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Declassified Documents:

Libs "Destabilizing" In New Hebrides

by Greg Kaza

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Libertarian supporters of the free-market Na-Griamel movement were considered a "destabilizing factor" by high-ranking Carter State Department officials in 1980 as the New Hebrides Islands approached independence, declassified State Department documents show.

Secretary of State Edmund Muskie and other U.S. officials were embarrassed by support the libertarian Phoenix Foundation gave Chief Jimmy Stevens, whose Na-Griamel movement led a secessionist revolt against the socialist Vanua'aku Party (VP) as the Anglo-French colony neared independence in July 1980, State Department documents show.

Muskie and other officials conceded privately that Phoenix Foundation leaders were unlikely to be prosecuted for violating the Arms Export Control Act, the Logan Act and the Neutrality Acts, while declaring publicly that such action was imminent, the documents show.

More than 300 pages of State Department documents obtained under the federal Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) shed new light on the so-called "Santo Rebellion," which attracted worldwide attention as the New Hebrides became independent July 30, 1980, as the Republic of Vanuatu. The documents show that State Department officials collaborated with Barak Sope, leader of the VP's left-wing, prior to independence. They show that Sope provided intelligence on Jimmy Stevens and Na-Griamel to State Department officials.

Sope is currently awaiting trial for leading an unsuccessful coup attempt against Prime Minister Walter Lini, his chief VP rival following independence. The coup attempt occurred after Sope and a group of followers returned from Libya, where they received para-military training. The State Department

has criticized recent Libyan involvement in the South Pacific.

Destabilizing Factor

The State Department view of the Phoenix Foundation as a "destabilizing factor" is explained in a May 30, 1979, cable from the U.S. Embassy in Suva, Fiji, to Secretary of State Muskie in Washington. "The role of the Phoenix Foundation cannot be overstated," the cable reads. "Its libertarian program ... provided an ideological framework ... (and) generated the financial and technical resources needed for the secession operation. The principles of individual enterprise free from big government expounded with evangelical zeal together with the promise of large U.S. and other foreign investments provided the underpinnings of the secession movement as well as the means for moving into action ... From the U.S. point of view, the secession attempt in Santo constitutes a major destabilizing development which in addition to any other repercussions entails the threat of introducing unfriendly forces into the area."

The Phoenix Foundation was established in June 1975 to organize libertarian "new country" projects. The group took its name from the mythological bird that rises from the ashes; meant to symbolize the goal of re-establishing freedom via the establishment of a new libertarian state. Initially, the Phoenix Foundation was based in Carson City, NV, the home of real estate developer Mike Oliver, the group's chief financial backer. Other Libertarians active with the Phoenix Foundation were John Hospers, the Libertarian Party's 1972 presidential candidate; financial writer Harry Schultz; and Robert Poole, the publisher of *Reason Magazine*, which reported the episode extensively. Before the New Hebrides, other attempts to establish new countries occurred in the Azores, the Bahamas and Tonga.

The State Department's interest in the Phoenix Foundation grew after Stevens organized a secessionist revolt on the island of Espiritu Santo in early June 1980. On June 6, 1980, all east Asian and Pacific diplomatic posts were cabled that Washington had "issued a statement in support of the New Hebrides government and we have asked the Justice Department to investigate whether the American supporters of the secession movement have violated any U.S. laws in the process. We have asked our posts to keep us closely informed of any information concerning American involvement. The quixotic nature of the secession and of the involvement of the Phoenix Foundation have generated heavy press interest."



A bearded Jimmy Stevens, shown here with one of his wives at a 1980 political rally, was featured in a September 1980 *Reason* magazine article in which this photo appeared.

Sope was among those that U.S. Ambassador to Fiji John Condon turned to for assistance. On June 17, 1980, a cable to Muskie shows, Condon "asked Sope to keep an eye and ear open for any specific information regarding Sope's allegations of presence of U.S. citizens in Santo ..." Sope provided intelligence on Stevens and Na-Griamel, not the first time he had done so. In fact, the State Department's relationship with Sope and other VP leaders was longstanding.

