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LP Presidential Campaign Wrap-Up

Houston, TX - The 1988 Libertarian Party presidential and vice presidential campaigns are now in the final stages of the longest active campaigns in the history of the party.

Both Ron Paul and Andre Marrou have been campaigning virtually full time for the past several months. They have undoubtedly logged more time and more miles than any LP ticket to date.

Although both candidates have been pushing hard with personal appearances throughout the spring, summer and fall, only recently has the presidential campaign been freed from the grip of worry and frustration over LP ballot status. With the final disappointing denouement to the ballot drives being the disqualification from the Missouri ballot due to a technicality clearly unfair on its face, the Paul campaign finally breathed a sign of relief that — for better or worse — the battle was over for the 1988 season. The last minute Missouri glitch cast a pall over much of September however, and seemed to create a lull in both morale and energy in the campaign. Several top Paul campaign officials were described as "depressed" or "worried", and began to express concern over possible final vote totals for the first time in the campaign.

The much smaller and separate Marrou VP campaign was not burdened with ballot access woes, but instead worked hard to keep the Marrou roadshow on the trail and in the black.

Paul Campaign

"There is so much good going on right now, there's almost too much to tell people on the phone!", one happy Paul campaign telephone fundraiser said during mid-October. After a somewhat down September when the campaign appeared to momentarily lose focus and momentum, the final six weeks of the campaign seemed to build up quickly and saw a number of breakthroughs in the weeks before the election.

TV, radio, newspaper ads

According to campaign insiders, the most commonly asked question has been "when are we going to see some TV ads?" After debuting with a splashy 8-minute internal

campaign ad at the 1987 Seattle nominating convention, many LP members and Paul supporters have been anxiously awaiting the "air war" portion of the LP presidential effort.

However, aside from tantalizing hints in fundraising letters and discussion of possible campaign themes and focus group testing, hard evidence of the much awaited TV ads has been noticeably absent.

But according to top campaign sources, the final TV ad theme will be based around the IRS. The 30 second spot was put together October 17-18. Although there was reluctance to commit to specific figures by the campaign, the targeted budget is about \$300,000 for airtime. Reticence on the TV ad situation is attributed to caution over available funding, which has perhaps fallen short of original expectations.

But according to campaign manager Nadia Hayes, the plan is to fund two sets of 3-day ad "spurts" the week before the election. "The goal is to expose viewers to two to six exposures to our message immediately prior to the election, so that voters will remember us," said Hayes in a recent *AL* interview. "By buying in two consecutive three day spurts, we can afford to be off the air one day in between and still be confident that our ads will register."

Plans are still being formulated for the airtime buys, although Hayes suggested most of the airings will be on cable channels like CNN or on local stations. She also said that some network airtime would also be bought.

The bulk of TV funds will be used for airtime, since the final ad only cost about \$7,000 to produce. And some of the airtime will be purchased for media outlets where funds have been raised locally for that purpose by campaign supporters. Hayes mentioned Detroit, Kansas City, and Rochester, NY as three cities where this is likely to occur.

In addition to the upcoming TV ads, the Paul campaign already has newspaper and radio advertising ready for use. According to campaign sources, these are intended for purchase by local LP groups to independently sponsor. However, word of these ads has been slow to travel and apparently only the Paul campaign coordinators were alerted to this opportunity. Word of these ads may arrive too late to engender much sponsorship interest from local LP groups.

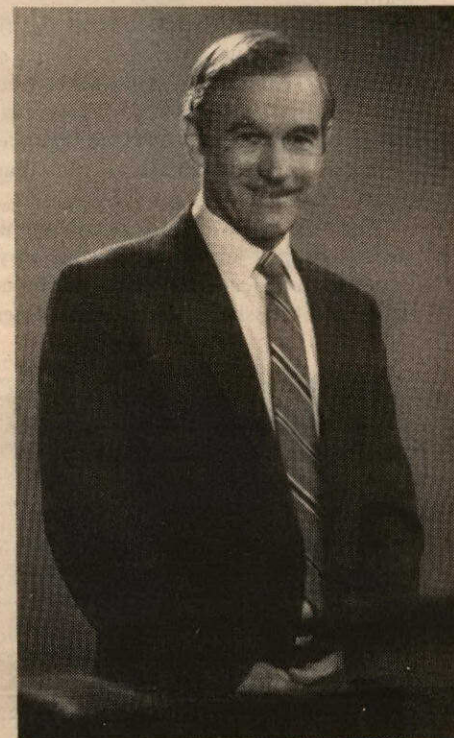
The campaign also has plans to publish full page newspaper ads in several major papers. Among those mentioned are the *New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times* and possibly the *Wall St. Journal*. These will appear shortly before the election and are designed to stimulate voter and news media interest. And they aren't cheap either. A full page ad in the *New York Times* costs \$40,000.

Money & Strategy

It is difficult to tabulate exactly how much the Paul campaign has raised as of mid-October. The *New York Times* reported that the combined Ballot Access Committee (BAC) and Paul campaign fundraising totaled \$2 million as of the end of September, a figure Hayes doesn't dispute. But she estimates that by the time the campaign is over, it will have raised over \$2 million by itself and the separate BAC will have raised an additional \$600,000.

Although this campaign funding final estimated total is well under some early projections of \$3-\$5 million made in 1987, a finish of somewhere near \$2.5 million for combined campaign and ballot drives would represent a four-fold increase over 1984 campaign totals and a more than doubling of the non-candidate furnished funding of the 1980 Clark-Koch ticket. This apparent real growth grassroots libertarian financing muscle is one of the most encouraging signs of libertarian political

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Libertarian Party presidential candidate Ron Paul responds to the presidential debates in his own satellite broadcast on October 12.

1988 Vote Predictions

by Karl Peterjohn and Mike Holmes

Karl Peterjohn is a Wichita, KS based libertarian activist and longtime observer of LP trends. Mike Holmes edits American Libertarian.

Houston, TX - Predicting the results of a third party race is particularly tricky. Polls are non-existent. News coverage is at best spotty at local level and invisible nationally. Strength can vary from a strong local group to an invisible organization, all within the same state. Topping it all is the horse race factor, which leads many voters into casting a vote for a Republican or a Democrat based upon the perception that the election is close. *AL* asked a variety of former LP candidates, leading libertarians, and the campaign managers for Ron Paul and Andre Marrou to answer in mid-October this question, "How many votes will the national LP ticket receive Nov. 8?"

The predictions obtained varied. Although they were made as of mid-October, a number of factors could have considerable impact: the apparent collapse of the Dukakis campaign, a rising surge of media interest in the Paul campaign, and the possible effects of the last-minute Paul advertising efforts.

Several of those interviewed refused to provide a precise estimate. Nearly all were initially reluctant to go on the record, particularly since there was more than three weeks left before the election when the question was asked.

Here were the responses:

Burt Blumert, chairman of the Ron Paul for President campaign committee:

"The real measure of success for this campaign is to build on the legacy of past Libertarian Party campaigns. The means involving new people, particularly young people, tapping new political energy, gaining new respectability and credibility with the news media.

The basis for comparison is of course the 1980 Clark campaign. But they had over 120 minutes of national network TV exposure from both commercials and news. So the vote range is somewhere between 350,000 votes and 3.5 million.

But since you want to pin me down on one number, I'll say 916,000 votes."

Campaign advisor, libertarian economist and movement commentator **Murray Rothbard**:

"I have no real feel for this. Somewhere between 200,000 votes and 2 million."

Andre Marrou for Vice President campaign manager **Michael Emerling**:

"Ron Paul and Andre Marrou will receive 1.2 million votes as long as the election is not perceived as being close. If the Bush/Dukakis race is close, this will diminish the LP votes considerably."

David Walter, vice chair of the national Libertarian Party:

"Ron Paul will receive about 1 million votes."

Former national LP chair **Alicia Clark**:

"Ron Paul will get more than 1 million votes. How many more I don't know. People are really looking for an alternative to

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LP Campaign Wrap-Up

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health seen in many years.

Asked about particular highlights of the presidential campaign, Nadia Hayes mentioned Paul's successful Detroit Economic Club appearance (due in large measure to the efforts of Evy Warmbier, a dedicated volunteer) and Paul's successful October 12 day-long stint on his home turf in Houston (see separate article elsewhere in this issue). But she candidly admitted that the highlight of the entire campaign may well have been the dramatic first ballot nomination victory in Seattle last year, when eight months of hard work in the contested race with Russell Means finally paid off for the Paul team.

As for the marching orders in the final phase of the 1988 campaign, Hayes said "Ron Paul is in the business of getting votes and I'm in the business of maximizing resources." And one of the most precious resources of the campaign is Ron Paul's time.

