) advocating the use of micro-fiche for the publication and distribution of libertarian newsletters and magazines.

Zube has long advocated this micro-reduced system of information storage and is urging libertarians to adopt this as a means of spreading libertarian ideas.

For more information, contact: **John Zube, 7 Oxley St., Berrima, New South Wales, Australia, 255.** *Continued page 7*

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Part II

Austrian Economics - Boom, Sell-Out and Revival

by Murray N. Rothbard

Murray N. Rothbard is a leading authority on Austrian economics and is the S.J. Hall distinguished professor of economics at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. He also serves as Vice President for academic affairs at the Ludwig von Mises Institute.

Part I of this article appeared in last month's *American Libertarian*.

The Mises Institute and the Misesian Revival

Into this miasma, into this blight, at the point when the ideas of Ludwig von Mises were about to be lost to history for the second and last time, and when the very name of "Austrian" had been captured from within by its opposite, there entered the fledgling Mises Institute. The Ludwig von Mises Institute began in the fall of 1982 with only an idea; it had no sugar daddies, no endowments, to help it make its way in the world. In fact, the powers-that-be in what was now the Austrian "Establishment" tried their very worst to see that the Mises Institute did not succeed. George Pearson, long-time hatchetman for ex-libertarian billionaires Charles and David Koch, demanded in no uncertain terms that the Mises Institute self-destruct before launching. When that demand failed, the Koch empire organized a powerful boycott against the Institute, and particularly against its scholarly journal, the *Review of Austrian Economics*, which it realized to be the most potent single force in a possible renaissance of Misesian ideas. It persuaded the renegade ex-Misesian scholars to join the boycott (not a difficult task, since most were on its payroll), as well as those timorous souls who did not wish to alienate the network of affluent anti-Misesian "Austrian" institutions.

The Mises Institute persisted, however, inspired by the light of truth and liberty,

and gradually but surely began to find friends and supporters who had a great love for Ludwig von Mises and the ideals and principles he fought for throughout his life. The Institute found that its hopes were justified: that there are indeed many more devoted champions of freedom and the free market in America than a few reprobate billionaires. Its journal and conferences and centers and fellowships have flourished, and it was able to launch a scholarly but uncompromising assault on the nihilism and statism that had been sold to the unsuspecting world as "Austrian" economics.

Now in the midst of its sixth year, the Mises Institute is expanding and flourishing as never before. The *Review of Austrian Economics*, a high-level journal in the theory and applications of Austrian economics, is also the only journal in the field. Its quarterly *Austrian Economics Newsletter* brings news and comments about important developments. Its monthly magazine, *The Free Market*, provides incisive commentary on the world of economics and economics policy from an Austrian perspective. In addition, timely issued papers on economic policy are distributed from the Institute's Washington, D.C., office. Furthermore, the Mises Institute now has three university centers: its academic headquarters at Auburn University, where M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in economics are being granted; the Lawrence Fertig Student Center near George Mason University; and a new center at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, where there are three Austrian-oriented professors in the economics department, and where an M.A. in economic theory and policy, with a concentration in Austrian economics, is becoming available. The Mises Institute also provides fellowships, both resident in the three centers and non-resident, to promising young graduate students



Austrian economist Ludwig von Mises.

throughout the country.

The Institute's comprehensive program in Austrian education also includes publishing and distributing working papers, books, and monographs, original and reprinted, and holding conferences on a variety of important economic topics, and later publishing the conference papers in book form.

Conference and publication programs already completed or underway are works on the gold standard, taxation, the Federal Reserve, and on Ludwig von Mises, Karl Marx, and John Maynard Keynes. Last but emphatically not least, in the wake of 1987's phenomenally successful week-long summer conference at Stanford University, the Institute plans two such week-long seminars in 1988: one an Austrian economics conference, geared for bright and eager undergraduates.

