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Libertarian at Heart of AZ Controversy

by Matt Kesler

Matt Kesler is a physicist, free-lance writer and owner of Hames Solar Energy Corporation, a manufacturer of solar electric products.

Phoenix, AZ - Prior to his arraignment on an extortion charge and resignation from his position in the Arizona Governor's office on November 10 of this year, 1982 Libertarian gubernatorial candidate Sam Steiger was at the center of the controversy surrounding Republican Governor Evan Mecham. The outspoken Steiger was a leader in Mecham's bizarre and unexpectedly successful 1986 campaign before being named one of Mecham's Executive Assistants, and controversy surrounded him in his ten months in the Governor's office.

Steiger, 58, was born in New York and first entered politics by winning election to the Arizona Senate in 1960. He now claims he doesn't remember why he ran against the incumbent Democrat in a district where Democrats outnumbered Republicans more than four-to-one: "I guess I got drunk. Who was going to vote for a New York Jew horse-trader who was a Republican on top of everything else?"

Four years in the legislature were ended with an unsuccessful Congressional campaign, a casualty of the Goldwater presidential debacle of 1964.

Steiger became a free-lance journalist, and traveled to Vietnam to report on the war. In 1966, his second Congressional campaign was successful, and he began ten years in the U.S. House of Representatives. His tenure was marked by frequent controversy in his home state, and he quickly joined Goldwater as one of Arizona's most-quoted public figures. His most frequent theme came to be known as Steiger's Law: "Whenever we create a federal structure, the people always spend more time on the structure than they do on the mission of the structure."

In 1976, Steiger risked his House seat to run for the U.S. Senate, winning a brutal Republican primary battle but narrowly los-

ing to Democrat Dennis DeConcini. He retired from electoral politics, claiming "Right now I'm very interested in making as much money as possible, and doing it in Arizona."

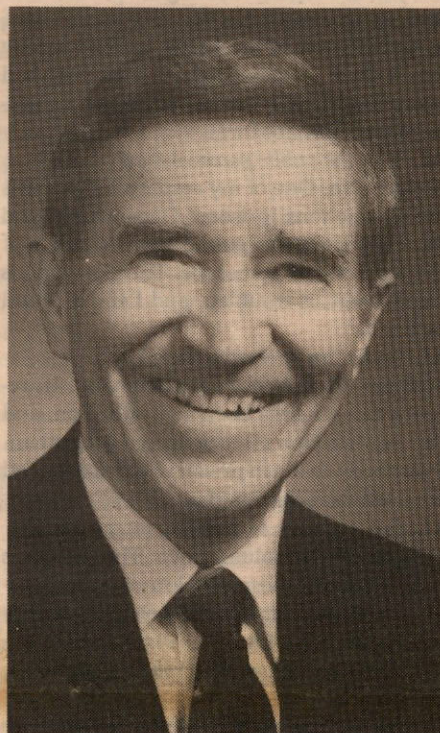
Steiger surfaced again as the Libertarian candidate for Governor in 1982. He campaigned against the free-spending policies of incumbent Bruce Babbitt, and challenged a federal water project, the Central Arizona Project, long considered a southwestern sacred cow. Steiger carried five percent of the vote, finishing third behind Babbitt and Republican Leo Corbett.

Four years later, in 1986 with Babbitt giving up his office to run for President, the heir apparent was Republican legislative leader Burton Barr. But Evan Mecham, a prominent Pontiac auto dealer, conservative, Mormon, and a longtime office-seeker, pulled a stunning upset over the heavily favored Barr to win the Republican nomination and throw the general election into chaos. Republican Mecham was portrayed as a right-wing fanatic, and Democrat Carolyn Warner, longtime Superintendent of Public Instruction, was unpopular even within her own party. Phoenix developer Bill Schulz declared his independent candidacy late in the race.

Re-enter Sam Steiger. But not as a candidate: Steiger signed on as an advisor to Mecham's campaign, in hopes that the conservative Republican's anti-tax philosophy would prove compatible with his own brand of libertarianism. Steiger acted as counselor to Mecham in the latter's second general election campaign, lending his experience to the campaign of a candidate who hadn't won an election in over twenty years.

When Mecham won the three-way race with 40% of the vote, after an especially bitter campaign during which Mecham was endorsed by no daily newspaper in the state, Steiger was named as the new Governor's Executive Assistant. He was given responsibility over an array of state agencies, including the Department of Public Safety (Arizona newspeak for the state police), the Department of Corrections (prisons), the Game and Fish Department, the Industrial Commission, the Department of Transportation, the Department of Environmental Quality, and the Pardons and Paroles Board.

Trouble began while the new administration was still in the fetal stage. Mecham's pledge to rescind his predecessor's creation of a paid state holiday honoring the late Martin Luther King Jr. led to protests from leaders of local civil-rights groups, and was the proximal cause for the creation of a



Embattled Arizona Governor Evan Mecham.

private organization dedicated to the recall of Mecham from office.

The recall movement received increasing support as Mecham's public speeches drew critical attention, first from Arizona's news media and later from the national press, culminating with a critical segment on CBS's "Sixty Minutes" in September and a tense interview in October on Ted Koppel's *Nightline*. On November 5 recall petitions signed by about 390,000 Arizonans were filed; should at least 216,000 prove valid,

Mecham will face a new election in early 1988.

Mecham faces major legal as well as political hurdles. In October, the Arizona Attorney General's office initiated an investigation into an allegedly unreported loan to the Mecham campaign, and as of mid-November an indictment against Mecham was expected. Legislative action preparatory to a potential impeachment of the Governor has also been initiated.

Meanwhile, Steiger faces his own legal problems. On October 14, a complaint was filed by the State Attorney General's office, accusing Steiger of extortion and soliciting acceptance of a bribe in connection with his responsibilities over the state Pardons and Paroles Board. The complaint followed a claim by board member Ronald Johnson that Steiger had threatened him with the loss of his position as a part-time Justice of the Peace if he failed to vote appropriately on a key board issue.

When Steiger made good his alleged threat, Johnson reported him to Attorney General Bob Corbin, who advised Johnson to tape-record his next phone conversation with Steiger. Johnson complied, and the resulting tape was submitted as evidence in a hearing which led to Steiger's arraignment on November 10. Steiger resigned from his post in the Governor's office on the same day, refusing comment to the press.

The accompanying interview elsewhere in this issue constitutes Steiger's first public comment since his arraignment. Although he declines to comment specifically on his case, he did lend a unique perspective to the problems faced by a committed libertarian when he ventures into mainstream politics. ■

AL Interview:

Sam Steiger

by Matt Kesler

Former Congressman and 1982 Arizona Libertarian gubernatorial candidate Sam Steiger was interviewed in Phoenix on November 11, one day after his arraignment on an extortion charge, by free-lance writer Matt Kesler.

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AL: What was the most worthwhile thing you did in Congress?

Steiger: Well, I did single-handedly destroy a land-use planning bill. It would have allowed the U.S. government to zone practically the whole country, and I killed it on the House floor — which is tough to do — and it's never resurfaced. That got me named Legislator of the Year in 1974. I think it proved that there are limits beyond which even the centralists won't go.

AL: Centralists?

Steiger: Yeah, totalitarians, whatever.

AL: Was your 1982 Libertarian gubernatorial campaign a waste of time?

Steiger: No. At the time, we did achieve ballot status, which is something. I enjoyed it, and it didn't cost me any money.

AL: Any advice for Libertarian activists?

Steiger: Don't run for office. Take over a town, or a county. Take over the legislative body — the Board of Supervisors or whatever — and demonstrate that libertarian principles work, even under the prevailing political system. Running for President just feeds egos.

AL: I was going to ask you later about the Ron Paul campaign.