"In the past USG representatives have had numerous contacts with representatives of the Vanuaaku Party (VP), including Rev. Lini," explains on Aug. 3, 1978, cable from Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Muskie's predecessor. The State Department relied on VP officials to provide them intelligence, almost all of it negative, on Stevens and Na-Griamel over a five-year period preceding independence. At the time, the VP and Na-

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CLP Showdown:

Vernon Narrowly Prevails

Arroyo Grande, CA - Dubbed the "showdown at Arroyo Grande" between current California LP chair John Vernon and former CLP office manager Lyn Sapowsky-Smith, the Executive Committee of the nation's largest state Libertarian Party organization in a day-long emergency meeting on September 23 narrowly backed Vernon's authority to fire Sapowsky-Smith.

Meeting at the Hotel Casa Grande, located about 15 miles south of San Luis Obispo, about three hours drive from both the Los Angeles and San Francisco population centers, the CLP ExComm initially deadlocked in an 18 to 18 vote on whether the CLP chair had the authority to fire Sapowsky-Smith in late August from her contract position as office manager of the San Jose, CA state LP headquarters. But acting ExComm chair (and immediate past CLP state chair) Ted Brown broke the tie in Vernon's favor, resolving the key issue in the "review of the performance

of the chair" agenda item which was the principle reason for the meeting.

However, Sapowsky-Smith received a consolation prize in the subsequent vote to censure Vernon for his filing misdemeanor criminal charges against Sapowsky-Smith in San Jose in August for allegedly illegally recording a telephone conversation with him without his permission. This vote was 27 in favor of censure, 4 against and 5 abstaining.

Earlier, CLP chair Vernon had vowed not to attend the emergency ExComm meeting at all and to resign if his discharge of Sapowsky-Smith was not upheld, a position Vernon retreated from at the meeting according to AL sources who attended the session.

Power and Money

According to a number of sources, the genesis of the dispute was power and money; the power of the chair to fire CLP employees - particularly in the wake of a prior ExComm

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New Hebrides

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Griamel were contesting for control of the country, a contest which ultimately led to the Santo Rebellion. The documents show that the State Department did not make similar overtures to Stevens, a leading critic of the VP leadership. Stevens viewed Lini, Sope and other VP leaders as totalitarians who wished to impose single-party rule over the islands. But relying on information provided by Sope and other VP officials, the documents portray Stevens as "manipulative" and seeking "total power," while the Phoenix Foundation is repeatedly termed "extreme right wing."



Nevada businessman Mike Oliver was a libertarian supporter of Stevens and his independence movement.

Muskie's Bluff

As the Santo Revolt unfolded in mid-1980, the State Department moved to cut-off Stevens' supply network by threatening legal action against the Phoenix Foundation's libertarian leaders. "The question being asked by everyone," Condon cabled Washington on June 12, "is whether Phoenix Foundation and others have the resources and the will to organize a supply system which would include oil products from Hawaii or any other source." At the highest levels of the State Department, a campaign was launched to preclude that possibility. "If questioned by host governments or press, posts are authorized to state that Department of State has referred the question of possible illegal activities by U.S. citizens in the New Hebrides to the Department of Justice, and that the USG will continue to monitor the situation closely," Muskie cabled six U.S. embassies June 4, 1980.

Stevens' libertarians allies need not have worried. Muskie's statement, and the press that ensued, were part of a carefully designed bluff hatched by Muskie and other high-ranking State Department officials.

"FYI," Muskie conceded in the next sentence, "although enforcement action remains unlikely, it is hoped that statement above may have some deterrent effect."

Elsewhere in the cable, Muskie acknowledged why prosecution was unlikely: there was no legal proof that Phoenix Foundation officials had broken any U.S. laws. "There is not sufficient evidence for any enforcement action at this time," Muskie conceded. There was little chance libertarians would have been prosecuted under any circumstances, however, because of legal uncertainties surrounding U.S. laws. "Reports ... do not indicate that the interference by U.S. citizens in the New Hebrides has involved the sort of conduct which the Neutrality acts prohibit."

"The Logan Act proscribes unauthorized contacts with a foreign government intended to influence that government in relation to a dispute with the U.S. or for the purpose of defeating measures of the U.S."