"The schedule is a living, breathing thing, always subject to change," said Hayes, "and sometimes we have to face cold realities." But she admitted sometimes it

"almost makes Ron sick to his stomach" to have to cancel a planned event, and said that "some of the most heated arguments I have with him are over changing the schedule."

But Hayes and the Paul campaign takes a hard-nosed, *realpolitik* approach to their mission, far more pragmatic than has traditionally been the case in the LP, where rallying the troops and "Party building" have been major goals.

"Our goal is to reach non-libertarians," Hayes says, "and libertarians aren't the only people we should be speaking to. We use libertarians as a base, but we have to grow outside our base." Hayes said that party-building is a consequence of what the campaign is doing, but not the overriding objective.

Hence, far from what the rank-and-file might want, the campaign is saving scarce resources for media blitzes for the very last minute, right before the election. The LP troops might want to see some of the TV guns blazing earlier, but Ron Paul wants to maximize votes. In the view of the campaign that means hitting voters at the last possible moment before the election and hope they remember the LP message when they pull the lever.

The perceived widening gap of Bush over Dukakis may help with the so-called "wasted vote" problem, although campaign advisor Murray Rothbard cautions about too much optimism over this view: "after all, we didn't have the wasted vote argument to contend with in 1984 either, but it didn't seem to do us much good," Rothbard told *AL* in mid-October.

Media response

Although there have been no dramatic media breakthroughs so far, there have been a number of significant firsts for an LP presidential candidate.

The lead editorial in the *Denver Post* on October 16 "Libertarians have a better way", was a strong voice of support that stopped just short of an outright endorsement. This is the strongest editorial endorsement yet received from a major U.S. daily for an LP candidate. The *Orange County Register*, a major paper in southern California, also editorialized in favor of opening up the presidential debates to Ron Paul in an editorial on October 4. The *Houston Post*, in the aftermath of the October 12 Houston campaign blitz, put Ron Paul on the front page in full color next to and equal with Bush and Dukakis, the first time a major U.S. daily has given an LP presidential candidate equal front page billing with the Big Two candidates.

Paul has been getting favorable mention in all sorts of places, almost too numerous to mention. Special interest gun and coin publications have favorably covered his campaign, and pro-drug legalization publications have reported on the LP effort (*High Times*, *Sensimilla Tips*) along with the Birch Society magazine *The New American*, which ran a side-by-side comparison of Democratic, Republican and Libertarian platforms in their October 10 issue.

James J. Kilpatrick, who made mentions of the LP campaign in 1984 ("those loony libertarians") practically came out of the closet in a mid-October column distributed nationwide, entitled "The nutty sanity of Dr. Paul." Marveling at Paul's remarkable consistency and audacity throughout his campaign, the conservative pundit managed to compliment both the candidate and the LP in an apparently sincere recognition of the fact that only the Libertarians are willing to point out that the Emperor is not wearing clothes. . .



Ron Paul addressed this Wichita, Kansas rally in early October. Photo courtesy of Karl Peterjohn.

Recognition has come from other places, ranging from the *Village Voice* and *In These Times* (see related article elsewhere in this issue) to a long story in the October 16 *New York Times*. Paul also had a repeat appearance on CNN's "Sonya Live from LA" TV show and a surprising endorsement by David Letterman on October 14, when he answered a question about who he was supporting for President by saying he was voting Libertarian, for Ron Paul — and he wasn't joking!

The campaign was featured on the PBS MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour on October 24 and had 10 minutes on the 2 hour PBS Campaign '88 special also aired October 24. On CBS Nightwatch, which aired in early October, Paul was featured along with Lenora Fulani of the New Alliance Party and Eugene McCarthy, running under the Consumer Party label. His major public appearances along with his debate rebuttals have also been carried by C-SPAN, which has probably provided the most air time for the LP candidate of any TV news outlet.

Major Events

The campaign has been a long series of personal appearances, speeches and forums, and a number of these have been outstanding for Paul.

Among the more memorable events were his rousing response at the September Detroit Economic Club, which also helped pave the way for LP U.S. Senate candidate Dick Jacobs' appearance in the senatorial candidate debates held there, and Paul's September appearance at the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco.

One of the more unusual campaign forays was Paul's bid for the Hollywood vote, aided by Timothy Leary, who has long been calling himself a libertarian and is perhaps the most prominent celebrity to publicly endorse Ron Paul. A late September party at the Leary home in the Hollywood Hills attracted over 100 attendees (at \$100 each) including Orson Bean (who should get an award as the earliest Hollywood LP supporter, surfacing in 1980), former "Mama" (as in the Mamas and the Papas) Michelle Phillips, and actress Karen Black, along with a number of other film industry personalities. Paul later attended a regular Leary "philosophy in performance" evening at the Carlos 'n Charlies nightclub in LA, where a large crowd (including Nathaniel Branden and Sharon Presley) had a chance to hear Paul and ask questions.

The two satellite broadcast presidential debate responses rank among the more innovative events the campaign has sponsored. The first, which was aired immediately after the first presidential debate in September, saw Paul in Los Angeles answering the same questions put to Bush and Dukakis. The second debate response was a pre-emptive strike, broadcast a day before the second major party presidential debate. Paul answered questions posed by representatives from the *Denver Post* and *Dallas Morning News*. The impact of these events was difficult to measure, since they were offered to any TV station, but initial reports indicated that he gained valuable TV air exposure in a number of news markets.

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Ballot Access Finale: The Missouri-Indiana Connection

Indianapolis, IN - As reported in the September *AL*, the LP presidential ticket of Ron Paul and Andre Marrpu was rudely kicked off the Missouri state ballot over the technicality of "late" submission of the list of LP presidential electors, despite the fact that major party electors weren't required until 75 days later.

In a fitting twist the Big Two candidates are now facing the exact same problem in the state of Indiana. Due to poorly communicated changes in Hoosier state election law, the elector list deadline was changed and both major parties failed to note the changes.

As a consequence, both the Democratic and Republican parties submitted their electors late in Indiana (the GOP was 2 days late, the Dems a week). New Alliance Party candidate Lenora Fulani, who legally qualified for the ballot and met every deadline, is suing to keep the Big Two candidates off the ballot!

Since U.S. Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackmun failed to issue an injunction for the LP in the Missouri case where the facts are nearly identical (in fact, more unfair to the LP due to a special early deadline), there is some speculation that the courts may find themselves caught between the proverbial rock and hard place.

Although observers doubt that political realities will allow both Bush and Dukakis kicked off the ballot over this technicality, there is a slight possibility that the situation may offer hope of relief to the LP in Missouri. At the very least, if inconsistent treatment is accorded to political parties in the two states, this will provide useful precedent in future court cases as well as tangible evidence of the need for a fair and impartial uniform federal standard for presidential ballot access (such as HR 1582), a reform measure long sought by all third parties.

What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander, right? ■

NES Flap - Count Our Votes!

Count Our Votes!

Denver CO - Even when they get on the ballot, the LP can't be assured that their votes will count.

Yes, some clerk will eventually tally the votes, but this year the National Election Service (NES) has told Libertarians that they won't be reporting the Paul-Marrou results on election night. This is important because most news organizations rely on the NES for election night statistics.

Although the NES included LP votes in 1980 and 1984, for some reason they have said they wouldn't in 1988. Mary Lind, chair of the Colorado LP, and other Colorado libertarians have begun a campaign to pressure the NES into reporting the LP totals.

One weapon in their arsenal is LP member Doug Anderson, one of three Election Commissioners for the Denver metro area, the organization which is

responsible for overseeing the election process. Anderson has told the NES that if they didn't include third party votes, the Denver results wouldn't be furnished to the NES. The ABC "Nightline" program has also reportedly expressed interests in the matter.

One state to the west, in Utah, the Utah LP under the direction of chair Bob Waldrop organized protest demonstrations in early October, with over 20 people at each of Salt Lake City's three network affiliate TV stations. They pointed out that they were objecting to NES, not the stations' policies, and their protests gained news coverage at each of the stations.

Ron Paul and LPers also picketed NES New York City offices in late October.

Those who want more information about the NES policy of political apartheid are encouraged to call them at 212-693-6001. ■

Wednesday, October 12:

Ron Paul on the Trail

by Mike Holmes

Mike Holmes edits the *American Libertarian*.

Houston, TX - October 12 was Election Day 1988 minus 27. Three-and-a-half weeks before the Nov. 8 presidential elections.

