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LROC Stirs Interest, Controversy

Palo Alto, CA - The move by some former LP Radical Caucus members to encourage a mass LP entry into the Republican Party (See "RC to LP: Join GOP" July 1986 AL) has aroused limited interest from Libertarian Party members and Republicans and sparked a controversy over an advertisement in the LP's national newspaper, *LP News*.

The former Radical Caucus group, now going by the name Libertarian Republican Organizing Committee (LROC), paid for a half page ad in the September-October *LP News* in which the major portion of the text of their May "Open Letter to the Movement" was published, along with a reply coupon for those interested in more information on the GOP strategy.

LROC Plans

In a recent interview, LROC organizer Colin Hunter said that the group would become a membership organization but that "there is no formal structure yet, just an informal organizing committee." In addition to Hunter, others associated with the movement include former Radical Caucus members Eric Garriss, Justin Raimondo and former 1980 Clark campaign staffer Bob Costello.

"We're still in the LP," Hunter explained, "and we intend to start a new publication soon, *Libertarian Agenda*, which will be a forum for discussing this idea." LROC has two current goals, which are to work with sympathetic GOP organizations (such as the Zschau for U.S. Senate effort in California), and to persuade LP members to join the GOP.

"In particular, the California Republican League, an organization of GOP moderates opposed to the GOP religious right, is fertile ground for libertarian organizing. They are interested in our effort in order to help stave off a fundamentalist takeover of the California GOP," Hunter noted.

Although most of the response from LP leaders and rank-and-file has not been positive to the "GOP entryism" strategy, Hunter says LROC has received "several hundred" letters from interested libertarians, mostly from California, and says he knows of several California LP candidates who intend to switch their registrations from LP to the GOP after the fall elections.

Zschau Response

The basic motivation of the LROC seems to be the success of Ed Zschau's GOP primary victory for U.S. Senate in California, where he faces an uphill battle against Democratic incumbent Alan Cranston. Even though, according to LROC spokesman Hunter, the Zschau effort is "looking lackluster" and Zschau himself is emphasizing

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Libertarians Run in Major Party Races

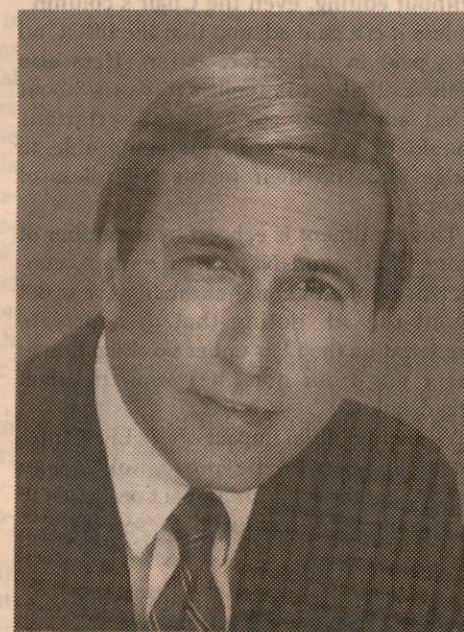
Katy, TX - Although the Alaska race of former LP leader Dick Randolph was well publicized, libertarians in at least three other states have also run in major party primaries.

Washington

De Anne Pullar of Bellingham, WA is a former Washington state LP Chair who entered the GOP primary for State House District 42 in late July. The only other GOP candidate pulled out upon hearing of Pullar's entry. She ran unopposed in the recent Republican primary. However, the two-term Democratic incumbent is well-funded and outpolled Pullar two-to-one in the recent open primary. Both will face a rematch in November. Pullar pulled about 6% in a similar race as an LP candidate during the 1984 general election.

"I am officially a Republican, and will continue to work in both parties," Pullar said in a recent *AL* interview, "because in Washington state third party politics is very difficult due to ballot restrictions."

For several years Pullar has been close friends with the local county Republican chair of Whatcom County, the most northwestern county in the continental U.S. At the GOP Chair's urging, Pullar agreed to run on the condition that the GOP pay her filing fee and find her a campaign coordinator. The House GOP caucus also subsequently paid for 800 signs and 10,000 brochures for her effort, which she



The U.S. Senate campaign of Silicon Valley Congressman Ed Zschau has sparked some enthusiasm among libertarians who are urging a move into the GOP. Others note Zschau's trailing in the polls and his advocacy of traditional statist GOP solutions to domestic and foreign problems.

describes as an unusual degree of support for a new candidate challenger.

Asked whether the GOP was merely using her as a "sacrificial lamb" in an unwinnable contest, Pullar disagreed and indicated that the primary results were skewed by the large Democratic turnout and the fact that she was outspent \$4700 to \$1500. She concedes that her opponent is much better funded. She said she has told the GOP that she is running a true libertarian campaign and will not waffle on the issues.

She also recruited former Arizona LP Chair Ken Strutzenacker, who was forced to resign from that position in late spring after a failed ALP ballot drive effort, as her new campaign coordinator. "I learned he was free and gave him a call in August," Pullar explains. Strutzenacker, noted for his media relations skills, has been on hand for about a month.

Noting that a Democrat won in an adjacent district by only 10 votes in the last election, Pullar feels her effort represents "time to take action." She says, "we can, as the LP, educate, educate, educate, but it will take 10 years to get anywhere."

The Washington LP voted not to officially endorse her effort as a matter of policy, although individual LP members are free to do so. A lengthy article on the Pullar effort by Strutzenacker in the Sept. *Washington Libertarian* party newspaper was run by re-

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Fritz and His Advocates

Fresno, CA - "I've seen the difference myself," Jim Robinson says, "there are five individuals I can point to who are libertarians as a result."

So goes the testimonial from the Advocate of the Year, Jim Robinson, a financial Vice President of a San Antonio-based insurance firm, and one of Marshall Fritz's best success stories.

And who is Fritz and his Advocates? If you haven't heard by now, the Advocates for Self Government (usually just called the "Advocates") is one of the shining success stories of the libertarian movement in the past two years. Fresno-based Marshall Fritz is the President of the Advocates, which is a chapter based libertarian outreach and educational organization that has grown to be the second largest activist libertarian group in the 20 months since its founding.

Marshall Fritz, 43, has a conventional background in sales, is an unabashed family man, has four children and has been married for 22 years. He has 15 years' experience in sales and sales management, mostly with IBM, and worked for two years with the Libertarian Party nationally and in California.

A middle American devoted to selling libertarian ideas to Middle America, this exponent of a fairly hard core brand of libertarianism admits that his two main side interests are Toastmasters and the Christian Businessman's Committee in Fresno.

In fact, somewhat unusual in libertarian circles (though by no means unique), Fritz is open about his Christian faith. He makes no effort to apologize for it when the subject comes up, though he doesn't usually bring it into the discussion unless asked.

"Libertarianism is the only philosophical belief system compatible with Christianity," Fritz responds at one of his "Introduction to Libertarianism" meetings, "and in fact some say it is necessary to be a Christian to be a libertarian, although I wouldn't go that far." He even admits to getting into "dueling Scriptures" on occasion with skeptical Christians who seem suspicious of libertarian tolerance.

But, since founding the Advocates in early 1985, ideological controversy doesn't bother Fritz since he is well acquainted with nearly every conceivable objection to libertarian ideas known to man. After spending nearly one-third of his time on the road either giving lectures on libertarian ideas and organizing Advocates chapters, he is an expert on the difficulties of communicating the libertarian message. It is, in fact, the principal reason he founded the Advocates in the first place.

"The purpose of the Advocates is to get

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Part II

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LROC Controversy

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ing traditional Republican issues, the Zschau effort remains the guiding inspiration behind the LROC strategy.

However, Zschau campaign press secretary Jim LeMunyon says Zschau is "a Republican with a capital R" and is careful to note in a recent interview that Zschau "has a Libertarian Party opponent who is running against us." LeMunyon does concede that Zschau takes "a small 'l' libertarian position on free trade and free market orientation, and on issues like equal rights, abortion and school prayer, where the government should get out of people's lives."

However, Zschau fully supports Reagan's policies and could be described as "moderate Republican, conservative on economics and moderate on social and foreign policy issues." Recent issues emphasized have been crackdowns on "drugs, crime and terrorism."