"Although there is a clear intent to influ-

ence, Santo is not a foreign government. There is also some question as to the existence of a dispute with the U.S., or an intent to defeat measures of the U.S. There has never been a prosecution under the Logan Act, in large part because of substantial doubts concerning its constitutionality ... The Arms Control Act prohibits the unlicensed exportation from the U.S. of a wide range of munitions. Although there has been some reports of armed shipments, there is not sufficient evidence for any enforcement action at this time."

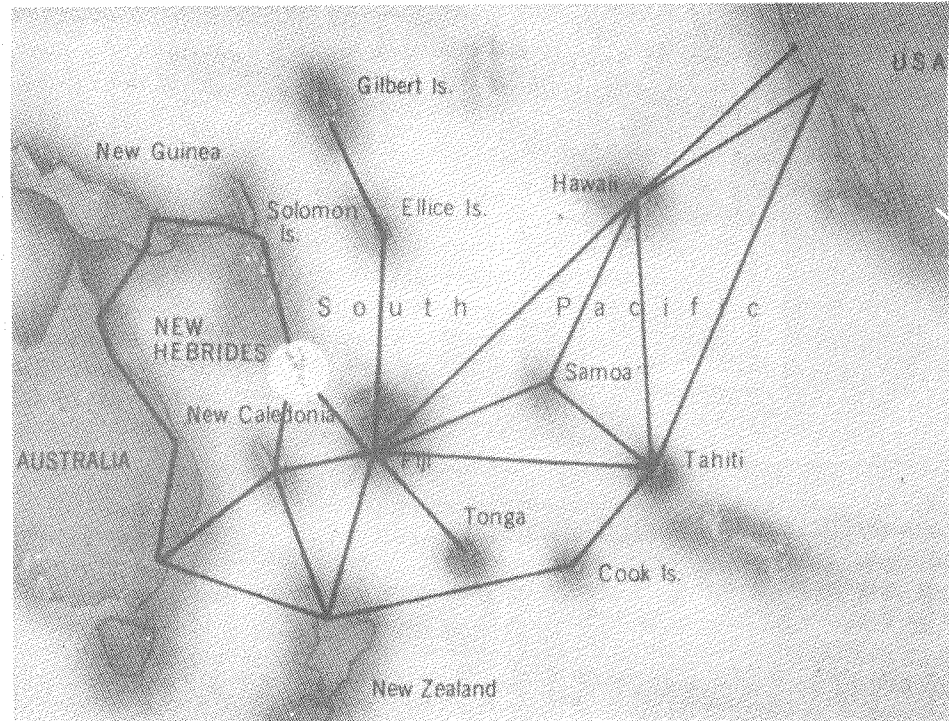
There were no arms shipments. "What we needed to send him (Stevens) was not airports and planes but guns, and to do this would have violated the Logan Act and landed us all in jail," explained one libertarian active in the episode, who requested anonymity. Without arms, Stevens' followers were defenseless, although they resisted a blockade for nearly three months. On Aug. 30, Stevens was captured by troops from neighboring Papua New Guinea.

Hidden Agenda?

While the documents shed new light on libertarian involvement in the episode, they leave unresolved questions about the State Department. One key, unresolved question is why the agency used Sope as an agent against Stevens.

There is little in the documents to suggest that the State Department considered Sope, or other VP leaders for that matter, hostile to democracy. Typical is the Dec. 12, 1979, cable from Condon which complained that a front-page article in the French daily *Le Figaro* "describing the VP as a Marxist party bent on radical policies (is) not helpful ... in putting the emergence of the VP is a more accurate perspective." Condon termed similar reports the "product of presumptions inspired more by past VP struggle rhetoric than by VP pronouncements in anticipation of independence."

Is the VP under the control of Marxist elements? Today, State Department officials disagree. "Possibly," one South Pacific desk officer said. "Probably," another responded. However, one can make a stronger case, al-



Vanuatu, formerly the new Hebrides, is relatively close to Australia, but its South Pacific location makes it inaccessible from major population centers.

though the factors are many and complex. Since independence, Vanuatu has pursued a policy of alignment with the Soviet bloc at Sope's urging. Sandinista Nicaragua is a case in point. In 1985, Sope visited Premier Fidel Castro in Cuba, transitting in Managua where he met with Sandinista leaders. The next year, Sope returned to Nicaragua, and relations were extended to Vanuatu.