There was nothing particularly unusual about October 12, although after the day was over his campaign manager described it as one of the most productive days of Ron Paul's Libertarian Party presidential campaign.

Paul had already given one post-presidential debate satellite reply broadcast from Los Angeles after the first debates between Dukakis and Bush in September. This time, because of a planned campaign fundraiser hosted by longtime Paul sup-

porter and LP activist Dr. Matt Monroe in Houston, arrangements were made to tape a pre-debate "video press release" by Paul from Houston.

7:00 a.m.

Ron Paul woke up at an airport hotel where he stayed after flying in from California the night before. Although Paul only lives 50 miles from the airport, the campaign wanted him to be rested for the busy day ahead.

Ron Paul normally travels with only one campaign aide, but even they are being platoonned in and out of rotation to prevent burn-out. While his aides are half Ron Paul's age, they are usually exhausted at the end of a long campaign tour. But the candidate is lucky to catch a few days rest at home before hitting the road again.

Campaign Wrap-Up

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Paul also participated in a presidential debate of his own sponsored by the University of Texas student association, which pitted him against New Alliance Party candidate Lenora Fulani. Response was good from the 500+ crowd, and Fulani failed to win much sympathy as she continually blamed everything on "rich white males". Fulani's racist and sexist harangue managed to elicit sympathy for her white male opponent, and the contrast between collectivist and libertarian political ideas was made abundantly clear.

Staffing

The Paul campaign hired a high-powered media advisor, Leo McElroy of San Francisco, for the last two months of the campaign, for fees said to be in the low five figure range per month. Perhaps its just coincidence, but the upsurge in media interest in October seems to track with McElroy's addition to the campaign.

Also added in September was Kent Synder of Kansas City and a former congressional aide, who in his new role as travel coordinator has been accompanying Paul on his campaign swings along with other campaign aides. One of Paul's sons, Randy, has also been working full time in various capacities and has been described as assistant campaign manager. Also added in recent weeks were Duke University student David Brown of North Carolina, and Julie Hill, contributions recorder. Six area teenagers, some volunteer and some part time employees, also regularly assist with campaign projects.

Final Swing

Along with the last minute spurt of TV and print ads, Ron Paul will be making a final eight-day campaign tour through the west via chartered plane, beginning on October 30. There are also plans to hold a Campaign Victory Party on the November 8, election night at the Hobby Airport Holiday Inn in Houston.

Marrou Campaign

When asked to summarize recent campaign events for the Andre Marrou LP vice presidential race, which has been independently run and managed in the LP tradition, campaign coordinator Marti Stoner paused briefly, tapped into her computer and came up with the following as of September 30: money raised - \$111,000; days on the road -248; miles traveled - 63,254; cities visited -234; estimated audiences spoken to - 83,200.

But all this numerical precision belies the reality of the Marrou effort, spending long

days on the road, visiting the smaller cities as well as the large, and doing countless interviews and new conferences.

In fact, Marrou has gotten such a workout that he recently instructed Stoner to politely tell local campaign organizers "that I can only work from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. in a day — I also have to get some sleep at night." According to Stoner, Marrou's first impulse is to be accomodating to each and every request. But after several months on the road, he realized that there is a "just one more event" mentality which sometimes fails to recognize that he will be doing the same thing tomorrow and also needs his rest.

"Andre has gotten good press and quite a bit of TV, especially in the last part of the campaign, and I've been pleasantly surprised at the interest in his campaign when I call news outlets and let them know he's available," Stoner told *AL* in a mid-October interview.

Stoner mentioned the 13 states Marrou had recently visited, and also noted a late October planned appearance in Florida with Honeywell employees at which over 3,000 people are expected to attend. In fact, Marrou may well hold the record for the largest crowd addressed by an LP candidate. He spoke at an early September Marijuana Harvest Festival in Madison Wisconsin where the crowd was estimated at between 3,000 and 15,000 (perhaps the circumstances made for difficult counting. . .), according to Stoner.

Marrou also took part in a well publicized Labor Day raft race in Tulsa where his raft reading "Vote Libertarian — Marrou on Board" finished 7th out of 35. During a swing through El Paso Marrou discussed the LP position on immigration with former Mexican presidential candidate from the PAN party, Manuel Clouthier. He didn't share Marrou's enthusiasm for open borders due to fear of an influx of *Yanquis* heading southward.

Fundraising spearheaded by campaign manager Michael Emerling has also been noteworthy. Funds have been raised by repeated direct mail efforts as well as by fundraisers on the road, split 50-50 with local LP groups. If the trend continues, Marrou will end up raising 25% of the total amount raised by the 1984 Bergland LP presidential campaign, which raised \$620,000.

Marrou has tentative plans to attend an LP Victory Party celebration on election night at the Sheraton Universal Hotel in Studio City (LA area) to wind up his campaign. ■



A Houston TV reporter interviews Paul immediately prior to his debate broadcast.

9:30 a.m. South Coast Video studios

Ron Paul arrived early at this nondescript, one-story building, hidden a few blocks away from one of Houston's many crowded freeways. Already, judging from the TV vans in the parking lot, something is afoot.

Paul stands at the podium in a medium sized carpeted studio. Several video cameras are stationed at various angles, and technicians fiddle with the lights and microphones. Paul chats with campaign staff and news reporters. Several local TV crews do interviews. Paul speaks with animation in response to the predictable questions. In the harsh TV glare profiling his angular features, Paul looks a bit road-worn, perhaps a little haggard from his 17 months on the campaign trail. And it's only 10:00 a.m. by the time the audience quiets down and the serious sound checks begin.

Interviewing Paul for the satellite transmission broadcast, which will last 45 minutes, are Carl Miller, editorial page editor of the *Denver Post*, and Bill Murchison, political columnist for the *Dallas Morning News*. Acting as moderator is Leo McElroy, a recently hired public relations consultant from San Francisco. In the audience are campaign staffers, technicians and reporters. Among them, a major wire service political correspondent, and reporters from the *New York Times* and *Insight* magazine. It is one of the relatively few times when the campaign has a full media retinue. They even rented some extra cars to cart the media people around to subsequent stops. Libertarian pack journalism?

The 45 minute interrogation takes about an hour to tape, with one 15-minute break, which annoyed the candidate. "I didn't like that interruption," Paul says later, "I was on a roll and that broke my concentration."

Paul replies to 14 questions, all without notes or prepared text. In contrast to the packaged, freeze-dried "debate" performances of Bush and Dukakis, Paul is a candidate-in-the-raw.

Campaign insiders agree that Paul could benefit from professional speech and TV coaching, but say he has stubbornly resisted the idea. He speaks very much from the heart, person to person, but his voice has a nasal quality. He used to almost squeak at times, but that is mostly gone after nearly 20 years in public life. But he still tends to talk rapidly, spilling out words, occasionally jumbling them. When Paul speeds up, his pitch rises. Every few sentences, he drops a word here or there, or puts one in the wrong place.

Paul is a candidate driven by ideas. To him, every question deserves a full answer, complete with as many concepts, facts and ideas as he can manage in the time allotted. So he rushes his words, stringing together concept after concept in an attempt to fit the answer in with the Big Picture. Unfor-

tunately, this is sometimes lost on listeners who have to work hard to keep up, or who are unfamiliar with his ideas. This speedup and compression sometimes ends up sounding like verbal shorthand.

A transcript of his answers would contain paragraphs of facts and analysis for each question, in contrast to the "sound bites" popular in contemporary political campaigns designed for the 5-second attention span of the average TV viewer. Paul answers questions efficiently, with little pause for humor or anecdote. He smiles infrequently but when he does, he positively beams with goodwill and good humor. More often, he delivers his pitch straight on with a serious demeanor.

The questions run the usual gamut, but mercifully, "what about the poor?" is omitted. Perhaps everyone is sick of the homeless by now.

For the record, Paul is queried about Social Security, the role of government in providing tax incentives, the proper size of government, the separation of education and State and it's effects on access to education, repeal of drug laws, abortion, the oil industry, tariffs, the Sandinistas, global warming and ozone depletion, the Strategic Defense Initiative, sanctions on South Africa, the immigration question, military

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Libertarian Outlook

Ron Paul for President

Ron Paul and Andre Marrou have both run topnotch campaigns under difficult circumstances, owing to tough ballot access struggles, public indifference to third party candidates, and a tremendous financial disadvantage compared to the Big Two party candidates. But both LP candidates have risen to the challenge and have delivered the best campaigns possible under the circumstances.

For the first time in LP history, both members of the ticket have spent months dedicated to full time campaigning, stopping long enough only to rest and replenish their campaign coffers. The LP ticket has raised more money from more people than any previous LP effort, excluding the generous \$2 million 1980 funding provided by LP VP candidate David Koch.