Asked whether he was aware of libertarian support for the Zschau effort, LeMunyon said "we heard through the grapevine that some LP people were working for us" but "we have no list of people" who fit that description.

LP Reaction

While the LROC effort is not yet making large waves in GOP circles, reaction in LP ranks has been largely negative, as might be expected, although there are individual libertarians who are viewing the idea with interest.

An informal AL poll of LP National Committee members and State Chairs indicated no support at all for the idea of joining the Republican Party and mixed reaction to the idea of having the LROC ad appear in the national LP's house organ.

Former Arizona LP Chair Ken Struzenacker, who is managing former LP State Chair DeAnn Pullar's state house race as a Republican, does not endorse the LROC strategy and notes that "participation in major party politics may be an option when the LP doesn't have ballot status for a particular race," but that "libertarian effectiveness in politics is largely because we have had a separate political party to influence the major parties from the outside."

The issue of whether LP News should run advertising urging LP supporters to join other political parties is drawing a more mixed response, despite LP News editor Karl Hess's attempts to defuse such criticism in a lengthy editorial "What's News" in the recent issue.

The LP National Committee's Advertising and Publications Review Committee (APRC) chaired by Bill Evers and consisting of David Bergland and David Nolan, issued a letter of findings on September 24 directed at LP Chair Jim Turney and Karl Hess. They cited the LROC ad and other recent articles and stated editorial policies as "inconsistent and inappropriate" with the functions and purposes of the publication. Although the APRC's powers amount to mostly after-the-fact wrist slapping, they do indicate high level displeasure with recent advertising and editorial policies, and will be formally presented to the NatCom at the next meeting.

While the 1985 Houston NatCom meeting altered the LP News editorial policy to give the Chair full and total control over all content of the party newspaper, apparently LP Chair Turney was not apprised of the decision to run the 1/2 page LROC ad, despite claims by some APRC members that he had

promised them that no LROC material would be run in the newspaper.

In response to questions about this, Karl Hess said that "we did not check with anyone about the ad since Jim (Turney) has given us total control over the publication as independent contractors." Hess said that the LP News advertising policy is to "run all ads so long as they do not pose the danger of libel suits" and that any other policy would amount to "censorship." LP Chair Turney was in Europe on business from early August through the end of September and was not immediately available for comment.

Hess said that originally the LROC group wanted their "open letter" to be run as a news story in full, but that "nothing runs without editing, even the Chair's column" unless it is a paid ad, and that the LROC ad was paid in full before it ran. Hess also believes that "it is foolish to worry about what ads might say, since libertarians should be given credit for being able to judge ideas on their merits regardless of source."

This sentiment is echoed by a number of State Chairs and NatCom members contacted. About an equal number were upset about the ad, noting that as a private organization the LP is under no obligation to carry ads from non-libertarian political organizations.

While the initial impact of the LROC proposal appears to be more noise than substance, the long run impact on the GOP — and the LP — remains to be seen. ■

Major Party Races

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quest, along with an editorial expressing concern over her position on certain issues ("fair funding" for state universities) and the potential for being dragged down in an increasingly fundamentalist Christian dominated GOP effort.

WLP State House candidate Karen Allard is individually endorsing the Pullar effort, but did not agree to drop out of her race to assist the GOP contender, as Pullar had informally requested at the behest of the

county GOP leader.

"Pullar suggested this was part of the internal GOP battle in the state of fundamentalists vs. regulars, and wondered if I would withdraw to prevent the fundamentalist GOP candidate from winning in the primary," Allard explained, "but he lost anyway and I didn't drop out. I support Pullar because she thinks she can win and I think she's a sound, solid libertarian."

The People for Pullar effort can be reached at 2625 St. Paul Street, Bellingham, WA 98226. (206) 733-5625.

Michigan

Michigan LP Chair James Hudler recently described another GOP "entry strategy" effort which might be more aptly described as LP "low intensity warfare."

Four former LP candidates and activists (Rich Burkett, Virginia Cropsey, Dick Whitelock, Dave Raafaub) ran in GOP or Democratic primaries as part of a deliberately endorsed Michigan LP Central Committee strategy to pursue political guerilla warfare in the wake of unsuccessful lobbying efforts and a state ballot drive effort which never really got off the ground.

"We decided to participate in their game in this case, and all ran as small 'l' libertarians against major party primary opponents," Hudler explains. While none received a major party nomination, Whitelock received 35% of the vote and all received considerable publicity in local media as legitimate primary contenders.

"Raafaub's Democratic opponent was a liberal feminist who used the slogan 'Politics is tough'," Hudler said, "so Raafaub, who's a real outspoken guy, challenged her to a mud wrestling contest to see who's toughest. His opponent declined, of course, but it made the front page of the major local Ann Arbor paper."

Asked about the effect of this variant of the "GOP entry" strategy (the "LP/GOP mole gambit"?), Hudler noted that the major party primary incumbents and challengers were generally upset by their libertarian opposition and that some of the former major party libertarian candidates will become more active in the LP.

"I think they were generally discouraged by running in these primaries, particularly the ones who were attacked by the Republican Party hierarchy," Hudler concluded.

Arkansas

According to Richard Winger's *Ballot Access News* Arkansas LP State Chair Alan Lindsay ran in the Democratic primary for U.S. Congress and received 22,694 votes, or 21.9% in a two-way race. Due to severe ballot access requirements in the state for other than President, no party, including the LP, has ever qualified a candidate there for office by petition. ■

Allard in Charter Race

Tacoma, WA - LP activist and Tacoma area teacher Jack Allard will be among 42 candidates for 21 slots on the Pierce County Charter Review Commission in the November election.

Although the absentee votes were unavailable as of press time, Allard came in second out of seven candidates for the non-partisan post, receiving 1,453 votes, 33 votes ahead of the third place finisher. The two finishers in each district face each other in the general election.

The Charter Review Commission will meet for a six month term to recommend changes to the county Charter.

In an AL interview Allard attributed his finish to name recognition created by

Ft. Collins Lib. Enclave Urged

By Anne Eccles

Anne Eccles is a journalism student and freelance writer living in the Denver area.

Ft. Collins, CO - In the July-August LP News and several other libertarian publications a large ad reading "An invitation to Libertarians" was run urging libertarians to consider moving to Ft. Collins, Colorado to establish "a model city for freedom advocates." While a few libertarian "new country" projects were attempted in the 1970's and occasional calls for creation of a Randian type "Galt's Gulch" or libertarian retreat have been voiced, the Fort Collins immigration ad is the first serious libertarian community proposal to be aired in several years.

A four-day business and jobs convention to attract libertarians to Fort Collins was held over Labor Day weekend. Interest in the libertarian-sponsored event was so great that project director Mary Margaret plans to hold more.

Called "Freedom Now", the project's goal is to attract 1,000 libertarians to Fort Collins in one year. Presently the city has about 40 affiliated libertarians plus many other philosophical and "closet" libertarians, Margaret said in a telephone interview. She would like to see the numbers increase to further influence the community and to provide individual role-models for others.

But everyone does not have to be an activist. "We are libertarian about Libertarianism," she said.

Response to the conference announcements came from all over the United States. Twenty-four people from as far away as Alaska and California participated, and all expressed serious interest in relocating, Margaret said. And several libertarians decided to move in response to the ad alone.

Convention attendees heard practical presentations from the local business community. A realtor spoke on retail space availability, a business management consultant on the city's business atmosphere and a city staff member on current rules and regulations.

Because so many interested people were unable to attend, Margaret plans to schedule monthly two-day "mini" conventions starting in November.

These will be held alternately on weekends and weekdays for those who want to see the business community in action. Margaret plans to customize the meetings to the needs of participants and to provide housing at the homes of libertarians for the first ten people to sign up each month.

Fort Collins is located 65 miles north of Denver along the eastern foothills of the Rocky Mountains and it is the home of Colorado State University. Other major employers include Hewlett-Packard and Eastman Kodak.

For further information about the mini-conventions, contact: Mary Margaret, 1317 Lakewood Drive, Fort Collins, Colorado, 80512. ■

numerous letters-to-the-editor over the years on libertarian subjects and previous LP races by his wife, Karen.