Hospers, Oliver and others involved with the Phoenix Foundation have maintained all along that the VP was under Marxist control, as did Stevens, who declared as much in a widely-quoted 1979 speech in Australia.

But the question remains whether the VP was under Marxist control during the mid- and late-1970s when State Department officials were building it up at the expense of Stevens and Na-Griamel. Furthermore, it remains to be determined whether U.S. officials were motivated by pragmatism, or

far worse.

An Aug. 21, 1978, cable from the U.S. Mission to the United Nations in New York to Washington suggests who was manipulating whom throughout the pre-independence period. The cable reports on appearances by Lini and Sope before the U.N. Decolonization Committee, which was considering the New Hebrides. "Despite indications that Lini and Sope planned to seek an appointment with Ambassador Young or a mission officer, the (sic) did not do so and departed New York," the cable reads. U.S. officials were dumbfounded by the snub, which developed into an explicitly anti-American stance after independence.

Sope's arrest erased any doubts about his political sentiments, but only a U.S. congressional investigation may be able to answer just how deeply the State Department was taken in by his maneuvering. ■

Paris LI Conference:

Marianne, Jekyll & Hyde

by Fred Dekkers

Fred Dekkers is a Belgian, active in the Belgian libertarian movement, who resides in the Netherlands.

Paris, France - In a well known American film, the honored and God-fearing Dr. Jekyll becomes, at night, through a self-fabricated beverage and a pact with the devil, a contemptible and bloodthirsty Mr. Hyde. France, called affectionately 'Marianne' by the French, has shown a number of principles, aspects and memories as opposite to each other as those fictional characters during the mad celebration days of the bicentennial anniversary of the Bastille-occupation on July 14, 1789, symbolically the start of the revolution that led to the abolition of the monarchy and the constitution of the 'First Republic' in 1793. France today is at its 5th Republic.

My own reason to be in Paris at that moment was the Paris Libertarian International Convention of July 9 to 12. It was first announced for July 10 to 13, but as the organizers were exposed to two other time zones, the Libertarian and the French, the final result was quite accurate. About one hundred participants attended: Belgians, Dutch, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Britons, Swiss, Finns, Spaniards and Americans. The most striking nationality, however, was the French. Not by their presence but by their absence. Apart from the speakers and the

organizers, I didn't discover even one!

As a 'Freedom Conference' they had, we have to admit, much competition. Paris's walls, metrostations, newspapers, magazines and even many cafes and restaurants were plastered with all sorts of 'liberties,' 'equalities' and other 'rights of Man.' A sort of libertarian science fiction even Robert Heinlein could not have imagined. We can call this the Jekyll-side. The Hyde-side of their Revolution was, in the same breath, bloodbath, murder and violence. That both liberty and violence are in fact each other's opposites is clearly not yet understood by most French. And considering their near-total absence at the Libertarian International convention, there is not much hope this will change in the foreseeable future.

In a cafe I noticed an occasional beercard with two crossed waraxes supporting a heart, the symbol of love. In the metrostations a big picture-poster promoted one or another lottery. It showed the heads of four people: Louis XVI, Danton, Robespierre and La Fayette (but for the last, they all passed the guillotine), with the quite lugubrious text: "Citizens, The Game Is On Our Heads!". In the Parc de la Villette, open since 1987, special exhibitions were organized which tied a number of French achievements to 1789, something that could be explained by the more free 'environment' for scientists (Dr. Jekyll) and notwithstanding the

