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Newman In Race

Encino, CA - Thirty-seven year old Los Angeles attorney Carol Newman threw her hat into the proverbial ring for the Libertarian Party's presidential nomination on May 28 at the South Bay Libertarian Club in Manhattan Beach, California. In a recent *American Libertarian* interview Newman said that she has been a libertarian for 19 years and an LP member since 1972, and noted "I am the best candidate to give a consistent libertarian message, and I intend to win" the nomination battle. She won the Samuel Adams Society's 1986 Sons of Liberty award for the most radical and effective LP campaign during her race for California Attorney General, where she drew over 128,000 votes.

"I think we have to stress both economic and civil liberties," Newman said in her interview, and I think we may lose some longtime members if we go with the other candidates. My objective is to mobilize both small and large 'L' libertarians in my effort, longtime libertarians who the other two candidates may not reach."

Newman went on to explain, "I am not a one issue candidate, but 1988 is a critical year. My campaign is about making this country a freer place to live, and it would be more focused on civil liberty than some others might be. It is a difficult job to convince people that the LP is a viable third party, but we **must** convince them we are viable in 1988 if we are to survive."

"We have to look like winners, so we have to look and act like winners. People are now seeing Reagan's warts, where previously he was the most popular President in decades. We are the alternative," Newman said.

Asked about why she was not supporting an already declared candidate, particularly either Russell Means or Ron Paul, Newman noted, "Ron Paul is not talking sufficiently about civil liberties and those kinds of issues. What is he going to say about abortion? People will think we are an anti-abortion party. And what does he say about the Harwick decision, the recent Supreme



Presidential candidate Carol Newman

Court decision upholding Georgia's sodomy law? We need to emphasize more than just economics."

"I heard Russell Means speak earlier this month at a supper club," Newman observed about the other principal LP nomination contender, "and he is an excellent speaker and a very charismatic speaker. But I'm not sure he knows what we're all about, although I may be satisfied with him later. But I have difficulty with his previous support of Gadhafi and Farrakhan. I'm extremely sympathetic about his [Means'] people being exterminated, but my people were exterminated too." Newman is Jewish.

"Overall," Newman concluded, "I have fewer skeletons in my closet than do the other two candidates."

When asked by *American Libertarian*, Newman said that if asked she would be willing to hold the Vice Presidential position on the LP ticket and would do so with either of the two principal candidates. She expects her effort will be mostly a volunteer based campaign similar to Means'. Her husband Robert Leet is her temporary Campaign Manager. She describes herself as "a dark horse" at this point, but expects to hit as many LP state conventions as she can schedule between now and the Seattle convention.

Newman was born in Yonkers, NY and was raised in Connecticut. She graduated summa cum laude from Brown University in 1971 and attended Harvard Law School for a year. She left Harvard to work for several years and returned to law school at George Washington University Law School in Washington, DC where she edited the law review and graduated in 1977. She was a Phi Beta Kappa at Brown and was a member of the Order of the Coif legal honorary society. She works for a business litigation oriented law firm in the LA area where "much of my work includes defending businesses from the government," she explains.

The Newman campaign can be contacted at: **Newman for President**, 16838 Halper St., Encino, CA 91436, (818) 789-1856 evening, (213) 553-2900 daytime. ■

AL Interview

Russell Means

Russell Means, 48, is an Oglala Lakota Sioux born on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation where he currently lives in a log cabin, in the small town of Porcupine, SD. He was raised for much of his childhood in Oakland, CA, graduated from Arizona State University, and has been an accountant and rodeo rider, among other things.

He is best known as co-founder of the American Indian Movement organization (AIM) along with Chippewa Indian Dennis Banks. In 1971 Means led hundreds of Indians in a 71-day occupation of Wounded Knee, SD, site of an 1890 7th Cavalry massacre of 200 Indians.

Means has long been a colorful and outspoken advocate of the Indian cause, and currently makes his living by lecturing on the subject at universities and before other groups. In February 1987 he joined the Libertarian Party and announced his candidacy for the Libertarian Party's 1987 presidential nomination.

The Means campaign can be contacted at: Russell Means Freedom, 1412 West 9th, Austin, TX 78703, (512) 320-0801 or (214) 350-3695.

American Libertarian editor Mike Holmes interviewed Means in early April at the Georgia Libertarian Party convention.

AL: Russell, why are you running for the Libertarian Party presidential nomination?

Means: I'm running for a number of reasons. The primary reason — what grabbed me — was the platform and the fact that in the platform there isn't anything in there that isn't Indian, I have now found a group of people who look on me as a human being and not as some primitive savage who is expendable at the whim of governments.

That is the primary reason, because of that platform. The other is that now with the libertarian rhetoric at my command I can now relate to non-Indians about American Indian principles because the Libertarian Party is the party of principle and I come from a culture of principle.

AL: Would you consider running for Vice President on the Libertarian Party ticket this year or in the future?

Means: That will never happen.

AL: How is your Libertarian Party membership and candidacy going over with your people?

Means: I can only refer to those that I have had contact with. That's back home in South Dakota, sporadically in Oklahoma, in Arizona and in Colorado. It's been almost unanimous. It has blown me out of the water because all stratas of Indian society are coming up to me — they are just superenthused. I really feel honored.

AL: When did you first become exposed to libertarian ideas as such, with the word "libertarian"?

Means: In 1980 Larry Dodge called me and asked me if I would use my expertise in helping to draft the American Indian plank in the Libertarian Party platform. And I said 'of course'.

In 1982 I became friends with a Jewish fellow from Florida who was a libertarian. His economic ideas and my economic ideas meshed, and we wrote a paper together about those, concerning the precious metals and how they should be the backbone behind currency.

AL: I understand you met with some libertarians in 1983?

Means: In Denver, I met with the then leadership of the Libertarian Party. I met with David Nolan, Paul Grant, Honey Lanham and again with Larry Dodge. The purpose of that meeting was to run a slate of Indian people in the state of South Dakota as Libertarians mainly to defeat a Republican Governor and a Democratic Congressman. Unfortunately, South Dakota, in the last month possible, changed the ballot access laws on us and we couldn't run the slate.

AL: When did you first start contemplating making a try for the Libertarian Party presidential nomination?

Means: I got a call in January late at night from Honey Lanham. She asked me if I would consider running for the nomination for the presidential or vice presidential position of the Libertarian Party. You just do not receive those kind of calls, so...

AL: I certainly never have. . .

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Libertarian presidential candidate Russell Means.



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AL Interview

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Means: I conferred with my wife and then I got back with Honey and Larry Dodge. I told them first, I want to find out if the Libertarians want me. And second, if I want the Libertarians.

Then I met with them, we picked each other's brains for a couple of days. I made a whirlwind tour of a few communities in Texas and found the reception excellent. I made up my mind to run for President because of that reception and because of the platform.

AL: How have you found your experience?

Means: How many state conventions have you been to?

Means: Up to this point this is my 13th state, and I've visited some of the states more than once. I have found Libertarians, by and large, a comfortable people to be around because they think Indian. We share the same philosophy.

So it's almost a euphoric experience being around non-Indians who do not have all of these labels that the dominant society has. So it is very comfortable.

AL: Has it been what you expected, or have you found them different?

Means: I have found them to be different only because of my exposure to other non-Indian people who look upon us in a different, detrimental light than do the libertarians. It's a lot more comfortable.

AL: When did you become an Indian activist?

Means: After taking ten years to get through four years of college, as soon as I graduated I went to work with the Rosebud Sioux tribe in South Dakota on the Rosebud Sioux Indian Reservation. That's when I began my work with and for Indian people. However in 1969 I joined the American Indian Movement and it really took off as a full time occupation and preoccupation.

AL: Were you one of the prime movers behind AIM?

Means: Yes, fortunately. I founded the first chapter outside of the state of Minnesota. The American Indian Movement took off from there.

AL: After 1969 you had a reputation for being involved with the New Left, with self-styled Marxists and others who were in that category. Did you find that to be a valuable experience?