He did virtually no campaigning during the primary and faces a "Kiwanis-type" opponent for the Charter Commission seat. Allard's campaign will focus on the need to "roll back and limit the powers of county government." ■

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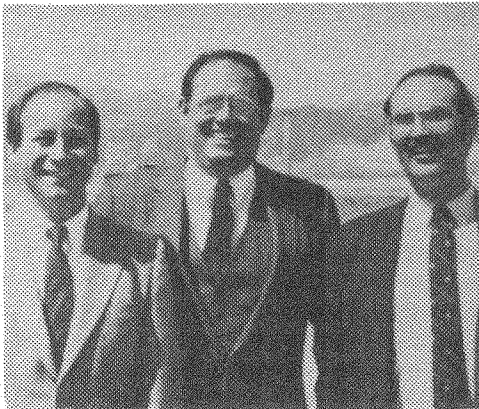
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Marshall Fritz

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lay opinion leaders to encounter, evaluate and, where appropriate, embrace the ideas of libertarianism," Fritz explains. San Antonio Advocate chapter leader Jim Robinson points to this as the main reason for his involvement.

"It's exciting to me, having a conscious mission to reach new people," Robinson explains. Robinson, who first encountered libertarian ideas in 1976, is also involved in the LP and is a party candidate this year in Texas. "The LP is good at attracting people who are 99% sympathetic to our ideas," Robinson notes, "but the Advocates is aimed at those who are about 75% or so inclined. I view the Advocates as the marketing arm of the libertarian movement, the missionaries of the movement. I really think it's courageous that Marshall has taken himself out of the normal work force for 5 years and devoted himself to this effort."



Advocate President Marshall Fritz (center) poses with Libertarian Party founder David Nolan (right) and Illinois libertarian activist Steven Givot (left) during May swing through Colorado.

The Advocates organization was formed in January 1985 and became a non-profit corporation in California in September, 1985. Fritz is pursuing IRS tax-exempt status as an educational organization, but admits that the IRS is fighting him tooth and nail. "They see the word 'libertarian' and just go nuts," Fritz notes, "apparently they think we must be some kind of tax dodge if we're libertarians." That battle continues.

The group is governed by a 7-member Board appointed by Fritz. Fritz is the President, but beyond that it's a little fuzzy as to who are actual members, per se. The Advocates is a chapter-based organization but individual chapter members are not members of the Advocates. And the chapters themselves go dormant during the summer, according to the plan, so the Advocate's existence can appear ephemeral.

"We are organized like the Little League, AA, Toastmasters, Weight Watchers, and groups like Kiwanis," Fritz explains, in an attempt to clarify matters, "and we exist by providing something productive for our members. Productive in the sense of producing more libertarians."

The Advocates had 18 chapters in their first season (some only on paper, Fritz concedes), with 9 starting bi-monthly meetings and 2 completing the entire season. Based in the Central California valley community of Fresno, the Advocates has a mailing list of 2500 and about 600 "customers or contributors," Fritz explains. "Our average contribution is \$200 and the maximum we've gotten is \$5000." Because of his sales-oriented, non-political approach, the Advocates has been able to tap into financial support which is not available to the Libertarian Party.

Nonetheless, the Advocates is based in the existing libertarian movement to a large extent. "About 3/4 of our people are political libertarians of some kind and about 2/3 of them are existing libertarians," Fritz says.

"We had a budget of \$70,000 in 1985 and \$96,000 this year, all paid for with contributions or sales of materials. So far we're about 88% of budget this year." Major expenses consist of his salary, office costs and his *Liberator* newsletter costs. Despite his grueling travel schedule, his travel budget is remarkably low, less than 5% of expenses. This has led at least one observer to note that "Marshall must be acquainted with every lumpy libertarian-owned sofa in the country by now!"

At the heart of the organization is the definition of "self-government", a term Fritz prefers to use rather than "libertarianism" for marketing reasons. While the definition is kept intentionally loose, the basic principles are 1) do all that you have agreed to do, and 2) do not encroach on other people or their property.

The Advocates' overall purpose is to "build local teams of liberty-minded people, and give them training and tools to be effective in showing others the 'blessings and security' of self-government."

The principal product of the organization is a structured approach to outreach, using the "Discovery Group" concept. Products in the form of canned speeches and starter kits provide a paint-by-numbers path for motivated individuals unaccustomed to leading discussion groups. The Discovery Group was the main focus in the initial year of operations. It is intended to be a hour-a-week program for 5 or 6 people to "discover their own self-government ideas" via selected readings and discussions. At the end of such sessions, participants are invited to write their own definition of "libertarianism" and sign it, if they agree with it.

But the man who boasts in seminars that he is the one "who taught libertarians how to count" has himself come under some criticism for his cost-effectiveness. While his criteria for libertarian "conversion" is fairly rigorous, he only claims 33 "new" libertarians at a total organizational cost of about \$110,000. His June *Liberator* cover story says starkly, "in plain talk, we failed to meet our primary objectives."

It's a rare and refreshing admission, but slightly troubling as well, since despite his best efforts, the numbers are unimpressive.

But Fritz notes that any new venture faces high start up costs ("the Wright brothers had a rather high cost per foot flown, if you recall") and that his first full season has yielded valuable lessons.

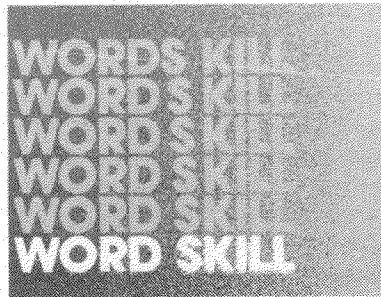
He is scaling down the "Discovery Group" effort, designed to turn out well read, full-fledged libertarians after 8 months, and is re-drawing the Advocates game plan.

"We're having three kinds of chapters in our new season," Fritz explains. "Our video supper clubs will feature 15 video tapes from our WordSkill 86 Summit recently held in Bethesda, MD. The focus will be on how to learn to communicate libertarian ideas. Our "Triple E" teams of 2 to 4 people will concentrate on the encounter-evaluate-and-embrace process, and will break down the Discovery Group organization task into manageable one person duties. Our third chapter type will be a Study Group book-oriented session, which will be an extension of the basic Discovery Group idea."

He expects perhaps 3 dozen of these groups in total for the upcoming season. The Advocates' central organization will provide books, tapes, study guides, notes, scripts and periodic on-site visits from Fritz himself to the local chapters. The main appeal of the Advocates, Fritz suggests, "is practical tools that people can use to help communicate libertarian ideas so that others will look upon our ideas with an open mind."

His second Advocates national con-

ference was his Summit 86 WordSkill Workshop held in late June. Based on the theme of communicating libertarian ideas to others, speakers included Philip Mitchell, Kevin Cullinane, Karl Hess, Peter Breggin, Don Ernsberger, Richard Fink and others.



About a dozen speakers in all, with attendance between 25 and 40 for most events. "It was a success in three ways," Fritz explains, "in that the participants liked it, speakers did well and we got good videos and audio tapes made. On the down side, we lost about \$4000".

The next Advocates Summit is scheduled for the last weekend in August, 1987 in Vancouver, Canada and will be an intensive four day focus on communication, according to Fritz.

Odds are that if they haven't before, active libertarians will soon encounter Fritz and his Advocates in upcoming months. The Advocates has the advantage of being a non-profit, non-political group which is intentionally structured to appeal to ordinary, intelligent middle class Americans who, Fritz hopes, will be the opinion leaders of tomorrow. But any direct marketing effort is risky, and libertarians are notoriously difficult to organize. Many prefer to argue the finer points of theory rather than talk to their neighbors about the overall libertarian idea.

Advocate-of-the-Year Jim Robinson confesses that "I like libertarian outreach more than I like politics," an opinion which many libertarians undoubtedly share. If Marshall Fritz perfects his formula, it could well be the beginning of a successful libertarian educational strategy many have long been waiting for.

For more information, contact: **Advocates for Self Government, Inc., 5533 East Swift Ave., Fresno, CA 93727. 800-932-1776 (outside CA), 209-292-1776.**

Theroux Starts Independent Institute

San Francisco, CA - David J. Theroux, formerly President of the San Francisco based Pacific Institute for Public Policy Studies, has announced the formation of a new public policy group headed by himself in the wake of his resignation from the Pacific Institute earlier this year.