Steiger: I think he's as good a candidate as we've ever had, he's articulate and he's got credentials. But I think the same effort could be used to take over a local government. For a million dollars, we could take over a county somewhere.

AL: Are you going to do that?

Steiger: (Laughing) No, I'll leave that to you.

AL: Thanks. Back to last year — how did you happen to join the Mecham campaign?

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Steiger Speaks

From page 1

Steiger: Well, he was an old friend and he asked me to help, so I helped.

AL: That's kind of a boring answer.

Steiger: (Laughing) Well, make up your own then. It wouldn't be the first time somebody has done that.

AL: This was after the primary?

Steiger: Yes, he asked me to help with the primary but I said he couldn't win.

AL: Was there a lesson there for Libertarians?

Steiger: Yes, that kind of victory [Mecham's unexpected primary win] should hearten Libertarians. He had run a lot of times, and he always runs about ten per cent ahead of what he gets in the polls. That's what I said at the time. It just wasn't considered socially acceptable in some circles to vote for Ev.

AL: What did you do for the Mecham campaign?

Steiger: Oh, I was sort of a father figure.

AL: That's it?

Steiger: Literally. He tried to run his own campaign, but I was involved in everything.

AL: When Mecham won, did you have any idea of what was to come?

Steiger: No. I knew that all the "ins" would be upset, because this was a defeat for everybody, not just [GOP primary opponent Burton] Barr and [Democrat Carolyn] Warner but the papers, the so-called Establishment.

AL: Could the controversy surrounding the Governor have been avoided, or was it inevitable once Mecham was elected?

Steiger: I think his style could have been ameliorated. He's a very arbitrary guy, and that came through and offended a lot of people.

But I've never seen such a totally unbalanced press as he's received. He's certainly earned a lot of criticism, but I'm fond of saying that if you'd read the *Arizona Republic* [the leading Phoenix newspaper] for the last eight or nine months you wouldn't want to recall him, you'd want to hang him.

AL: So the news media are primarily to blame?

Steiger: No, I don't think that's fair, but I think the extent of the negativism is due to the media, and primarily the *Arizona Republic*.

AL: Can anything be done about unfair coverage?

Steiger: No, the only thing worse than an inappropriate press is a censored press.

AL: Was working in the Governor's office fun? Did you accomplish anything?

Steiger: It was a lot of fun, I wouldn't have stayed if it wasn't. I think we had a tone established in state government that had been missing — a tone of emphasis on performance and not form.

AL: Will the public perceive that?

Steiger: No. One of my responsibilities was the Corrections [prisons] Department, and the only time the public is aware of it is if there's a riot or an escape. The Corrections Department is troubled, and I think it will be fixed.

AL: Is that an interesting story?

Steiger: No. It's not very dramatic. In recent years, there's been centralization, and the institutions have been forgotten. Everybody that's in prison will be back, and we need to recognize that.

AL: Is it a matter of spending more money?

Steiger: No, absolutely not. The state has simply thrown these people away. Obviously, if you do that they're not going to improve their own lot.

AL: Are you talking about rehabilitation?

Steiger: Rehabilitation is bullshit. You have an average prisoner profile of a guy who has never been exposed to the work ethic, for example. That's something prisons can do, and we don't do it.

AL: So you're talking about privatization.

Steiger: Well I don't see privatization happening soon. I do see some alternatives to incarceration that have to be tried: intensive parole, for example, and house arrest, in which the individual has to stay home except to go to work.

AL: There are the electronic tracking devices.

Steiger: Yes, that's from the private sector. And there's the Georgia boot camp, where after six months he can choose boot camp — one year of intense military training, and if he gets through it he gets parole. We're gonna do that.

AL: Well, I can see we could talk a lot more about this, but I have to ask some more obvious questions, like will Mr. Mecham finish his term?

Steiger: I think his chances are better than most people think, but the heat won't let up.

AL: So we're going to have four full years of this controversy?

Steiger: I think so.

AL: Can you tell me anything about your own legal problems?

Steiger: There's not much to tell. It'll just have to play itself out.

AL: Any chance you'll end up back downtown?

Steiger: Nope, I have enjoyed just about all of that I could stand.

AL: What are you going to do?

Steiger: Go back to making a living, I guess. I'm already working on a thousand-bed private prison hospital, for the incorrigibles from other jurisdictions, the maximum types and people who need care. The bulk would be federal people, the Cubans that Castro sent during the Carter regime, and they turned out to be incorrigibles. They're deportable, and they can't be put back on the street, but there's nowhere to deport

An Inside View

Victory and Defeat in Seattle



Former Congressman turned Libertarian Sam Steiger.

them to.

AL: This isn't the first time you've taken the pledge from politics.

Steiger: Well, I didn't intend this last thing [service in the Governor's office] to be politics, but it turned out to be pretty political.

AL: What lessons should Libertarians learn from your adventure in mainstream politics?

Steiger: I don't know that I can be a role model, but think it would be very unfortunate if Libertarians continue to mimic the big parties. Steiger's Law works with parties, too. I've watched it repeatedly, where the intraparty struggles for a place in the structure take more energy than the real mission. I think it's unfortunate the energy isn't spent taking over some municipality someplace.

AL: Is politics ever worthwhile?

Steiger: Well, you have to realize it's not a career or a profession. It's an addiction. I've lived through a time when politics has achieved a new level of baseness. It was always a little demeaning, but now the demeaning aspect overwhelms everything else, so that the players that are left are just that: players. All the attention is on form, and nobody cares about substance.

AL: Anything else you want to add? Any hope at all for Libertarians and anarchists?

Steiger: Well, the Libertarians have one thing going for them: they're absolutely right.

AL: Thanks for your time and good luck.

[Interviewer Matt Kesler adds: Steiger's hospitality and good humor showed that he retains the sense of perspective which has always set him apart from the generally mediocre people who inhabit the Arizona political scene. While he hasn't always trod the straight and narrow path of pure libertarianism, Steiger has earned the respect and trust of those who oppose government.]

[With regard to his support for the conservative Mecham, Steiger's judgment can be questioned. Mecham's advocacy of aggressive enforcement of anti-drug laws and his generally intolerant image has offended libertarians. But as the Steiger interview makes clear, there's more than one way to skin a cat. Alternatives to nationwide third-party electoral politics exist, and Steiger, at least, views them with optimism.]

Part II, Transcending the Factions, the Crushing of the Berglandistas

by Murray N. Rothbard

Murray Rothbard is a world famous free market economist and is currently S.J. Hall Distinguished Professor of Economics at the University of Nevada at Las Vegas. He is a prolific author of books and articles about history, economics and politics and is a frequent contributor to *American Libertarian*.

During 1987 he has been a consultant to the Ron Paul for President campaign during the battle for the Libertarian Party nomination. He has also served as an informal advisor to members of the Libertarian National Committee centered around former LP presidential candidate David Bergland and his wife Sharon Ayres, immediate past LP Vice Chair.

In Part I of this article which ran last month, Rothbard detailed an inside view of the Ron Paul victory in Seattle. This month's conclusion describes the battle for LP Chair and the defeat of the Bergland-led NatCom faction.

Transcending the Factions

As the Paul campaign got underway, my overriding concern was the nomination of Ron Paul and the defeat of Russell Means. As a longtime member of the Bergland faction, I had assumed that my old Berglandista buddies would feel the same way, and that the old petty squabbles on NatCom, largely between the Turneyite and the Berglandian factions, would pale in importance in the face of the challenges. After all, the very point of Berglandianism, I had long believed, was to keep our focus on the big political picture, to grasp the importance of becoming a mainstream movement, while at the same time guarding the purity and consistency of our radical ideology. That is, to fall neither into the trap of sellout opportunism on the one hand, nor into social-club sectarianism on the other.