Means: Invaluable. Our quest, the American Indian quest for allies in this country and in the world, has enabled myself and my associates in AIM to actually experience and be part of virtually every part of European society and of the international community. We've been with the extremists of both sides, the left and the right. We've been in the middle, we've been with the Christians, the Moslems, the Jewish people, the Buddhists. We've had excellent contacts in all those areas both nationally, in the United States, and internationally. I've been to almost every continent on earth in our quest for allies. We never found an ally because of their insistence that we change our values in order to join forces with them. We didn't become anyone's favorite Indian. Until we met the allies in the Libertarian Party. We are one in the same in philosophy so consequently it's just a natural alliance now between Indian people and the Libertarian Party.

AL: You've been accused in some camps of being a 'tool of the CIA.' Others, perhaps based on some of the things you did a few years ago, believe that you are still a 'closet Marxist', leftist or communist. How do you respond to those charges, or do you bother to respond at all?

Means: I really don't bother to respond. I feel a little sadness for people who cannot realize that in this world of ours it's not black or white. It's not left or right. There is room for individuals in every strata of the world community.



Russell Means with his wife Gloria and son Tatanka.

In fact, libertarianism is a worldwide philosophy. That's the reason I'm a "born again" primitive. The alleged primitives are the only true cultural libertarians in the world.

AL: You have been associated with people like Louis Farrakhan and Moammar Gadhafi, who I understand you have met, to name a couple. I understand at one time you were going to run as Vice President with Larry Flynt as a Republican. Do you feel you gained much by that? What are your current thoughts on Farrakhan, Gadhafi, Flynt and that whole experience?

Means: As far as Gadhafi is concerned, when I went to Libya I went as an admirer of Gadhafi. I left Libya no longer an admirer of Gadhafi. I do not subscribe to the exploitation of one's spiritual beliefs for furtherance of a fascist and/or communist society that he's building. I do not believe in a military society either, whatever you want to put on it. I can no longer admire a man who loves a uniform. That only took a couple of weeks to realize, the two weeks I stayed there.

Minister Louis Farrakhan? I like what he has to say to his people. He tells his people off. And what he tells them is very libertarian. "Get off your own duff, get off your own backsides and start an economic system of your own! We can't look to anyone else for economic welfare."

I like that message that he gives to his people. I like Minister Farrakhan as a person, as a spiritual man. He has done some good things, not only for his people, but for some of our spiritual well-being in this country. He has personally attended and lived with us in our own environment, like at Yellow Thunder Camp and down there at Big Mountain, at the Hopi-Navaho dispute in Arizona. I have found him not to be a staunch ally, but I have found him to be a friend.

AL: What about his alleged anti-Semitism or hatred of whites? Have you ever found any evidence of that in your encounters with him?

Means: I've been on the dais with him on three occasions. At the Forum in Los Angeles, Madison Square Garden in New York City and at the Armory in Chicago, along with Jesse Jackson there in Chicago.

In each instance when I got up to speak I challenged Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam, if they were real about their rhetoric — and I challenged Jesse Jackson at the same time — to become involved with the original landlords of the Western hemisphere simply out of pure economics. But they failed to take up the challenge.

Insofar as their other weaknesses are concerned I know only what the news media has reported. I haven't found his public

statements when I've been around him to be anti-Semitic in Los Angeles, New York or Chicago. Whatever the press has taken out of context or in context I know nothing about.

I am not anti-Semitic. But I am anti-Zionist.

AL: How about Larry Flynt? You were for a brief period of time involved with him in an abortive political effort. What's the story on that?

Means: Very briefly, I took a gamble. Larry

Flynt was going to run for President. I took a gamble because he has a publishing empire that could do a lot of good for Indian authors and Indian articles. Also, we had a plan. He expended \$50,000 to develop a political campaign team.

We had a plan and a strategy to have him nominated by Indian delegates from Wisconsin at the Republican convention (in 1984) and create some chaos. We knew chaos wouldn't be allowed to take place but that we would be meeting in the smoke-filled rooms prior to the convention. Of course his agenda and his major concern was First Amendment rights, the freedom of the press, pornography in his case. My concern was Article 6 of the United States Constitution pertaining to treaty rights.

AL: Your association with Flynt ended how?

Means: Well, when he went to court with an American flag wrapped around him as a diaper I just couldn't take his ego any longer. So I walked out on him. But I walked out on him silently because I saw him do a lot of good by donating a lot of money to community groups — white and non-white. I can still consider him a good man.

AL: What about the question "Is Russell Means here to help the Libertarian Party get libertarian ideas across or is he here to have the Libertarian Party help him get his Indian ideas across?" Do you see a conflict?

Means: As I said earlier, it's a shared philosophy. Libertarians arrive at their philosophy from a different direction than we Indian people did. Nevertheless we bisect. We bisect at a crucial time in history

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Jerry Falwell Attacks "libertarians"

Lynchburg, VA - The Rev. Jerry Falwell, pastor of the Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg, VA and one of the best known and most controversial television evangelists, attacked "libertarians" repeatedly during portions of his hour-long televised sermon on January 25, 1987.

Falwell, who also heads the Moral Majority political lobby group, said in the middle portion of his sermon:

"We also need to have courage against the libertarians. The libertarians. They are those who say nothing is absolutely wrong or right as long as consenting adults are involved. They would be in favor, for example, of abortion on demand. We've murdered 20 million unborn babies since the *Roe vs. Wade* decision of the Supreme Court in 1973.

They would be in favor of and approve of homosexual lifestyles and 'live-in' arrangements, et cetera, et cetera.

Nothing is absolutely wrong or right. Planned Parenthood is sort of leading the march in that. In my opinion, Planned Parenthood is the most evil organization in America. . . ."

Falwell at that point launched into an attack on Planned Parenthood and said it "promotes this libertarian point of view." After attacking Planned Parenthood for sponsoring abortion clinics, Falwell then discussed an 18th century minister who in correspondence with another clergyman denounced American slavery as a major flaw in American society. Falwell concluded his discussion of libertarianism by saying "the Church has always stood up against the libertarians, we need to stand up against them now. We also need to stand up against Marxism. . . ."

This unusual denunciation of "libertarianism" appeared in a sermon entitled

"The Church in 1987" and was only a small part of the 45 minute long presentation. About 25% of the sermon was various pleas for money. A request for an audio tape of this sermon by *American Libertarian* resulted in immediate placement on Falwell's fundraising mailing list, including several requests from the PTL organization (which Falwell took over in the wake of the Jim and Tammy Bakker scandal) and receipt of a 24-page full color *Liberty Report* newspaper complete with several articles denouncing AIDS and "the gay lobby."

Falwell's use of the word "libertarian" appears to refer only to a form of moral subjectivism, and links libertarian beliefs with sexual licentiousness, homosexual behavior and support for abortion.

One libertarian who heard Falwell on TV in January, Iona, MI County LP Chair Dick Whitelock, wrote Falwell to protest his description of libertarianism. Whitelock, who is a member of Right to Life of Michigan, said in his letter to Falwell, "As a staunch Libertarian, Patriot, believer in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and as a defender of individual liberties, I strongly disagree with and take exception to your claims that 'libertarians' favor and support abortions, homosexuality and planned parenthood." To correct your misguided opinion of Libertarianism, Libertarians do not advocate, condone, favor, support nor encourage abortions, homosexuality, or planned parenthood. Libertarians and the Libertarian Party are however, the only political entity in America who are consistently committed to the right of people to control their own lives in all respects."

Whitelock also sent Falwell a copy of David Bergland's book *Libertarianism in One Lesson*. ■

Nobel Laureate James Buchanan

Tennessee-born economist James M. Buchanan was awarded one of academia's highest honors last fall in Stockholm, Sweden when the Swedish National Bank Board bestowed upon him the 1986 Nobel Prize for economics.

Honoring him for his contributions to economic thought, they recognized that his research into public choice theory (how and why governments operate as they do) was a major step forward in this field. Buchanan, who has described himself as a libertarian, is currently General Director for the Center for Public Choice and is Harris University Professor at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia.

A graduate of Middle Tennessee State College and the University of Tennessee, he received his Ph.D. in Economics from the University of Chicago in 1948 and has taught at the University of Virginia, the

University of California and Virginia Polytechnic Institute, in addition to his current position.