Reports indicate that Theroux had major disagreements with Pacific's key board members over marketing and management, and that Pacific's research director, M. Bruce Johnson, as well as several former board members, also parted company with Pacific in the wake of these disagreements.

Theroux is now President of The Independent Institute and M. Bruce Johnson has taken on the Research Director duties at the newly formed organization, which is not expected to be fully operational until later this year.

The Independent Institute, also based in San Francisco, "will specialize in producing

non-politicized, comprehensive studies of critical economic and social problems," according to Theroux. "No area of government will be excluded from our scrutiny of the political economy of contemporary statism."

Unlike other policy research organizations, Theroux continues, "the Independent Institute's program is specifically designed to critically analyze the nature and consequences of any and all government policies pertaining to important public issues, regardless of momentary political expediency."

Theroux and Johnson list 25 possible areas of research interest, ranging from agriculture and land use to telecommunications and war and peace. They intend to pursue the usual range of think tank products and services including books, conferences, tapes, seminars, newsletters, scholarly journals and syndicated broadcast materials. At least 18 prominent free market or libertarian oriented scholars in economics, history and political science have already agreed to serve on their Board of Advisors.

Both Theroux and Johnson have solid scholarly and libertarian credentials, with Theroux previously having worked for the Cato Institute. M. Bruce Johnson is Professor of Economics at the University of California, Santa Barbara and is past president of the Western Economic Association. His published works span areas such as advertising and free speech, rights and regulation, land use and government and the housing crisis.

Reportedly, the Pacific Institute has hired a new President with more neo-conservative than libertarian leanings. ■

LP Fields Candidates in 22 States

Houston, TX - Based on information from the Libertarian Party and Richard Winger, the LP's ballot access consultant, there will be LP candidates running races in 22 states this fall, with 12 of those states fielding candidates for statewide office.

"While this showing is not as good as we had in 1982," Winger explains, "no other third party is running statewide candidates in more than 7 states." The Socialist Worker's Party has seven states in which it is fielding statewide candidates.

"The other third parties are largely gone or husbanding their resources for 1988," Winger states, "and the LP is by far the most credible third party at the moment."

Last minute legal successes or confirmed petition efforts resulted in ballot status for the LP in Texas, District of Columbia, Delaware and Hawaii.

While a precise tally of LP candidates was not immediately available from LP headquarters at press time, it is believed that over 200 LP candidates are running nationwide for state and local offices. There are also LP members running in a number of officially non-partisan races.

LP Ballot Access Committee Chair Stephen Fielder notes that ballot access successes in 1986 which should result in 1988 LP ballot status "will give us 20-25 states by the 1987 Seattle LP convention where we have ballot status. This means 40-50% of the 1988 ballot status work will be done."

"The LP will be the only party with a shot at nationwide ballot status in 1988," Fielder concludes, "with the possible exception of a well funded John Anderson type thing." ■

Libertarian Outlook

Vote libertarian

There is an on-going controversy in the libertarian movement about the morality and efficacy of participating in the political process by voting. The issue is far too complicated to be addressed here, and by now most libertarians have resolved this for themselves one way or another.

Those who don't believe in voting or don't have anyone or anything worth voting for this November can skip the rest of this editorial.

For those who plan on voting, the *American Libertarian* urges you to "vote libertarian." Notice the small "I". If you can, vote for the candidate or issue that best reflects the libertarian ideals of individual freedom and responsibility. In most cases, where permitted by law, this means voting for the Libertarian Party candidates. In other cases, there may be libertarians or sympathizers in other parties (or who are non-partisan) who are well worth supporting. In some places there are initiatives, propositions, constitutional amendments, or charter revisions which may be worth supporting or opposing.

Like nearly all Americans, we believe in voting for the best person, rather than simply

by strict party labels. While the Libertarian Party "brand label" usually ensures a consistent quality libertarian, there are occasionally a few clinkers in the bunch. Even LP candidates shouldn't be supported blindly. In a few cases, libertarians are running as Democrats or Republicans. In other races, one of the candidates may be so horrible or repugnant that libertarian voters recognize a moral duty to reduce the margin of victory (or add to the margin of defeat) simply to demonstrate opposition. A thin margin of victory may at times restrain the impulses of otherwise arrogant officeholders.

The great hope in America is the enduring tradition of voting for individuals rather than mere party labels. Reagan is hugely popular largely in spite of the fact that he is a Republican, not because of it. And it will be because the LP has the best and most respected **individual** running that will result in electoral victory, not because the public is enamored with libertarian ideas in general. With more and more of the "best people" running as Libertarians (or with libertarian positions) sooner or later the political system will tend to shift in the libertarian direction.

If you vote this year, vote libertarian. ■

Feedback



Letters Policy

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

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

Let's Party!

Congratulations on your first issue. It was great! Always good to see a new publication devoted to freedom and sanity.

The bizarre "Join the GOP" plan you reported on is perhaps a natural outgrowth of our lack of any major success in the political arena, but, as much as we'd all like to see it (or **something**) work, it seems a major-league waste of time. Is there **any** strategy that has a good chance of being effective? I do have some thoughts on the matter:

1. I urge libertarians to consider that freedom (not neglect) for **children** is even more important than it is for adults, both for the child and for society. Only when large numbers of children grow up with less pain and more freedom than is now typical will it be possible to have a libertarian society. Children raised with constant coercion usually find the coercion of the state a natural and even a necessary fact of life. Free children, on the other hand, grow up expecting and demanding freedom for themselves and for others. The cycle of damaged children becoming damaged adults who create damaging societies **must be broken** before real freedom can be more than a dream. Libertarians seem aware of this already, but it needs to be a more visible and higher-priority item for us. I'd like to plug Frederick Leboyer's **Birth Without Violence** while on the subject.

2. While waiting for the next several generations to be born and raised, let's con-

sider strong actions that may connect **reason and feeling** in the public consciousness. For example:

I would love to see billboards directly across from the IRS offices in major cities, reading "TAXATION IS THEFT. IRS employees: honest work is available in the private sector." We've been saying this for years. Let's stop pussyfooting around about it. Americans know this truth, they just haven't dared say it aloud.

With anti-drug hysteria reaching McCarthyite proportions, and with stories appearing daily about the damage done by prohibition laws (usually mis-identified as damage done by drugs or drug sellers), the time is surely ripe for a **consumer movement** aimed at restoring peace, freedom, consumer safety, and sanity in this area. Lawsuits aimed at stopping the **de facto** government practice of increasing both the use and the dangers of drugs would be an interesting tactic (and perhaps a useful defense for those accused of the "crime" of free enterprise). Joe and Jane America know damn well that the war on drugs has probably introduced their kids to dope instead of protecting them from it. Just as they know that prohibition didn't stop people from drinking in the '20's. Besides, the main "drug problem" Joe and Jane have is how to get safer, higher-quality product at lower prices, and without fear of being arrested in the process. If just 10% of the drug users in America became active libertarians, the movement might finally reach critical mass and do something.

Such an approach probably won't bring us Liberty In Our Lifetimes, but at least it would be entertaining and real. All our concern about image has just gotten us mistaken for Republicans, La Roachies, and other statists. To hell with that: let's party!

Say it like it is and stop worrying about whether Jerry Falwell and all the other damaged children are going to say bad things about us: they aren't ever going to embrace freedom, no matter what we do. But a large and growing audience is out there, waiting for somebody to finally point



Baloo

"You got only 49% from most categories of voters, but the lunatic fringe put you over the top."

out that the emperor has no clothes. If we try to sound like Republicans, this group will think we are Republicans. Which is maybe why they aren't yet listening.

We will never capture voters until we first capture the imagination of the voters, and—trust me—re-joining the GOP will simply not do the trick.

Glen Allport

San Diego, CA

Cover to Cover

Issue #3 just arrived and I avoided all other mail and tasks to read your paper cover to cover.