And despite earlier misgivings from a few, the LP ticket has remained steadfast on matters of policy and principle. They have also reached out beyond existing LP ranks, bringing the libertarian message to a wide audience of new listeners. Who would have thought that Libertarian Party presidential candidate Ron Paul would find his most visible support from the ranks of NORML, *High Times* and Timothy Leary on the one hand, and disaffected conservative

followers of Pat Robertson on the other?

While there might be a theoretical case for a libertarian vote for either Dukakis or Bush, these cases have not yet been made. A vote for either of them is truly a wasted vote. When someone figures out which of these two clowns is the lesser of the evils, let us know.

And while there is always a libertarian case for "none of the above", or not voting at all, this clearly seems inferior to voting for a solid Libertarian Party ticket.

Voting is a symbolic act which imparts information to the world at large about political preferences. A vote for the 1988 LP ticket carries with it a clear and unmistakable message of support for libertarian ideas, to be tallied up and analyzed by pollsters and pundits. The more Libertarian votes, the stronger the message for explicit libertarian policies.

Any other kind of vote, or not voting at all, is lost in the "noise" of other voters who aren't libertarians at all, or those who never bother to vote.

Voting for Ron Paul and Andre Marrou is one way to make this a better world for all of us. Let's use this opportunity to send the libertarian message. ■

a message of individual dignity, freedom and responsibility. These men and women are truly the foot soldiers in the ongoing battle for Liberty.

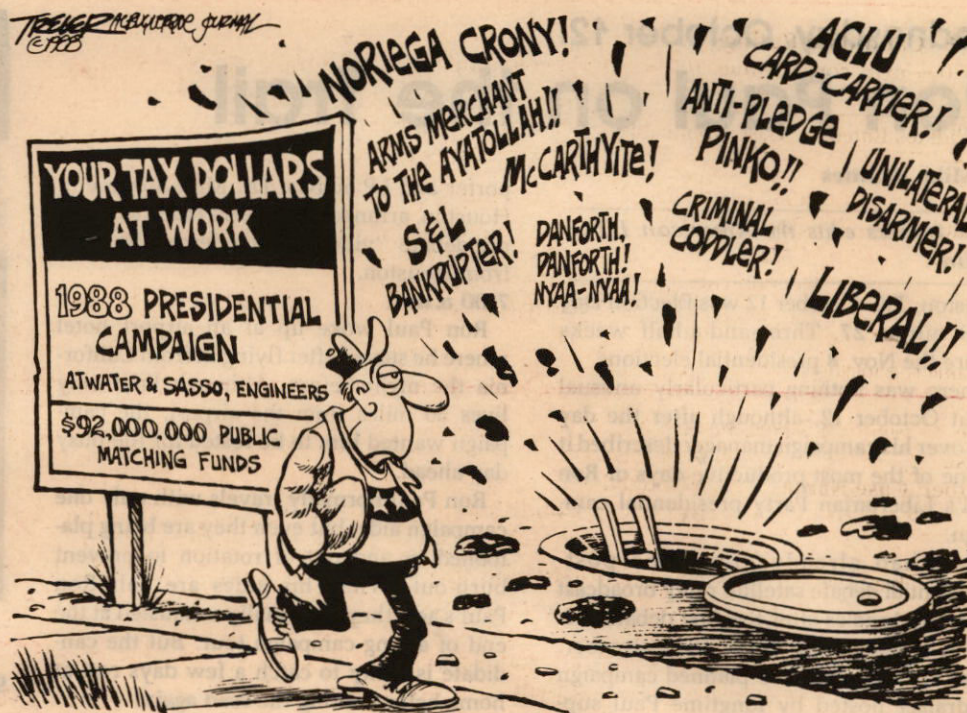
It isn't easy for libertarians to become candidates for public office. Most would rather be minding their own business instead of spending their time and money educating voters about important issues. Yet they assume this responsibility out of a genuine concern for the future of our country and our world.

Whatever the party label, vote libertarian. ■

Vote libertarian

Over 400 LP candidates are vying for public office nationwide. In some places, there are also candidates running as independents or in other parties who have publicly identified with libertarian issues and principles.

Most of these libertarian candidates (large L and small l) have worked hard, with little prospect of success or reward, to carry forth



trends during the 9-week campaign.

This simulation program encompasses a large number of important election trends and gives libertarians a rough guide as to what to expect from "conventional political wisdom" and historical trends about the impact of a third party candidacy. Also, as in the real world, the LP challenger faces an uphill struggle. In "Notes on Strategy" the program guide says:

A third-party candidate in almost every situation faces a quixotic struggle. Except in the most extreme circumstances (e.g. the country is in turmoil, the major candidates are buffoons, the third party candidate is another Alexander the Great, etc.) he hasn't a ghost of a chance of winning the election. The function of a third-party candidate is primarily to wreck the support of one of the major party candidates.

Although the real world results may differ from these built-in assumptions, the game itself seems to have a decent track record. In the "Author's Notes" section, the program guide says "The initial version (of the game) did frustrate a lot of people, though, on the grounds that it predicted a smashing Reagan landslide in 1984, almost any way you stacked the deck against him."

Although the game attempts to rate the real-world candidates and their running mates on issues and candidate ability, the 1988 version did not include either of the major party Vice Presidential choices ultimately selected. And it also left out Ron Paul and all other third party possibilities, though it allows players to customize any third party ticket they wish to construct.

Perhaps the most glaring built-in problem for third party candidates is the assumption it makes about resources, represented by the political actions points (PAPS). Initially, a third party candidate starts off with about 10-25% of the other candidates PAPS, resulting in an average of about 15% of the major party candidates resources throughout the campaign. (This assumption itself has to be derived indirectly through the allocations of PAPS, since it isn't spelled out anywhere.)

However, in the real world of 1988 politics, the Paul-Marrou LP ticket has 2% or less of the effective purchasing power of either of their major party opponents. The somewhat optimistic outcome of various scenarios discussed below is perhaps due to this generous financial assumption. And it also reveals in a very simple way the possible impact an LP ticket in the race might have if they did enjoy such a generous relative financial disadvantage.

Game playing results

This game may be of interest to computer and political buffs. But what does it predict about the real-world 1988 political race?

In some test simulations, Ron Paul does best (though he doesn't win any electoral votes) in a race between Jesse Helms and Jesse Jackson. Not surprising, but not the race Ron Paul is in this year.

Table 1 shows how Ed Clark and Ron Paul were rated on issues and candidate ability for our test scenarios.

Table 2 shows the four cases tested and their basic purpose. Case 1 is the most likely real world scenario. Case 2 is the "best of all possible candidates" scenario, which assumes Paul to be the best candidate in

Continued page 5

In Review



by Mike Holmes and David Hutzelman

Mike Holmes edits *American Libertarian*.

David Hutzelman is a communications manager for a major energy company in Houston, TX and is a long time libertarian activist.

1988 Edition of President Elect (computer election simulation game), by Strategic Simulations, Inc. (1046 N. Rengstorff Ave., Mountain View, CA 94043), written by Nelson Hernandez, Sr., \$24.95 + \$2.00 shipping, available for IBM, Apple and Commodore 64/128.

Will Ron Paul get 4% of the presidential vote in November? Could he win electoral votes if he were the best of all possible candidates in the race? Would an economic crisis help his vote percentage?

These and other equally hardnosed political questions can be answered by using a \$25 computer simulation game and almost any garden-variety computer. Since the ranks of libertarianism are replete with both computer and political junkies, the **1988 Edition of President Elect**, developed by a well known computer game company, is sure to provide interesting

entertainment for libertarian-oriented computer buffs.

This computer simulation game is surprisingly powerful, all things considered, and best of all, it allows for a "third party" presidential ticket.

