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LP Presidential Votes: 409,000 - 452,000

Washington, DC - As of mid-November there is still no hard and fast Libertarian Party vote count. But preliminary vote projections indicate that the Paul-Marrou LP total will end up at about 409,000-452,000, once all the results are in. No LP candidates running in contested races gained office, according to the early vote returns, although 3 candidates won uncontested minor local offices, and 1 won a write-in campaign for a position with a quasi-governmental entity.

Presidential Results

The mid-November vote totals and estimates provided by third party political expert Richard Winger and others is noted on Table 1. This projection totals slightly more than 432,000 votes, although results from 13 states are known to be either incomplete or pure estimates. The results from the other states shown may also vary from the ultimate final count. The LP ticket appeared on 46 states plus DC in 1988, 39 states in 1984 and all 50 in 1980. The LP presidential ticket received nearly 229,000 votes in 1984 and 922,000 in 1980.

Richard Winger noted that the 1980 vote projections immediately after the election turned out to be 4.65% too low; if the same undercount occurred in 1988 this would lift the projected total up to about 452,000.

A second, lower LP vote total was carried by the *New York Times* from the Associated Press on November 22. (See Table 2.) This showed the LP ticket getting 409,412 votes, .45% of the total vote but a whopping 49% of all 822,240 minor party votes cast. The LP is reported to have gotten more than twice the votes of its nearest third party rival, the New Alliance Party, which came in with 201,430. These figures also show the LP receiving more votes than the next 13 (out of 17 total) third party and independent candidates combined.

It is also not immediately known whether the AP vote count is substantially "harder" or more precise than the Winger/LP vote estimates, since the methodology may be roughly the same for both. In a number of states, vote counts have simply not been available on any aggregate level. Some

Winger figures were obtained by a county-by-county canvass, for instance. Early wire service counts in 1980 and 1984 were off by tens of thousands of votes.

The process of obtaining reliable vote totals for the LP and other third party contenders has added insult to injury in 1988, since the News Election Service (NES) refused to gather these totals on election night and rounded the two major party vote totals up to 100%. No other news service reported third party votes on election night, although state wire service bureaus reported minor party results in some states. The reasonably "hard" vote count totaled only about 358,000 as of mid-November, and final official totals aren't expected to be available until mid-December or even later (AL will carry final revised totals when available).

There were earlier projections of around 500,000 to 700,000 votes being issued by the Paul campaign and the national LP office, but these seem to be at considerable variance with the lower, more conservative projections provided by independent observers.

If the Winger/LP mid-November projections hold, it appears that the Paul-Marrou campaign about doubled the 1984 LP vote total and received about half the record-setting 1980 total.

According to the *New York Times*/AP report, the total vote for all third party and independent candidates increased 33% from their 1984 levels. The bulk of this increase came from the Libertarian vote, which went up 79%, and from the 156,000 vote increase by the New Alliance Party, which was called the Independent Alliance in 1984 and was only on a small fraction of state ballots then compared with their 1988 50-state presence. Most other third parties lost votes or stayed about the same. And some, such as the much feared Communist Party USA, did not even bother to run a presidential candidate this year after their 36,375 vote showing in 1984.

In general, voter turnout was the lowest percentage of eligible citizens since 1924, which may have also helped to keep the third party vote percentages down. The more marginal voters may tend to be willing to consider non-major party candidates somewhat more often than traditional voters. This seems to be supported by the fact that third party candidates typically get many more times the number of votes than the actual number of identifiable party members and activists.

Ballot Status

The best result for the LP in 1988 was the unprecedented 13 state ballot status achievement at the conclusion of the elec-

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Ron Paul and his wife Carol thank supporters at his final Houston campaign rally.

Campaign Manager Sacked in 11th Hour

Paul Campaign Ends on Down Note

Houston, TX - The 1988 presidential race of LP standard bearer Ron Paul gained considerable momentum during early October, but ended on a down note in the final stage of the campaign. Even before the votes were counted, the Paul campaign effort took a bizarre twist as tough-talking Paul campaign manager Nadia Hayes was sacked the day before the election. And the much awaited last minute campaign media blitz largely failed to materialize, disappointing campaign supporters and Paul insiders alike.

Final Campaign Push

In the final three weeks of the presidential campaign, Ron Paul made two extensive campaign tours at opposite ends of the country; the first, through New York and New England and the final, a 5-day trip through a half dozen western states, beginning in Colorado and ending in California.

On his eastern trip, Paul stopped off at the mid-town Manhattan offices of the News Election Service (NES) during a protest by local libertarians. The LPers picketed outside, objecting to the NES policy of "political apartheid" by refusing to compile or report votes cast for other than the Democratic and GOP candidates. NES, a joint venture of four TV networks and two

major wire services, included third party candidate votes in their election night tabulations for the past two decades but inexplicably refused to include them in the 1988 race.

A last minute legal injunction filed by a Populist Party supporter failed to change the situation, and the head of NES treated LP candidate Paul with arrogance and rudeness during Paul's half hour visit, blustering about calling their lawyers to stop the picketing. NES did not include third party vote results on election night, falsely rounding the vote totals up to 100%. The results for non-Democrat and Republican candidates were not compiled by any other news source and remained unavailable or incomplete as of the end of November.

Paul's eastern tour proved more productive at Boston's Faneuil Hall, where 800 supporters cheered him on, and where the local media and talk-show reception was good. He had similar results in New Hampshire, and a favorable back page *Wall St. Journal* article gave the campaign a much needed morale boost.

However, other media coverage failed to materialize for the most part. A planned Op-Ed piece in the *New York Times* by Paul was

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tion, besting the 1980 result by one state and the 1984 result by 3. The LP gained ballot status in Georgia, Idaho, Michigan, and Oregon and kept it in Hawaii, Montana, Texas and Vermont. The LP also has ballot status in California, Delaware, Mississippi, New Mexico and South Carolina, which was not in jeopardy in 1988.

According to Richard Winger, the New Alliance Party (NAP) failed to gain ballot status in any of the 50 states in which their presidential ticket ran. The NAP also received over \$900,000 in federal primary matching funds. The far-right Populist Party also failed to gain ballot status anywhere.

Winger was particularly encouraged by the ballot status results and is urging the national LP leadership to begin signature collecting efforts immediately in North Carolina, where the LP wasn't on the ballot in 1988. The state allows petitioning with no time restrictions on an early start. He is also urging that a careful state-by-state lobbying effort be undertaken in states with unduly ballot restrictive requirements and deadlines.

Other races

Table 3 indicates preliminary vote data for selected LP races. Two Texans were elected unopposed to Public Weigher posts, largely obsolete offices, and an Alabama LP member was elected unopposed as a Lee County constable. Prissy Williams-Godfrey was also elected by a write-in effort to the Neighborhood Advisory Council in Washington, DC, a semi-official citizens group.

In general, LP candidates in three-way

elections racked up the usual less than 1% to about 3%, in most races, regardless of how hard they campaigned.

As the high profile race section in Table 3 indicates, even fairly large amounts of money raised by LP candidates didn't necessarily translate into exceptional vote results in most elections. This is partially explained by the fact that significant money raised by an LP candidate is often financial peanuts by major party standards and is rarely enough to overcome the handicap of being identified as a "minor" party candidate.

Even political incumbency doesn't seem to help. Incumbent Charleston, SC city councilman Bill Morea and Big Water, Utah mayor Alex Joseph were both soundly trounced in their respective bids for higher office in their particular locales.