Yet, it seemed to me that, while the Berglandians were formally in favor of the Paul campaign, and were all too quick with bitching and advice, their hearts and their labors were really not in it. The real focus of their energy and passion was to defeat Jim Turney's effort for reelection as national Chair. I had long been imbued with the idea that the Berglandians were the Good Guys while everyone else was mired in varying degrees of Badness. But it seemed to me that a "true Berglandian" would now be weighing degrees of Goodness or Badness in proportion to whether people either helped, or obstructed, the Paul campaign. Yet I found that on this important criterion, Jim Turney, and his aides in the Fielderburger faction, had to be counted as definitely among the Good Guys. Jim was extremely helpful to the Paul campaign, and helped in every way to override the obstructionism of the convention arrangers (see below). For one thing, Jim Turney and his campaign manager, Paul Kunberger, saw from the beginning the vital significance of the Paul candidacy. In contrast, the Berglandians, trapped in their hatred of Turney, never seemed to see the big picture. In fact, to my considerable astonishment, on the scale of Goodness, in many ways the Turneyites ranked higher than the Berglandians.

In fact, Jim Turney, for all his alleged sins and peccadilloes in managing the national party or in working with NatCom, struck me as pretty much of a master politician. For one thing, on becoming Chair in 1985, he had managed to widen the "Eastern" fac-

Continued page 6

Arizona Update

Phoenix, AZ - As of December 7, the latest on the Mecham/Steiger situations are as follows:

- No new developments in the Steiger case.
- Embattled Governor Mecham is being pressed by state Republicans to resign. This includes U.S. Senator Barry Goldwater. If he were to resign, Mecham would be replaced by Democrat Secretary of State Rose Mofford.
- Over 390,000 petition signatures were submitted by the deadline for Mecham's recall election. About 5% have been checked for validity and the acceptance rate is running about 70%. 216,000 signatures are needed for a recall election.

If ultimately approved, Mecham will automatically be on the recall election ballot unless he resigns first. The election is expected to take place in May 1988. Former Arizona Superintendent of Public Instruction Carolyn Warner (a Democrat), whom Mecham defeated in 1986, has already declared for the recall election. It is also rumored that former U.S. GOP House leader John Rhodes may enter the race on the Republican side to challenge Mecham. Other candidates are also likely.

- Republican Arizona speaker of the State House Joe Lane has hired legal counsel to investigate the possibility of impeachment proceedings over Mecham's allegedly illegal campaign loans (since repaid), also being investigated by State Attorney General Bob Corbin. ■

New LP HQ Location Announced

Washington, DC - LNC National Director Paul Jacob announced on December 2 that a new location had been selected for the Libertarian party national headquarters.

The new office site, 31 blocks from the White House, will be at **1528 Pennsylvania Ave. SE, Washington, DC 20003**. While a new DC-area telephone number had not been secured as of this announcement, Jacob emphasized that the Party's toll free "800" number (800-682-1776) was still operational and would be serviced by LP staff.

The headquarters relocation from Houston, approved by the LNC in a mail ballot in late October, would take place in mid-December and is expected to be completed by the first of the year. The new office is the top two floors of a three-story townhouse in a mixed business-residential neighborhood, which is also about 15 blocks from the Capitol.

Jacob said the new LP hq will have a separate entrance and the top two floors are about 1400 sq. ft., about the same size as the Houston location. But he said plans were underway to lease the bottom floor within a few months, bringing the total area to 2100 sq. ft. Jacob said the three-year lease would cost about \$.75/sq. ft., or about \$1,000/mo. initially.

The lease was signed during the first week of December, immediately prior to the Orlando, FL LNC meeting. Turney and other DC move supporters worked frantically to get details finalized prior to the meeting, fearing that their October vote might be re-taken in Orlando if the move wasn't firmly in place. Two earlier sites (one described in material sent out at the time of the vote and the other discussed in the Nov./Dec. LP News) were later rejected for cost or other reasons.

In a related development, the LP headquarters staff is undergoing major changes. David Kelley, a three-year veteran on staff and formerly the LP bookkeeper, was laid off in mid-November due to job restructuring and reluctance to grant a requested salary increase for re-location to DC. Kelley was hired by then LP National Director Honey Lanham in 1984 and was believed to be longest employed LP staff member in party history until the time of his departure.

Also slated for departure is LP Computer Operations Manager Ken Kirchheiner, who came on staff in mid-1986. He has overseen the transition from the breakdown-prone Data General Eclipse system to the new dual IBM AT system now in place, but has indicated that he did not plan on making the move to the new DC office.

Former LP Director Terry Mitchell and his wife Sharon Freeman Mitchell (who also serves on the LNC) have continued on staff since the Seattle LP convention to assist in the transition process. Sharon Mitchell was laid off effective December 4 but Terry Mitchell is expected to remain on staff at least through the move to DC.

Former Arkansas LP Chair and LNC member Alan Lindsay was added to the LP staff in November, with the title of Communications Director. Lindsay, who has worked previously with Paul Jacob in business ventures as well as with Jacob's draft registration battles, has a background in computers. Lindsay anticipates that his duties will include handling inquiries and encouraging new membership, liaison with state LP chairs, and coordinating special projects, such as the January 1988

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Volunteer Day effort (which commemorates the day the military draft ended in the U.S.).

Other staff changes have not been fully completed, according to Jacob, although he expects to hire a secretary and other headquarters personnel once the DC move is completed. ■

Walsh Defeats Library Tax

Roselle, IL - Former Roselle village Trustee (and current LNC member) Gerry Walsh was successful in his fight to defeat a proposed 133% increase in a dedicated library tax in the Chicago-area suburb of Roselle.

Walsh had waged an aggressive campaign to defeat the tax, partly to protest what he considered unfair tax-subsidized campaign tactics used to promote the increase (see "Walsh Fights Library Tax Tactics" Sept-Oct AL).

Despite the fact that the Library Board promoted to tax measure in their newsletter, staffed the pro-tax lobby and paid for 7,000 fliers distributed in favor of the tax increase, voters rejected the measure by more than 2-to-1. The voters defeated the measure by 1,407 to 614. This proposal would have raised the property tax on a \$100,000 home from \$129 per year to \$195 annually.

Asked to comment by the local papers, Walsh said, "We did better than I had projected. The good weather brought out more of the average voters and they were against the tax increase." ■

"A lot of people are willing to support the library, but they were a little betrayed by what they were being fed," Walsh said.

Walsh and other libertarian opponents of the tax canvassed neighborhoods with anti-tax information, which highlighted the unfair tactics used to promote the measure. Walsh was able to get the DuPage state's attorney to write a letter telling the Library Board they were violating state law, an opinion the Library Board ignored.

While happy at this hard won victory, Walsh and other local libertarians are not able to rest easy quite yet. According to local news reports, the Village Board is considering "resurrecting" a utility tax to finance capital projects. Walsh commented in late September, "I'm going to take a wait-and-see approach on that one. At this point it is just a recommendation from a subcommittee." ■

Libertarian Outlook

Douglas Ginsburg

Federal appeals court Judge Douglas Ginsburg may not be a full fledged libertarian, but appeared to be the closest thing we've seen to it yet, during his abortive nomination bid for U.S. Supreme Court.