The game uses real election data and voting patterns from 1960 to 1988 and also contains 68 past or potential 1988 presidential and VP contenders, including 1980 LP candidate Ed Clark. In its intended use, users can replay all the past elections since 1960, even changing the candidates or plugging in new ones. The overall object is to manage the resources, strategy and tactics of the presidential race between Labor Day and the November elections. Among the decisions it requires are how often and when to debate or take foreign trips, and whether to concentrate on national, regional or state campaigning. Two or three players can participate or individual players can match wits against the computer, programmed to maximize the success of its own candidate. Among the variables are: political action points (PAPS) roughly equal to the financial resources at hand, the initial economic and political state of the nation (GNP, unemployment rate, war or peace and overall national morale), the candidate's views on selected issues, the campaign ability of the candidates, the outcome of debates, unexpected foreign policy crises, and ongoing changes in national

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Table 1 - Candidate Ratings

Views: 0 = extr. conservative, 100 = extr. liberal; Ability 1 = bad/low, 9 = good/high

| Candidates Rated | Case Applicable | Candidate Views | | | | Candidate Ability | | |
|------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-----------|-------|
| | | Social Views | Economic Views | Foreign Policy | Overall | Speaking Ability | Magnetism | Poise |
| Ed Clark* | 1980 election* | 28 | 0 | 62 | 30 | 2 | 2 | 5 |
| Ron Paul | Case 1, 3, 4 | 24 | 6 | 55 | 28 | 4 | 3 | 5 |
| Ron Paul | Case 2 | 24 | 6 | 55 | 28 | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| | General category:* | mainstream conservative | ultra conservative | moderate or mixed | mainstream conservative | | | |

*per game specifications

Table 2 - Election Cases Tested

| Case Number | Case Name | Ron Paul Managed by | Conditions | Purpose |
|-------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|--|--|
| 1 | Baseline | computer | GNP growth 3% Unemplmt rate 7% U.S. morale = 6 (1 = bad, 9 = great) Inflation = 4% U.S. at peace | 1988 real world scenario |
| 2 | Best of all possible candidates | computer | same as Case 1 | Determine impact of candidate quality factors |
| 3 | Small-state strategy | player | same as Case 1 | Test resource allocation strategy: ½ to national ads ½ to AK, VT, UT, MT, NV |
| 4 | 1992 economic disaster strategy | computer | Bush incumbent Pres. GNP growth 0% Unemplmt rate 9% Inflation = 18% U.S. morale = 3 U.S. at peace | Test effect of bad economy and "Jimmy Carter" type malaise |

Table 3 - Results of Simulation Scenarios

| # | Case name | | Popular Vote Percentages | | | Remarks |
|---|---------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|---------|------|---|
| | | | Bush | Dukakis | Paul | |
| 1 | Baseline real world | Labor Day | 49% | 45% | 5% | In Texas, Bush 50%, Dukakis 39% Paul 11% |
| | | Election Day | 51% | 44% | 4% | |
| 2 | Best of all possible candidates | Labor Day | 39% | 40% | 21% | Paul wins Texas 36% and comes in second in six others |
| | | Election Day | 35% | 37% | 27% | |
| 3 | Small state strategy | Labor Day | 51% | 42% | 6% | Paul results: TX 11%, AK 10%, UT 10%, NV 7%, MT 2%, VT 1% |
| | | Election Day | 49% | 48% | 2% | |
| 4 | 1992 economic disaster | Labor Day | 45% | 45% | 9% | Paul gets 17% in Texas |
| | | Election Day | 53% | 39% | 8% | |

In Review

From page 4

history. The program doesn't rate the real life candidates or potential candidates any higher than an "8" on any attribute (out of possible 9) and we scored Paul as a "9" straight across. Case 3 is the real-world Paul race utilizing a "small state" strategy resource allocation process that the game allows. The game directions also warn that this is an inefficient strategy, but this is a strategy which the real Paul campaign is to a degree following. And case 4 is a hypothetical 1992 "economic disaster" scenario, with Bush as the incumbent President.

Table 3 illustrates the results from these four cases. The "baseline" real-world case scenario in the simulation shows Paul winning 4% of the popular vote. The impact of a terrific candidate shows in up Case 2, with a whopping 27% vote for Paul and capture of the Texas electoral votes, with six other second place finishes. Case 3, the "small state strategy" case, indicates that Paul actually loses votes over time, dropping from 6% to

2%. The game is biased against this strategy from the outset, but perhaps it is also a scenario doomed to failure in this age of mass media campaigning. And the 1992 "disaster scenario", with otherwise real-world assumptions about the candidates, indicates that the computer is likely to give Paul double the vote percentage when times are really tough economically.

This may also yield an insight on the current election, since the real world 1980 Clark race was conducted in roughly the same terrible economic conditions as Case 4. If Ron Paul doesn't match the Clark results it may be due to the well known conventional wisdom which says that voting for radical change is far more likely when voters are noticeably worried about their economic future and are less likely to vote Libertarian if they are happy about the economy.

Another result that pops out is that Ron Paul does relatively well in Texas, significantly better than his overall results, in all the cases tested. The game requires the candidates' home states be specified, along with those of their VP choices. Bush and

Bentsen were also given Texas home states (giving Bush the benefit of the doubt in the matter). Obviously, the home state effect is given considerable weight, and the Paul campaign might seem to benefit disproportionately from Texas campaign spending and presence.

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.

On Apolitical Libertarians

Thank you for your response (Editorial, August 1988) to the apolitical libertarian who demanded more coverage of "libertarian events outside of party activities."

I agree with your response, but I wouldn't have bothered printing his letter in my newsletter — I'd have sent it back as a waste

of my printed page. Overall, these results do not differ from what common sense might otherwise predict, save the unexpectedly large vote percentages the simulation awards Ron Paul at the outset of the campaign (5%). Perhaps this is due to the resource assumptions cited earlier. But it may also indicate that conventional wisdom allots a well funded third party challenger a politically decisive role in presidential politics, with considerable upward potential, even with libertarian or "mainstream conservative" (in the simulation parlance) views on issues.

The **President Elect** game is no crystal ball, but it provides a lot of food for thought for twenty five bucks. Computer oriented libertarians should have fun with it. And who knows, maybe those vote percentages, given enough resources, won't always be merely wishful thinking? ■

of my printed page.

Most (I said most, not all!) apoliticals are lazy types who were "found" by the Libertarian Party, educated by the party, and then they decide they'd rather sit on their fat asses and complain about what a foul business the party is — instead of helping to find more new libertarians.

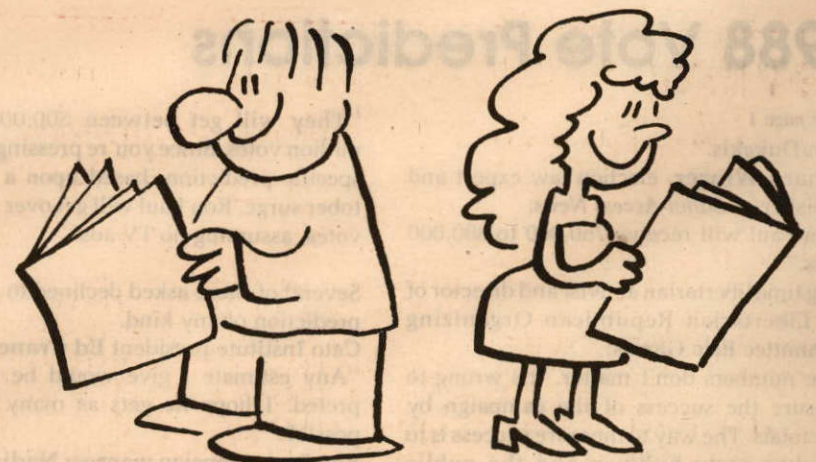
I'd love to know who this apolitical gadfly is! I'd love to ask him to call all of the apoliticals around here and ask them what they've been doing! "Well, I live a libertarian life. . ."

If non-politicals spent a quarter of the time they spend on running down the LP promoting libertarianism with a friendly tolerance for the LP, we would all be much further along.

Marc Montoni
Richmond, VA

Marc Montoni edits *Virginia Liberty*, the newsletter of the Virginia LP. Ed. ■

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On the Trail

From page 3

intervention in the Persian Gulf and the first thing he would do if elected President.

Aside from the ozone question, all pretty standard fare. Paul gave his standard responses to them.

The ozone question elicited Paul's weakest reply, something about more study and the need, possibly, for voluntary boycotts of dangerous ozone destroying chemicals. While caution should be exercised until the scientific questions are settled, there is nothing unlibertarian about prohibiting dangerous chemicals and poisons from being released into the atmosphere.

His responses are party line, to be sure, but framed more to appeal to the already sympathetic than to the skeptical. But he doesn't retreat an inch on the issues, and aside from ozone and abortion — two issues not usually at the top of the libertarian agenda — Paul delivered the Libertarian Party pitch with firm conviction, with no hesitation and no compromise.

The taping went off without a hitch, and was beamed skyward with minimal editing about an hour later. While over 650 stations had access to the program, it is impossible to say how many actually picked it up. Scattered reports after the first satellite debate response indicated a 5-10% response. PR consultant McElroy later said on the local news that "this approach has been worth about \$150,000 in TV air time." Much of the thrust of the local TV reports (on all three Houston network affiliates) was about the campaign's innovative use of TV in the electoral battle for the airwaves.