He has received a number of academic honors including Distinguished Fellow of the American Economic Association, and has authored 13 books and numerous articles.

Some of his notable works include *The Calculus of Consent* (with Gordon Tullock), *The Limits of Liberty*, *What Should Economists Do?* and his most recent, *Liberty, Market, and State*.

American Libertarian asked two distinguished libertarian economists in their own right, Murray Rothbard of the University of Nevada at Las Vegas and Clifford Thies of the University of Baltimore, to assess Buchanan's contributions to the cause of liberty. ■



Economist James Buchanan.

Buchanan's Nobel Prize

by Murray N. Rothbard

Murray N. Rothbard is the S.J. Hall distinguished professor of economics at the University of Nevada at Las Vegas, NV and Vice President for academic affairs of the Mises Institute.

The award of the 1986 Nobel Prize in Economics to James Buchanan of George Mason University raises an interesting philosophical and strategic question: how should we libertarians react toward our "fellow travellers", eminent or otherwise? If, for example, Joe Doakes is a 75 percent libertarian, should we hail him for the seventy-five percent and ignore the twenty-five, or should we exorcise him for the twenty-five percent deviation? At the risk of sounding like a copout, the answer is: it all depends on the context.

In the first place, neither extreme is acceptable. In our joy over the 75 percent, we should never forget the twenty-five, and in our hostility toward the twenty-five we should never lose sight of the seventy-five. Secondly, a lot of our moral and esthetic attitude towards the "75 percent" depends on the **direction** in which he or she has been moving. If Mr. Doakes is a former statist moving rapidly toward liberty, then we should stress his expanding good points, and welcome him with open arms as he moves in toward our 100 percent position. On the other hand, there is no scorn in heaven to match anyone's proper treatment of a renegade or apostate, who deserves only exorcise as he moves rapidly **away** from 100 percentism and into the statist pit.

In the case of Jim Buchanan, he has been a fellow-traveller of liberty and of Austrian economics as long as I can remember. Sometimes he has moved a little closer towards our position, sometimes a little further away; as far as I can see, there has been no consistent pattern of direction one way or another.

Another important question of context is the occasion for which or in which the fellow-traveller is being considered. If Jim Buchanan were offering, or being proposed for, a presidential race on the Libertarian Party ticket, I would strongly be opposed, because a presidential candidate should be a dyed-in-the-wool hard core libertarian. That surely Professor Buchanan is **not**. But on the receipt of the Nobel Prize, my reaction is one of whole-hearted congratulations. For the first decade or two of the existence of the

Nobel Prize in economics, the prize was won by a one-dimensional array of mathematical Keynesians, and the mold was only broken by the award to F.A. Hayek, the Dean of Austrian economics, in 1974. Since then, three other roughly free market economists have won the prize: Milton Friedman, George Stigler, and now Jim Buchanan, who is probably more libertarian than any of the others except Hayek. We can only rejoice that the Swedish prize committee, consisting of Swedish economists who award the prize, has shifted dramatically over the years, so that free market economists are now considered to at least deserve a hearing. This can only be good for the cause.

But there are still more causes for rejoicing. Like Hayek but unlike Friedman, Buchanan writes consistently in English rather than in mathematics. This itself is pathbreaking, for in the world of economics and in social sciences generally these days, writing in ordinary language instead of math is a lonelier stance than being in favor of the free market. Still more important, Buchanan's is the first Nobel Prize, at least in economics, granted to a professor outside the official elite orbit of the Ivy League plus MIT, Chicago, and Stanford. The fact that little, unknown George Mason copped the prize is a great boost and filip to all universities and professors outside the official Power Elite.

In fact, one of the most charming aspects of Buchanan is his unabashed populism and detestation of the Eastern Establishment elite. A born Southerner, he has refused many faculty offers because they would have required him to leave his beloved southland. It is great to see that his considerable contributions have been honored despite his insistence on living in an unfashionable area of the country and teaching at unfashionable universities.

It sounds like a cliché, but Jim Buchanan is the best kind of fellow-traveller, someone who genuinely asks the right questions and sees the right problems, even though he has not come up with the consistently best answers. As a result, Buchanan has been the most valuable kind of fellow traveller to both libertarianism and Austrian economics: a genuinely open-minded person who is sympathetic to but questioning of our doctrines. At this stage of the game, we obviously can't expect a world made up of hard-core libertarians and Austrian economists. Scholars like Jim Buchanan are the next best thing.

On the other hand, it was going much too far for Jennifer Roback, Buchanan's friend and colleague in the economics department

at George Mason, to hail Jim as an out-and-out libertarian in the pages of *LP News*. Furthermore, Roback engaged in a **serioso** denunciation of various critical columns on the Buchanan Nobel Prize as "very nasty." Certainly, the most famous of the critics, liberal Michael Kinsley's column in the *New Republic* and *Wall St. Journal*, is better characterized as "witty and perceptive." The problem stemmed from the way in which the Nobel Prize committee summed up Buchanan's contributions in awarding him the prize, basically in pointing out that politicians and bureaucrats are at least as equally motivated by self-interest rather than the "general welfare" as anyone else, including businessmen. The general press reaction to this insight was, in the old New York argot: "From this he makes a living?"

Put baldly, Buchanan's assumptions in his doctrine of "public choice" indeed seem banal and self-evident. But what the critics do not realize is that before Buchanan, virtually all economists indeed rested their view of government, either explicitly or implicitly, on the assumption that its aim was invariably to advance the "common good" or "general welfare." If government did something wrong or counterproductive, it was only an error of knowledge, never the result of venality or self-interest. It was one of Buchanan's great contributions to take the opposite assumption, develop it carefully, and to show how its explanatory power is far greater than the Pollyanna view heretofore prevalent.

What Michael Kinsley did was to take the other side of the coin, and demonstrate the implications of carrying the public choice analysis too far. On the extremes of economic determinism, wrote Kinsley, a revisionist "public choice" critique could be made of the alleged motivations of the Swedish prize committee, and of Buchanan himself. In short, if such moral or scientific ideas or principles as liberty, justice, or the search for truth are never operative, but only economic self-interest, then why should not a similar reductionist attitude be taken toward economic theory or toward Buchanan himself?

In his critique, Kinsley has raised an important argument that cannot simply be dismissed as lacking good taste. For most public choicers, including Buchanan's co-founder and George Mason colleague Gordon Tullock, and Chicago-school Nobel Laureate George Stigler, can fairly be indicted for economic determinism, and for the view that ideas and principles have no influence in the course of human history.

Oddly enough, of all Chicagoites and public choicers, Jim Buchanan himself is

the least vulnerable to such charges. For a long while, Buchanan, always questing for the truth, has been unhappy with pure economic determinism. For one thing, such a concept precludes us from ever checking or reversing the inroads of statism and special privilege. For years, Buchanan's answer has been to try to separate day-to-day political decisions, fueled by self-interest, from long-run or "constitutional" decisions which he hoped to arrive at by a consensus based on a Rawlsian "veil of ignorance." But the glaring weakness of this concept is that no one, in real life, is ever in a state of ignorance; there is no clear-cut way, therefore, of separating self-interested day-to-day political choices for "constitutional" choices allegedly made under a veil of ignorance.

Perhaps from realizing this, Jim Buchanan has in recent years taken a step highly courageous for a "value-free" economist: concluding that maybe a constitutional veil of ignorance is not enough, that perhaps basic moral principles, e.g. the overriding morality of liberty or private property, are needed even more to roll back the Leviathan State. As I said, Jim Buchanan has long been the best of fellow travellers. ■

Who is James Buchanan?

by Clifford F. Thies

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

It has been a joy for me to see champions of liberty such as Friedrich Hayek, Milton Friedman and now James Buchanan awarded the Nobel Prize in economics. While it is true that all three were recognized for their scientific contributions, it is also true that open advocacy of liberty is no longer the impediment to recognition within the profession that it once was.

Of course, James Buchanan, like Hayek and Friedman, is a conservative libertarian. Buchanan argues for a return to a **constitutional approach** to government, for a government of laws and not of men, for rules and not discretion, for "Victorian" fiscal ethics and not Keynesian adventurism.