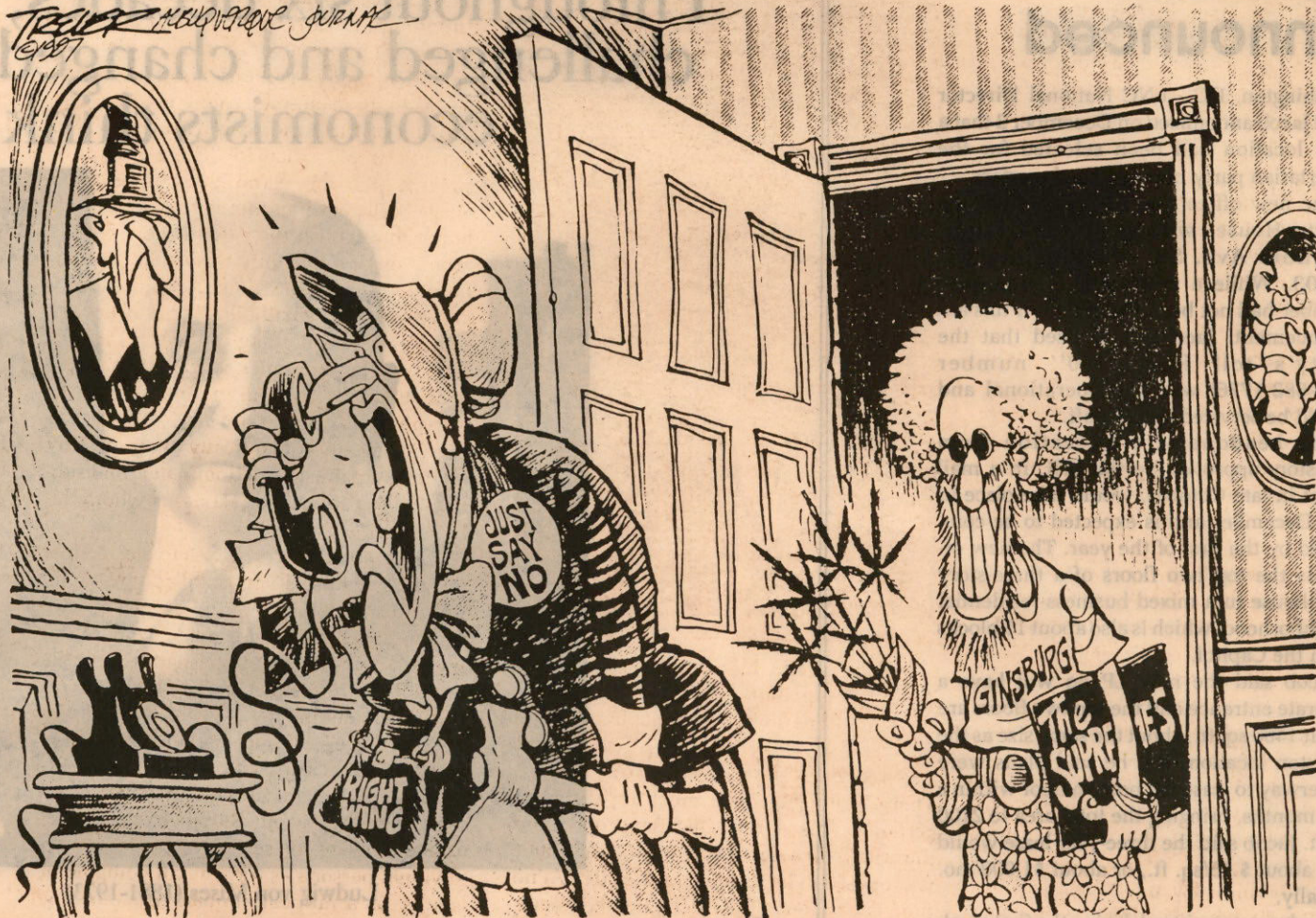
After the close call with the Bork nomination effort — who admitted he was once a libertarian of sorts, but later rejected it — Ginsburg appeared to be sound on economic freedom issues and had no nasty anti-civil liberties record in his closet. And once the furor over his pot smoking broke out, he looked even better.

For once it seemed like the Reagan administration was heading in the right direction. Only the hypocritical hysteria associated with the largely discredited "war on drugs" deep-sixed Ginsburg's chances, by the very right-wing Reagan advisors who pushed for him in the first place.

Yet no one in the White House is throwing stones at admitted alcoholic Michael Deaver, Nancy Reagan's favorite Presidential aide, who's now trying to beat an influence peddling rap by claiming he put away a quart of scotch a day while on the government payroll at the elbow of the President.

But Douglas Ginsburg, a decade earlier pot smoker, wasn't "pure" enough for this gutless bunch to stand behind.

Alas, what a shame. . . ■



"HELLO?? MEASE-MATCH COMPUTER DATING SERVICE?!..."

Feedback

Letters Policy

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

"Infamous" Du Ponts

It was strange indeed to read in a libertarian publication (August 1987 *American Libertarian*) that Pierre du Pont IV is the heir apparent of the "infamous" Delaware du Ponts.

The original Pierre and his two brothers, Irene and Lamont, did a great deal to advance the cause of liberty in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Pierre was chair of the executive committee of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment. Irene was also a member of the executive committee, and one of the group's directors. Lamont chaired the finance committee of AAPA.

When they succeeded in repealing the prohibition amendment, they regrouped as the American Liberty League in order to take on the New Deal. Over the League's six year history, the du Pont family contributed the largest portion of the \$1.2 million ultimately spent. The League peaked in 1936 with nearly 125,000 members and a libertarian student group called the National Intercollegiate Committee with 345 chapters and 10,000 students. 149 pamphlets were released along with 24 leaflets and several books, including Raoul Desvergne's *Democratic Despotism*. Over 5

million pieces of literature were distributed to members, newspapers, political organizations and libraries and over 200,000 responses appeared in the media. As George Wolfskill writes:

"For two years the Liberty League had been one of the most widely publicized, most lavishly financed, most articulate, and potentially one of the most powerful pressure groups ever to appear in American history. For two years the League had done much, threatened to do more; and much was being done in its name. As a barometer of its fame one historian has observed that between August 1934 and November 1936 the League made the front page of the *New York Times* 35 times, the back pages almost daily."

It is true that they failed in their attempt to stop the New Deal and defeat Franklin Roosevelt. It is true that they failed to appeal to the sizable number of people back then who lacked college educations. And, it is true they were short-sighted in abandoning the group to support the Republican Party. However, the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, the American Liberty League and the du Ponts are all important pieces of America's libertarian heritage. They deserve our respect. If we study what they did right and what they did wrong, perhaps we can learn something from them. Perhaps we can learn something that will help us with today's movement.

Terry Inman
Editor, *Youth Connection*
Florissant, MO

The authors respond: Terry Inman suggests members of the du Pont family of Delaware are paragons of liberty. Anything other than a cursory reading of history, however, reveals the du Pont's in a more infamous light: notorious arms merchants whose political control of Delaware was so rigid it even extended to the press.

In their seminal work, *Merchants of Death* (1934), A.C. Engelbrecht and F.C. Harriegen explain that E.I. du Pont de Nemours Co. was built on the production of gunpowder. The du Pont's major client was the U.S. government. "Their relationship with the government has always been very close," the authors noted. "Whenever the government required its aid, in peace and in war, the company was ready to cooperate — usually with neat profits for itself." The book affords an entire chapter to the du Pont family.

Did the du Pont's battle Prohibition out of some commitment to libertarian principle? Hardly. The family was motivated by personal economic gain — they were considering a move into the alcohol industry. Incidentally, the Pierre du Pont that Inman mentions was not "the original Pierre," but one of his descendants. Finally, FDR's election as President in 1932 did more to end Prohibition than the du Pont's ever could.