LROC Results

LROC spokesman Eric Garris reports that two members of the Libertarian Republican Organizing Committee were elected to state house office. Former Reagan administration official John McClaughry of New Hampshire was elected to State Senate as Republican, and Art Pope of North Carolina, described as a former LP activist, was elected to the state legislature. LROC endorsed U.S. House candidate Tom Campbell who won a narrow 53% victory in Silicon Valley's Congressional District 12. Campbell has been described as a "classical liberal" type Republican economist who has libertarian leanings. LROC support or endorsement did not appear to play a significant role in any of these election victories.

Comparative Analysis

It is still too early to perform much meaningful analysis on the 1988 LP presidential race. Neither the final votes nor the campaign finance information is available as of mid-November.

Table 2
1988 Presidential Vote Totals, Including Third Parties

Source: November 22, 1988 *New York Times*, as reported by Associated Press

Party	Candidates	Votes	% of Total
Republican	Bush/Quayle	48,138,478	53.44
Democrat	Dukakis/Bentsen	41,114,068	45.64
Libertarian	Paul/Marrou	409,412	.45
New Alliance	Fulani	201,430	.22
Populist	Duke	44,135	.04
Consumer	McCarthy	30,074	.03
American Independent	Griffin	26,053	.02
National Economic Recovery	LaRouche	23,713	.02
Right to Life	Mara	22,560	.02
Workers League	Winn	18,645	.02
Socialist Workers	Warren	11,435	.01
Prohibition	Dodge	7,868	*
None of the Above	not applicable	6,923	*
Workers World	Holmes	6,628	*
Peace & Freedom	Lewin	3,968	*
American	Dennis	3,443	*
Socialist	Kenoier	3,412	*
Grassroots	Herrer	1,919	*
Independent	Youngkite	363	*
Third World Assembly	Martin	229	*
Total votes		90,074,756	100%
Total 3rd party & independent		822,240	.91%

* = less than .01%

The preliminary vote totals indicate that Paul actually exceeded the 1980 Clark-Koch totals in three states — Connecticut, New Hampshire and Utah. The Paul-Marrou effort had a reasonably high profile during the campaign in those states compared with some others. On the other hand, the Paul

totals appear to have done worse than the 1984 Bergland-Lewis results in Alaska, Montana, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Wyoming, where the vote count is at least semi-reliable. This difference is only a few hundred votes in Montana and Wyoming, however. There is also some doubt about the completeness of the Alaska returns.

Overall, the one result most evident in the 1988 campaign is that LP fundraising has reached an all time high, excluding the situation in 1980. Then, the VP candidate David Koch, heir to an oil fortune, kicked in well over \$2 million in campaign funds and an estimated additional \$1 million in "soft" donations to the state and local LP's for ballot access. The 1984 Bergland effort raised about \$620,000, while the 1988 Paul campaign is estimated to have raised about \$1.5 million, all from small donors. The separately financed Marrou effort is believed to have raised about \$150,000. And the LP's Ballot Access Committee raised an additional \$600,000, also from small contributors. These dramatically increased fundraising results are evidence that the LP has gained grassroots support which bodes well for future party and campaign activities.

Reaction to the Votes

Since even semi-reliable information about vote totals has been slow in coming and has not been widely circulated, reaction by most libertarians has been cautious.

Those closely in touch with rank-and-file membership of the LP report positive feelings about the campaign and efforts to get out the libertarian message, but also disappointment that the vote totals weren't higher. There is also considerable anger over the treatment of LP candidates by the news media and the NES.

Much of the reaction from the first wave of LP election analysts appears to result from the pre-existing bias of the observers — those who are favorable and optimistic about the LP and its presidential race are generally positive, while those inclined to defeatism or who had axes to grind with the campaign are focusing on the lower than expected vote totals. Some are even advocating entirely new programs, the early

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Table 1
1988 LP Vote Projections vs. 1984 and 1980 Results by State as of Nov. 15, 1988

State	1988 Paul-Marrou	1984 Bergland-Lewis	1980 Clark-Koch	State	1988 Paul-Marrou	1984 Bergland-Lewis	1980 Clark-Koch
AL	5,4471	9,504	13,318	NH	4,420	735	2,064
AK	4,7001	6,378	18,479	NJ	8,445	6,416	20,652
AZ	13,233	10,585	18,784	NM	2,200E	4,459	4,365
AR	2,600E	2,221	8,970	NY	20,000E	11,949	52,648
CA	68,836	49,951	148,416	NC	50*E	3,794	9,677
CO	15,723	11,257	25,744	ND	2,000E	703	3,743
CT	13,305	204*	8,570	OH	13,042	5,886	49,033
DE	1,156	268	1,971	OK	6,133	9,066	13,828
DC	529	279	1,826	OR	13,557	376*	25,838
FL	19,488	754*	30,457	PA	11,118	6,982	33,263
GM	— (1)	135	224	RI	649	241	2,458
GA	8,072	159*	15,627	SC	9,771	4,359	5,139
HI	2,999	2,167	3,269	SD	1,900E	— (1)	3,824
ID	4,916	2,823	8,425	TN	1,959	3,072	7,116
IL	17,989	10,086	38,939	TX	30,317	— (1)	37,643
IN	— (1)	6,741	19,627	UT	7,395	2,447	7,138
IA	3,000E	1,844	13,123	VT	1,325	1,002	1,900
KS	12,464	3,329	14,470	VA	9,572	— (1)	12,821
KY	2,235	— (1)	5,531	WA	15,186	8,844	29,213
LA	4,133	1,876	8,240	WV	30*E	— (1)	4,331
ME	2,498	— (1)	5,119	WI	6,000E	4,883	29,135
MD	6,799	5,721	14,192	WY	2,290	2,357	4,512
MA	18,000E	— (1)	22,038	Total w/est.			922,001
MI	18,567	10,055	41,597	% of 1980			47%
MN	3,667	2,996	31,593	% of 1984			189%
MS	2,921	2,336	5,465	Notes:			
MO	100*E	— (1)	14,422	* = write-in votes tabulated			
MT	4,914I	5,185	9,825	E = Richard Winger 11/15/88 estimate			
NB	3,200E	2,079	9,041	I = Incomplete returns			
NV	3,520	2,292	4,358	(1) = No ballot status, no write-ins			

Sources: 1980, 1984 data from Nov. 84-Feb. 85 *LP News* (original sources were *Congressional Quarterly*, Richard Winger, Jan.-Feb. 1981 *LP News*). The 1988 data is from Richard Winger as of November 15, 1988 from unofficial totals or news sources believed to be the best available information. Totals from Oregon and Texas are slightly higher than Winger totals and are from the Dasbach/Dehn LP compilation, believed to be slightly more accurate for these states than the Winger figures. Official totals are not expected to be available until mid-December or early January 1989.