The basic point of this glittering spectrum of activities is twofold: to advance the discipline — the expanding, integrated body of truth that is Austrian economics — and to build a flourishing movement of Austrian economists. No science, no discipline, develops in thin air, in the abstract; it must be nurtured and advanced by people, by individual men and women who talk to each other, write to and for each other, interact and help build the body of Austrian economics and the people who sustain it. Already, though only in its third year of publication, the *Review of Austrian Economics* is beginning to play a crucial role in this task. The journal, of course, serves to expand and develop the truths of Austrian economics. But it also nurtures young and older Austrians, encourages new, young Austrians to read and write for the journal, and finds mature Austrians heretofore isolated and scattered in often lonely academic outposts, but who are now stimulated to write and submit articles. These men and women now know that they are not isolated, that they are part of a large and growing nationwide and even international movement. Any of us who remember what it was like to find even one other person who agreed with our seemingly eccentric views in favor of freedom and the free market will appreciate what I mean, and how vitally im-

portant has been the growing role of the Mises Institute.

The week-long instructional summer seminars play a vital complementary role. Here, leading Austrian economists engage in intensive instruction and discussion with students in a lovely campus setting. Participants are literally the best, the brightest and most eager budding Austrians. From there they go on to develop, graduate, and themselves teach as Austrian scholars, or become business or other opinion leaders imbued with the truth and the importance of Austrian and free-market economics. In addition, the Institute is unique in that instructors avoid the usual academic practice of giving a lecture and quickly retiring from the scene; instead, their attendance at all the lectures encourages fellowship and an *esprit de corps* among faculty and students. These friendships and associations may be lifelong, and they are vital for building any sort of vibrant or cohesive long-run movement for Austrian economics and the free society.

The result of this struggle has been highly gratifying. For the light of truth has prevailed over duplicity. As *American Libertarian* has reported, the "hermeneuticians" have folded their tents and silently stolen away. There are no longer any viable competitors for the name of Austrian. There are no longer any "Austrian" week-long seminars taught by any other organization in this country. Justice, for once, has triumphed. Not only is the Austrian economic revival flourishing as never before, but it is now developing soundly within a genuine Austrian framework. Above all, Austrian economics is once again, as it ever shall be, Misesian. ■

Supreme Court Political Party Victory

Washington, DC — On February 22 the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously upheld an important victory for the right of political parties to organize their own internal affairs as they see fit, in the case of *Eu v. San Francisco Democratic Central Committee, et al.* which overturned restrictive California state law which dictated how state political parties must be organized and choose their state chairs.

According to ballot law expert Richard Winger, "this is the most important case ever in establishing the right of a party to control its own manner of organization so long as it does not disrupt the election of candidates. The importance of this case is that states can no longer tell the LP what to do in its own organization. It is the first case ever to define that a state political party has any rights whatsoever."

Winger said this removes one sometimes voiced objection to the LP, namely that it is essentially a creature of the State with no control over its destiny.

The case was filed in 1983 and the national LP filed the only "friend of the court" brief, authored by Steve Fielder. The California LP was also a defendant in the case.

The California state government had essentially argued for paternalism, claiming that political parties had to be governed by the state to prevent "injuring themselves." Fortunately, the court upheld political party rights on solid First Amendment freedom of association grounds. ■

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LP Commercials Evaluated

by Karl Peterjohn

Karl Peterjohn is a Wichita, Kansas based free lance writer and was the Kansas coordinator for the Ron Paul for President campaign.

Were Ron Paul's campaign commercials effective? Did enough voters even see the commercials so even a statistically significant sample could evaluate them? The Ron Paul campaign needed effective commercials, and to create an effective commercial it needed to reach their target audience. Creating an effective commercial in the midst of a political campaign is a difficult challenge. Were either of the 30 second TV commercials for Ron Paul effective?

Focus groups are used by political campaigns to get a measurement of voter reactions to TV commercials. The George Bush campaign used focus group responses from small groups of 10 to 20 independent and "Reagan Democrat" voter groups to measure their reactions to potential commercials and the themes these commercials contained. The Bush campaign realized the potent impact of the crime issue by using Willie Horton and the prison furlough issue with these voters. The Dukakis campaign never seemed able to take advantage of the flaws contained in the Reagan-Bush record, Iran-contragate, the deficit, or Pentagon scandals. The best it could do was to go "quayle hunting," and prove that voters don't vote for Vice Presidents.

In Kansas, an effort was made to get Ron Paul's message out to voters in the Wichita and Topeka TV markets. In Wichita, 40 commercials were broadcast in the last 10 days of the campaign, while a smaller number were broadcast from Topeka. However, the issue arose of which commercial to use? Two were available.