How successful was the du Pont-led Liberty League? "Liberty League propaganda was laughed off as 'du Pontifical,'" William Carr wrote in *The du Ponts of Delaware* (1964). Among those laughing was the *N.Y. Times*, cited by Inman as proof of their relevance. "Even writers bitterly hostile to the New Deal, like Frank Kent of the *Baltimore Sun*, denounced the Liberty League for its 'glaring ineptitude' and warned that its support was the kiss of death," Carr notes. So it proved to be, as Inman admits.

The du Pont's control of Delaware was rigid and authoritarian. Of the numerous questionable incidents involving the family, several are worth mentioning. In 1921, Sen. Josiah Wolcott, D-De., resigned in a maneuver engineered by William D. Denney, the state's Republican Governor. In Wolcott's place, Denney appointed fellow Republican Thomas Coleman du Pont. "There was a terrible howl over 'Delaware's Dirty Deal,'" John Winkler notes

in *The Du Pont Dynasty* (1953). "Coleman [was denounced] as a corruptionist." The Tea Pot Dome Oil Investigating Committee later wanted T.C. du Pont to answer charges he had

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American Libertarian

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In Review



by Tibor R. Machan

Tibor R. Machan is Professor of Philosophy at Auburn University, Alabama, and a Senior Editor of *Reason* magazine.

Ayn Rand, James T. Baker, Boston, Twayne Publishers, 1987. pp. 159. \$19.95.

In some ways this book suggests that Ayn Rand may finally have arrived. Has she begun to be taken seriously as a figure in American culture? While James Baker is ambivalent about her stature — indeed, commits himself to claiming that *Atlas Shrugged* is more "a huge burst of ideological wind" than "a classic piece of American fiction" — this book from a mainstream publishing house pays enough attention to her to show that Rand will probably be studied more than one of her favorite authors, Mickey Spillane.

Mind you, there are innumerable features of this book that will annoy someone who understands Rand, let alone someone who actually likes her. As I see it, that is to be expected. And Baker tells the reader right off that he is neither admirer nor foe. He will do an "objective" book, which in the terminology of our times means a balanced, ping-pong treatment, with some good points, some bad points thrown in without a decisive judgment in the end to round things out.

Essentially this is a dry, a bit casual recounting of Rand's life and career, with some sloppy analysis and much gossip thrown in. The chapter arrangement is appealing



enough — "The Life and Times of Ayn Rand," "Ayn Rand as Creative Writer," "Ayn Rand as Public Philosopher," "The Themes and Theories of Ayn Rand," and "Ayn Rand's Defenders and Accusers." There is altogether too much repetition of certain points — e.g., that Rand once said the crucifix is a sign of torture and then later is supposed to have denied she said it. At no time is her denial fully documented, so we cannot check it out, but the story is repeated at least three times. And this is just one example. There is also a lot of talk about Ayn Rand in a bad or a good mood, as if this really made a whole lot of difference to the merit of her works. Baker, furthermore, makes much of Rand's inept sex scenes, so much so that he talks endlessly of Howard Roark's "erections", ones that are buildings but should probably suggest something else.

The book is snide, but then frankly I could not imagine in our culture any mainstream treatment of Rand that could afford to be respectful toward this radical woman. Baker does not much respect her philosophy either, probably because he does not understand it. Thus he does not pose as a serious critic of Objectivism but rather a mud slinger against it. (As an example, Baker tells us that Rand thought epistemology is the central feature of a philosophical system, while she, of course, thought that metaphysics is. This is true despite the fact that she did her only systematic work in the former branch.)

Baker also makes much hay out of the fact that Rand's fiction always tries to make a point — i.e., is too ideological. But of course Dostoyevsky, Kafka, Koestler, Orwell and many others could be similarly faulted, even if they didn't feature 60 page speeches.

One of the worst aspects of this book is that Baker completely misreads *We the Living*. Baker regards it an ideological tirade, while of course that novel is Rand's least political work and was written in a most modern style. When I read it after all the others, I found it a relief from her more heady creations, a very personal and warm treatment of the struggles of its heroine, Kira Argounova. (Of course, since I was successful in walking out of a Communist country, unlike Kira who was shot while trying, I felt very close to this book.) Baker has no understanding of the fact that Rand treats the communist ideologue, Andrei Taganov, sympathetically. Of course, Rand valued the acknowledgment of the moral and political nature of human life even on

the part of her adversaries.

One could pick on numerous weaknesses in this book, chide it for small-mindedness, but in the end I want merely to express amazement that it was written at all. Baker did produce a balanced treatment, one that ended up unfair to Rand but at least somewhat informative about her, which is more than many mentions of her manage to be (see, for example, Allen Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind*, in which Rand is simply ridiculed). There are lots of suggestions, for example, about Rand's alleged subconscious motivations, but no attempt to establish their existence. There is repetition of a blatantly misleading notion, namely, that Rand and her philosophy argues for the infallibility of the human mind — it does nothing of the sort, even if Rand's style sometimes suggests this. Rand didn't think that men are naturally "superior" to women, only that psychologically-romantically their healthy relationship must be of dominance and submission — a controversial but not wholly silly notion.

In the end, however, I wish to pick on just one main feature, its constant and sustained misunderstanding of Rand's egoism. Actually, Baker gives some evidence of grasping her ethics, but then, perhaps to suit his expected audience, he falls back on misunderstanding her.

Rand's egoism is not hedonistic, not the narrow Hobbesian type, which prescribes that people ought simply to strive to get whatever they want. Rational self-interest to Rand meant the self-perfection of the individual persona as the human being he or she is, as a rational animal. Aristotle suggests this view in his *Nicomachean Ethics*, saying that the self-love of the just man is proper. Rand argues that no conflict of self-interest between rational people exists because (a) moral judgments are capable of being true, (b) moral judgments never contradict each other, and (c) rational minds will recognize this in their own lives. Only moral non-cognitivists will disagree with all this. And only someone who denies that the moral life is the life of a fully flourishing human (i.e., rational) individual will dispute Rand's view that the rational self-interest of all can be mutually harmonious. Baker is entirely out of his depth in this discussion.

Baker looks at the philosophical themes of Rand through the eyes of a few critics, most

of whom, however, are amateurs — e.g., John W. Robbins, William O'Neill, Sidney Greenberg — while none of her philosophical defenders, all of whom are professional, academic philosophers — Fred Miller, Doug Den Uyl, Doug Rasmussen, Eric Mack, or myself — are given the time of day. There is now a substantial body of philosophical work arguing for some of Rand's ideas — e.g., my own *Human Rights and Human Liberties*, David Kelley's *The Evidence of the Senses*, and many articles in philosophy journals from *The Personalist* to *The American Philosophical Quarterly* — yet Baker shows no awareness of this, which accounts for his demeaning attitude for her philosophical contribution.

This is a book mostly for those who have no awareness of Rand except as an obscure novelist and who will not have had any familiarity with her outside reading one or two of her novels. While it is not an enthusiastic endorsement of her as a significant thinker, the work is polite enough to avoid blatant offense and it does give her unique genius credit. As such, it is a tolerable beginning as a kudos from the mainstream. ■

Media Watch



American Libertarian in the News

New York, NY/ Stockholm, Sweden -*American Libertarian* received mention in two diverse news media:

The August 27 *Wall St. Journal* quoted *AL* Editor Mike Holmes in an editorial page feature article called "Libertarians Look to Restart the Engine" by features editor **Tim Ferguson**. The article, which appeared prior to the Seattle LP convention, discussed the political fortunes of the Libertarian Party in recent years and the prospects for the party in light of the two major nomination contenders.