Table 3
Selected LP Vote Results as of November 14

HIGH PROFILE SELECTED LP RACES:

Candidate	Race	Est. \$ Raised	Votes	%
Jim Hedbor (5-way race)	VT 1st Dist. U.S. House	\$50,000	1,770	.75
Don Ernsberger	PA 8th Dist. U.S. House	\$35,000	n/a	2.8
John Vernon	CA 23rd Dist. U.S. House	\$30,000	n/a	1.9
Dick Jacobs	MI U.S. Senate	\$25,000	27,487	.76
Larry Dodge (3-way race)	MT Sec. of State	\$17,000	15,985	4.5 ¹
Bill Morea (2-way race)	SC State House	n/a	n/a	9.0
Alex Joseph	UT Kane County Commission	n/a	n/a	5.0

ELECTED LIBERTARIANS - NOVEMBER 1988:

TX	Michael Rubin	Bexar Co. Public Weigher	(L) (unopposed)
TX	Wendell Watherford	Travis Co. Public Weigher	(L) (unopposed)
AL	Mark Thornton	Lee Co. Constable	(NP) (unopposed)
DC	Prissy Williams-Godfrey	Neighborhood Advisory Council	(write-in)

BALLOT STATUS RACES: (Gain & Retain compared to after 1984 election)

4.0%	GA	Elizabeth Goldinn	PSC	4-way	Gain
		Jimmy Harris	PSC	3-way	
		Brit Miller	PSC	3-way	
11.0%	HI	Lloyd Mallen	U.S. House	2-way	Retain
	ID	Ran Three Candidates			
18,567	MI	Ron Paul/Andre Marrou	Pres/VP		Gain
4.5%	MT	Larry Dodge	Sec. of State	3-way	Retain
11.4	OR	Fred Oerther	Attorney General	2-way	Gain
6.1%	TX	Egon Tausch	Court Crim. Appeals	2-way	Retain
5.3%	VT	Barb Wicker	Sec. of State	3-way	Retain

LP retained CA, DE, MS, NM & SC based on organization; LP lost AK (needed 3%; received 2.7%); MO has ballot status in 6 State House and 1 State Senate Districts

Ballot Status States:	1988	1984	1980
	13	10	12

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

2-WAY RACES

28.0%	MA	David Hudson
13.8%	CA	Kennita Watson
12.5%	TX	Gary W. Nelson
11.6%	AZ	Larry Cleaver
11.0%	HI	Lloyd Mallen
9.1%	AL	Jerome Shockley
7.4%	TX	Leo M. Sadovy
7.1%	TX	J. Alex Snead
7.0%	AL	John E. Sebastian

3-WAY RACES

5.2%	CA	John C. Thie
3.7%	CA	Dennis Thompson
3.1%	CA	Lee Connelly
3.1%	CA	John H. Webster
3.0%	CA	Gregory P. Gilmore
3.0%	CA	Gail Lightfoot
2.8%	PA	Don Ernsberger
2.7%	CA	William J. Fulco
2.6%	ID	Bramwell

STATE SENATE, HOUSE & ASSEMBLY:

2-WAY RACES

32.0%	ID	Maurice Clements
25.1%	UT	Jerry Stocks
25.0%	ID	Greg Johnson
19.0%	IN	Barbara Bourland
17.6%	AK	Steve Pidgeon
17.5%	NE	Martin Hore
15.6%	ID	Laura Guentzler
15.0%	ID	Joe Hautzinger
14.7%	TX	John Kormylo
14.1%	CA	Steve Pencall
13.1%	CA	Bob Goodwyn
12.0%	TX	Elizabeth Barthlow
12.0%	MT	Barda Allen
10.8%	UT	Stan King
10.3%	TX	Craig Haynie
10.0%	MO	Scott Birkett

3-WAY RACES

8.4%	UT	Neil Skousen
8.4%	ID	Sandy Sonntag
8.1%	CA	William H. Wilson
7.4%	UT	Elizabeth Lawley
7.3%	IN	Ken Bisson
5.3%	UT	Kenneth Kartchner
5.1%	UT	Sharon Bird
5.1%	AK	John Ward
4.7%	ID	Marty Janstrom
4.7%	ID	Rod Skiles
4.5%	UT	Holley Roseberry
4.5%	UT	George Mathena
4.4%	AK	Bill Sigler
4.4%	CA	Carl Snare, Jr.
4.2%	UT	Glen Banks
4.0%	UT	Steve Banks
4.0%	CA	Joe Shea

In Vermont, David Atkinson and Bob Conlon each placed 3rd in an 'elect 2 of 3' race. Each received about half the votes of the winning candidates.

20.0%	OH	Russ Rosen	(Independent; 2-way race)
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OTHER ELECTIONS:

12.0%	AL	Susan Sebastian	Board of Education	2-way
5.5%	CO	Rob Martin	County Commissioner	3-way
2.5%	HI	Ken Schoolland	U.S. Senate	3-way
3.6%	OR	Martin Buchanan	Sec. of State	3-way
3.7%	OR	Steve Buckstein	Treasurer	3-way

Notes:

n/a - not available as of press time

¹ - greater than margin of difference between winner and loser in race

Sources: Most information furnished courtesy of Steve Dasbach, LP Campaign '88 Chair, and Joe Dehn, with data supplied by Richard Winger, Marti Stoner and LP activists nationwide. Information is as of mid-November and is subject to additional refinements as later data becomes available. Other data furnished by *American Libertarian*.

Vote Totals

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favorite of which seems to be some kind of Political Action Committee (PAC) instead of a Libertarian Party or presidential campaign.

Former LP presidential candidates David Bergland and Ed Clark were reported to be very complimentary towards the 1988 efforts and congratulated the Paul-Marrou ticket. The 1972 LP presidential candidate John Hospers was reportedly upset that he had been mis-identified in one libertarian publication as a supporter of George Bush.

It is in the area of unfulfilled promises for national media that the Paul campaign effort came up shortest. It is too early to analyze how effectively campaign funds were spent or even whether the Paul campaign had enough funds for TV. But it is clear that the Paul campaign did not purchase national network air time for TV or radio commercials and that the advertising promises by Paul campaign manager Nadia Hayes were considerably overblown.

Paul anti-IRS TV commercials were produced (largely cut from the 8-minute Paul 1987 nomination video) and shown in about a dozen cities across the country where local libertarians had raised funds for that purpose. Some radio spots were also aired on that basis. The Paul campaign ran one full page ad in the *New York Times* at a reported cost of \$47,000, but did not run any other full page ads the campaign said they planned to run.

Some Paul campaign insiders privately say that there were serious arguments within the campaign over the TV ad issue, but that Ron Paul himself made all the final spending decisions. These sources indicate that Paul chose to pursue the route of "stump" campaigning, touring the country and getting on talk shows and local TV, rather than conserving campaign funds for the planned last minute TV blitz. The Paul campaign hoped until the last minute that the stump campaigning would result in a major media coverage breakthrough.

There is some evidence that Paul's name recognition factor (or lack of it) have had significant effect on the final vote totals.

Paul's vote percentage in his Houston home area was higher than elsewhere in Texas, probably due to his greater name I.D. locally. In Wichita, Kansas, the local LP group ran 40 TV spots, 175 radio ads, posted several dozen billboard sized signs, and displayed hundreds of yard signs during the campaign. That combined with several effective local campaign appearances netted Paul over 2% of the vote in Sedgwick County. Paul's vote in Kansas excluding Sedgwick County was under 1%, indicating that the mini-media blitz had noticable effect. The LP vote in California's San Mateo County led the state, possibly as a result of effective personal campaign appearances and credible visibility in the local news media.

Based on this admittedly scant evidence, the nearly 1 million vote total projections made by many LP partisans before the election might well have come true had the LP campaign been able or willing to launch some kind of effective TV ad campaign.

As better and more complete information becomes available, it is anticipated that the lessons of the 1988 campaign will be closely analyzed. These lessons will undoubtedly be put to good use as future Libertarian Party campaign strategies are planned for 1990 and beyond. ■

Complete available data on all LP election results can be obtained by leaving a message for Steve Dasbach via Compuserve (76060, 3222) for electronic update, or by writing Joe Dehn, P.O. Box 11692, Eugene OR 97440 with a 45¢ SASE.