The scientific contributions of James Buchanan extend from the traditional field of Public Finance to the new field of Public Choice — of which he is a founder. The simple distinction between Public Finance and Public Choice is that Public Finance is the study of what government *should* do, and Public Choice is the study of what government *will* do. Of course, it is no longer considered radical to realize that there is a difference.

The so-called justification of government provision of "public goods," with financing provided by taxation is the "free rider" problem. That is, because the benefits of public goods are non-excludable, nobody would have the necessary incentive to voluntarily pay for their provision.

Public Choice theory shows that this argument, if true, doesn't justify government provision of "public goods," but rather demonstrates that governments will eventually devolve into special interest "pork-barrels," with every special interest group attempting to secure government favors. In other words, good government is, itself, a public good.

It may not have been completely an accident for James Buchanan to have been

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Libertarian Outlook

On Abortion

Within the Libertarian Party there is a lively debate going on about children's rights, women's rights, and in particular the rights of pregnant women. The majority libertarian opinion holds that a woman has an unlimited right to dispose of her fetus/unborn child at any time following conception. A minority opinion holds that the rights of individuals begin at conception or at some short time thereafter and that the rights of the fetus/unborn child should therefore be protected.

Although the very first LP platform in 1972 was silent on the subject, all LP platforms since 1974 have characterized abortion as an issue to be personally decided on moral or other grounds by the person most involved, the pregnant woman. The 1974 platform stated "We . . . support the repeal of all laws restricting . . . the rights of the woman to make a personal moral choice regarding the termination of pregnancy." The current platform wording is similar: ". . . we support the right of women to make a personal choice regarding the termination of pregnancy." Since the LP was founded, the U.S. Supreme Court (in January 1973 in *Roe vs. Wade*) basically recognized the legality of abortion in the first trimester of pregnancy, and even later in certain circumstances. The LP's platform since that time has implicitly accepted that ruling.

But the fundamental philosophical questions have never been fully worked out. The different views on the subject deal with different definitions of fundamental issues. Since the definitions are different from the very beginning, the conclusions built upon those definitions are very different.

From the feminist perspective as represented by Carol Moore and her Pro Choice Libertarians, a woman should have the right to abort a fetus/unborn child at any time, including termination of a 7 month

pregnancy. It is acknowledged that a 7 month old fetus can live independently outside of the mother's body.

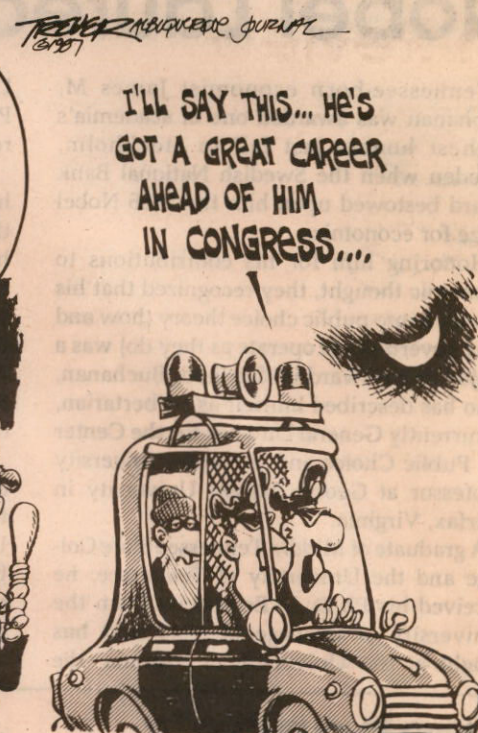
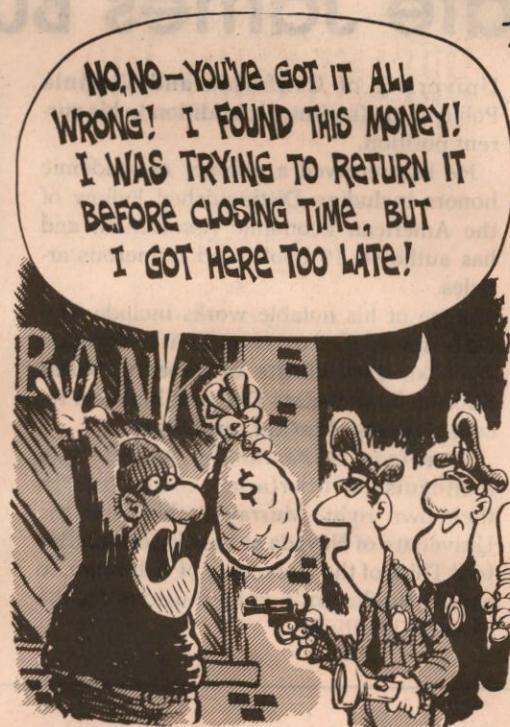
Others, including Doris Gordon's Libertarians for Life and LP presidential candidate Ron Paul, would regard any abortion of a "potential" human being after conception as morally wrong and equivalent to murder.

As long as the government and the State is not involved, both pro and anti abortion individuals can accommodate their views within the libertarian framework, since they are left to a personal decision dictated by their own consciences and moral position. The only problem appears when the State dictates which position to take. As long as the State is not involved from endorsing either position, both could be moral choices depending upon the convictions of the woman involved.

Unfortunately, libertarians have no unique solution to the abortion problem and the dilemma it poses by either sanctioning "murder" on the one hand or "slavery" on the other. Aside from some possible technological solutions in the future, libertarians will find it important to define at which time after pregnancy an abortion could be performed and at what time after conception a fetus/unborn child begins to have individual rights.

Until this issue is settled it will be beneficial for the libertarian movement to continue the debate, since both positions seem to have something to offer.

About the only thing all libertarians can agree upon is that abortion is a very difficult issue. For this reason, it should not be used to divide us on other important issues. Nor should it be used to drum anyone out of the libertarian movement for their sincerely held beliefs on the matter. ■



then I ask which of these two men is truly concerned with human freedom?

Once again, a Randian refuses to see that libertarianism is strictly a political philosophy, with which people with widely varying beliefs on other subjects can agree. Libertarianism will only succeed if it is kept away from a philosophical "package deal" such as the one presented by Ayn Rand. Freedom is for everyone, and not just for the fictional heroes of *Atlas Shrugged*.

Greg Clark
Austin, TX

United in 1988

The presidential race is on! As the Seattle Libertarian presidential nominating convention draws near, candidates are emerging and party members are beginning their in-depth candidate analysis. The ultimate goal of this analysis is to choose the "best" individual to represent us as the party of principle. I am encouraged to see the discussion occurring.

But I am disturbed (*AL* Jan/Feb 1987 "Opposition to Paul Surfaces") that party members are threatening to quit the party because of the past performance of a candidate. Prior to 1979, I made the mistake of supporting Republicrats. Does this make me less of a Libertarian despite my current commitment to Libertarian principles?

Let us evaluate, question, and discuss with others about each of the candidates so we can be united in 1988 to fight the real enemy!

The Washington State Libertarians are working hard to make this convention the best ever. See you in Seattle!

Karen Allard
Tacoma, WA

Whopping Untruth

Your article "BAC's Fielder Draws Fire" in the March 1987 *American Libertarian* contains a whopping untruth about Nevada. We only won the 1986 lawsuit against the Nevada election law because we made a serious and substantial attempt to qualify there.

Your sentence "They did bail out a floundering Nevada ballot drive effort to the tune of \$1,000, through ultimately ballot status was gained via an unrelated lawsuit sponsored by the Nevada ACLU" is simply wrong.

Richard Winger
LP Ballot Access Consultant
San Francisco, CA

Age of Consent

In his January/February *AL* letter, Jim

Peron wrote that his support for NAMBLA, the North American Man/Boy Love Association, "is based on those principles on which libertarian philosophy is based. . . [The organization only advocates] the abolition of age of consent laws."

Many people are under the impression that age of consent laws are about teenagers's rights only. But what about younger children such as infants in the crib? Does abolishing age of consent laws mean laws regarding them, too?

Age of consent laws, of course, apply to other areas of concern besides sex; for example, making and keeping contracts and leaving home against one's parents' wishes. Consent is central to libertarianism, so I think we could all benefit from a fuller discussion of this subject.