Two Ads Contrasted

The first was created by the LP's Advertising Development Committee which was prepared by Utah LP activists. It consisted of a number of "average voters" stating why they would vote for Ron Paul. These voters said Paul was opposed to big government and advocated lower taxes. It did not show Ron Paul's picture or use his voice. The quality of the photography was not great, but it contained the national Libertarian Party's toll free phone number. In Wichita, we replaced the national party's number with our local number when the national LP office did not respond to test inquiries.

The theme of this commercial was "building a new majority," which for a third party seemed pretentious. One of the "average voters" said that Paul would "put families first," which raised some questions about whether this was a pitch for Pat Robertson's conservative supporters.

The commercial produced by Ron Paul's campaign in Houston was an anti-IRS ad. This 30 second spot used outtakes from the 8 minute video which was used at the 1987 national convention. It began with the Taxpayer's Bill of Rights being discussed in Congress, cut to a group of tax agents a family with shotguns and assault rifles, and then cut to IRS seizure labels being placed on the family's possessions. Paul's picture is shown at the end of the commercial as the voice over promises to abolish the IRS.

These two ads should be classified differently. The Utah commercial is a name identification spot, while the critique of the IRS is an issue commercial. In Wichita, with only a couple of weeks left in the campaign, we were busy trying to raise money as well as deciding which commercial to use. Neither commercial drew an enthusiastic response from the local libertarian activists. There wasn't much enthusiasm for the Utah commercial until the IRS spot arrived.

Table 1
Focus Group Breakdown by Candidate and Degree of Support

	Bush Voters	Dukakis Voters	Paul Voters
Enthusiastic for the candidate	9	9	
Not enthusiastic	2	6	1
No answer		1	

Table 2
Results of Preference Survey for LP Ads

(only students "not enthusiastic" or "no answer" were polled)

	Utah (name ID) Ad	Paul (IRS) Ad	No Preference
Students favoring	3	5	2
%	30%	50%	20%

The IRS spot seemed excessively strident and harsh. Several Wichita libertarians were afraid it would make us look too extreme, and play into the harsh stereotypes our critics regularly use to criticize us. It didn't seem like the best tool to use for a last minute media blitz. So in Wichita the Utah spot was shown, while in Topeka the IRS ad was played.

Focus Group Evaluation

But it wasn't until the 1988 campaign was over that a focus group of voters got the chance to view the two commercials and provide an evaluation. At Wichita State University, a class of 28 political science students viewed both spots and filled out a brief survey form. This was a prime target group for libertarians: young voters interested in political issues. Sadly, two thirds of this group were enthusiastic supporters of Bush or Dukakis on election day.

However, the data generated from this particular focus group demonstrated that neither commercial was very effective. The data is shown on Table 1.

Of the 28 students, 19 were male and 8 female, with only one of the females voting for Bush while the males split (10 Bush, 9 Dukakis).

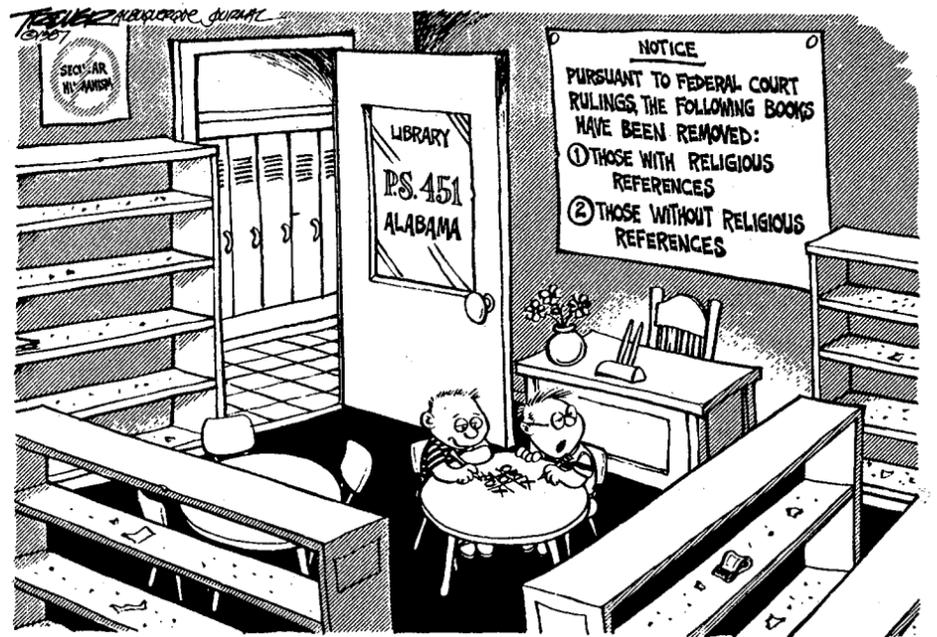
Ignoring the enthusiastic supporters of either Bush or Dukakis left ten students in this focus group to express their opinions about the commercials. The 10 students who weren't enthusiastic about Bush-Dukakis responded to the Ron Paul commercials, with the preferences shown in Table 2.