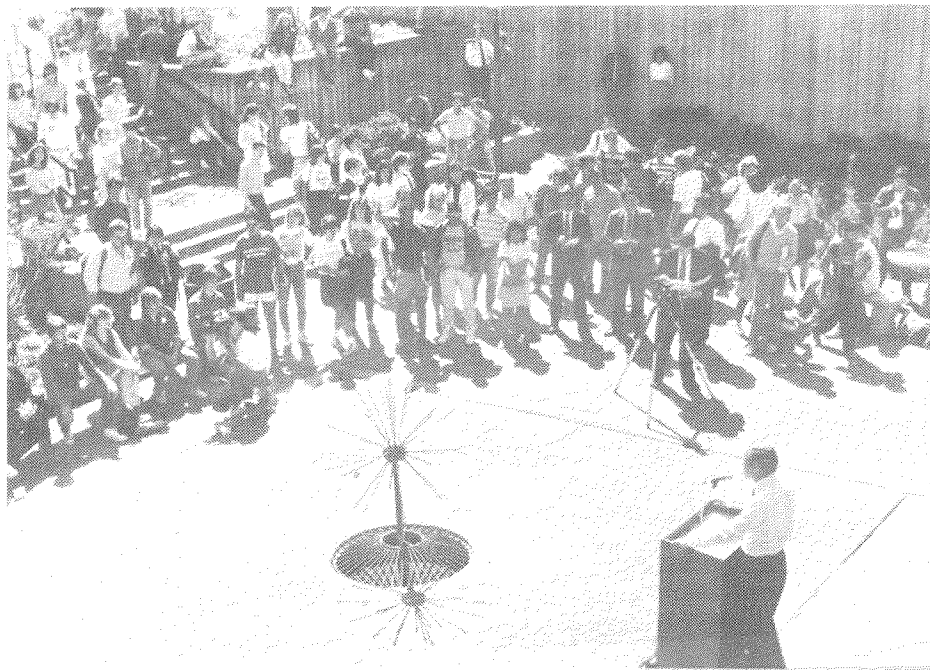
11:45 a.m. Communications Hill, University of Houston

Originally, the campaign had scheduled Paul to do street campaigning downtown. But the University of Houston student political forum was contacted a few days earlier and was anxious to have him speak at their lunchtime outdoor forum.

Although the term "Communications Hill" in board-flat Houston was something of a misnomer (it is actually a bowl carved



October 12 debate panel (from left): Carl Miller of the *Denver Post*, Bill Murchison of the *Dallas Morning News*, and moderator Leo McElroy.



Ron Paul addresses University of Houston students at noon rally

into the earth in a spacious plaza next to a large building), the day was picture perfect, bright and sunny, not too warm or too humid.

About 200 students were milling around, eating lunch and enjoying the weather. While they were anxiously awaiting the

candidate's arrival, campaign aides Randy Paul and Eric Rittberg were handing out literature. Two large Paul banners had been placed high up over the entire plaza.

Paul and entourage — including a *New York Times* reporter who had been trailing Paul for a few days — showed up only a few minutes later and Paul immediately launched into his speech. Later, the *Times* asked to see a copy of the speech, only to learn that while he touches on many of the same issues and themes in his speeches, there is no written "speech" as such. Paul extemporizes and varies the content as audience and time considerations dictate.

After noting how good it was to speak to young people, Paul immediately proceeded with his major theme, how students are being exploited by their elders politically into paying for a ponzi scheme (Social Security) and the huge federal deficit. "Who do you think will have to pay off that debt when this generation is drawing Social Security?" he asks. He also delivers blistering attacks on the War on Drugs, assaults on privacy, the IRS and foreign interventionism. After listening to his attacks on the military-industrial establishment, the FBI and CIA, you could almost close your eyes and imagine this speech being made 20 years ago by a student militant. Only this time, the well scrubbed students cheered loudly for a 53-year-old former Republican congressman, who, despite being at heart a cultural conservative, is far more radical than any of the late 60's student rabble-rousers.

Paul took questions after about 25 minutes. Mostly they were about drugs, the dangers of communism, noninterventionism, and how the government could be funded without the income tax. The longer he spoke, the more students came and gathered. By the time he left, nearly 300 students were listening.

The following day, the UH campus Re-

publican club president confided to the Paul campaign that he was "wavering" on Bush and would likely vote for Ron Paul.

1:30 p.m. Jersey Village High School

Originally set as a speech before high school government, history and social studies classes, the crowd grew to about 300-400 as other students were released from their other classes to hear the presidential candidate.

Paul & company rushed the 20 miles from the University of Houston to the high school, and managed to grab a hamburger at MacDonald's on the way (a fact duly noted on the front page of the *Houston Post* the next morning.)

Although one observer thought Paul's presentation "was a little too heavy on economics for a high school crowd" he also included his standard lines on drugs and abortion, the latter given with a particularly compassionate emphasis.

Although some in the audience were getting restless as the main speech concluded, "the audience just exploded" during questions, according to one eyewitness. Among the concerns were questions about a cashless society (did Paul favor it? — no) and did libertarians support one-world government (no, more decentralization).

Paul also got his first and only heckler of the day, a student obviously agitated spoke up from the back: didn't this type of philosophy, this non-interventionism, lead to the Holocaust during World War II?

Paul calmly pointed out that the U.S. became entangled in WW II partly because of an interventionist outlook and despite our military involvement, the Nazi genocide was not stopped until the very end of the war. And Paul made a special effort in his 30 minute dialogue after questions ended to talk with the heckler, along with several other students who had questions and comments, eager to hear more.

Paul overstayed his original schedule to talk to the students and kept the *New York Times* reporter and others, who were scheduled to have personal interviews with Paul after the event, waiting. In the subsequent *Times* story, published October 17, the reporter questioned Paul about taking so much time to talk to students too young to vote. We're doing this for the future — the future, Paul emphasized.

Liz Barthlow, a Houston area LP activist who along with Peter Elloway and others organized several of the day's events and the reception that evening, told of her son's response to the Paul visit. Her son is the school football quarterback. The backup quarterback, unaware of Barthlow's political leanings, asked him if he had heard the candidate. "He really made a lot of sense, he's right about drugs and some of the other things. I agree with about 90% of what he said." The backup quarterback said that he would probably vote Libertarian when he turned 18.

Meanwhile, around 4:00 p.m., Paul retired to a centrally located hotel room where he conducted interviews with several of the reporters and tried to get a little rest.

7:30 p.m. Hammond Hall Auditorium, Rice University

Sponsored by the Rice Libertarian-Objectivist Club (a mixture which apparently hasn't proven too fractious) nearly 300 students and faculty were on hand to hear Paul deliver his fourth and final speech of the day.

His speech was familiar — although unscripted — and about 20% of it consisted of his discussion of the War on Drugs, the assault on the Constitution and right to privacy, and the serious implications for the future if this madness continues.

Continued page 7

1988 Vote Predictions

From page 1

Bush/Dukakis."

Richard Winger, election law expert and publisher of *Ballot Access News*:

"Ron Paul will receive 750,000 to 800,000 votes."

Long time libertarian activist and director of the Libertarian Republican Organizing Committee **Eric Garriss**:

"The numbers don't matter. It's wrong to measure the success of the campaign by vote totals. The way to measure success is to measure party building and the public awareness of libertarian ideas. My vote total prediction is 669,000."

Matt Monroe, long time member of the Libertarian Party National Committee and publisher of *American Libertarian*:

"I would guess about 1 million votes, maybe a little more, maybe a little less."

Libertarian Party founder **David Nolan**:

"It is 50-50 they will top the 1980 total. I'll guess 800,000 votes."

Paul campaign aide **Eric Rittberg** and national LP Director **Paul Jacob**, recently working on assignment to the Ballot Access Committee:

"1.2 million votes."

Jim Peron, owner of Free Forum Books:

"I predict between 1.5 and 2.5 million votes."

Reason foundation president and *Reason* magazine publisher **Robert Poole Jr.**:

"They will get between 500,000 and 2 million votes. Since you're pressing me for a specific prediction, based upon a mid October surge, Ron Paul will get over 1 million votes, assuming no TV ads."

Several of those asked declined to furnish a prediction of any kind.

Cato Institute president **Ed Crane**:

"Any estimate I give would be misinterpreted. I hope he gets as many votes as possible."

Ron Paul campaign manager **Nadia Hayes**:

"I have no comment on that."