Ever since *Update* and *Frontlines* died, there has been a void of current news from the movement. *AL* now does that very well. Stormy Mon

Denver, CO

Gossip, Innuendo and Ad Hominems

Unfortunately, Professor Murray N. Rothbard's article about "hermeneutics", which contained only two or three paragraphs of useful description and analysis and more than a dozen of gossip, innuendo and ad hominem, failed to clarify much about this viewpoint or his problems with it.

I had to wonder, is the word "hermeneutics" actually used by free market economists Don Lavoie, Jack High, Ludwig Lachman, etc. or has Dr. Rothbard merely decided to label their positions thusly? To what extent do these economists actually refer to the work of the "collectivist hermeneuticians" he derides? And, if they do, how do they distinguish their ideas from the collectivists? What exactly is their position (only a couple of sentences near the end referred to it), and what kind of reasoning and data do they use to support their arguments?

I hope that other readers were similarly discontent with the level of intellectual analysis in the article and that future articles will more adequately explore the real issues dividing the differing schools of free market economics!

Carol Moore

Los Angeles, CA

We are sorry to hear that Rothbard's article ["The New Kochian Economics: The Hermeneutical Twist," *AL* August 1986] left you unsatisfied. Approximately half of the article attempted to explain what "hermeneutics" actually is. Unfortunately it is a Germanic variant of the very abstract philosophical doctrine of existentialism, which almost defies common sense explanation. In fact, that was the

point of Rothbard's article.

For a number of reasons, the *American Libertarian* does not and can not function as an encyclopedia with respect to various philosophical doctrines, libertarian or otherwise. Interesting discussion of such abstract subjects is rarely "value free". Nor can we fault Dr. Rothbard for his passion in addressing the subject.

Should you wish to delve more deeply into the mysteries of hermeneutics, you can refer to: Henry Veatch, "Deconstruction in Philosophy," *Review of Metaphysics*, 39 (Dec. 1985); Bruce Edwards, "C.S. Lewis and the Deconstructionists," *This World*, #10 (Winter, 1985); Frederick C. Crews, "In the Big House of Theory," *New York Review of Books* (May 29, 1986); and an article published

Continued page 5

American Libertarian

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Feedback

From page 4

ed several years ago in the *NYRB* by John Searle. An as yet unpublished manuscript by David Gordon on "Hermeneutics vs. Austrian Economics" goes into considerable detail on the subject. It is available from the *Mises Institute*, 322 Massachusetts Ave. NE, Washington, D.C. 20002. Ed.

Rant On and On

I enjoy your new publication but please request you spare us any further trash such as Murray Rothbard's "review" of Barbara Branden's work on Ayn Rand (*AL* July 86).

Murray's review was simply devoid of any cognitive content. Just because he briefly was a member over a quarter of a century ago of Rand's circle does not qualify him as any sort of expert on Rand's philosophy or private life.

Murray is a great political philosopher-period. His economics is borrowed Von Mises, and his history borrowed Liggio. As a philosopher, he is a nothing compared to Ayn Rand. He has never done anything as remotely creative as *Atlas Shrugged*, and nothing about him suggests he could.

I am an advocate of anarcho-capitalism and I consider it to be the political implementation of Objectivism. I have recommended and pushed Murray's books almost as much as I have Rand's over the last 20 years. Unfortunately, Murray has made many stupid, unphilosophical and anti-intellectual remarks over the years such as his incredible statement that a future libertarian society would be "pretty much the same culture we have now." (!)

Peter Schwartz had a field day with some of Rothbard's more embarrassing intellectual lapses in his series on libertarianism.

As much as I disagree with many of Barbara Branden's interpretations of events in Ayn Rand's life, and while I realize the fully self-serving nature of many of her accounts of various episodes, it is still a serious intellectual work of ideas for the most part.

Murray's "review" with his use of religious epithets like "monster" to describe Rand has no place in any serious libertarian journal. He's always been quite soft on religion - maybe he ought to write exclusively for such journals.

For many years Rothbard has specialized in trashy, quite dubious accounts of his time in the Rand circle. I had thought it was about ten years from the way that he used to rant on and on - not a mere six months!

A "benefits and hazards of Rothbard" should be the next item on the libertarian agenda. If Roy Childs doesn't do it, I'd be happy to volunteer.

Michael P. Hardesty
San Francisco, CA

While Rothbard hardly needs our defense, your letter illustrates an attitude all too common among a certain strain of "students of Objectivism."

While in his nearly forty years in the libertarian movement (and when he was practically the libertarian movement!) Rothbard undoubtedly has said and written things with which nearly everyone inside and outside of the movement could disagree. His long involvement with libertarianism and his intimate acquaintance with the early Rand circle more than qualifies him to comment on a book by another former "inner circle" member, Barbara Branden. In fact, we can think of few more qualified than Rothbard for such a review.

As for Schwartz's series, David Bergland ably demonstrates elsewhere in this issue it actually makes very little difference what Rothbard might have written to qualify for his hatchet job.

Your curious comments regarding religion display a sadly intolerant attitude all too prevalent among would-be admirers of Rand, which is unfortunately inspired by Rand herself, as both Branden's and Rothbard's accounts attest. Just don't let the High Church Objectivists hear that you are an anarcho-capitalist - that's grounds for swift excommunication. . .

While we may not always agree with Murray Rothbard, he is welcome here on the pages of the *American Libertarian*. Ed.

Get Back To Us Next Year

Mssrs. Garriss, Hunter and Raimondo have encouraged libertarians to join the Republican Party. Mr. Rothbard claims that's a stupid idea. We have two conflicting strategies here.

What inroads have Hunter, Garriss and Raimondo made in the Republican Party? How well accepted have they been with their new party? What influence have they gained in the California Republican Party?

In short, have they tested their theory?

I'm a member of the Libertarian National Committee who is an elected village official in a Republican area. Garriss, Hunter and Raimondo are wrong to think Republican officials are interested in applying liber-

tarian ideas.

Anti-tax? The Republicans opposed a tax cut referendum that some friends and I got on the local ballot.

Property rights? The most frequent disagreement I have with my Republican counterparts is over signs. They won't allow signs that are too big, too high, too confusing, or ugly. Then, of course, there's our disagreement over zoning. Republicans in the suburbs worship zoning laws because they maintain property values and keep out "inappropriate uses," such as low-cost housing.

Taxes and property rights are points of closest agreement between libertarians and Republicans. I won't go into items such as adult book stores or prostitution.

I suspect the gentlemen are interested in promoting libertarian ideas, but haven't figured out what political party to work through.

Get back to us next year, guys, after you've tested your theory. My experience says you have no political savvy, and no experience with the Republican Party.

Gerry Walsh
Village Trustee
Roselle, IL

In Review

by David Bergland



David Bergland is a Costa Mesa, CA based attorney and former two-term Chair of the national Libertarian Party. He was the 1976 LP Vice Presidential candidate and the 1984 LP Presidential candidate. He is also author of the book, *Libertarianism in One Lesson*.

Libertarianism: The Perversion of Liberty, by Peter Schwartz, The Intellectual Activist, New York, NY, 64 pages, \$4.95 pb.

According to Peter Schwartz, libertarianism and libertarians are immoral destroyers of liberty who cannot even believe in liberty because they don't understand the meaning of the term. In an essay of 30,000 turgid words, Schwartz defends the Objectivist faith against the "perversion" of anti-American nihilist libertarian deviants disguising themselves as proponents of liberty. Libertarians seem to do a lot of screaming, drooling and hiding of dirty little secrets about their true anti-liberty, anti-mind, anti-life designs.

Apparently, what should be the overriding and shared objective of reaching the conditions of a free society escapes Schwartz. Personally, I believe that the

question of who is morally superior to whom among advocates of freedom is of little consequence. To engage in debate on that issue is perhaps the greatest waste of time, energy and goodwill in the freedom movement.

In addition to constant vituperation and calumny directed toward libertarians, the Schwartz essay is a virtually unstinting stream of transparent, sophomoric, and fallacious debate tactics. The two most obvious are the "straw man" fallacy and the fallacy of "special pleading."

The "straw man" tactic works as follows: A debater describes his opponent's position as something different, and weaker, than it really is (he lies about it) and then demolishes it. He sets up a "straw man", knocks it down, and claims victory. The opponent can make things worse if he takes the bait and tries to defend the straw man rather than pointing out the mendacity involved.