Doris Gordon
Libertarians For Life
Wheaton, MD

Feedback



Letters Policy

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

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

Rigidly Randian

Every few years, libertarians are treated to an exposé of their "heresies" and failings as seen through a rigidly Randian perspective. In 1978, Edith Efron relayed Ayn Rand's warning that we were doomed to degenerate into a "hippie" movement because we didn't have a "serious metaphysical, epistemological, and ethical base" which of course translates as "Objectivism." In 1985 it was "Libertarianism: The Perversion of Liberty" by Peter Schwartz who flattered his fellow Randians telling them that only they could understand liberty and all else who claimed to be able to were "immoral destroyers of liberty." Both these missives were similar in that they were full of distortions based on quotations taken out of context and came to bizarre conclusions concerning the liber-

tarian movement, in particular that we had "sold out" to the "Left", as they defined it.

Once again a similar tract is in circulation, this time attacking not the movement as a whole but one of the candidates for the LP's presidential nomination, Russell Means.

In Jim Peron's tract *Do the Ends Justify the Means?* he finds grievous fault not in Means' political philosophy, which he never discusses, but in those aspects of traditional American Indian philosophy to which Means subscribes which find little of merit in modern industrial society. Because Rand equated the ethic of environmentalism with the "new left" back in 1968, Peron concludes that Means is not only "of the new left" but "anti-competitive, anti-technological, . . . anti-reason, and anti-man" to boot. Because Rand equated industrialism with capitalism and capitalism with liberty, Peron concludes that Means is not a libertarian. Apparently only those who follow Rand's faulty logic are qualified to be libertarians.

What Peron ignores (or doesn't know) is that traditional American Indian philosophy dealing with social relationships holds the dignity of the individual, individual consent, and strictly voluntary association as primary ideas. In the view of Russell Means, people are free to be capitalists or not, urban or not, industrialists or not. If Jim Peron insists that we should all be industrial urban capitalists

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In Review

by Scott Burns



Scott Burns is a nationally syndicated business columnist. Reprinted with special permission of King Features Syndicate, Inc.

Dreams Come Due, Government and Economics As If Freedom Mattered, by John Galt, 318 pages, Simon and Schuster, \$17.95.

Imagine you are on a moving train, seated in the parlor car, you are watching a debate between two powerful speakers. One argues that the train should be going faster. The other says it should be going slower. Both give what appears to be good arguments for going faster or slower.

You are comfortable listening to the debate, perhaps because it is so familiar, but you also have an eerie terror, an inner feeling that something is desperately wrong.

What is it? What's wrong?

The real question isn't what speed the train should be going, but whether anyone should be on it. That image came to me as I read **Dreams Come Due**. The book was written under the pseudonym "John Galt" in deference to the protagonist of Ayn Rand's *Atlas Shrugged*. In fact, the author is a Dallas-Fort Worth area entrepreneur who turns the standard view of political economy upside down. Rather than ask, "What are the social costs of private enterprise?" — the focal question of all debate between our political parties — this book catalogs the social costs of government.

And they are massive, almost beyond belief.

"Just look at the carnage in the Southwest," Galt said over lunch at Dakotas' restaurant in downtown Dallas, "oil and gas, real estate, banking. . . the bankruptcies and insolvencies are piling up. And you don't trace it to 1973 and OPEC but back to the '50's when the Supreme Court ruled that government agencies had the right to control the interstate price of natural gas.

"When they did that, well footage drilled declined for the next 17 years and oil imports increased.

"Then in 1969 Congress attacked the oil depletion allowance. While it was pictured as a tax break for fat cats, it worked to keep our energy costs low.

"And in 1973 OPEC. . . became upset that the Texas Railroad Commission was setting the world price of oil and they were being paid for their oil with a depreciating currency.

"I don't believe in the Tooth Fairy, Santa Claus, or OPEC. But if there had been a free market in energy, I doubt that the price of oil would ever have risen over \$16-18 a barrel."

Since businesses and people made major commitments based on artificial prices of \$30 and \$40 a barrel, illusions created by government actions, we are now about to pay the social price for billions of dollars of misinvested capital.

The dislocations (a government euphemism for suffering), Galt points out, are not restricted to the Southwest, the same volatility in oil prices, created by government action, nearly bankrupted Detroit whose auto workers experienced the 14 and 15 percent unemployment in the mid-1970's that oil workers in Beaumont are experiencing now.

While the ongoing oil and gas crisis may be of particular interest to those who live in the Southwest, Galt is concerned with far more; the book is organized as 94 alphabetized topics, none longer than a few

DREAMS COME DUE

Government and Economics As If Freedom Mattered

A Libertarian Agenda



JOHN GALT

pages. . . and all filled with compelling numbers.

Workers who believe that government is going to foster their prosperity, for instance, need only look at the relative increase in government spending to private wages to see that the real enemy of worker welfare is our government.

Another telling set of figures is from a two-page chapter titled "Japan, A Model." Japan, in Galt's view, isn't an economic challenge, it is a political challenge.

How? If our government's share of GNP had shrunk to the 13.99 percent of Japan rather than expanded to the 21.06 percent it was in 1979 (it's higher now), we would have had a \$142 billion tax cut and a balanced budget. Imagine where our saving, consumer spending, employment, investment, and interest rates would be if we had a balanced budget and lower taxes. . . instead of having an unbalanced budget, higher taxes, and a growing dependence on Japanese lenders.

The conventional economic and political wisdom is to encourage Japan to be more like us, to increase government spending and "stimulation" of their domestic economy. My bet is that the Japanese will laugh at how sloppy we have been at committing economic hara-kiri. More important, they will refuse to join us.

If you buy one book on economics this year — or if you want to buy a first book that deals with real world economics without mumbo jumbo, make it **Dreams Come Due**. ■

Guest Column

The Roots of War

by Monte Dunn

Monte Dunn is a musician and trade-union activist as well as a free lance writer. He is also active in the movement in Connecticut to restore freedom to own and carry firearms. This is reprinted with permission from *The Connecticut Libertarian*.

In the current statist attack on drug use one figure has been spared. Nancy Reagan is viewed as a benign presence merely looking out "for the kids". A look at history might convince you otherwise.

At the turn of the century America's drug problem was mainly an adult medical problem. All drug laws at that time were aimed at opium smokers and the Chinese in particular. Cocaine, heroin and morphine (and non-addicting marijuana) were all legally purchased over the counter as well as by

prescription. The forces of Prohibitionism, however, were rampant in the land: the beginning of Big Government's program to protect people from themselves. In the first two decades of the 20th Century the Income Tax, the Harrison Narcotic Act, the Volstead Act and New York City's anti-gun Sullivan law all began the erosion of American freedom.

Dr. Hamilton Wright began the salvo with racist attacks that coincided with the resurgence of the KKK claiming widespread cocaine use among Southern blacks. This allegedly led to crime, especially the rape of white women. With the most suspect of statistics this fraudulent claim was swallowed hook, line and sinker and provided the KKK with an excuse for lynching black men, and statists an excuse for mugging the Constitution.

Next came New York's Boylan Law. Dr. Jackson Campbell, a physician who worked for NYC Department of Corrections, speaking with a friend at Christmas in 1913 told of 15,000 morphine and cocaine addicts in the city and also claimed that 40% of the inmates held in the city's notorious "Tombs" were cocaine addicts. The friend was Anne Vanderbilt's attorney, a Mr. Coulton.

In January 1914 Coulton told Vanderbilt of this situation. Now, at the time the social season was under way and Vanderbilt was miffed that Mrs. Astor, her "Newport 400" rival, was getting more newspaper coverage. In order to remedy this situation. Mrs. Vanderbilt decided to make a cause celebre out of the "drug problem" (note that 15,000 out of a city of almost 3,000,000 would be the same proportion as 50,000 in NYC's current population. Today, estimates range from 200,000 to 500,000 addicts in NYC.)

Her extensive campaign had her back in the papers post haste. The *New York Times* had her in on January 31 after her city wide conference was held. By April the Boylan Law, limiting access to narcotic drugs to medical prescription only, was state law in New York, with the Harrison Act soon to follow.