Libertarian Outlook

The LP Election Learn from the Voters

The polls had just barely closed when the nationwide telephone wires began to burn with heated conversations among LP supporters and detractors about the meaning of the Paul-Marrou election returns. No matter that few reliable vote totals were in, or that campaign finance data was lacking. One thing about libertarians, they are quick to pass judgment; damn the facts, full speed ahead.

And of course, when the results did slowly trickle in, the most realistic projections indicated totals well under most previous public expectations. The latest (and still incomplete) totals show about 420,000 -450,000 LP presidential votes, after raising about \$600,000 for the 46 state ballot status and spending less than \$2 million for the entire campaign.

This performance was disappointing to most LP supporters and comes in at about half of most pre-election projections, which on average were in the 900,000-one million vote range. There is some small comfort in this result: it is entirely consistent with the past two LP presidential races, where the actual votes received were about one-half to one-third the original expectations of LP supporters.

In 1980, now hailed as the benchmark year for the LP, the popular predictions were widely touted as 3-5 million votes. There was considerable wailing and gnashing of teeth at the actual 922,000 vote total. Expectations were far lower and less publicized in 1984, but most LPers hoped for about half the 1980 vote total rather than the actual 25%, or 228,000 votes, received.

So if nothing else, LP presidential vote predictions are remarkably consistent. And the actual votes received are about half or less than half of pre-election expectations. This might be due to the persistent optimism of LP supporters, who despite their well known proclivity for griping and bitching, remain steadfast in their devotion to the cause.

But there are other reasons as well for the 1988 results. Once all the data is in libertarians will be well advised to carefully study the results and draw the appropriate lessons. There is far too little self-analysis and self criticism in the libertarian movement, and Libertarian Party supporters should learn its lessons from the voters in 1988.

Perhaps the biggest single factor in reviewing the 1988 vote is the fact that the expected TV and newspaper advertising blitz promised by the Paul campaign, even if last minute and low budget, for the most part never materialized. Had Paul gotten greater name recognition, undoubtedly his vote totals would have been higher. Whether this lack of TV exposure was due to lack of funds or to different campaign spending priorities remains to be seen. But this seems to be the one single element most LP observers agree hurt the campaign.

And there is evidence from Wichita, Kansas, that running TV ads resulted in considerably high LP vote percentages.

There are other factors which shouldn't be ignored. Voter turnout was the lowest since 1924, and undoubtedly some of those non-voters were libertarians. Some also point to an LP "gender gap" among libertarian-oriented women voters who couldn't swallow Paul's anti-abortion viewpoint.

On the positive side, the LP ticket more or less doubled the number of votes cast for a principled, hard core Libertarian ticket. Anytime you double the number of confirmed supporters, you have to recognize the existence of solid progress in the proper direction. And recordbreaking progress was made in the key ballot access area as well, with 13 states now holding LP ballot status. Equally important, LP fundraising (excluding contributions from billionaire candidates) set all time records in 1988, besting the previous totals of grassroots fundraising by factors of 3 to 5 times.

And finally, while careful study and analysis is needed to fully benefit from the lessons of 1988, let us not forget one key fact: the 420,000 or 450,000 votes for the LP ticket represents the largest public endorsement of libertarian ideas in the country in 1988 by any single activity.

No libertarian or quasi-libertarian entity has membership, mailing lists or any other measure which comes even close to the LP vote total. In other words, the LP presidential campaign is the best proven method for both publicizing libertarian ideas and explicitly gaining public affirmation for those ideas. It is the standard by which all other possible alternatives should and must be judged.

Hopefully the libertarian movement and Libertarian Party will be poised to take advantage of the new prospect names and enthusiasm created by the heroic work of Ron Paul, Andre Marrou and all of the other state and local LP candidates. The lessons of 1988 are real, produced the hard way by grassroots support and fundraising. There is much to be learned once the facts are in.

Our bet is that there is plenty of good news and reason for optimism once the careful study has been completed. ■

Feedback



Letters Policy

Letters are accepted provided they carry the author's name and address. A phone number should be included for verification purposes only. Letters should be kept short and are subject to editing. Letters submitted to other publications will not be considered. Send to: Feedback, American Libertarian, 21715 Park Brook Drive, Katy, TX 77450.

Missouri Ballot Trouble

In regards to your story on Missouri ballot access troubles, (Sept. 88 AL) I noted some obvious inaccuracies and questionable comments. No doubt this type of confusion is responsible for the more fantastic rumors circulating about the situation in Missouri. I hope you will allow me to set the record straight.

First, no one prior to August 1 thought the Declaration of Candidacy for Elector forms were due with the petitions: not Paul Jacob, Nadia Hayes, myself, Jerry Geier (MoBAC Chairman), or Mike D'Hooge (St. Louis coordinator). Nor was this notion mentioned to any of the above by Paul Block, Deputy Secretary of State for Election Services, or any of his people, despite numerous attempts by us to keep abreast of their requirements.

Electors do not appear on the petitions or

BLOOM COUNTY/by Berke Breathed



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the ballot in Missouri. The election law, Section 115.243, states unequivocally that Electors are part of the Presidential ticket, whether for "any political party or group of petitioners." It states they are to be named according to Section 115.399, which gives the due date for the declarations (October 18, this year).

August 1, when we turned in 42,000 raw signatures to place Ron Paul and the MoLP on the ballot, was the first time any official expressed a contrary opinion. This idea contradicted the previous Secretary of State. It was based on an ambiguous passage in Section 115.243 ("New parties — how formed"), which had to be "construed and interpreted" to produce such a notion. Further, no hint was given, either to Missourians or the Ron Paul Campaign, that this would keep Dr. Paul off the ballot. This was not known until September 5, when the Roy Blunt, Secretary of State, issued his press release regarding LP ballot access.

That day Paul Block called Nadia Hayes with the bad news, implying to her September 5 was the deadline — hence some of the ensuing confusion. It seems the bureaucrats were following a long standing pattern of generating *ex post facto* law. That is, not deciding on how to treat someone until too late for them to comply.

If, however, misinformation and ulterior motives are to be imputed to anyone, the Republican politicians and judges are the logical culprits. Particularly given that:

- 1) Mr. Block already serves in the shadow of a major scandal (and conviction).
- 2) The Republicans viewed Missouri as a swing state with Ron Paul like to throw the vote to Dukakis.
- 3) Court rulings keeping Ron off the ballot have broken down as Republicans against ballot access, Democrats for. Justice anyone?

Should one speculate, the likeliest story is: we were victimized by a Republican vendetta against Ron Paul, with Paul Block, a politico permanently scarred by scandal, consigned to play the heavy. Blunt's instrument? Perhaps the suspicion and confusion were planned?

As for being "suit happy," you gave no evidence. There is none. I wish there were.

Had we pursued a strategy of lobbying/ law suit strategy as the Kansas LP, we wouldn't be in this mess now.

Here is the situation in a nutshell.

In the last four years the MoLP has been resurrected from nothing to an organized party with limited ballot access and 32 candidates this year.

Continued page 5

American Libertarian

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

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Feedback

From page 4

With the assistance of the Ron Paul campaign we have clawed our way to ballot access for 21 of our candidates, including five statewide candidates. Established party status in Missouri, the main goal this year of both the state party and the Ron Paul campaign, is still within reach. Missourians are outraged at being denied our candidate on a technicality after so much hard work. Our task this year (permanent ballot status) has been made more difficult by this setback.

The political battle in Missouri has only begun. In the long run old-party hacks and LP rumor mongers will be irrelevant to this fight. The principled passion, hard work, and good will of libertarian volunteers will determine the outcome.