When asked if either commercial made these voters more likely to support Ron Paul, most said the commercials had little or no impact.

None of these students thought highly of either ad. The IRS ad drew an incredibly apoplectic response from some students, but all were enthusiastic supporters of either Bush or Dukakis. One supporter of Dukakis was outraged by the IRS spot, saying "we need the IRS to keep taxpayers in line."

A Bush supporter had the most telling comment when he said about the IRS spot, "It seemed like a take-off of Bush's statement that Dukakis would send an army of IRS agents into your kitchen." The one "not enthusiastic" voter for Ron Paul expressed a preference for the IRS ad.

The IRS ad did seem more effective in raising a perspective which was new to these voters. It might have been a more promising approach if it could have been developed beyond the limits of a 30 second spot.



The vote totals in Kansas seemed slightly to counter the preference for the IRS ad. Ron Paul ran better in the Wichita market with the Utah ad than in Topeka, where the IRS ad was shown. However, the Paul campaign in Wichita was stronger overall than in Topeka. (For a more detailed analysis of the Ron Paul vote in Kansas, see the January, 1989 issue of *Liberty* magazine.)

The conclusion from this *expost* exercise with a focus group is that these commercials did not do the best possible job of putting forth our message in 1988. If the Libertarian Party is going to succeed, we must be able to learn from our efforts and not repeat mistakes. There is much which can be learned from the 1988 TV commercials, and focus groups are needed to help guide TV commercial development if we are going to use TV effectively in 1992. ■

travel and to do interviews, her media schedule has been busy thus far in 1989. She has done seven radio talk shows in the first two months since her parole began, and has appeared on three TV programs: the syndicated "A Current Affair", "Good Day" from Boston and the nationally syndicated "Sally Jessie Raphael" program.

For more information about Norma Jean Almodovar contact: Friends of Norma Jean, 1626 N. Wilcox Ave. #580, Hollywood, CA 90028 (213) 382-6445. ■

Media Watch

From page 5

Hidden Libertarianism

Moore, OK - Oklahoman Loren Baker of Moore, discovered that the December 13, 1988 "Cryptoquote" and code solving puzzle distributed by King Features Syndicate contained a quotation from H.L. Mencken, "It takes as much time to breed a libertarian as it takes to breed a race horse."

The "hidden hand" of libertarianism strikes again ...

New Reason Editor Slated

Santa Monica, CA - Long time *Reason* magazine editor, Marty Zupan, has recently accepted an offer from the Institute for Humane Studies to launch a new project and will be heading eastward in her new job.

Meanwhile, the search for a replacement editor has been hot and heavy. Among the candidates mentioned are *Oakland Tribune* editorial page editor Jonathan Marshall; the *Orange County Register* editor Alan Bock; Bill Evers, currently of the Hoover Institute; Glenn Garvin of the *Washington Times*; Doug Bandow and David Boaz of Cato; and IHS's Sheldon Richman. Bradley Miller Jr. of the Heritage Foundation was rumored to have the inside track at last report. The replacement is expected to be named shortly.

Better Make that the Republican Party

New York, NY - In the January 1989 *Harper's Bazaar* magazine, 48-year-old libertarian billionaire David Koch, was named in a feature titled "Millionaire Bachelors: the 20 Most Wanted."

Estimating his net worth at \$850 million, the advice for would-be husband seekers said, "... so your best bet may be to concentrate on conservative politics. First step: Join the Libertarian Party; David was its vice-presidential nominee in 1980."