According to historian John Helmer in his book **Drugs and Minority Oppression**: "To be sure that chain of circumstances leading to this outcome was a highly anomalous one. Had Dr. Campbell's misinformation not reached the apparently egomaniacal, aggressive and manipulative Mrs. Vanderbilt, or, to stretch the details

some, had it reached her at the end of the season when she was on her way to Newport for the summer, it is highly unlikely that so effective a press campaign and mobilization of medics, lawyers and politicians on so objectively thin a case would have resulted in the prohibition edict of the Boylan Law."

Likewise Nancy Reagan needed a cause to draw public attention away from her dresses and her china. The press was pouncing all over her. What better way to prove the lie to charges of self-indulgence than to attack the self-indulgence of others? And all for a good cause too. Did she help form the Reagan policy on drugs?

Dr. Ian MacDonald, a Reagan appointee to a top drug position, has scant qualifications in the area of drugs. He is a pediatrician and has been associated with "rehabilitation" programs that have been sued for violating the constitutional rights of its young "patients". A program for which Nancy Reagan has shown support. How much did she have to do with this? And does an unelected person have the right to exercise such influence on policy?

It is possible that her heart is in the right place. It is also possible that she is merely another in a long line of what Helmer calls "these zealots of normalcy, Machiavellian manipulators, megalomaniacs, obsessives, neurotic liars" who have done so much to shape our drug laws. "If the monkey on the man's back were only the drug, he would still be a free man."

Drug laws make all of us, non-users too, less free. Get the Government monkey off first. ■

Notable Quotes



Senator William Proxmire (Chair of the Senate Banking Committee) and the recent unprecedented growth of the basic money supply (M1):

"There's no question. The plain logic of too much money chasing too few goods means this is going to result in an explosion of prices."

"Is Fed's Money Policy Pointing to a Return of 70's-Type Inflation?", *The Wall St. Journal*, Feb. 14, 1987

Continued page 7

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

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AL Interview

From page 2

for all human beings, especially in the United States of America, which is the leader at this point.

It just enlarges the circle. It enlarges the group, so to speak, with the Libertarians. I'm super-excited. I love the rhetoric. It's a lot plainer English than coming from our spiritual message, which is one and the same economically, in foreign and domestic relations. Whether it's economic in the international sense or economic in the domestic sense — any of the aspects of the Libertarian platform is Indian thought and philosophy.

So therefore when I am championing libertarianism I'm championing my people. And it's a fantastic melding of two peoples.

AL: Assuming you get the nomination, how do you plan to run your campaign and what sort of issues would you choose? What kind of approach would you take in spreading the libertarian message as well as the Indian message? How do you plan on packaging and selling it to the American people?

Means: It's very simple. Individual freedoms, individual responsibility. I love those two phrases. Insofar as the Libertarian Party itself is concerned, I'm going to address and attempt to appeal to the American people rather than appeal to the American power structure. I feel that the Libertarian Party too long, since its inception, has been attempting to appeal to the American power structure instead of the American people. And that's where my appeal is going to be made.

The rest of this year and in 1988, the major focal point and focus in that message is individual liberty and individual responsibility. Everyone wants it. Reagan has already proven it with libertarian rhetoric. Now we can point to Reagan. Reagan is one of the greatest things that's happened to the Libertarian Party. His rhetoric made him the most popular President in recent times.

It was **our** rhetoric. Libertarian rhetoric. He's paved the way for us. Now we're able to point to him and say "That's what's wrong with the Demopublican party. They're one and the same. You have no choice. **We** are the choice. Listen to us!" They will listen. the American people will listen thanks to Reagan's rhetoric and thanks to the platform of the Libertarian Party.

But, your key in every American, whatever the sacred colors they possess in their pigmentation, you appeal to them on individual freedoms and individual responsibilities. I just love those two major points that the Libertarian Party likes to make.

AL: You're running for the highest office in the land, the man whose finger is on the nuclear trigger. Given your past, which some people have termed violent, is there any reason why anyone should fear Russell Means' finger on the nuclear button?

Means: The first part of my answer, in regards to my past, is that I believe that when you believe in freedom, it's worth fighting for. Especially when it's in self defense. Every area where I've been involved in violence is because we were surrounded, we were invaded. Whether it was in the United States of America at Wounded Knee or any other place where we were in our confrontational strategy. Or on the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua with the Miskito Indian people when we were invaded and surrounded.

Every aspect of my struggle for freedom is a statement that it is worth fighting for and struggling for. One shouldn't hang around in the back rooms talking about freedom — you get out and do something about it!

AL: The fact that we have strategic missiles aimed at Russia under the control of the President and they have missiles aimed at us is disturbing to all sane people. But as Libertarians seeking the highest office we would have to address the concerns about whether or not a warrior like Russell Means is not going to endanger the security of America and the world with that terrible power at his disposal?

Means: In Indian languages we have no word that means war, or warrior. Consequently, we believe — and that's why I'm a Libertarian — in free trade. I believe that if you're so busy handing out goods with one hand and receiving goods with the other hand you don't have time nor room to pick up a weapon. And that is what I love about the Libertarian Party. Again, it's just Indian culture!

You settle your disagreements without the shedding of any blood, out of respect

and responsibility, individual responsibility. Because it would be irresponsible to be a bully, or a policeman. So you have to be a neighbor. A good neighbor. The rhetoric of libertarianism and the world view of the American Indian is one and the same. It's impossible for the United States to continue under Libertarian leadership to be a propagator of military might.

We should be a leader in the might of trade. We should be the mightiest traders. We should be the leaders in trade and therefore the friendliest. We should quit being the enemy of the world. Once we become the friends of the world, friends are people who provide goods and services and economic well-being to all the people. Once we become friends of the world, we will have the allies necessary.

AL: You have participated in fighting against the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua which is

supported by the Soviet Union. How do you feel about the Soviet Union and its neo-colonial attempts in places like Nicaragua? Do you agree with that, since you were participating in an anti-Soviet or anti-Marxist effort?

Means: I am a vehement anti-Marxist-Leninist. But not to the point of violence. I do not like the hypocritical policies of the Demopublicans. They're opening up the trade doors to China and the Soviet Union but they refuse to do so in their own back yard! It's the logic of self-defeat! Not to open up the doors to Cuba or open up the doors of trade to Nicaragua. And that way make it impossible for the Marxist-Leninists to continue in power.

The Somoza-nine, (that is what I call the Nicaraguan ruling elite), it would be impossible for them to continue if we opened up the trade doors. In the Soviet Union look

Continued page 8

The Culture of FREEDOM

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



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

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

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

Don't miss out on a chance to enjoy a week of pure liberty, and be a witness to history in the making!

The Sheraton Hotel and Towers is located in the heart of downtown Seattle. For room reservations call the national reservation network toll free at 1-800-325-3535 or call the hotel direct at (206) 621-9000. Mention the Libertarian Convention.

Convention committees will begin meeting on Sept. 1st. Meal functions will include four breakfasts, the Presidential Banquet, and the evening cruise. Exhibits will be open to the public. The Culture of Freedom program is still being finalized. Watch for a special convention tabloid with detailed information on scheduling and programming. Please disregard higher package prices announced in previous advertisements. For up to the minute information call our Convention Message Line: 329-5669.

Karl Hess, Murray Rothbard, Norma Jean Almodovar, David Bergland, Paul Jacob, Don Ernsberger, Jim Peron, Alicia Clark, Walter Block, Michael Emerling, Robert Poole Jr., Tonie Nathan, Ken Schoolland, Dave Walter, Bruce Evoy, Marshall Fritz, Jeff Hummel, and others.

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Libertarians in Congress?

by Bruce Earnheart

Bruce Earnheart is a former Chair of the Georgia LP and is currently a landscape architecture student at the University of Georgia at Atlanta. This article is adapted from one which originally appeared in *The Georgia Libertarian* in Nov. 1986 and is reprinted with permission.