Mike Hurley, Chairman
Missouri Libertarian Party
Kansas City, MO

According to Ballot Access Committee field coordinator Paul Jacob, he, Jerry Geier and Mike D'Hooge of the Missouri LP were aware of the Secretary of State's requirements and discussed several times prior to August 1 the need to provide an elector list.

And, according to Jacob, after the deadline passed several people including Jacob, Richard Winger and attorney Jim Linger also urged that the list be turned in even if late, well before notification in September that Paul wouldn't be put on the ballot.

Jacob told AL: "The Missouri people constantly talked lawsuit and were still deeply affected by 1984, when they failed. They are very heavy with judicial activist/jury nullification people. They tried so hard to get Ken Bush arrested outside of a post office and the Department of Motor Vehicles that it was disturbing and overtaking the petitioning effort in St. Louis. I demanded we get on the ballot as top priority and get arrested next petition drive."

Virtually all the money and 90% of the signatures in Missouri came from the national Ballot Access Committee's outside assistance. Yet no one in the Missouri LP appears to want to accept responsibility for failing to complete a simple clerical task which resulted in keeping Ron Paul and Andre Marrou off the ballot, after the expenditure of tens of thousands of dollars.

Since the New Alliance Party met all Missouri requirements, it can't be said that requirements were unknown or impossible to meet.

Despite the evident unfairness of the situation, legal review by three levels of the federal judiciary, including a Supreme Court Justice, did not find the Missouri requirements so unfair or unreasonable as to require judicial relief. Complaining about GOP politicians and federal judges does little good under the circumstances.

And since only part of Missouri gained ballot status as the result of the 1988 race, there is little if any "silver lining" to the whole affair.

Instead of blaming "old party hacks and LP rumor mongers", libertarians might feel better about the debacle if the Missouri LP leadership owned up to their responsibilities and provided credible assurance that efforts will be made to prevent similar screw ups in the future. Ed.

Fighting the NES Election Boycott

All libertarians take note! The group known as "Article 19" is an organization advocating political free speech as a matter of human rights. It draws its name from Article 19 of the United Nations Human Rights Charter, but is not directly affiliated with the U.N. to my knowledge.

I learned of Article 19 from an interview on NPR with its president, Mr. Kevin Boyle, of London, England. I believe it is imperative to gain as much publicity as possible over the NES decision to stonewall Ron

Paul results. Therefore, I urge all libertarians to write to Mr. Boyle to urge Article 19 to begin an investigation and to pressure U.S. TV networks to reform the NES. Write to: Kevin Boyle, "Article 19"

90 Borough High Street
London, England SE1

If enough libertarians complain to Mr. Boyle, we may see a much different NES in 1992, and better network coverage, due to international pressure.

Sally Moore
Cincinnati, OH ■

In Review



IHS Summer Eastern Seminar, June 26-July 2, Marymount University by Matthew O'Keeffe

"My interest in libertarianism began when I first visited Oxford and picked up a copy of *The Machinery of Freedom* in John Gray's office. Among the authors that have most influenced my thinking are David Friedman, Lysander Spooner, Rothbard, Hayek and Robert A. Heinlein," writes Matthew O'Keeffe. He begins his degree course at Jesus College, Oxford in philosophy, politics and economics this fall.

The IHS east coast seminar took place this year at Marymount University, Washington D.C. The Institute for Humane Studies describes itself as "an independent scholarly center promoting the advanced study of liberty", "firmly grounded in the principles of classical liberalism, the recognition of inalienable individual rights, individual private property, contract, and the rule of law, the ideal of voluntarism in all human relations", "the virtues of the unhampered market mechanism, and the goals of free trade, free migration, and peace." However, IHS Vice president Walter Grinder insisted at our introductory lecture that the seminar was "not a libertarian pep convention."

What the week really offered was an opportunity for argument and disagreement among libertarians from around the world, but all within an agreeable environment. The theme of the week was "spontaneous order and self-regulating systems" and this proved applicable to most of our twenty lectures.

John Gray began the week with a lecture on "Human Knowledge and the Market Process". His central point was that "We always know more than we can say"; the fact that so much knowledge is inarticulate renders impossible the demands of central planners. By contrast, argued Gray, the market process offers the clearest example of a spontaneous order in its diffusion and generation of knowledge.

Other lectures included "The Foundation of Classical Liberal Thought" from Ralph Raico, in which he traced the idea of self-regulating society from the first recognition of a private individual realm and the "higher law" enunciated in the Greek play *Antigone*, through to the Levellers and Manchester School of England and the conception of 'laissez-faire' in France. He also gave an amusing revisionist lecture on the Industrial Revolution, and in particular, the Marxist idea that it involved a quantitative increase but a qualitative decrease in working class living standards. What this means, says Raico, is that in forsaking their pastoral existence workers gave up the chance "to do brass rubbings and look at stained glass windows", in search of more mundane things "like food". Raico, incidentally, describes himself as "probably one of the

last Roosevelt haters".

The subject of finance as a self-ordering system was taken up by Larry White in his lecture on the history of money and free banking, from the early proliferation of mints and the development of gold as a mutually agreeable commodity, to our current dilemma of paper money and State monopoly. Talking about Franz Oppenheimer's different means to wealth (political versus economic), White's assessment of the political means was "kind of a polite expression for theft, plunder, whatever you want to call it".

A series of lectures was also given by George Smith on the theory of natural rights, and its contemporary critics like David Friedman: is a man shining a flashlight on your car really guilty of committing a photon invasion on your property? Such were the questions raised. Smith finished with a talk on children's and animals' rights, in which we discussed the rights of the pig we had eaten at the IHS barbeque. Institute President Leonard Liggio gave two lectures on public finance and the role of warfare in expediting taxation. Liggio attributes the invention of the Bank of England entirely to the financial demands and ambitions of the imperial class.

Certainly the most controversial lectures were given by Randy Barnett on retributive versus retributive theories of justice. Barnett's central thesis is that there is no difference between the axe-murderer and the careless driver — both kill their victims. Intent is irrelevant, since it is wrong to construct a legal system which passes judgment on what men think or desire. "We can't punish people just for being bad, right?" What is relevant is what the aggressor does. The concern of the legal system, rather, should be to compensate the victim by making the offender pay, rather than simply punishing the criminal. And ultimately, argued Barnett, "private property is the only true mechanism of crime prevention."

Overall the seminar offered an excellent program for students with a developing interest in libertarianism. And for me, it was great to meet other English and American libertarians. Ironical, too, that a seminar on spontaneous order was held in the same city as the Pentagon and the White House, a city where regulations forbid skyscrapers, the city designed (!) by Pierre l'Enfant. The Independence Day celebrations there reminded me of Randy Barnett's assessment of the city: "Washington is one big party. It's booze, it's sex, it's power, it's money." ■

Notable Quotes



Coming Next from LROC: Mandatory Seat Belt Laws, Mandatory Drug Testing, Mandatory AIDS Testing, Mandatory National Service...

"Most Americans don't understand and cannot imagine why Dukakis vetoed a bill making the Pledge of Allegiance mandatory in Massachusetts schools. It is like vetoing the Fourth of July. In the American consciousness, the pledge is not to the flag *per se*, but to the Republic for which it stands. If the pledge is a loyalty oath, then it is loyalty not to the state but to certain values. The evocation of these core values is what the pledge as a campaign issue is all about."

The Libertarian Republican, October 1988, page 5, the "Voice of the Libertarian Republican Organizing Committee."