(Note for Goldiggers: David left the LP in 1983 and now traffics with various shady characters who are known to hang around Washington DC in pin-stripe suits ...) ■

Norma Jean

From page 3

original attorney, Martin Shucart, failed to properly represent her at the original trial. Her current attorney Larry Teeter filed suit against Mr. Shucart over a year ago. One of her main complaints - that her attorney did not allow her to testify on her own behalf.

Norma Jean recently outlined her current situation in an "Open Letter" to friends and sympathizers: "I wish that I could sit down and write each and every one of you a letter personally, because I owe you that. I hope that you will understand it will be a little while before I can because I have to find a way to make a living. I will not ever be able to work as a callgirl ever again, but then I hadn't done that since 1984, before I was on probation. Now that I am on parole, which is worse than probation, I couldn't consider it, although I will certainly miss that part of my life. I am trying to restart my doll business, and I am working with the Dept. of Rehabilitation to see if I qualify for a business loan, to get the equipment I need to be able to start production again."

She also indicated that she was looking for a publisher for her manuscript, "From Cop to Call Girl", the original of which was confiscated during her original arrest. She is also considering self publishing it as an alternative. Additionally, Almodovar reports that she has contacted producers of the "Pat Sajak Show" and the "Arsenio Hall Show" about appearances, following up the media spots prior to and during her confinement on programs such as "60 Minutes" and "Late Night with Joan Rivers".

Despite that fact that Norma Jean must have permission from her parole officer to

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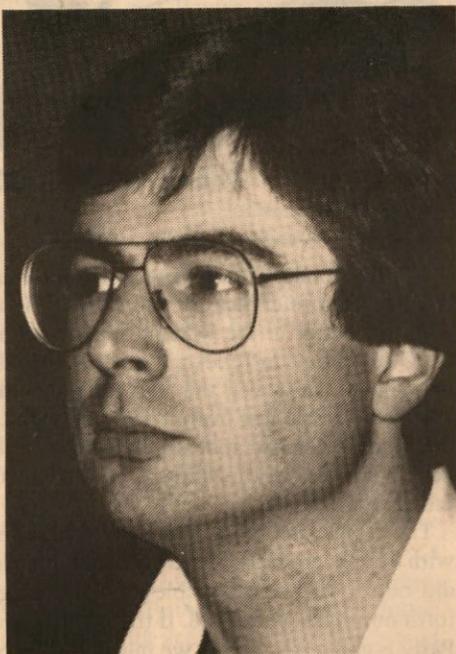
Virginia LP State Convention

Richmond, VA - About 20 VLP members gathered in Richmond, VA on February 18-19 to select delegates to the upcoming national LP convention and elect party officers.

William Redpath was elected chair, replacing outgoing chair Howard Maxwell. Ed Sargent was voted vice chair, Marc Montoni replaced Henry Thrasher as treasurer, and David Brown was chosen to replace Scott Bailey as secretary of the state party. Marc Montoni remains editor of the party newspaper, *Virginia Liberty*.

Later in February, Washington & Lee University sociologist Anne Wortham spoke to about 75 students at the University of Virginia on the subject of government and race relations. The event was sponsored by the UV SIL chapter and the Black Students Association and sparked lively discussion. It was also covered on the front page of the campus paper.

Newly elected chair Redpath also reports success in forming a northern Virginia LP chapter. ■



William Redpath of northern Virginia was elected new state chair at the Virginia LP convention.



Virginia LP convention attendees: (from left) Henry Thrasher, David Saum, Jim Turney.



Virginia LP convention session. All photos courtesy of Marc Montoni.

The March 6 issue of *Forbes* magazine featured a two-page story on libertarian economist Murray Rothbard, described as the "Happy Warrior of American economics" famous for his "thermonuclear polemical style". The article brought inquiries about Austrian economics from prominent business executives and the Chinese communist government.

Economist Murray Rothbard is to the libertarian right of Milton Friedman. Despite his radicalism his audience is growing.