On the international front, issue number 2 of *Nyliberalen* (New Liberal, the most common Swedish term for "libertarian") published the complete May 1987 interview with **Russell Means** in its entirety in Swedish. Sweden has a small but active libertarian movement and is developing a high quality libertarian publishing industry. ■

Feedback

From page 4

liquidated part of the Republican National Committee's deficit of 1920 with \$75,000 of the mysterious Continental Trading Company's bonds. Du Pont died before he could testify. In *Delaware, The Ward of a Feudal Family*, Arthur Warren noted the du Ponts bought Delaware's three daily newspapers. The du Ponts were hardly crusading journalists — they purchased the papers to reinforce their political control of the state. This is evidence of the du Pont's place as an "all important" piece "of America's libertarian heritage"?

It is easy to comprehend why the Ed Cranes, et. al., are toadying after the latest member of this infamous family. What is "strange indeed", however, is the sight of Terry Inman rushing to the du Pont's defense. Libertarians like Inman belong on the other side of the barricades — giving the infamous du Pont's their just desserts.

Greg Kaza, Detroit, MI
Eric Rittberg, Houston, TX

Thank You

I would like to thank you for your excellent coverage of the LP presidential nominating campaign.

Russell Means considered your interview the best of the whole campaign, and he had hundreds of interviews. He insisted that we include it in every media kit.

Too often we forget to thank our fellow Libertarians for a job well done.

Honey Lanham

Treasurer of the Russell Means for President Campaign

The Means for President campaign committee is still raising funds to retire the debt from their nomination effort. Contributions can be sent to **Russell Means Freedom, c/o Honey Lanham, 1412 West 9th, Austin, TX 78703. Ed. ■**

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Victory and Defeat in Seattle

From page 2

tion from its Fielderburger "neo-Craniac" core by bringing prominently into LP affairs two figures universally beloved in the libertarian movement: Karl Hess as editor of *LF News*, and Dr. Peter Breggin, who became a Natcom member-at-large. In doing so, he had created a formidable "Turneyite" faction.

For all their whining and moaning about the evils of Turney, none of the leading Berglandians was prepared to run for LP Chair. After months of ineffectual backing and filling, they finally decided to support Hugh Butler of Utah, although admittedly their positive support was lukewarm at best; the idea was to back anyone but the monster Turney.

By this time, those of us deeply involved in the Paul campaign were thinking not as Berglandians but as Paulists. In the first place, Butler, while a great guy personally and a valuable gadfly on NatCom, did not strike me as Chairman material; he was the sort of guy who was likely to wander in late or skip town before a crucial vote. Secondly, Butler, in his Chair debate at the convention, gave no one any reason to vote for him: on the contrary, he lauded the work of Fielder, Hess, and Turney himself, and pledged that he would keep them all in high office. So why pick an imitation Turneyite over the original? And his only new suggestion struck me as totally off-the-wall. While Turney was accused of harboring designs to move national headquarters back to Washington, Butler, or so it seemed to me, advocated eliminating any national office whatever.

The capping point, for me and for such other Paulists as Bert Blumert, Lew Rockwell, and Nadia Hayes, was Butler's announced decision to choose as National Director Ruth Bennett, head of the convention arrangements' committee, while Turney had pledged that Paul Jacob would be his choice. Paul Jacob had been, from the beginning, very friendly to the Paul effort. In contrast, Bennett had been obstructionist from the world go. To our plan to have lots of signs and balloons, we were told by Bennett that this would be prohibited because it would constitute an unfair monetary advantage over the Means forces. Since one of the key points of the Paul campaign was our superiority in fund-raising, this of course would have been a severe blow, if Turney had not overruled Bennett. Similarly, Bennett originally insisted on previewing the Paul TV film, presumably to see if it were fit for delegate consumption. At the last minute, the Butler forces claimed that Bennett would not after all be chosen as Director, but any effect that might have had was vitiated by Butler's telling me that Bennett had been upholding their common desire for the "party not to become an appendage of the Paul campaign." That tore it.

The Turney forces had been worried because Emil Franzi had early opted for Butler, but I assured them that Franzi was *sui generis*, acting on friendship alone, and in no sense represented the Paulist forces; and it was not too long before we were all proudly sporting Turney buttons. In the event, Turney won decisively, defeating Butler by 191 to 113 votes.

Before the vote, each of the leading Berglandistas tried, *mano a mano*, to change my vote. To all of my arguments, they had only one: "But I can't work with Turney on NatCom!" I was amazed. First, there was a complete disregard for the larger picture, and second, there was virtually an assumption that God had decreed that these people must always serve on NatCom. The

Berglandistas seemed to be suffering from NatComitis, a disease in which its processes and squabbles take on crucial and overriding importance. Of all the Berglandistas, the most intelligent and rational was pre-Seattle national Treasurer Sam Treynor. After the usual round of argument, I said: "Sam, NatCom is not the only important thing in life. There's the Party itself, the Paul campaign, even the real world." Sam won my heart when he replied: "You know, maybe you're right. Maybe we got so wrapped up in NatCom that we became over-protective."

Forgetting the larger picture reached its height when one of the leading Berglandians asked me why I was supporting Gary Johnson for Secretary instead of Dean Ahmed. I responded: why support Dean, who had never been a political ally of the Bergland faction? The Berglandista reply: "Because he's been a good Secretary and Johnson hasn't done any work on NatCom." I answered that "first, I've always liked Johnson, and most important, Johnson came out for Ron Paul whereas Dean seconded the nomination of Means." "So that's the way you're cutting it?" the leading Berglandista bitterly asked. "That's precisely the way I'm cutting it." I was left once again in astonishment: how could a top leader of a political party think that how one voted for a presidential nomination was irrelevant to whom one chose for high party office? It looked to me as if the once divided sectarian, social-club mentality had permeated and taken over the Berglandian movement.

A final argument used by the Berglandistas smacked of desperation: asserting that support of Turney meant surrender to the Crane Machine. Now I yield to no one in my everlasting devotion to the Good Old Cause, to the overthrow and crushing defeat of the Craniac malignancy in the LP, and I agree that eternal vigilance is always the price of liberty. But try as I might, I could not make out Jim Turney to be the apostolic successor to the Anti-Christ, nor be convinced that a vote for Turney was tantamount to a vote for Crane.

The Crushing of the Berglandistas

One of the big stories of the convention was the crushing defeat imposed on the Berglandista forces. It was not just the reelection of Turney. It was far more than that.

Thus: Mary Gingell, former Vice-Chair of the party and a leading Berglandista, was badly routed in her race for NatCom At Large. In contrast, Lew Rockwell, leading Paulist, as a last minute entry with myself as his neophyte campaign manager, won an At-Large NatCom seat in his first try for high office in the LP. Dave Walter of Pennsylvania was the only leading Berglandian to win, in the Vice-Chair slot, and he tied Roger Gary of Texas (a Meansian who had been responsible for the Mary Ruwart for President boomlet in 1983) on the first ballot. Walter only won by dint of a campaigning blitz on his behalf between the first and second ballots, led by his old friend Dave Nolan (who had sported a Means button before the Presidential ballot) and including John Hix.

But the most astounding results came from the Berglandians' home base and fortress, California. California has five representatives on NatCom, and nine people ran for the five seats. And yet: Sharon Ayres and Sam Trynor were crushed in the voting, and David Bergland himself only tied for fifth with Mike Hall, and won only narrowly in a division of the delegation.



With allies Hugh Butler and Ruth Bennett at the far end of the table, David Bergland questions LP Chair Turney during the pre-convention NatCom meeting. The Bergland faction on the NatCom was all but wiped out by the end of the convention.

Note that the frequently voiced threat of the Berglandians to boycott NatCom should Turney be reelected quickly went by the board. On the other hand, Bert Blumert, who hadn't even won a spot in the California delegation this year, came in first in the California balloting, surely yet another sign of the emergence of Paulism as a palpable force within the party. It should also be noted that Ed Clark made an effective speech in urging the delegates to vote for Blumert.