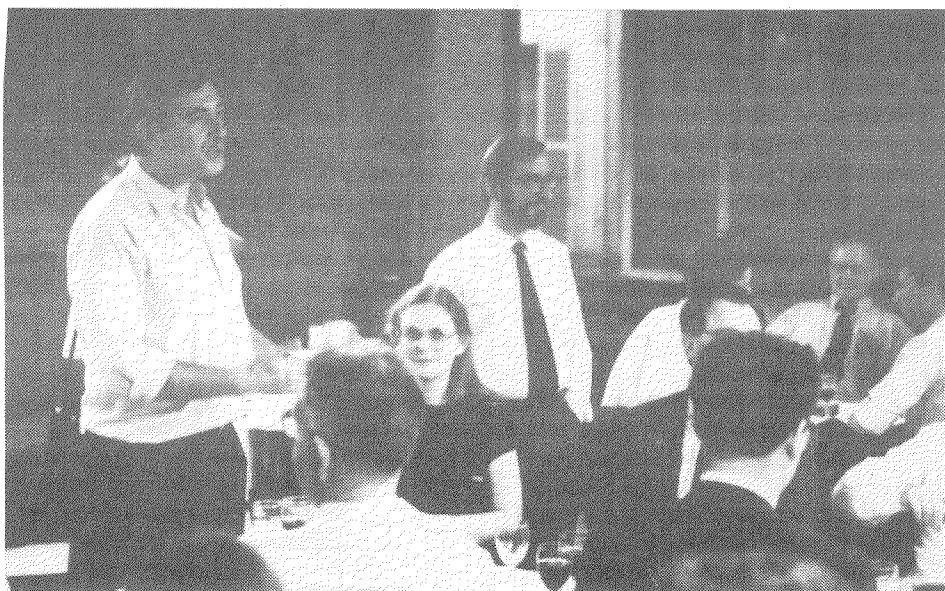
bloodred shadow of the regime of terror a few years later (Mr. Hyde): the Metric System (1793), the pencil (1795), the tins to preserve food (1796).

Much attention in La Villette was given to the "Astronomy, Source of All Science," with the subtitle that accelerates the beating of every libertarian heart: "The royal Channel to Reason." The Hyde-side to this was that the seat of all Royal Reason, the head of Louis XVI, was in that period separated from all "Vital Royal Channels" with one stroke of the guillotine. According to the organizers (and Mr. Hyde), the creation in 1795 of the 'Bureau of Longitudes' was by far the most impressive realization of this discipline!

There was also a special exhibition with focus on education. It appears that education became accessible to all "citoyens" in 1793 and, I quote, "It was neither free nor obligatory:" the parents of the students, together with a number of benefactors, paid enough to maintain and to sustain the schools. High school education for the 12-to-18 year olds also became more accessible by opening one high school in each "department." The students were free to choose their direction and none of them received any government subsidy. Congratulations, Dr. Jekyll!

"La Cité," the abbreviation for "The City of the Sciences and the Industry" is a large building on the premises, a modern steel, aluminum, plastic and glass construction. Many call it "Paris's Second Refinery," together with the Beaubourg/Centre Pompidou that has already existed much longer. I

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Paris vice-mayor Alain Dumait (standing, left foreground) and author Henri Lepage (standing, with beard) were the two principle French organizers of the LI Paris conference. Photo courtesy of Peter Elloway.

Paris LI Con

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myself like this sober, functional style, with pillars supporting something and with air-channels and powerconducts creating an aesthetic that appeals much more to me than printed flowers on walls, plaster grapes or glass cascades of near-to-real crystal. In the book *The Fountainhead* of author and philosopher Ayn Rand, architect Henry Cameron, speaking to the principal character Howard Roark, also an architect, says (the dots are in the text, Cameron is dying): "Watch the light metals industry, Howard ... In a few years ... you'll see them do some astounding things ... Watch the plastics, there's a whole new era ... coming from that ... You'll find new tools, new means, new forms" This was written in 1942! The architectural concept of 'La Cité' is of Dr. Jekyll (Adrien Fainsilber). It was financed by Mr. Hyde (government, of course ...).

In the same 'La Cité,' it is demonstrated how many solutions science has already discovered for the 'coming food-shortage.' Vegetables, potatoes, fruits, grains are grown in containers hanging one above the other, with the same water circulating in a closed circuit, carrying the carefully dosed nutrition substances. Special lamps replace or assist the sunlight. Countries with much sunshine, the Sahara, Sudan, Ethiopia, the Sahel, don't need additional energy. Lightcell panels with a surface equal to the roof are sufficient. Growth is much faster than in the open field and the products are equally wholesome or even more so. An alternative is the irrigation by waterdrops, a method used many years in Israel. The culture in watercontainers with the roots in the open, humidified air are already practiced on industrial scale. Usable and somewhat comparable methods for growing live-stock and fish are in a far stage of development and also much less burdening to the environment than the traditional methods. Note that no ill-treatment of the animals is involved. 'Their rights are respected,' so to say.