As a Libertarian Party candidate, I have had many opportunities to deal with the straw man trick. During 1984, on CNN's "Crossfire" TV show, liberal host Tom Braden began a question by referring to something reportedly seen on a sign carried by someone at the LP national convention, and challenged me to defend it. I told him he should be asking me my position on the issue, so I could explain that.

Mr. Schwartz uses the straw man tactic by selecting many quotes from writers, groups, and about issues which are a considerable distance from the libertarian mainstream, claiming that they represent the "essence"



of libertarianism. He obviously considers himself competent to decide who is and who is not a representative libertarian writer or group, and what in their statements is most representative. One example he chooses is NAMBLA, the North American Man-Boy Love Association, a group which to my knowledge does not claim to be libertarian and whose views are not endorsed by any libertarian I know. One must wonder why Mr. Schwartz did not examine each of the four books written by the LP's four presidential candidates during their campaigns. Or, why not get a list of recommended readings from prominent libertarian organizations? Perhaps he did and rejected them as not representing the "essence" of libertarianism.

If one wished to use the same tactic to attack Objectivism, one could point out that its founder, Ayn Rand, preached marital fidelity while having an extra-marital affair, was a regular amphetamine user, and glorified cigarette smoking. From these facts one could conclude that the "essence" of Objectivism was an apology for promiscuous hypocrites, speed freaks and irrational promoters of carcinogenic poisons. Would that be fair? Honest? Objective? No, but it would be about on the same level as Schwartz's methods.

Which brings us to the second main tactic - "special pleading" - which works as follows: The debater is faced with a proposition to prove. From all the available evidence, he selects only that which supports the proposition, suppressing evidence which might tend to support the opposite conclusion. This might be OK in an adversarial system. e.g., a court trial, where you can rely on the other side to bring forth the

Continued page 7

Keeping Up with the Joneses?

And the Clarks, the Tryons, the Pauls,

the Rothbards, the Berglands, The Cranes,

the Randolphs, the Jacobs, the Givots, the Dodges

the Nolans, the Konkins, the Hesses, the Marrous, the Lewises...?

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Is the LP in Trouble? Problems, Problems, Problems

Part II of III
by Mike Holmes

Mike Holmes is Editor of the *American Libertarian*. He attended the founding Libertarian Party convention in Denver in 1972 and has been active in the Party ever since.

(In Part I of this series a brief history of the Libertarian Party was presented. The heady days of the Crane-led, Koch-funded era of 1978-1980 gave rise to high expectations of LP performance, which have never again been met. "Cargo cult" libertarians still hope that someday the Koch fortunes will descend upon the Party and fuel a rapid expansion of growth.)

Financial Problems

While money may not be everything, it is the proverbial "lifeblood of politics" and its absence can create numerous other problems.

Yet clearly, money remains one of the LP's major problems. Current LP National Committee member and former LP Finance Committee Chair Matt Monroe believes many of the current LP problems stem from fundraising difficulties and leadership changes. Monroe, who held the top LP fundraising post from 1982 thru mid 1985 and oversaw a number of innovations such as telephone fundraising, contends that "from mid-1985 onward the funding situation has just gotten worse, month-by-month."

"The root of current problems started with the abrupt firing of our experienced National Director Honey Lanham in June 1985 by Randy Ver Hagen," Monroe contends, "and the replacement top leadership and management of the LP simply hasn't the experience to cope with the problems." He goes on to note, "we are backtracking from 1985 to 1982 and are about now back to 1981 in terms of LP infrastructure. They are weakening the telephone operation, which is the largest single source of funds, by splitting it up between two contractors, lessening the incentive. They even stopped it completely for a while in August. And the monthly pledge intake is about half of what it once was. At the rate things have been going, the LP may crash from this type of management."

Clearly, things are not too good on the financial front.

As noted in Illustration 1, the LP income peaked in 1980 during the height of the Koch era and has been steadily declining ever since. Even more ominous, projections of current year revenue are comparable to the level of 1979.

During the first six months of 1985 (see Illustration 2) the LP took in nearly \$200,000 and eked out a \$2,900 surplus. However, due to dissatisfaction over the way the accumulated 1984 ballot drive debt and vendor debt situation was being handled, newly appointed LP Chair Randy Ver Hagen fired LP Director Honey Lanham in mid-June, in part due to the perceived financial crisis.

When Jim Turney replaced Ver Hagen as Chair in August 1985, he maintained the existing bare-bones headquarters staffing and expense reductions, and continued the tenure of Perry Willis as LP Director. While total LP revenue dropped by nearly 25% in the second half of 1985, due to expense reductions including the continuing suspension of *LP News* publication until year-end, the party produced a \$18,700 surplus in the second half of the year, which enabled it to reduce outstanding debts.

Unfortunately, all of this financial progress was wiped out in the first half of 1986, with a net operating loss of \$18,200.

While internal LP fundraising materials reports refer to "drastic debt reductions" and "a turnaround in the LP's financial picture," on June 30, 1986, according to LP financial statements, the LP net worth stood at a negative \$58,000. An improvement of less than \$400 over the June 30, 1985 amount. By contrast, prior to the decision by the LP NatCom to borrow \$40,000 to finance ballot drives in the summer of 1984, the June 30, 1984 LP net worth stood at a positive \$14,500.

July and August 1986 LP funding were both below the budgeted \$29,650 per month, with the August total of approximately \$17,000 being one of the lowest months on record in recent party history.

Membership Problems

It is easy to see why finances are in such delicate shape. According to a recent report by acting LP Director Terry Von Mitchell, based on the costs of prospecting and fulfilling information requests, the LP loses \$56.40 on each basic membership it receives. This prompted one observer at a recent LP National Committee meeting to comment that "the LP is probably the only organization in the world that loses money by getting new members — I guess the solution to our financial problems is to cut membership back to zero!"

And basic LP paid membership, whatever it costs, has been declining in recent years (see Illustration 3). According to former LP Finance Committee Chair Monroe, when paid memberships were finally organized and tallied after the Eric O'Keefe firing in 1982 there were about 5400 paid members of various kinds. While data on membership has not been regularly reported, available information indicates that membership in the LP rose to an estimated high of around 6800 in February 1985 and has declined to around 5200 this summer, a 23% decline in only 18 months.

This decline is echoed in other measures as well. The 1985 Phoenix LP convention had at most 400 attendees and fewer than 300 delegates, several hundred less than previous conventions. In fact the convention itself was shunted into smaller and smaller meeting rooms, which gave rise to jokes about the "incredible shrinking convention."

The February 1986 California LP convention, traditionally the largest state convention, also attracted a noticeably smaller crowd than before.

Other Problems

Other signs of LP weakness are also evident:

The Arizona LP, a state party with one of the longest records for continuous ballot status, for the first time in many years failed to achieve it as a result of a confused ballot drive effort. The Idaho LP needed only to run some statewide candidates to keep their status but failed to do so, necessitating a petitioning effort for 1988. Other large state parties, such as Michigan and New York, did not even attempt statewide ballot efforts in 1986.