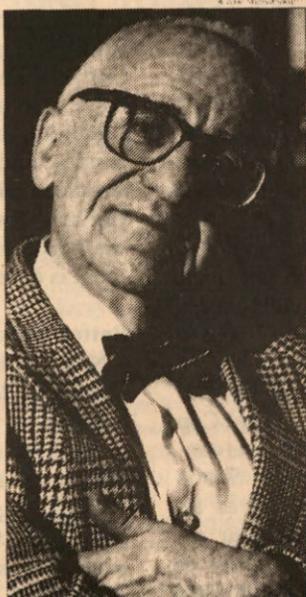
"No water" economics

By Peter Brimelow

MURRAY ROTHBARD, 62, S.J. HALL Distinguished Professor of Economics at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, emits a string of comically hyperbolic epithets and cackles demonically. He is the Happy Warrior of American economics. And he has a lot to fight about: As a leader of the "Austrian" school of economic thought, he has such faith in free markets that he regards Milton Friedman as a species of Keynesian.

Here's how Rothbard describes his position: A recent *New York Times* article noted an emerging division between "salt water" economists, affiliated with universities on both coasts and favoring government intervention, and "fresh water" economists, mostly on the Great Lakes and skeptical of government intervention. Rothbard's deep love of factional distinction was fired. He published a letter to the editor announcing the existence of a third school: "no water" economists from states like Nevada. The *Times* thought that the "fresh water" folk were "wimpy moderates" because they did not believe that all government intervention was "not only ineffectual, but also pernicious and counterproductive."

When Rothbard opposes all government intervention he means, well, all. He faults the British radical re-



Economist Murray Rothbard "A happy warrior" with plenty to fight about.

Rothbard's more exuberant enthusiasm to distract attention from the serious import of his work—although that is arguably what has happened throughout his academic career.

Rothbard's "Austrianism" dates back to his attending the informal New York seminars held by the Viennese economist Ludwig von Mises (1881-1973), a refugee from the Nazis who arrived in the U.S. in 1939. At that time, American universities were almost entirely dominated by Keynesians hostile to Mises' stress on free markets. Like his fellow "Austrian," Friedrich von Hayek, Mises was unable to find work with any economics department, ultimately teaching at New York University's business school as an adjunct professor whose salary was paid by business admirers. But recently, particularly since Hayek was awarded the Nobel Prize for Economics in 1974, Austrianism has been attracting increasing attention in a world grown weary of government intervention's failures.

Austrianism appears close to free-market economics of a familiar, although still controversial, cast, but its origins and its ultimate implications are significantly different.

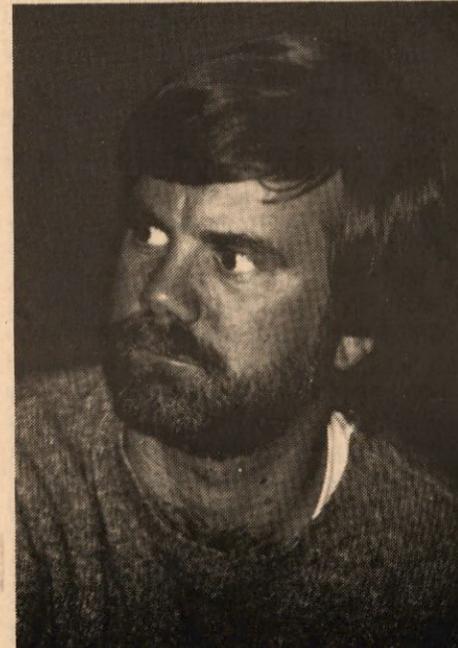
Most academic economists, of whatever persuasion, think that economics is more like physics or chemistry. Thus, the study of evidence is supposed to yield conclusions about causes, and all essential relationships can be expressed quantitatively. For example, most economists think the money supply works in the economy like heat on a test tube full of water: Increase it and you get specific, measurable and predictable effects. There might be debate about the degree. But it can all be resolved by more research.

The Austrians completely reject this view. They believe that economics is more like mathematics. It must be derived from axioms—in the case of economics, axioms about individual human activity and deductions therefrom, such as the fact that people respond to incentives. Thus Rothbard calls economists "the logical analysis of the implications of human action." Austrians, however, also think economics is unlike mathematics in an

Chair of University of Virginia Students for Individual Liberty, Jim Lark.



Newly elected VLP vice chair Ed Sargent.



COMING ATTRACTIONS

- New Libertarian Think Tank
- Mark Skousen Interview
- Connecticut LP Riff
- TV Projects Launched
- Kansas LP Airs Radio Spots
- DC NatCom Report
- CA LP Registration Drive
- Plus cartoons, political notes, media watch and more...