The earth too small for too many people? Let them be free, give way to a free market for a judicious and optimum use of raw materials, land, the atmosphere. With as an extra, more happiness in life for many more people. Poverty, environmental pollution, waste of raw materials - they are all problems created directly or indirectly by government intervention. They can't be solved, so much is clear, by still more intervention.

Not the 'rights of animals,' but our own could be studied every morning at the 'Petit Déjeuner'. First I thought it was on request of our Convention-hosts, but as it quickly appeared, they were shown off at the walls of many Paris cafes, restaurants and hotels. It

was the French 'Declaration of the Rights of Man' to which Mr. Hyde had added treacherously 'and the Citizen.' This declaration is dated officially August 20, 21, 23, 24 and 26, 1789. That is after the 'Occupation of the Bastille' on July 14, 1789 but before the First Republic. The document states that it has been approved by Louis XVI - of course while he was still in possession of his head and his full 'Royal Reason.' I suppose that, had he known libertarian principles and had it been possible for him to look into the future, he certainly would have required the explicit confirmation of the fundamental principle that everyone is the owner of his or her own body ... and every part of it!

But let us change the subject. I'm becoming as lugubrious as the Paris publicity directors.

The following is a translation of the 'Introduction' and of the two first articles. Notwithstanding a number of ambiguities, many Libertarians will perhaps think "I've been born 200 years too late!", but as we know now, they have been applied only for a short period and only sporadically, and they have never generated any concordant or consistent demeanor from any government. Said ambiguities certainly were in part responsible, but it also proves that declarations, in themselves, aren't enough. The means to support them must also be created and organized and so balanced that every step beyond the limit can immediately be undone.

Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen

Introduction. The Representatives of the French people, considering the fact that the

ignorance, the fall into oblivion and the disdain of the rights of man, are the only causes of the public mischiefs and of the corruption of governments, have decided to expose in a solemn declaration the natural rights, inalienable and unchallengeable, so that they, ever present to all members of the social corps, will always remind them of their rights and duties, so that the actions taken by the legislative power and those by the executive power can be compared at all times to the purpose of all political institutions and will always help to the preservation of the constitution and the happiness of all.

ART.1. All men are born free and to stay free and equal in rights, all social distinctions can only be founded on public utility.

ART.2. The purpose of all political associations is the preservation of the natural rights of man, which cannot be prescribed; these rights are liberty, property, security and the resistance to oppression.

This Declaration has many more articles and is even longer than the United Nations Declaration of 1948. It contains as well many negatives and contradictions concerning individual liberty, but it also proves, together with the American Declaration of Independence a few years earlier (1776) and some other documents of that same period, that many people understood perfectly the nature of the individual rights and could define the principles of freedom as we Libertarian define and defend them today as the result of an objective and logical reasoning. The ambiguities and contradictions of these different texts are probably the result of a series of compromises made with their allies in the battle against oppression. We can, for example, very easily imagine ourselves that the text proposed originally, could have been as follows:

Declaration of the Rights of Man

Introduction. The natural, inalienable and unchallengeable rights of each man and woman are:

ART.1. Men are born free, born to stay free and they have equal rights.

ART.2. These rights are: liberty, property and the right to self-defense or to organize protection against all forms of fraud or other aggressive violence, even if used only by threat and even if initiated by a government. Aggressive in this context means, taking initiatives. Violence is meant only in the physical sense.

ART.3. Said liberty includes the freedom to join or to refuse to join any social organization, supported or not by a government; it is understood that here also all aggressive means are to be excluded by any party involved.

If freedom was so well understood by at

Paris LI conference attendees, shown here at the closing banquet, appeared to enjoy the cultural aspects of the event (such as the famed French cuisine) as well as the more abstract intellectual ones. Photo by Peter Elloway.



Bon Temps in Paris by AL Special Correspondent

France, the nation of shopkeepers, threw up the street barricades and celebrated the bicentennial of the culture of throwing out government power brokers. This nation, which has debauched its currency with the graven image of a bare breasted heroine of freedom, hosted this year's summer Libertarian International Conference.