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And so the Berglandistas are faced with the awesomeness of their defeat. What went wrong? I don't know, but if they have any political smarts left, it surely behooves the Berglandistas to try to figure it out. What

they **should** do is retreat for a bit, and do some serious soul-searching and self-criticism: Where did we blow it? Something tells me, however, that this soul-searching is not going to happen. Certainly there are no visible signs as yet of any humbling or soul-searching among the Berglandistas.

A few things we can point out. First, there had obviously developed an isolation of the Berglandista leadership from its mass base, in California and elsewhere. The battle against Turney is an important instance. Most rank-and-filers have no interest in intra-NatCom struggles. They see Jim Turney, he looks like a nice guy, and he has visibly done good things for the Party. If the Berglandistas had been serious about trying to defeat Turney, they should have done what Evers and myself did in order to overthrow the mighty Crane Machine. That is, **not** to confine attacks on Turney's alleged iniquities to NatCom and to a few intimates, but to be willing to go public. Evers and I were willing to spend literally years on an unremitting campaign, day in and day out, to find and develop allies and coalitions against the Crane Machine (CM) and to carry the fight to the LP masses directly. Month in and month out, we attacked the iniquities of the CM to the party and the movement in the pages of *Libertarian Forum*, *Libertarian Vanguard*, and *frontlines*. Not only did Butler show no stomach for negative campaigning, but neither did the Berglandistas. And yet open negative campaigning would have been their only hope to defeat Turney. As it was, the Berglandistas made just enough fuss at NatCom to appear as pests and troublemakers, but did not go public enough to give the rank-and-file any reason to vote for a fundamental change of regime. They chose the worst possible political course, and reaped the results.

Perhaps, after all, the analysis of one of the top Turneyites is correct: "The LP is like a hockey team. Once in a while, some leaders are replaced and go to the sidelines, and now they're back in a big way. Maybe now it's the Berglandista's turn." Perhaps so.

We can only hope that they will use their period of enforced R&R to learn the right lessons. But unfortunately, soul-searching doesn't seem to be the Berglandistas' long suit. ■

The Zappa Connection

by Robert Murphy

Robert Murphy has been an LP member since 1974, most of that time in Oklahoma. He's an ex-Marine, has run for office five times, and earns his living as a PBX technician. His hobbies are old bookstores, old pickups, and Old Bushmills.

Introduction

[Soon after their state convention last June, several Libertarian Party Oklahoma delegates who were not completely satisfied with either of the major presidential contenders decided to try and recruit a more well-known candidate. At the top of their list (which included G. Gordon Liddy, Christie Hefner, and David Stockman) was the recently-politicized musician Frank Zappa, who had been a pro-First Amendment witness during U.S. Senate hearings to consider the censorship of rock music. It took them quite a while to locate him, however, and they contacted several others during their search.

Two weeks before the election, they finally enlisted the help of Californian John Robertson, who soon located Zappa's answering service. Since by that time it looked as if Ron Paul had the nomination, Robert Murphy, as delegation Chair, left a message for Zappa asking if he would be interested in running for the VP position. To everyone's delight, Zappa returned the call several days later. When presented with the reasons for the proposal, he demurred. He was not willing to balance a conservative ticket, but, if he agreed with the Platform, he might consider a presidential bid.

Murphy sent the LP Platform, and a few other pieces of introductory literature. Zappa called back several days later and expressed interest. In particular, he had seen Ron Paul's answers to a questionnaire from CNN News, and said that he could beat someone who couldn't spell words like "privatize" and "embassies".

He had some questions, though, and wanted to talk about them face-to-face. The next day, Murphy was on a jet to Los Angeles, and this is his story of what happened.]

Playing the Hollywood Card

As I rang the doorbell I thought of bumper stickers, million of ZAPPA FOR PRESIDENT bumper stickers inching along the Ventura Freeway at rush hour, racing around dirt tracks in Texas, cruising on weekends along the Blue Ridge Mountains.

Mr. Zappa is famous for being anti-authority, antihypocrisy, and antihype. I had seen him with a haircut and a blue suit



Frank Zappa — the musician who would be President?

confronting former Florida Senator Paula Hawkins when her Senate committee was trying to censor rock recordings. His testimony had been superb, and the voters soon retired Ms. Hawkins to picket porn shops in Palmetto.

His reputation and the strength of his Senate performance took me, on Friday evening a week before the Seattle LP convention nomination day, from Norman, Oklahoma to the bottom of a canyon in the Hollywood Hills to find out if Frank Zappa was willing and able to run for President as a Libertarian.

He met me as I passed through his electric gate. He is an imposing figure, tall, dark, and with a keen sense of drama. He led me to a large, warmly-lit room where we settled in and started talking politics.

As expected, he had some problems with the platform. He liked the preamble, and he could see the consistency in each of the planks, but he interpreted that consistency as ideological intolerance. He was worried about having to run a gauntlet of 400 dogmatic anarchists to get the nomination. I tried to assure him that, while he'd have to show that he understood the core issues of the Party, with his stature and reputation the delegates would forgive a lack of detailed knowledge about every platform plank. The core issues, though, were crucial.

I told him about the three C's of state power — Confiscation, Conscription, and Counterfeiting — and that if he could agree that these should be eliminated, he had a chance for the nomination.

So we talked for about five hours, he testing and questioning me, watching for hype or equivocation, while I tapped every resource I could remember to explain our position.

Confiscation he could understand,

although he wanted something more dependable than a lottery to finance national defense. He conceded that taxation was a violation of individual rights, but insisted that changes couldn't happen overnight. I reckoned we could work with that.

Conscription was unnecessary, he agreed, and should be outlawed. His attitude toward military policy — "If somebody fucks with you, blow 'em up, otherwise stay out of other people's business." — has a real Libertarian ring to it. My hopes were high.

Counterfeiting was the problem. I couldn't convince him that the government counterfeits money, and I consider it my own fault. When I started to explain inflation, he got a faraway look in his eyes. As I went into how the Federal Reserve controls money and credit, and how a gold standard protects money from manipulation, he glanced idly around the room at the shelves of videotapes and equipment lining the walls. I lost him completely.

There had been fire in his eyes when we talked about the corporate manipulation of foreign policy. Economics produced only boredom and impatience. I realized that there was nothing I could say in the short time we had that would convince him of the importance of the money issue, that control of money is one of the pillars of the Corporate State.

I realized that the interview was over, that there was no way the delegates would choose a candidate who didn't support a gold standard. I could hear J. M. Keynes giggling in my left ear.

I suggested that he declare for President and then come to the convention to see what we were about. I was certain that a chat with Bergland, Nolan, or Rothbard would convince him of the rightness of our cause. He would have none of it, though. He has too much integrity to support a cause that he doesn't fully agree with or understand, and was rightly offended at the notion of lending his name to a cause before a complete approval.

We parted on amiable terms, and I am convinced that Frank Zappa is a potential future Libertarian candidate. His reason and disdain for hype will keep him away from the entrenched parties. The task ahead is to persuade him, and any other potential activists, that our "ideological intolerance" is only the consistent application of the principles of individual liberty, and that the real struggle is not right vs. left, black vs. white, or rich vs. poor, but authority vs. liberty.

And As For The Rest Of The List...

For the record: Christie Hefner said she wasn't interested; David Stockman said that he was "very flattered, but too busy with his work at Salomon Brothers."; and G. Gordon Liddy said that he was a "... dyed-in-the-wool Republican." ■

Zappa Campaign

Frank Zappa's campaign would have been very high-tech. In his home he has a sound and video studio stocked with the latest high-tech digital equipment. Rather than spending enormous sums traveling around the country, he would simply put a satellite uplink on the roof of the house and run the campaign from Hollywood. News releases, news conferences, public statements, interviews, speeches, even fundraising via video-conferencing, all of it would be done by video transmission from Zappa's rooftop dish.