The *National Journal* recently analyzed selected votes cast in 1985 by members of the U.S. Senate and House, publishing the results in its May 17, 1986 issue. *National Journal* is a weekly periodical which reports on current issues facing our labyrinthine Federal government. Its circulation is fairly regionally restricted to Washington D.C., sort of a *Time* magazine for politicians, bureaucrats and lobbyists. The periodical seems to mimic its environment well. Instead of flashy color graphics, it relies on drab black, gray and sepia illustrations and photographs. And the magazine is a wee bit more expensive than *Time*: \$546.00 a year, to be precise. The advertisements may be the most arresting difference of all. Marlboro men and Miller-time thirst-slaking are replaced by two-page spreads touting the glories of Boeing, General Dynamics, McDonnell-Douglas and Grumman.

At any rate, the *National Journal* analysis is unique among non-libertarian publications because it classifies Senators and Representatives as liberal, conservative, libertarian and populist. Certain key votes are selected and grouped thematically into economic, social or foreign affairs/defense-related issues. The votes are selected on the basis of two criteria — their ability to split each congressional body into two approximately equal-sized halves and their high correlation to one another; i.e. the same Congressmen tend to wind up on the same side of an issue vote after vote after vote.

To illustrate, the Congressman who votes to permit prayer in the public schools will in all probability vote for MX missiles and also oppose increased agricultural subsidies. Congressmen who exhibit such a voting pattern are termed "conservatives" and their opposite number, "liberals". There may be little internal logic in this voting pattern but the issues so arranged are highly statistically correlative.

In spite of the fact that eight permutations of these three issues exist, about three-quarters voted either a consistent conservative or liberal line more than half of the time. Only a quarter of either house finds itself generally outside of this conservative/liberal dichotomy, voting one of the six other possible combinations of the aforementioned issues. The *National Journal* analysis deems "libertarian" those Congressmen who vote conservative on economic issues, yet do not follow the typical conservative patterns with regard to social issues or foreign affairs/defense matters. But as Chart A illustrates, to be considered "libertarian", a Congressman does not have to vote in favor of social freedom and noninterventionism. It is sufficient to have voted more than half of the time for one or the other. The three possible populist positions are simply the mirror opposites of those ascribed to libertarians.

And just who are these alleged allies of ours, these closet libertarians who help steer the ship of state? Most are Republicans from Pacific coast states and New England. Of the fourteen Senators who are identified as libertarians, all but two belong to the

GOP and all but five represent states along the Pacific Coast or in New England.

They include (in roughly descending order of libertarian-ness): Chafee of Rhode Island, Proxmire of Wisconsin, Packwood of Oregon, Stafford of Vermont, Kassebaum of Kansas, Hatfield of Oregon, Evans of Washington, Rudman of New Hampshire, Gorton of Washington, Cohen of Maine, Stevens of Alaska, Goldwater of Arizona, and Nunn of Georgia. It should be noted, however, that only Chafee, Proxmire, Packwood and Stafford satisfy all three criteria of libertarianism as we understand it; that is, they alone voted more than half the time as economic conservatives, social liberals and defense/foreign policy liberals.

Libertarian-identified House members are too numerous to mention individually. However, three members among that chamber's 435 do merit attention. Their scores in the three public policy categories more clearly resemble a libertarian voting pattern than do those of all others in the House or Senate.

Leader of the pack would appear to be Congresswoman Lynn Martin of Illinois' 16th district. Not just the inheritor of John Anderson's old seat, *The Almanac of American Politics* describes her as "a Republican in the Anderson mold." Actually, she's probably a whole lot better than that sanctimonious gasbag who ran against LP candidate Ed Clark in 1980 because she has a perfect economic rating yet managed at the same time to compile a moderately liberal social record and a defense/foreign affairs score only slightly more conservative than most of her House colleagues.

Republican James Kolbe of Southeastern Arizona scored just as well in the economic arena and only a tinge more conservative in the two other categories. Ed Zschau, defeated in his 1986 bid for the U.S. Senate, also deserves honorable mention. His economics rating does not match Martin's or Kolbe's (though higher than Senator Rudman's, whose was the best in the economic realm of all fourteen Senate libertarians) Zschau attained a moderately liberal rating in the other categories.

At this point, you are probably muttering "If these guys are libertarians, then I must be a crypto-LaRouchian." Yes, indeed, the *National Journal* rating system leaves much to be desired. In the first place, it makes no provision for moderates—those who are near the fiftieth percentile in all three sets of issues (i.e., voting conservative, liberal, libertarian or populist just over half of the time).

The *National Journal* analysis has a more important drawback, however. A fatal flaw, to be exact. The social issues, the ones on which libertarians and liberals supposedly agree, are simply not as they would seem. Even though you and I can probably list a dozen "liberal" social policy positions in a blink of an eye — decriminalize drugs and prostitution, handcuff the F.B.I., liberalize immigration procedures, release hundreds of Marielitos now illegally incarcerated in the Atlanta Federal Prison by Reagan's



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"Justice" Department, to name just five — none of these issues were raised in the 99th Congress in 1985. (If they were, none were included in the *National Journal* tabulation).

Instead, we are treated to the sort of "libertarianism" touted by the American Civil Liberties Union, in other words: liberalism. For example, to have been deemed a social liberal in the Senate, one would have had to vote against eliminating the Legal Services Corporation, against relaxing handgun licensing restrictions, against granting foreign agricultural workers seasonal worker status, against barring the use of Federal funds to pay for abortions. Of the eleven votes used to rate the social liberalism of Senators, only two could have been cast by a **bona fide** libertarian (against school prayer and for relaxing visa restraints on Communists and members of other suspect groups).

Among House members, this point can be made even more emphatically. In that chamber, a real libertarian would have sided with social conservatives in eleven out of the twelve votes tabulated.

The same criticism can be leveled against the votes used to evaluate foreign policy and defense issues though here, at least, it can be said that a real libertarian would side with liberals most of the time. Even so, no self-respecting libertarian would have voted to impose economic sanctions on South Africa. Nor would he have favored maintaining the flow of economic aid to the Marxist government of Mozambique, as did House liberals. Pro-defense libertarians also would have parted company with liberals by voting in favor of Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative ("Star Wars", as it is known to its detractors).

In sum, it would seem the fanfare is unwarranted; there are not sixty-three libertarians serving in Congress, after all. The profile of a real libertarian Congressman would be one who voted as an economic and social conservative and as a foreign policy/defense liberal — and not merely 55, 65 or 75% of the time, but consistently. Not one of the 535 members measures up to this. ■

Notable Quotes

From page 6

Well Said

"To do this as an individual, a citizen, and not as a government is to me more valuable than anything else. It says a lot for our country and how important our freedom is. If any do-gooder comes along and tries to tell you that your safety is more important than your freedom, you better watch out. The only way to be free is to be strong and protect it because there's nothing more precious than your freedom."

Voyager Pilot Dick Rutan in an interview after his successful non-stop around-the-world flight

Kemp's True Colors

"Getting the government off the backs of the American people' will be no one's slogan in 1988. Making government efficient and effective will be the thing this time. I've never understood why conservatives positioned themselves against government."

Congressman Jack Kemp, *The Wall St. Journal*, April 29, 1987

On Ron Paul

"The nicest thing you can say is he's a man of principle. The harshest observation is he's just not very realistic."

Rice University political scientist Robert Stein, *Dallas Morning News*, March 15, 1987

"Much of what Paul says is absolutely right, but..."

Texas Republican Party Chair George Strake, *Dallas Morning News*, March 15, 1987

On Russell Means

"I live in a log cabin, which proves that I am of presidential timber."

Discussing his conviction for "inciting to riot" in a South Dakota courtroom:

"All it means is that I committed my felony before I get to Washington. Besides, when I get to be President, I may just pardon myself."

Russell Means, in *Associated Press* wire story from Portland, OR, March 23, 1987

Andre Marrou, asked where he would begin cutting government

"It would be like being placed with a machete in the middle of a jungle. You could just about start chopping anywhere." McMinnville, OR *News-Register*, March 27, 1987

Leary the Libertarian

"Any adult American should have the right to put into her or his body anything he... pleases."