Other intra-organizational LP efforts, also indicate problems. None of the top LP officers, employees or key contractors (with the exception of the LP Secretary) have ever held top State LP Chair posts or served

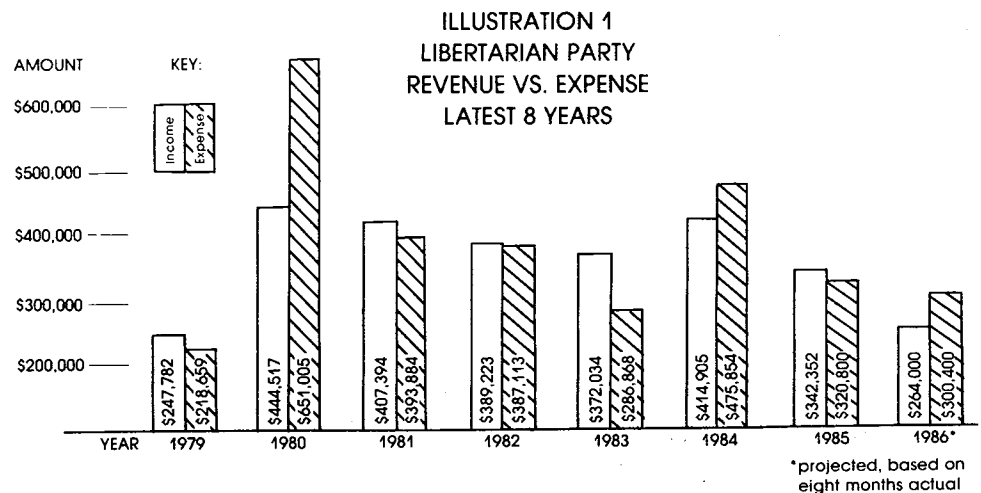


ILLUSTRATION 2
SIX-MONTH LP FINANCIAL RESULTS, 1985, 1986

	1/1 - 6/30/85	6/30 - 12/31/85	1/1 - 6/30/86
LP Chair	Grant/Ver Hagen	Turney	Turney
LP Director	Lanham	Willis	Willis
Revenues	\$194,373	\$148,601	\$132,192
Expenses	191,473	129,326	150,402
Surplus (Deficit)	2,900	19,275	(18,210)

previously on the LP's "board of directors" the Libertarian National Committee. LP Chair Turney was able to find a Finance Committee Chair (Vice Chair Sharon Ayres) only after a six-month search. Financial statements have been chronically late and even key Chair appointments, such as Hess's *LP News* editorship, went officially unratified for over six months.

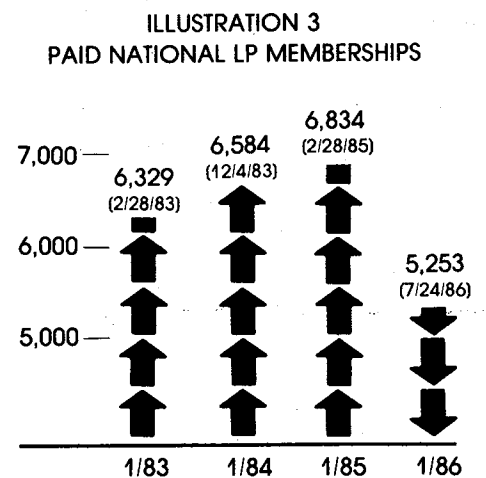
The LP's highly publicized TV commercial project, launched with a fanfare of publicity in a fundraising blitz at the end of 1985, is another case in point. Although over \$10,000 was raised specifically for this project, Turney and the LP Budget Committee somehow neglected to budget this project for 1986. So the project was in limbo until the April Chicago National Committee meeting. By that time all the funds raised had been spent on other things. According to former LP Director Perry Willis, "it was either sit on the TV commercial money or put out *LP News*, and the choice was made to put out the newspaper."

Even the one recent bright spot, *LP News*, faces an uncertain future. After securing the services of noted libertarian writer Karl Hess in January, the party's newspaper resumed a regular publication schedule in 1986. Yet, at an annual budgeted cost of \$54,000, this is the largest expenditure ever undertaken for LP communications at a time when revenues are falling to pre-1980 lows. Based on projected 1986 revenues, *LP News* will consume over 20% of all LP income. The highest comparable percentage was in 1984, at 11%, and historically the range has been 6-9%.

While the NatCom reaffirmed the priority of *LP News* at the recent Baltimore meeting, such expressions of support don't necessarily add additional funds to the coffers. High level dissatisfaction over recent *LP News* advertising and editorial policy also add to the uncertainty over Hess's continued *LP News* tenure, since there will undoubtedly be a move at the next NatCom meeting to cut back expenditures in this area for 1987.

While these problems need to be viewed in the context of recent LP progress such as with successful ballot access efforts in 1986 and some healthy developments in a number of state parties, there is no denying that the LP is an organization with more than its share of problems.

(Next installment, Part III: *AL* examines the major causes for LP problems and evaluates prospects for the future.)



American Green Decentralists

by Michael R. O'Mara

M.R. O'Mara is a resident of Baltimore, and is currently doing graduate work in economics. He regularly interacts with decentralists who are green or any other color.

On the same August weekend that the National Committee of the Libertarian Party was meeting in Baltimore, a nationwide organization of the Greens was meeting in San Francisco. That Green organization is called the Committees of Correspondence (COC), and the meeting involved delegates from various regions of the country. This group of delegates is referred to as the Inter-regional Committee (IC).

The COC was formed in the U.S. in the summer of 1984, getting its inspiration and its use of the word "Green" from The Greens in West Germany. Some world-wide attention had been attracted by The Greens in 1983 when they won 5.6% of the West German vote, which gained them several seats in the parliament, under the German system of proportional representation.

A coalition of grassroots citizens' groups in West Germany produced a Green political party, and built their platform based upon four key values: ecology, grassroots democracy (implying a more decentralized political structure), non-

Continued page 7

Perversion of Liberty

From page 5

controversial evidence. But it is completely dishonest if one purports to be making an objective examination of the data in order to reach unbiased conclusions.

One of Schwartz's theses is that libertarianism is unconnected to any underlying ethical philosophy. He asserts that libertarian writers agree with this and even quotes Murray Rothbard as proof. Of course, if he had fairly quoted from or summarized the arguments in Rothbard's *The Ethics of Liberty* or quoted from my book, *Libertarianism In One Lesson*, in which it is clearly stated that libertarianism is grounded in the natural rights and natural law tradition, then that might have raised some questions about the validity of his contention.

Another technique employed might be called the argument from ridicule, or the "ain't it awful" technique. Schwartz frequently attacks by merely quoting a libertarian author or describing his or her position. Apparently proceeding on the unstated assumption that his readers will agree that the quote or position is ridiculous or outrageous. It is unnecessary for him to deal with the issues raised. To him there is no issue. For example, Jeff Hummel's in-depth analysis and argument to the effect that the security of all people will improve if defense is taken out of the hands of the state, is dismissed without discussion as "unilateral disarmament", proof to Schwartz that Hummel is an irrational nihilist. What does this suggest about Mr. Schwartz's opinion of his audience? It suggests to me that he views them as intellectual sheep.

Schwartz seems to have considerable difficulty differentiating between libertarianism and people who refer to themselves as libertarians. Another fallacy, actually a combination fallacy, is manifest in this confusion: the "ad hominem/reification" fallacy. By attacking individual libertarians as evil people and by blurring the distinction between these people and libertarian ideas, he can, fallaciously, treat the

ideas as if they were some kind of evil entity bent on doing evil things.

The problem for Mr. Schwartz is a frustrating inability to pin his subject down. The libertarian movement is not a single organization with a centralized ruling body deciding what can and cannot be discussed or deemed worthy of the the label "libertarian." A bunch of independent-thinking individuals go about making up their own mind daily, using the evidence of their senses, logic, analysis, common sense, experience, etc. No one seems to be in charge of doctrine — least of all him — and he hates it. For one who has found the One True Way, that has to be a bitch.

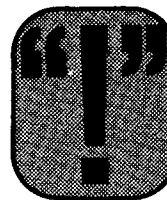
The conclusion to the essay includes some fascinating observations and calls to action. According to Schwartz, political action is unproductive because political campaigns are not forums for serious, fundamental discussions of issues. So what should "intellectual activists" do? "Write letters to the editor. Write to Congressmen. Do rebuttals to editorials on TV and radio." (All obviously forums for serious, fundamental discussion of issues.) "Start a campus group. Establish action groups organized around current issues." Wow! Why didn't the LP or other libertarian activists ever think of such brilliant stuff? Maybe we're not "intellectually active" enough.

Finally, Schwartz warns his readers to avoid the risk of intellectual contamination by refusing to associate with anyone involved with the LP or libertarianism. I recommend keeping an open mind on that one.

A number of people have told me that they started reading Schwartz's essay but dropped it after a page or two. Most said it was because they knew it was seriously in error based on their own knowledge of the subject matter. I had a similar experience. But since I promised to do this review, I read it through a couple of times. My recommendation is not to bother with the Schwartz essay. Read Rand in the original, educate yourself in your own way about the freedom philosophy, and let those who pretend to moral superiority because they are "Objectivist" (and you aren't) experience the consequences of their arrogant ignorance. ■



Notable Quotes



On South Africa:

"While the political system must be changed, no economic system works very well unless it provides the opportunity for people to make money. Thus, my preference would be for a policy that served to end apartheid while preserving (and integrating) the free-enterprise system.