On the Virtues of Learning Economic Development from "Older Brother" Socialist Nations

"The Soviet Union's export structure is the same as that of any less-developed country."

Le Dang Doanh, Communist Party member and advisor to Vietnam's Central Institute for Economic Management, the Wall Street Journal, July 5, 1988 ■

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Campaign Down Note

From page 1

rewritten three times but ultimately never appeared. Paul got a brief mention on ABC's *Good Morning America* show the day before the election, along with New Alliance candidate Fulani, but otherwise never cracked the major TV coverage media. A planned full page ad in the *New York Times* finally appeared a week later than intended on the Sunday before the campaign; but it was marred by a non-working "800" telephone number shown in the ad, small, hard-to-read type, and a section on "protecting the public from AIDS" which drew more protests than support for the campaign.

The final western tour started out on a strong note in Denver, where a 500-person campaign rally drew favorable front page coverage in the *Denver Post*. Other stops in Wyoming, Montana, Idaho and Utah proved successful, and the final California appearances also went well. But the promised ABC *Evening News* coverage of Paul's Nov. 4 appearance at UCLA didn't materialize and the Paul campaign wrapped thing up by flying back a day earlier than originally intended. Paul's final official appearance was at a sunny, downtown Saturday rally in Houston attended by 200 supporters, complete with hot dogs and live music. Paul looked tired and he spent the final two days of the campaign giving radio interviews from his Lake Jackson, TX home and attending to private business matters.

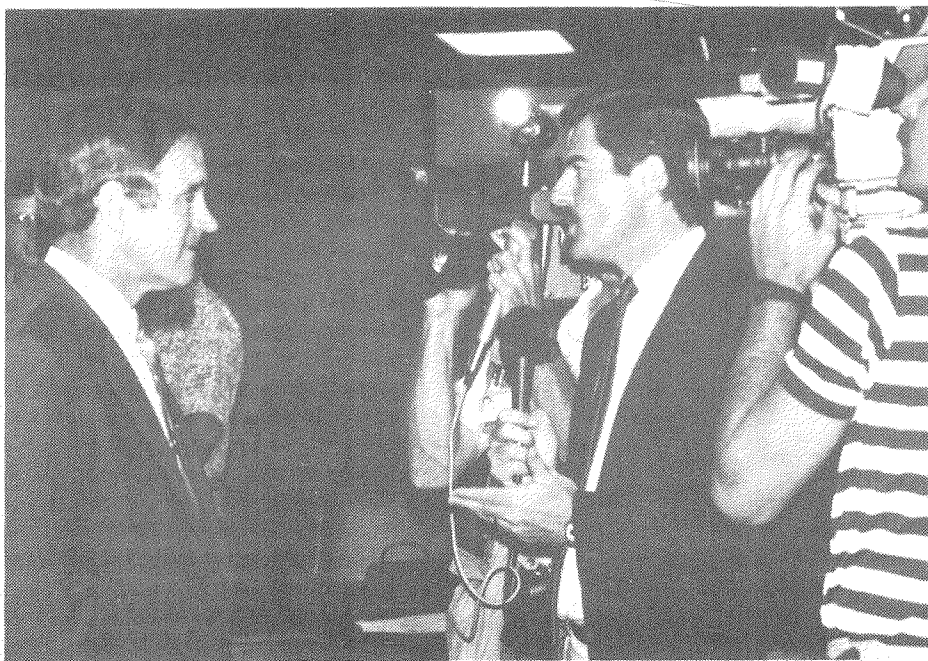
The election night "Victory Party" at the Hobby Airport Holiday Inn in Houston was well attended and featured a live rendition of the Paul radio campaign jingle, a no-host bar and an extensive buffet for invited local campaign contributors. About 250 people enjoyed an upbeat evening despite the near total absence of election results.

The Mysterious Case of Nadia Hayes

Although few seemed to notice, the election night party was marked by one notable absence: long-time Paul political and business aide and 1988 LP presidential campaign manager and treasurer Nadia Hayes. And therein lies a tale, one which is still not fully understood even by those most closely linked to the Paul campaign and Ron Paul's other business ventures, for which Hayes served as business manager.

The first clue that something was afoot was missed by everyone. Paul campaign chair Burt Blumert and Paul campaign ghostwriter and direct mail fundraiser Lew Rockwell Jr. arrived along with Ron Paul in Houston for the pre-election Saturday rally unannounced and unexpectedly by the Houston Paul campaign office. Blumert emceed the rally but afterwards he, Rockwell, and Paul cited unspecified "other commitments" when local LP supporters invited them to an impromptu gathering after the late afternoon rally.

The second clue appeared on Monday, November 7. Blumert returned to California at mid-day, but callers to the Paul campaign office were told that Paul, Rockwell, Nadia Hayes and two other people were holed up in Nadia Hayes's office all afternoon and most of the evening. Eventually, the campaign office staff and telephone fundraisers who were working in the final twilight of the campaign were told that they should leave for the day. Something was said about "IRS problems", which led later that night to a false rumor about an "IRS takeover" of the Paul campaign office, presumably in retaliation for the anti-IRS TV commercial the Paul campaign aired around the country in about a dozen cities on local stations.



Ron Paul met with a Houston TV news crew at Hobby airport in Houston in late October upon his return from his final eastern U.S. campaign swing.

This paranoia grew when locksmiths turned up late in the day to change the locks on the office doors. A few staffers who returned later that evening were told that "the locks had been changed" and that "Nadia Hayes would not be returning" to the office the next day, or ever.

The official explanation came later, in a letter dated November 9 by Paul campaign chair and business associate Burt Blumert sent to about 100 LP VIPs. This read in part:

Dear V.I.P.

On Thursday, November 3, 1988, it was brought to my attention that there was a possibility of financial irregularities in the Ron Paul Investment & Political Newsletter company. On Sunday, November 6th and Monday, November 7th, I took part in meetings in Houston with the company's accountant and legal counsel. They presented evidence to Dr. Paul, Lew Rockwell and me which confirmed that indeed there were financial irregularities.

Since the Ballot Access Committee and the Ron Paul Campaign shared staffing with the newsletter company, I took the following action: changed all signature cards at the bank, physically impounded all ballot access and campaign records and documents, and made arrangements for CPA firms to launch immediate audits.

The good news is that in a preliminary review of the material by the company's accountant, he found no evidence of irregularities in the ballot access and campaign accounts.

The letter when on to say that this information should be considered "confidential" due to its sensitive nature.

Nadia Hayes talked to *American Libertarian* the following weekend and indicated that she had resigned from the campaign for various political differences. She didn't mention the Ron Paul Investment & Political Newsletter company at all.

She said that Ron Paul had "unrealistic" demands and expectations for campaign fundraising, particularly regarding television advertising, and that "he wouldn't listen to reason" when she attempted to give him a true picture. Hayes also said she had complained to Rockwell about her concerns but that ultimately, nothing was changed. She likened her departure to a "painful divorce" because of her long, 14-year association with Ron Paul and his business and political campaigns. She said it was unlikely that she would be active in LP political matters in the near future.

Aftermath

The Hayes situation compounded an

already downbeat end to the Paul campaign trail, and stunned campaign insiders and longtime Paul political supporters.

Ron Paul himself has been described as upset about the Hayes situation, in addition to being somewhat disappointed at the LP presidential vote totals. Blumert and Rockwell were also both surprised and shocked at the turn of events, since both have known Hayes for along time and have long relied upon her in key business and political roles.