Timothy Leary, in a debate with former DEA head Peter Bensinger at the University of Texas, April 10, 1987 ■

CHART A
1985 Congressional Voting Patterns
Source: *National Journal*

	liberal	conservative	libertarian	libertarian	libertarian	populist	populist	populist
Economic Freedom (economic conservatism)	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
Social Freedom (social liberalism)	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	yes
Military Interventionism (foreign policy/defense conservatism)	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes
Number of Congressman within each category	193	192	25	31	7	21	44	17

Who is James Buchanan?

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awarded the Nobel Prize on the eve of the 200th anniversary of the U.S. Constitution. James Buchanan has long argued against majoritarianism and for public choice under rules designed to protect the long-run interests of the members of a community. Of course, this is exactly what the Founding Fathers attempted to incorporate into the Constitution.

For example, Public Choice theory argues that bureaucracies will finagle increasing taxes from taxpayers. The Constitution sought to keep this tendency in check by locating the federal government in an enclave in which the residents were not allowed to vote. The awarding of three electoral votes to the District of Columbia and the construction of highways and subway lines into Maryland and Virginia is but one of the ways the original Public Choice design of the Founding Fathers has been circumvented.

Sadly, over the course of 200 years, several constitutional amendments have actually been passed which undo the design and intent of the original Constitution. Of course, I'm speaking of the direct election of U.S. Senators, and the damned authorization of a federal income tax.

Just as sadly, several other rules have been undone in a silent way, having been eroded bit-by-bit. The first such rule was the indirect election of the President with the rise of political parties and emasculation of the College of Electors. Another was the exercise of Congressional power to "coin money and regulate the value thereof" to divorce the U.S. dollar from gold and silver, and make it into a fiat currency.

But most sadly, our ultimate protections under the Constitution suffered two irreparable losses. First, Abraham Lincoln was able to use conscription to raise a massive army with which to suppress the attempt of several states to declare their independence. And secondly, when Franklin D. Roosevelt was able — by threatening to "pack the court" — to bully the Supreme Court into approving his previously declared unconstitutional New Deal.

The unhappy history of the United States is a continual weakening of our Constitution so that today, majoritarianism a la Ronald Reagan and William Rehnquist represents the clearest and most imminent danger to our Liberty. Perhaps because of our present juncture, it is now clear that we need the return of a Constitutional approach to government, an outstanding advocate of which has been James Buchanan. ■



Over 80 students heard University of Puget Sound law school Dean James E. Bond speak on "Abolishing the Criminal Law" at the April 7 meeting of the University of Washington Libertarian Discussion Group. Bond, a libertarian, argued that a civil law approach emphasizing restitution would be superior to the current system, and that abolishing victimless crimes and moving towards privatizing law enforcement would greatly improve the current system of protecting individuals from harm. Photo by Will Hafer.

Russell Means

From page 6

how we're knocking down barriers and having human relationships with them. And Donahue being over there, it's no laughing matter. That's a result of trade! The opening of doors. Look at China, look at Canada for crying out loud. . .

AL: Didn't at one time you seek support from the U.S. government for the Misurata Indians in their fight against the Sandinista regime? Do you feel from a libertarian point of view that was a justifiable request?

Means: For the libertarian world-view, I believe in reality. I was down there. I saw the policy of extermination practiced against the Miskito Indians. I resent anyone who hasn't — at least in my experience in the Indian movement — protested or done anything to stop the continual misuse of taxpayers' dollars against the Indian people in this country. And against them in Guatemala, Chile, Brazil, et cetera, et cetera.

Yet when we take some minute amount of that same taxpayer money and want to use it for the benefit of our people to stop extermination, to halt extermination . . . I find that abhorrent, to be asked a question like that.

Now, in the final analysis, the money that I lobbied for, the \$5 million that was taken away from the Contras, has yet to be let because the Indian people of Nicaragua, even though they're faced with extermination, refuse to accept it from the CIA.

AL: Do you think U.S. support for the Contras is an effective policy?

Means: Look what the policy in the backyard of the United States has done! The

alleged "anti-communist" policy. It's strengthened it. Look at Cuba, and look at Nicaragua now.

As long as this nation refuses to ally itself with Indians, like the Libertarians have, you are always going to have a failure in foreign policy. Once you think that out, you'll realize that to be true.

AL: Earlier at this convention you discussed the Indian philosophy and the European way of thinking. At one point you talked about totalitarian ways of thought and philosophers Locke and Rousseau, saying they were two sides of the same coin. Would you say the Indian philosophy, or your philosophy for that matter, is anti-technology, anti-progress or anti-rational? Do you reject technology?

Means: It's a proven historical fact that Indian people in South America who are considered to this very day to be primitives were engaging in brain surgery while Europeans were still grunting around in caves. The oldest book in the world, and it's still in existence, was published by the Mayan Indians in Guatemala who are being decimated by government troops. Once the Mayans found out the printed word creates arguments they quit publishing. Indian people quit publishing.

When you realize that the practices of child psychology and martial relations are just now beginning to discover the truths of the American Indian lifestyle and therefore, the study of human relationships. . . and I could go on and on and on, with examples of our humanness, our relevance to modern society.

To oppose technology, you would have to come from some idiotic background. No, I don't oppose it. But I oppose the misuse of it. But that's exactly what the libertarians are all about.

For a corporation, in a libertarian society, it would be impossible for it to pollute. Or an individual. Or a group of individuals. It's the utmost respectful society that we're talking about, and that is the "born-again primitive" society. And the circle is complete.

AL: Do you have a view on who is right or wrong in the Navaho-Hopi land disputes?

Means: I think that those two peoples, if indeed they do have a dispute, should be allowed to settle it themselves. Without any outside interference, from either you or me.

AL: Do you have any final comment about what Russell Means is going to do in his presidential campaign?

Means: Yes. We're going to make the Libertarian Party a healthy part of America in 1988. And in 1992 we are going to be a threat, if not a winner, in the national electoral process.

AL: Thank you and good luck with your campaign. ■

COMING ATTRACTIONS

AL Interviews: Ron Paul, Tibor Machan, John Trever

Contracting with Surrogate Mothers

LP Delegate Poll

Pierre Dupont: GOP Libertarian?

Drugs, Money and Smurfs

In Review: "Liberty" magazine, Reason's "New Enlightenment" video, "Dismantling the State"

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

Political Notes



Big Water, UT - Warren Burger, stand back. Big Water, Utah, the small Libertarian Party controlled community headed by polygamist Mayor Alex Joseph, has recently been named a

"designated bicentennial community", to help kick off the 200th birthday of the U.S. Constitution.

Big Water was added to a list of 264 communities in November by the Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution, headed by retired U.S. Chief Justice Burger.

In order to become an officially designated bicentennial community, a city must have its elected officials authorize a commission with members "broadly representative of the community" according to Commission press material.

Casper, WY - Dave Dawson, former Wyoming LP Chair, spent the night of Dec. 23 in a Casper jail to establish his right to a jury trial for a speeding ticket he received last November, for allegedly doing 45 in a 30 MPH speed zone.

Contending that he is entitled to a jury trial by the U.S. and state Constitutions for a criminal offense, Dawson ignored the first arraignment and ended up in jail. He previously lost another case over a traffic ticket which he took all the way to the state Supreme Court. His second ticket was scheduled for a jury-less trial in early March.

Los Angeles, CA - Circle November 13-15 on your calendars. That's the scheduled weekend for the 19th Future of Freedom Conference, to be co-hosted by last year's sponsor, Dagny Sharon, and the Advocates for Self Government, who will be splitting the event with Sharon.

Although details are far from definite, it's expected that Marshall Fritz's Advocates will be hosting a communications-oriented "Summit" (similar to last year's) and Sharon will be presenting two programs centered around self-sovereignty and private education efforts.

Cheyenne, WY - Even when they win they lose. Lawyers for the Wyoming LP, who won a 1984 ballot access suit against the state, still haven't collected the final \$17,391 they're entitled to under a U.S. District Court order.

The head of the Wyoming Senate Appropriations Committee advocates stiffing the attorneys, and has said "I think we should say, 'Hey there ain't no money in the till, fellas'". The state has already paid an initial installment of \$14,703 but the politicians have griped about it ever since they lost their blatantly unconstitutional case.

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