1980 LP presidential candidate **Ed Clark**:

"I expect Ron Paul to do much better than we did in 1984, based upon the independent support he has generated, the increase in funds raised, the increase in local news coverage and increased ballot status. Lack of national news coverage and national TV/radio ads hurts."

1984 LP presidential candidate **David Bergland**:

"It is counterproductive to focus on votes received. What is important to measure are the other criteria: funds raised, strengthening local groups, recruiting new activists and the new activities conducted."

LP chairman **Jim Turney**:

"I am pleased with the Ron Paul campaign and will be pleased with the results after November 8. Ron Paul will do very well."

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On the Trail

From page 6

In one of his better lines, heard often in his speeches, Paul says that Americans spend over 5.3 billion manhours filling out IRS tax forms: "just think of how many houses for the homeless could be built if those 5.3 billion hours were used productively?"

There were no hostile questions. Some were fairly sophisticated, probing for the reason for the end of the gold standard — how did America get off the track? Paul also tied in the broad political trend of our time — the death of socialism, not only in practice, but the death of the ideas of socialism.

The audience gave the candidate a rousing standing ovation at the finale. Time for the final appearance.

9:00 p.m. Reception at Dr. Matt Monroe's home

About a month earlier, several local LP members began planning a fundraising get-together for Ron Paul, who hadn't made a formal Houston area LP appearance since his nomination. But late in the campaign, the only date open was October 12.

Although the advance publicity was mostly via the LP grapevine and one local campaign mailing, over 100 supporters showed up on a cool Wednesday evening. The campaign supplied several videos of recent Paul appearances, such as his Detroit Economic Club speech and both satellite debate responses, including the one made just hours earlier.

Paul's former GOP supporters mingled with local LP members, all of whom paid \$20 a head to attend. Complimentary drinks and hors d'oeuvres flowed and spirits ran high.

Paul arrived midway through the party and fundraising quickly got down to business. The long day had left its mark on him, but being in good company and among friends, he was able to rise to the occasion one final time. He seemed to genuinely enjoy recounting for the crowd several notable successes of the campaign. He was particularly proud of the instances where reporters and previously uncommitted listeners came up to him after events and told him of being inspired, and of hearing the libertarian message, often for the first time.

Paul Jacob and Matt Monroe followed up with money pitches. "Give, give and give again," Monroe urged, "give till it hurts." This refrain, familiar to those active in LP circles, seemed to work. Over \$5,200 was raised.

One couple traveled all the way from Baton Rouge, Louisiana to attend. They had

originally called a Houston directory assistance operator a week earlier trying to reach the Paul campaign office. They were given that number, but the operator also gave them her daughter's number as well, telling the callers that her daughter was an active libertarian. They called this Houston contact and were invited to the party. The Louisiana couple was so enthusiastic that they drove over 300 miles just to attend, and said they wanted to open a Baton Rouge headquarters for Paul as soon as they returned.

Ron Paul left the party after his long day, and began the 90 minute trip to Lake Jackson, where he planned to visit his family overnight.

The next morning, bright and early, he was off to El Paso, Texas and Las Cruces, New Mexico. Twenty-six days of campaigning left to go. ■

LP Gains, Loses Officeholders

Washington, DC — The LP lost one, but picked up three new officeholders, according to recent reports from Colorado, Michigan and South Carolina.

South Carolina

Due to unhappiness with the Republican Party by an incumbent Charleston, SC City Councilman, the Libertarian Party picked up a new officeholder in August. Bill "Doc" Morea, 48, was elected to the Charleston City Council on January 5 of this year to a four-year term from the West Ashley district #10, as a Republican. His narrow 9-vote margin at the time "shocked the Democrats" according to an *AL* interview with Morea, and "they just fell apart." There were 10 Democrats and two Republicans on the council of this city of about 75,000. One of the Republicans is now an officially registered and dues-paying Libertarian. Morea is now the LP officeholder in the largest city where the Libertarians hold an elected post.

Morea, who has lived in Charleston for about 12 years, is a Jesuit-educated graduate of Fordham University, a registered pharmacist and active marathon runner. His defection was prompted by a falling out with local Republican leaders who supported his opponent, John Rama, in the GOP primary for State House District 114. Morea is now running as a Libertarian for the state house, and vowed "I'm going to win" when asked about his chances. Local GOP leaders ("puppets of the Governor", says Morea) sided with Rama in the primary, and Morea was going to run as a

write-in until he became aware of the LP opening in the race. There is no Democrat in the race.

Morea says this state house district overlaps his City Council district by about 40 - 50%, and is a key race since the seat represents a possible "swing" seat in the closely divided state legislature.

Morea admits he came to the LP for the pure political advantages, rather than for the more usual ideological or philosophical reasons. As the LP gains recognition, it is beginning to attract more pragmatic candidates with an eye on winning. "The Republicans have more power plays than you can shake a stick at," says Morea, obviously embittered at the treatment accorded him by the GOP, "and although I've not had a chance to read everything about the LP, of what I've read, I can support what I've seen."

Morea told the *Charleston News & Courier*, "The truism is, it is a lot easier to be elected on the ballot than to be a write-in. You don't have to be a Harvard graduate to realize that. In reality, that is the reason I'm here."

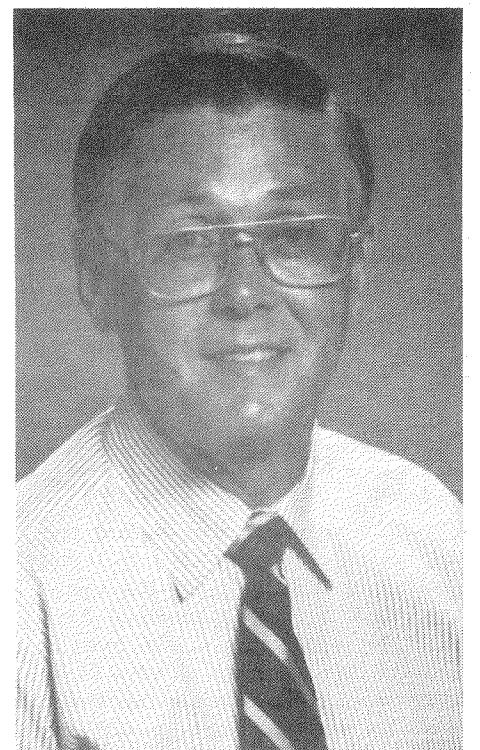
Morea estimates that it will cost about \$12,000 to contest the state house seat, and said the main issues were education, indigent housing, roads and "protecting people from taxation."

He said that the incumbent Republican representative was beaten in a "dirty primary" where "obscene amounts of money were spent" and that the current incumbent and city mayor have endorsed his efforts. Morea emphasized that he "was not here to use the Libertarians" and that the "GOP knows they have the biggest challenge ever in this race."

Morea told *AL* that "the people will buy your line if you're a winner" and said to a local reporter, who asked if elected, would Morea turn around and be loyal to the GOP, "well, they [the GOP] have a phenomenal way of teaching loyalty."

Charleston County LP chair Harly B. "Barney" Limehouse also told *AL* that there was an effort underway by the GOP to disqualify Morea from the race, claiming that he lives outside the district. Morea has reportedly rented an apartment within the district.

Limehouse notes that the Morea defection is part of a larger trend in Charleston, in large measure fostered by Limehouse himself, who has recruited four state house candidates and is himself running for a West Ashley seat on the City Council.



Charleston, SC, City Councilman Bill "Doc" Morea recently joined the Libertarian Party after a run-in with local Republican Party bosses. He's running an active race for State Representative against a sole GOP opponent.

Limehouse, a retired policeman, comes from a Charleston family long known for its political involvement. He said he joined the LP earlier this spring, also out of disillusionment with the GOP establishment, after he said they deliberately misled him about the correct filing deadline for the City Council races last December. He was planning on running against the County Republican chair.

Limehouse said he agrees with the LP on about 75-85% of the issues and told the *Charleston News & Courier*, "The Democrats and the Republicans have controlled Charleston County long enough, and I think they should have some opposition and some good opposition. The Libertarian Party is getting strong in South Carolina. Even if I don't get elected, I'm still going to work hard in this party."

And he did just that, even taking out ads in the local paper to recruit candidates. He told *AL* that this has local politicians nervous and they pressured the local LP candidates for State Senate and Sheriff to

Continued page 8

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

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withdraw from those races, making personal visits and phone calls to them. Although Limehouse notes that Morea faces a tough battle, and is not as confident of victory as Morea himself is, he also says that county LP vice chair and attorney Philip Borden has a good chance in his House District 115 race.