Forming a second video front would be the political segments attached to the videos produced by his new Home Video company "Honker Video". At least one scheduled release contains some well edited excerpts from Zappa's testimony before the Maryland Senate when they wanted to censor rock music. In truth, however, the prelude to this segment seems to be aimed at an adolescent, rather than an adult audience. Someone using a banana to demonstrate fellatio techniques might, like George Carlin's list of Seven Words That Can't Be Said On Television, have a certain amount of defiant shock value, but will it get out the votes?

What Do You Send to a Potential Candidate?

The Oklahomans sent, at the risk of overloading him, the following literature to Frank Zappa:

- The LP Platform
- a CNN political questionnaire with answers by Ron Paul
- Libertarianism in One Lesson**, by David Bergland
- two copies of *LP News* outreach issues
- three brochures on libertarianism by Orpheus Publications
- essay "Left and Right" by Murray Rothbard
- Beyond Liberal and Conservative* published by the Cato Institute
- three essays: *Libertarianism & the Liberal Ethos*, *The Origins of the Therapeutic State* and *The Anatomy of the State*
- a copy of the recent *Laissez Faire Books* catalog. ■

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Ads in the De-Classified section are \$10 per insertion for up to 20 words, with remaining words at 30¢ each, payable in advance. All ads are subject to the approval of the American Libertarian. Send copy and payment to: De-Classifieds, The American Libertarian, 21715 Park Brook Drive, Katy, TX 77450.

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Petitioners 1, Post Office 0

Cheyenne, WY - U.S. Attorney Richard Stacy has ordered Wyoming postal officials to cease enforcing postal regulations which have been used to bar Libertarian Party and other petitioners from gathering signatures for ballot access inside and outside state post offices.

Citing the First Amendment protection of free speech and assembly the federal prosecutor said that getting a petition signed to get a political party on the ballot is the "very essence" of the kind of conduct the First Amendment is intended to protect. The local postal authorities are currently grudgingly following the government instructions, though the Cheyenne postmaster said postal authorities in Chicago are "researching" the issue saying "I'm sure that there are some things to be clarified."

The U.S. Attorney's action was prompted by a complaint by an LP petitioner to the Secretary of State and state's Attorney General, who then contacted Stacy.

LP petitioners had been kicked off postal facilities in Cheyenne and Laramie, along with a New Alliance petitioner in Rawlins. Stacy said that signature gatherers may not necessarily stand inside the buildings but that they can't be barred from public areas as long as they aren't blocking entrances or interfering with traffic.

The Cheyenne postmaster apparently "felt the [postal] regulations were more important than the Constitution," U.S. Attorney Stacy said. "I think it's shocking to realize that at a time when we're celebrating the 200th anniversary of the Constitution, there are so many people who don't understand what it's all about," he said. ■

Michael E. Holmes, CPA

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LP Council of State Chairs

Seattle, WA - At the Seattle LP Convention the LP Council of State Chairs was formed to discuss matters of mutual concern and to exchange information of a practical nature. Encouraged by former LP national Chair Alicia Clark, who has long supported decentralized organization, this group assembled over two-thirds of the state chairs for a day-long meeting.

Other meetings of this group are planned, and current LP Chair David Walter and his newly created Affiliate Party Committee is continuing to focus on grass-roots libertarian organizing and revitalizing dormant state LP groups. A system of awards for outstanding state LP activity is being developed by former LP Chair Randy Ver Hagen as part of this effort. ■



Over two-thirds of the LP State Chairs spent nearly a day hearing dozens of presentations on the practical side of LP politics, at the newly constituted Council of State Chairs.



Jim Lewis Trial Date Set

New Haven, CT - Former LP Vice Presidential candidate Jim Lewis is scheduled for December 17 jury selection in his federal trial on three counts of "willful failure to file" his 1981-1983 income taxes. According to a recent interview with Lewis, he anticipates the actual trial to commence shortly after jury selection and the trial may be over by Christmas. (*American Libertarian* has a special correspondent who will cover the trial directly from the Federal courthouse in New Haven.)

"I've studied a lot of these cases," Lewis said recently, "and these trials usually only go on two or three days. I've been notified that the Assistant Federal Prosecutor Douglas Levine will be representing the government, and District Judge Ellen Burnes will be presiding. I think Levine also



was involved with the Irwin Schiff case." (Schiff was released last spring after serving one-and-a-half years of a three-year sentence, and was known for his advocacy of not paying income or social security taxes.)

Lewis has been expecting his day in court for some time, since the IRS began civil proceedings against him as early as 1982. "It's absolutely amazing how much material the IRS has on me," Lewis explained, "since I've seen all of it during [pre-trial] discovery. They have a three-foot high stack of files crammed full of clippings from my 1984 campaign, interviews with my former employer and my ex-wife, even the auto mechanic at the auto repair shop and the guy who did my campaign photos! I think they did this largely for intimidation, but also to assemble all the financial details about me."

Lewis, who plans on defending himself without counsel (*pro se*), contends he is not guilty of willfully failing to file because he

(Far left) Former Texas and National LP Finance Committee Chair Matt Monroe shared his insights on successful fundraising techniques with assembled state LP chairs. (Near left) Ron Paul campaign manager Nadia Hayes addressed the newly formed Council of State Chairs about the nuts-and-bolts of campaign organization. Former LP Chair Alicia Clark, who organized the Council, looks on.

believes his legal research shows that he is not subject to income tax, and therefore he has no duty to file. If he fails to convince a federal jury of that, he is subject to a 3 year prison term and up to \$60,000 in fines. Lewis says his extensive research into the income tax reveals that it is merely an excise tax, which can only be levied on "privilege or an activity sanctioned by government", not wages or commissions earned by ones own labor. He says he's extensively studied similar cases and in at least three that he's concentrated on, the defendant beat the government. Lewis is hoping for a similar outcome.

He quit his regular job last summer immediately prior to his indictment but was not asked to post bond and has been free working on his legal defense ever since. When asked about his future plans, Lewis laughed, and said, "well I'm obviously not making any long range plans until this is concluded. I'll probably go back into sales to earn a living when I am able." Prior to his recent legal action, Lewis was sales representative for a library bookbinding firm. ■

typewriter.

Norma Jean has been receiving a number of visitors, including LP Vice Presidential candidate Andre Marrou on October 11, and has been getting a steady stream of letters. (She asks that correspondents enclose postage if they want a reply).

The legal appeals process is apparently at an end, with the U.S. Supreme Court refusing to consider her petition for a re-hearing on sentencing. On the positive side, she is eligible for two-to-one "good time" which may reduce time served from the full three years to 18 months. And CBS *Sixty Minutes* correspondent Ed Bradley interviewed and filmed Norma Jean on September 23. It is anticipated that this segment will air before year end.

Her new address is Norma Jean Almodovar W 27022, Dorm 112, Bed 55, P.O. Box 1800 CRC, Norco, CA 91760. Her support group can be contacted at: Friends of Norma Jean, 1626 N. Wilcox Ave, #580, Hollywood, CA 90028, (213) 382-6445. ■

Norma Jean Re-Located

Norco, CA - Imprisoned former California LP Lt. Governor candidate Norma Jean Almodovar was transferred in late October from the large California Women's Institute prison in Frontera to the smaller California Rehabilitation Center in nearby Norco.

According to the Friends of Norma Jean support group, the new facility is smaller, cleaner and resembles an old hotel complex more than a prison. They report that the food is better and that the controversial Almodovar, serving a three year sentence for pandering, now has access to a

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