A policy calculated to bring on the revolution would not necessarily guarantee the success of the revolution; and even if the revolution were successful, it would almost certainly bring on some form of socialism that might leave everybody worse off.

So would a policy that succeeded in toppling South Africa's economy — even if it simultaneously toppled apartheid."

William Raspberry, Washington syndicated columnist who specializes in black affairs. August 11, 1986.

Worker's Paradise Lost:

"A Muscovite who recently visited the city of Syktyvkar in the far north was amazed to discover that vodka sales had been limited to Friday's between the hours of 5 and 7 p.m. at the town's two remaining liquor stores. On the Friday he was there, a surly crowd of 2,000 to 3,000 was lined up at one of the stores, while police kept order with guard dogs and automatic rifles."

Donald Kimelman, "The New Grumbling in Gorbachev's Russia," Knight-Ridder Newspapers, August 3, 1986. ■

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violence, and social responsibility. While libertarians also have solutions to ecological problems, violence, and other social problems, it is the decentralist orientation that is especially relevant to libertarians, since decentralists share much of the libertarian distrust of central planners. Green views on the inefficiency of centralized planning sometimes sound like libertarian economist Hayek's.

Most Greens probably emphasize decentralizing political power down to the community level for most functions, but there is significant element advocating decentralization of power to the level of complete individual freedom.

The Greens also aim for a coalition that goes beyond the left-right political spectrum. The Green motto is: "Neither left nor right — ahead". The kind of language the Greens often use, however, is more likely to appeal to the decentralist left — just as libertarians tend to use words that are more likely to attract the decentralist right.

In the U.S. the New Haven Greens, a COC group, ran some candidates for local offices last year, receiving 10 to 25 percent of the vote in some races, while operating on low budgets in first-time campaigns. One proposal was for school system decentralization, resembling a type of voucher plan.

An important issue dealt with at the IC meeting in August was deciding who should be considered "Green" enough to be admitted to the organization. A delegate from the

Mid-Atlantic Region had requested that he be seated as a member of the IC, representing his region. But there was a dispute about whether one of the groups in New York City is really "Green".

Charlene Spretnak, one of the founders of the COC, had been quoted in the *Christian Science Monitor* of June 27, saying: "We are concerned that fringe groups are calling themselves green, like the old yippies. If groups like that put out the word, they will ruin the word." On the one hand, many of the left-leaning Greens are genuinely a part of the decentralist left. But of course, others are merely left-wing centralists in Green clothing — just as right-wing centralists have adopted the word "liberty", thereby making things harder for libertarians.

The COC dispute is similar to the West German Greens' debate between the "fundamentalist" Greens (the "fundis"), who favor strict adherence to principle, and the "realist" Greens (the "realos"), who favor coalitions in order to achieve political success, even at the expense of diluting basic Green values. This kind of debate may sound somewhat familiar to libertarians, too.

In its attempt to keep a meaningful definition of "Green", the COC has provisionally accepted a constitution which states the criteria for local groups which are to be represented in the IC. Those criteria include agreement with the key Green values and an organizational structure based on decentralization and grassroots democracy. ■

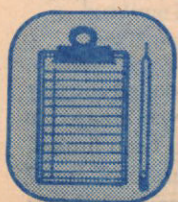


Russel Klein, spokesman for the Knoxville Libertarian Roundtable, carries signs at a counter-protest of anti-pornography demonstrators at a West Knoxville adult bookstore on July 4. "I'm not saying that it's



right or wrong to read it," Klein said, "all I'm saying is that the decision whether or not to read this material should be left up to the individual." Photo by Tom Dekle of the Knoxville Journal.

Political Notes



Denver, CO - In addition to Montana's tough proposed anti-tax initiative ("Hard Core Tax Initiative in Mont." Aug. AL), Colorado's proposed Amendment 4 promises to be one of the most radical tax limitation measures ever put before voters.

Supported by the Colorado Union of Taxpayers (CUT), which helped collect nearly 84,000 signatures and has raised half a million dollars to push the measure this November, Amendment 4 would require voter approval for all new or increased taxes by vote during general elections and require the state government to fund any spending increase it mandates for county and local governments.

"Economic freedom is freedom," says CUT spokesman Eric De Graff, "you can lose it just by simple overgrowth of government and growth of taxation."

The measure is bitterly opposed by the usual assortment of government trough feeders.

Columbia, SC - Bill Griffin's announcement of his candidacy for governor in South Carolina was widely covered in the state media, as was his call to join the other candidates in statewide televised debates sponsored by the League of Women Voters and the public TV network.

The SCLP ran many active races in 1984 and maintains a relatively high profile in that state.

Costa Mesa, CA - California Republican U.S. Senate candidate Ed Zschau (pronounced "chow"), who is touted by some as a new-style libertarian Republican, apparently wants no part of a televised debate which might include third party challengers including the LP candidate.

In an early July announcement, Zschau requested a one-on-one debate with incumbent Democratic Senator Alan Cranston, who prefers a debate which includes all of his opponents. Cranston insisted on a similar format in his 1980 race.

Fairbanks, AK - Although the majority of Alaska's LP members appeared to be lukewarm at best to former Libertarian Party member Dick Randolph's bid for the

GOP gubernatorial nomination, at least two prominent state Party members visibly supported that effort.

Former LP State Representative Ken Fanning of Fairbanks, though not currently active in politics, expressed his support for Randolph's effort in a recent story in the *Anchorage Times*. And Libertarian Kenai Peninsula Borough Mayor Stan Thompson said Randolph was his choice in the primary and general election.

Thompson said Randolph was an old-time Alaskan worthy of trust. "He's the kind of man you can make a deal with, shake hands, and know the deal is done," Thompson said.

Salem, OR - The Oregon LP has endorsed that state's ballot measures to legalize marijuana growing for personal use, curb state funding of abortions for women covered by Medicaid, and limit property taxes to 1.5% of assessed value.

The state party is also appealing a recent Mariou County Circuit Court dismissal of a lawsuit seeking to reduce the number of signatures required for ballot access.

The OLP will have at least three state legislative candidates on the ballot in November, despite lack of statewide ballot status.



Jefferson City, MO - Missouri's Secretary of State rejected a move by the Missouri LP to adopt a kicking "Missouri mule" as its symbol to accompany its designation on that state's ballot. Secretary of State Roy Blunt rejected the idea, claiming voters might confuse it with the Democratic Party symbol.

However, Missouri LPer's note that the state's Democratic Party uses the Statue of Liberty as their symbol, which is nationally used as the symbol of the Libertarian Party. The MLP move was in part prompted by the desire to see the Dems abandon Miss Liberty and return to their traditional donkey, so the LP can reclaim their own symbol.

New York, NY - A New York Federal District Court awarded the Socialist Workers Party \$264,000, of the \$40 million in damages it sought from the 36-year FBI effort to intimidate, disrupt and harass the tiny left wing political group.

During the 1960's, one in ten SWP members was an FBI informant and three even ran for office on the SWP ticket. 1,300 informers were planted between 1960 and 1976. The FBI also committed 193 burglaries and photographed or removed 9,864 documents. They also conducted 46 "disruption" operations and tried various schemes to cause party members to lose their jobs or apartments.

The case, which has been pending since 1973 (two years after the Watergate break-ins) yielded \$42,500 for "disruptions", \$125,000 for FBI "use of informants" (despite the fact that the FBI paid over \$1.7 million for their services), and \$96,500 for government sponsored burglaries (\$500 per break-in).

While the court award represents something of a milestone, the financial damages

appear quite puny in payment for decades of police sabotage of a perfectly legal political party accused of no wrong-doing. Richard Nixon, you will recall, was hounded from office for indirectly sanctioning and covering up one minor burglary of another political party. ■

Coming Attractions

Big Water Utah: Religious Cult, Real Estate Promotion or Libertarian Revolution? Exclusive AL Report

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A Look at Dick Randolph's Campaign Finances

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