Asked to comment on all the activity in the previously dormant Charleston area, which has drawn considerable local media attention, SC LP chair John Heaton said, "It's nice. We've been working in South Carolina to establish the LP as a credible political alternative. We welcome Mr. Morea and others and we intend on supporting him in every way we can." Heaton also said that in Charleston, "politics is taken very personally."

Colorado

Colorado LP chair Mary Lind reported in early September that the Colorado LP had recently signed up two mayors of small Colorado towns, although neither ran as LP candidates when elected.

Dale Mosness was elected last spring as mayor of Eaton, CO, a city of about 2,500 located between Greeley and Ft. Collins in north central Colorado. Lind said that Mosness had previously been active in the Denver area LP but was (and is) a registered Republican for "practical reasons." However, he recently joined the state party when he realized that he could be a registered Republican and also a dues-paying member of the state LP.

A similar situation occurred in the tiny town of Montezuma, CO, located about 60 miles west of Denver, at the end of a dirt road, near the Keystone ski resort south of Interstate 70. Paul Hinkley, mayor of this small town (which is located on some state maps, but not all) was apparently converted by a former roommate and recently signed up as a Colorado LP member. Lind was unsure of when he was elected or under which party label, if any.

Lind said these developments appear to be part of a larger phenomenon of resurgent grass-roots activism in places like Aspen, Rifle, Grand Junction and other smaller Colorado towns where local LP groups have formed. "The party has lagged behind non-party libertarian growth," Lind said, "but we're hoping to re-energize and get in touch with the many libertarians in the state who are not currently active in the party." Colorado holds the distinction of being the home state of the LP, which was founded there in late 1971.

Michigan

On the down side of the story, elected Addison, MI, village council member James Clifton informed the national LP office and Michigan libertarians in late August that he had switched from the LP to the Republican Party.

Elected to the council in March, Clifton said the switch "is something I've kind of struggled with for four or five months even before I ran for the council and won." Clifton did not notify any state LP members of his impending switch. He had even once

resigned his seat on the council for a month during the summer, due to a family job conflict, but later rejoined the body.

Clifton told the *Michigan Libertarian* newsletter that he had not rejected libertarianism as a philosophy, but only the LP as a political vehicle. In his letter to acting LP National Director Kirk McKee, Clifton said he wanted to remain as a subscriber to the party newspaper and cited problems such as ballot access struggles and exclusion from presidential debates as practical obstacles to the success of a pure libertarian political party.

Clifton named such Republicans as Nancy Kassebaum, Elizabeth Dole, Pierre DuPont and Thad Cochran as Republicans he felt were in tune with libertarian ideas. He also cited the "lesser of two evils" argument, contending that the Libertarian candidacies of Ron Paul and Dick Jacobs (Michigan LP U.S. Senate candidate) endangered the chances of Republican victories in those races.

Due to Michigan law, Clifton's name cannot be removed as an LP candidate for a State Board of Education post, although Michigan LP chair Dick Whitelock issued a press release in early September repudiating Clifton's candidacy for that office on the LP ticket. ■

Paul Attacked, Featured in Publications

by Jim Peron

Jim Peron is proprietor of Free Forum Books in San Francisco, CA and has contributed to a number of libertarian publications, including American Libertarian, in the past.

San Francisco, CA - Ron Paul's LP presidential campaign attracted attention from a number of news outlets in September, including three which covered a wide range of opinions about his candidacy.

In These Times

The radical left unleashed another attack on the Libertarian Party and the candidacy of Ron Paul (See "Socialist Labor Party Attacks Paul," July 1988 *AL*) the LP presidential candidate. The September 14 issue of *In These Times* carried an attack on the Libertarian Party that filled two entire pages. According to author Karen Lehrman, "Amid a sea of chuckles, screams and retching, the U.S. Libertarian Party (LP) is lurching its way into the political arena. It's not a pretty sight."

The main focus of Lehrman's distorted piece is that "most libertarians are hoping he [Ron Paul] fails miserably." The independent Marxist weekly said that "even if Paul were a real libertarian, most libertarians still wouldn't want the Libertarian Party to exist, let alone succeed. LP purists view winning any election as selling out, preferring instead to hold supper clubs."

Lehrman seemed to have sought out fringe libertarian organizations with little influence in the libertarian movement and

then claimed they represent "most libertarians." To prove that Ron Paul's nomination "was highly unpopular", she quotes attacks on Paul from the Libertarian Republican Organizing Committee (LROC) and from Sam Konkin III of the semi-defunct Movement of the Libertarian Left.

Lehrman distorts the Ron Paul video tape shown at the 1987 nominating convention to make it appear that he supports prayer in public schools. She said Paul "ran a campaign video at the Seattle convention featuring a little girl praying in school." She neglected to mention that the segment supported the right of people to form private, religious schools. She also claimed Paul "supported quarantine of Human Immune Virus (HIV) positives." A recent interview in the *Village Voice* with Ron Paul specifically speaks to this lie. In that interview Ron Paul said, "Government shouldn't be involved in forced testing or quarantines or telling people what they should do or not do."

Lehrman claimed that another reason Paul was very unpopular with libertarians was that Russell Means opposed him for the nomination. Lehrman ignored the fact that Ron Paul overwhelmingly won the LP presidential nomination and won it on the first ballot. Lehrman also contended that the Means' caucus, Freedom is For Everyone, was organized for the purpose of "transforming the LP into a rainbow coalition of the 'oppressed': pimps, prostitutes, blue-collar workers, survivalists, polygamist, minorities, S&M practitioners."

The article then goes on to "prove" that Ron Paul is not supported by "most libertarians" by mentioning that LROC opposes him. "LROC's goal is to bring Libertarian activists into the Republican Party, making it more libertarian. Calling Paul 'a detriment to liberty,' LROCers claim his main appeal is not to libertarians, but to John Birchers."

After giving one paragraph to LROC, the article spends four long paragraphs describing the position of Sam Konkin III and his Movement of the Libertarian Left. Lehrman quotes Konkin as saying that he would like to "reduce the LP to the level of size, importance and humility" of the Nazi party. This statement is highly ironic since Konkin's tiny "Movement" has all but disappeared itself.

The final "proofs" Lehrman offers concerning Paul's unpopularity among libertarians is that "orthodox" Objectivists don't support him, and that some pragmatic libertarians, who remain unnamed throughout the article, "think Paul is a disgrace to the movement."

Lehrman, who obviously spent a considerable amount of time digging for anti-Paul statements, only succeeded in finding a small segment of the libertarian movement to voice that opinion. None of the groups she identified are very influential within the libertarian movement. Sam Konkin, for instance, came in dead last in a poll that *Liberty* magazine took of its readers. Readers of that libertarian periodical rated him slightly above "not influential at all." Konkin was beaten out by virtual unknowns and several write-in votes. The write-ins were not

tabulated, although Konkin was listed.

In These Times did admit that "libertarian ideas are being taken seriously by some, perhaps because surveys show 80 percent of baby-boomers are economically conservative and socially liberal. Mainstream libertarian stands such as privatization, deregulation and tax and welfare reform have moved beyond both Democratic and Republican rhetoric. Even the issue of drug legalization is coming out of the closet."

But, even though libertarian ideas are being taken seriously, the article contends that libertarians have had nothing to do with it. "Credit for this success can be taken only by free-market economists and analysts, who shun, and sometimes cringe at, any association with the term libertarian."

Village Voice

In spite of *In These Times*, it is clear that some major press is taking Ron Paul and his campaign seriously. The *Village Voice* ran a fairly good interview in September with Paul. While only a small portion of the interview was published, Paul expressed his dislike for George Bush, the CIA, drug laws, and the Federal Reserve. He also said Dukakis "is probably a little more honest" than Bush. On the issue of AIDS, he said he wants to get the FDA out of the way and opposed quarantines and forced testing. He said he wants to abolish the IRS and return to a policy of open borders.

He was asked about abortion and presented his reasons why he does not support it. The paper did not run his usual disclaimer that the Libertarian Party does support freedom of choice on the issue. Campaign staffers who were present at the interview said that Ron Paul clearly stated the Libertarian Party's position on the issue, and that it was later deleted by the *Village Voice*.

San Francisco Chronicle

On September 17 the *San Francisco Chronicle*, with a circulation of over 500,000, ran an article on Ron Paul by Jerry Roberts, their political editor. The article was a fair representation of Ron Paul and the issues on which he is running. Roberts said that Paul is "refreshingly substantive in a business where clever sound bites and cheesy smiles have largely replaced ideas. Paul's views are based on precise principles of unbridled individual liberty and sometimes dense theories of the Austrian School of Economics pioneered by Friedrich Hayek and Ludwig von Mises." ■

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