Honorary Paul campaign finance chair Matt Monroe was also taken completely by surprise at events, and was initially upset that Paul insiders kept him totally in the dark about the investigation until it was

State Vote Highlights

by Karl Peterjohn

Vermont

The Libertarian Party of Vermont retained ballot status when Barbara Wicker received 5.3% of the vote in a three-way race against a Republican and the socialist, "Liberty Union" party candidate for Secretary of State. This is the good news from Vermont.

The rest of the election news from Vermont involves smaller percentages. Jim Hedbor received approximately 1,800 votes, or 1% in a six-way race for U.S. Congress. Since Vermont has only one congressional seat, this was also a statewide race. Hedbor finished fourth and spent an estimated \$55,000.

Ron Paul received about 1,325 votes, more than Bergland in 1984 but fewer than Ed Clark's 1,900 in 1980. According to Jim Hedbor, Paul received the same level of news coverage that Bergland received. No TV or radio commercials for Ron Paul were broadcast in the state. Jim Hedbor said that Ron's modest showing with less than 1/2 of 1% was due to, "a gut feeling, not enough TV."

Hedbor's race drew a great deal of interest from libertarians because it appeared to be a serious four-way race. Since the Mayor of Burlington, Vermont's largest city, was running as a Socialist, with the backing of the local Rainbow Coalition, this was more than the usual squabble between the GOP and Democrats for an open congressional seat. Jim Hedbor was able to raise a significant campaign war chest, collecting roughly \$55,000. But this was only 1/6 the amount raised by the Republican and Socialist candidates.

Hedbor said his campaign conducted a poll ten days before the election which

made public.

Ron Paul took charge of his campaign management on election day and made plans to pay the remaining campaign bills.

Since Hayes also signed checks and managed finances for the Paul campaign and the Ballot Access Committee, campaign and BAC chair Blumert told *AL* that he was in the process of obtaining outside audits of financial records.

"I don't want any problems of the Ron Paul Investment letter to interfere with the momentum built up by the campaign or detract from the hard won gains in ballot access and building the party," Blumert said.

Ron Paul is also in the process of forming a political action committee and a separate non-profit organization.

In a post-election interview with the *Houston Post*, Paul said he was encouraged by the improved reception the LP is getting, but wasn't ready to announce his candidacy for 1992.

"I'm not too inclined to do that right now," Paul said in the interview, "being a candidate is not everything to me. It's an appropriate vehicle for conveying a philosophy, but there are ways of doing that when there's not a campaign going on."

Paul also discussed his plans for a libertarian cable TV show he's hoping to launch next year. "We're still in the early stages of putting it together, and of course, we'll have to raise money, but we've got to do it to give our views and give people another option to the Democrats and Republicans."

Paul replied to a question about how Bush will do as President by saying "he'll be very average", and concluded by saying that "once again 'none of the above' actually won, the majority of the people did not vote. Too many people were too pessimistic to vote. That is something that bothers me to no end." ■

showed him with 4%. But the real race was between Bernie Sanders and the Republican. "Everybody wanted a two-way race," Hedbor said. As election day approached and the race became close between Sanders and the Republican, support for the other candidates dropped. The Republican won with 41%, Sanders received 39%, and the Democrat 19%. Hedbor said that a \$500 donor to his campaign admitted voting for the Republican. Bob Conlon was the most successful Libertarian Party candidate, receiving 40% of the vote in a three-way race for two seats in the state House of Representatives. But 60% was the total vote needed for a successful race there.

Michigan

Ron Paul received 18,500 votes in Michigan. U.S. Senate LP candidate Dick Jacobs received approximately 27,000. Both ran extensive campaigns in Michigan and received a significant amount of publicity. Ballot status in Michigan was retained.

According to Ron Paul for President coordinator in Michigan Evy Warmbier, the most successful Libertarian Party candidate was Diane Szabla, who received 61,000 votes in her six-way race for a position on the Michigan State University Board of Regents. Diane did not campaign and was "totally a paper candidate," Warmbier said.

Warmbier said there had been reports from voters who tried to cast a straight Libertarian ballot that in some voting machines this lever would not operate. The vote totals for Paul, Jacobs, and 15th District congressional candidate Eric Blankenberg, who receive 1,800 votes, or 1%, were a disappointment to many Michigan libertarians who had worked long and hard for their candidates.

Continued page 7



Over 200 libertarians gathered in downtown Houston the Saturday before the election at a Ron Paul for President rally, complete with hot dogs and live music.



Campaign contributors enjoyed themselves at the election night Libertarian "victory Party" in Houston. The near complete absence of election results didn't seem to dampen enthusiasm at the event.

National LP Faces \$ Woes, Personnel Changes

Washington, DC - Presidential elections are always tough on third parties, since the inevitable day of reckoning often yields lower than hoped for vote totals and few, if any, party members elevated to higher office.

Surprisingly, though, presidential election years have historically proven to be good years for LP fundraising efforts. The past two largest gross revenue years for the national LP were in 1980 and 1984 respectively. But 1988 is proving to be an unpleasant exception for national LP chair Jim Turney, who finds his recently relocated Washington DC headquarters awash in red ink and beset with personnel problems.

LP Director

The popular current national LP Director Paul Jacob has been detached to work on the 1988 ballot access effort since April of this year. However, he has grown increasingly estranged from his boss, LP chair Turney, and is rumored to be on the verge of resigning either before or during the Libertarian

National Committee meeting in Oklahoma City, OK over the weekend of December 3-4. Jacob has told close associates that he "can no longer work for Turney" and that he no longer has confidence in the leadership of his old boss.

There have been disputes over Jacob's pay during his temporary assignment with the Ballot Access Committee (BAC) and Jacob was also unhappy with Turney's less than enthusiastic support for the BAC with national party funds, which were budgeted earlier in the year by the LNC. Jacob said he has also been getting paid late on a regular basis, often with no warning or with such flaws as getting his paycheck with only one signature on it instead of the required two.

After requesting clarification from Turney as to his duties after the election, Jacob told *AL* that Turney was typically vague and indirect. Turney followed up one conversation with a letter demanding a detailed response and the "terms of your contract renegotiation" within two days of receipt of Turney's letter. Jacob said he had not requested a contract renegotiation and that Turney appeared to be using the ploy of claiming that Jacob has "resigned" because he could not meet an arbitrary, unrealistic deadline set by Turney over a non-existent contract dispute.

In addition to contract and pay matters, Jacob is said to be upset that the student intern set to work at the Washington DC office this fall was told that there was "no room at the inn", despite earlier arrangements to provide housing for the intern in otherwise unused first floor office space at the DC LP office.

The intern cancelled out when lodging was no longer offered as part of the remuneration, and Jacob says that the office space remained empty until Sharon Freeman, a member of the LNC and close supporter of Turney, moved into the space in late October. It is not clear whether Freeman (the former spouse of Terry Mitchell, Turney's previous National Director) is a tenant, employee or permanent guest of the LP.

Meanwhile, other LP activists have sent their resumes to LP chair Turney in anticipation of a personnel shakeup at the highest level. Acting Director Kirk McKee, who has filled in for Jacob during his absence, has acquired the nickname "Dr.

No" from some state LP activists due to his tendency to turn down requests for help or material from the national office.

There are unconfirmed reports that McKee and other LP headquarters employees may be considering leaving before the end of the year. Due to the near total absence of reports from the national LP in the past few months, few LNC members have any idea who is employed in the national office or what their job assignments are.

In his three-and-a-half year tenure as LP chair, Turney has employed four national LP directors including acting director McKee.

Information "Black Hole"

In addition to possible personnel changes, there are signs that the national LP has hit hard times financially. For one thing, no financial reports of any kind have been issued since last June, although some are reportedly in various stages of completion.

Informal information from usually reliable sources indicates that the LP was slightly ahead of budget at the end of July but has fallen below budget by more than

27% in revenues during the period August through October.

The LP telephone fundraising effort more or less fell apart during August and September, after Turney insisted that the former contract fundraisers be treated as LP employees. Only two part time fundraisers remain.

In mid-November, the first LP direct mail fundraising letter sent out since March was mailed, under the signature of Paul Kunberger, a staunch Turney supporter on the National Committee. Although the letter indicated he was the LP Finance Chair (dated Nov.) it was obviously written well before the election.

Sharon Freeman told *American Libertarian* that Kunberger had resigned as LP Finance Chair on November 8, election day, and that she was now the Finance Chair. Paul Jacob told *AL* that he has been told that the fundraising letter had been sitting at the printers for several weeks until postage money could be raised to pay for the mailing.

Although Kunberger implied that the lack of LP direct mail fundraising was a

Continued page 8

Highlights

From page 6

Utah

The Utah Libertarian Party retained ballot status and Ron Paul received 7,395 votes for over 1.1%.

The most successful race by a Libertarian Party candidate was Jerry Stock's race for State Representative from District 25 in Salt Lake County. Jerry received 25.1% in a two-way race with a Democratic incumbent, with 1,415 votes.

According to Utah LP chair Bob Waldrop, the most interesting result from the election may have been the defeat of ballot issues A, B, and C. Issues A and B were tax initiatives which would have reduced and limited taxes in Utah. Both of these initiatives received only about 38% of the vote. Issue C, a tuition tax credit for education, was defeated by an even larger margin. The advocates of A, B, and C were all alienated from the Republican and Democratic parties on these issues. An independent candidate for Governor, running in a three-way race, received over 20% of the statewide vote while supporting these issues. This may be fertile ground for libertarians to work in future Utah elections. ■

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Future libertarian activist Stephen Voris picks up an important lesson in political philosophy printed on the tee shirt of longtime activist Alan Burris at the summer Rochester, NY libertarian picnic. Photo courtesy of Pam Ng.

National LP

From page 7

deliberate policy to not compete with ballot access or the campaigns, he had previously promised the LNC in November 1987 that he planned to do mailings every six weeks.

Meanwhile, LP payroll checks have been issued late and according to one report, a \$6,000 deposit sent to the bank via UPS disappeared and the national office was still in the process of trying to recover the money.

Since no official LP finance, membership, director or chair reports have been issued since the mid-August meeting, most LP members and National Committee members are in the dark about events in the national office. Some information is expected to be released immediately prior to the Oklahoma City meeting.

Lively Meeting Expected

The Oklahoma City airport Holiday Inn will be the site of some lively political fireworks in early December, since it will be the first time since August that the LP

leadership will have the chance to formally assess the results the election and the operations of the DC headquarters.

LP Treasurer Sam Treynor is expected to resign as well. He was appointed by the LNC to replace Clifford Thies, who resigned at the August meeting. However, Treynor has not been able to issue any financial reports as of mid-November since he took over.

Melinda Foster of California was replaced as a California regional LNC member following the mid-November meeting of the California LP State Executive Committee. While details are sketchy, she was reportedly ousted following revelations that she had publicly endorsed a GOP congressional candidate in a race where the LP was also running a candidate.

Turney is expected to face tough questioning about the recent performance of his national office, which he promised would be greatly improved once it was re-located to Washington DC in early 1988. The LNC will also decide the 1989 national Libertarian Party budget at the meeting. ■

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Bulletin: LP Chair Turney Resigns

Oklahoma City, OK - The Libertarian National Committee over the weekend of Dec. 3-4, voted to accept LP Chair Jim Turney's resignation and elect Vice Chair David Walter as the new LP Chair by a vote of 21 to 1. Turney abstained on the vote.

David Bergland was elevated to the Vice Chair slot, Steve Fielder was elected to replace temporary Treasurer Sam Treynor, who resigned at the meeting, and Oklahoman Robert Murphy was elected to a vacant LNC position.

Turney's resignation came in the wake of widespread criticism about management and accountability for LP finances, personnel and operations. Immediately prior to the meeting, Turney had demanded the resignation of Paul Jacob, LP National Director, who tendered his resignation effective December 15. Since Walter wasn't at the meeting and couldn't be contacted directly, it wasn't known at press time whether he would accept the Chair election or who would become the new National LP Director. The LNC believed that Walter would agree to fill the Chair vacancy.

In other business, the LNC adopted a 1989 budget equivalent to approximately \$400,000 in gross revenue and \$267,800 in net income after fundraising expenses are deducted. The original 1988 budget was \$328,000 in revenues. Few major changes were budgeted, although \$15,000 was set aside to fund a Ballot Access Field Coordinator position.

A more complete story will appear in a future issue of *AL*. ■

Media Watch



We the Living Opening
New York, NY - Preview screenings of the newly re-vamped *We the Living* film produced during WWII in Italy, which was newly re-edited and

restored, have been held in October and are also scheduled for early November in New York City.

The film was made without Ayn Rand's permission, but she reportedly was fascinated with the result and was instrumental in re-editing the film when the original negative was obtained in Italy in the late 1960's.

The November issue of *Liberty* magazine contains a lengthy article about the history of the film and restoration project, and also casts doubt on some of the claims made about the film. *Liberty* publisher Bill Bradford presents evidence that claims about the film having been banned by the fascists, or having been "lost" for 30 years before being discovered in a vault, do not necessarily hold up to close scrutiny.

Regardless of the past, however, in the same issue of the magazine reviewer Steve Cox praises the movie as the best of the

films based on Rand's novels.

Strange Bedfellows

Washington, DC - The colorful career of sometime LP candidate **Dennis Sobin** was profiled in the *Washington City Paper* in an early September issue.

The article recounted Sobin's long career in various sex related enterprises as well as his persistent efforts to break into politics, most recently as an LP candidate for City Council.

Among Sobin's enterprises is the *Free Spirit* newspaper, which formally enjoyed success as a sexploitation tabloid sold in adult bookstores and news stands. ■

Editor's Note

Our readers know that in the past *American Libertarian* sometimes arrives late in the month or even after the month indicated on the cover. This will also be true for our November and December 1988 issues.

Due to various business holidays during these months and slower holiday mail delivery, in addition to personal vacation schedules and *AL* related reporting travel, we find it impossible to produce these two issues any earlier. We anticipate that the December 1988 issue will arrive to you sometime in early 1989.

We apologize for this unavoidable delay and appreciate your patience with us in this matter.

Mike Holmes
Editor ■

Transitions

Robert Lehman, 44, died on September 17 of complications resulting from an inoperable brain tumor, in Bokeelia, FL. Described by former California LP chair Mark Hinkle "as the best friend the Libertarian Party ever had", Lehman was best remembered for his dedicated work for the California LP, including a stint as state coordinator for the CLP in the mid-1980s.

Lehman moved back with his parents in Florida two-and-a-half years ago after being diagnosed, but remained active in the LP, worked with the Florida Libertarian Party and attended California and national LP conventions until shortly before his death. ■

COMING ATTRACTIONS

December International Issue:

Swaziland Conference
UK Popper Conference
South Africa Vignettes

FBI LP Files Revealed!

Austrian Economics Boom, Bust & Revival by Murray Rothbard

AL Interviews: Kerry Welsh,
John Trever, Robert Poole Jr.

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