Alain Dumait, *Maire* (Mayor) of Paris II District, and Henri Lepage, author of *Tomorrow: Capitalism*, convened 100 global libertarians for one week of political theorizing, networking, and celebrating human rights.

Socializing, a Paris tradition, was a primary objective as L.I. had no business proceedings at this event. European libertarians discussed the coming 1992 United Bureaucracy of Europe and American libertarians defended the "America First If America Pays" defense policy that paranoid Europeans still seem to cringe at. Though some attendees were uncomfortable with the laissez-faire French attitude of the conference, those who were able to flow with the spontaneous Parisian atmosphere had a *bon temps* in *liberté, égalité, and fraternité*. ■

least a number of influential men, how come, the question must be asked, everything went so profoundly wrong? Was it their acceptance of the compromises? Undoubtedly this is not a minor factor. Nevertheless the question remains: "Why has there never and nowhere been even one society, or call it a state, organized without any compromise?" Do we libertarians defend a system that is not applicable in practice, or not viable, or even impossible? This certainly cannot be deducted logically from our propositions. On the contrary, we can see in all argumentations, leading to any non-free situation, errors against logic and reality.

At the convention in his workshop, Henry M. Holzer, once Ayn Rand's lawyer, put himself to that same question. He also gave an answer: "The solution is to teach, to teach, and again to teach!" A participant, Michael van Notten, gave another answer. For him the solution was 'to demonopolize' the power of government. Probably he meant the system proposed by Murray Rothbard of competing protection agencies, active in a free market context. (In his own workshop, Van Notten has announced a new 'Declaration of the Rights of Man' the subject of a study to be published.)

None of the proposed methods are in conflict with each other and they give testimony to the fact that optimism still prevails. The best way for us is then to continue exactly what we are doing, that is 'to teach' in the sense of writing articles, pamphlets, newsletters, books, to give lectures, to organize conventions - while awaiting or while pursuing enough political influence to get changes through of the system itself.

To conclude, I go back to Mitterandia, as somebody on the Dutch television called France, and the celebration of 'le 14 juillet' in a thundering 'Marseillaise,' the French national anthem, sung by the American singer Jessye Norman on the Place de la Concorde with its enormous Champs-Élysées, for and with a public estimated at nearly one million. The refrain was repeated over and over and over again:

Aux Armes Citoyens,
Formez vos bataillons,
Marchons, marchons,
Qu'un sang impur,
Abreuve nos sillons.

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Libertarian Outlook

Free Jimmy Stevens!

The Republic of Vanuatu is located about as far from things as you can get. This fledgling nation (formerly the New Hebrides) became sovereign during the Jimmy Carter era and has subsequently been ruled by a pro-communist indigenous nationalist dictator.

As reported elsewhere in this issue, when this country was becoming independent, a local leader - Jimmy Stevens - attempted a short-lived rebellion against the national government in opposition to the statist, pro-marxist ruling elite which grabbed the reins of power during the transition. Stevens had been backed by a number of libertarians, some of whom wanted to use Steven's Na-Griamel movement as a base for a new libertarian country project. Stevens himself was said to be strongly influenced by these libertarian supporters and their ideas, and appeared to represent the pro-market, pro-western, pro-individual liberty sentiment of a significant portion of the Vanuatu population.

Naturally, the U.S. State Department (along with other major powers involved) opposed Stevens and encouraged the sending of French supported troops to put down Steven's putative libertarian rebellion. As Greg Kaza documents in his story, the U.S. government ended up backing the pro-statist Walter Lini government and actively discouraged libertarians attempting to help Stevens and his followers.

Faced with outside interference and troops, Stevens' would-be non-violent libertarian succession movement quickly crumbled. He was imprisoned and remains jailed to this day.

This incredible blundering by the U.S. government resulted in the crushing of the most pro-liberty third world independence movement in history, during the much vaunted "human rights" era of Carterite foreign policy.

As a result, the current Vanuatu government is a typical third world socialist dictatorship, playing off the "west" against the "east" for foreign aid. Meanwhile, Jimmy Stevens continues to rot in jail.

A "kinder and gentler" Bush administration would do well to reverse the outcome of the Carter regime's policy and exert pressure to release Jimmy Stevens from prison. Libertarians should not forget this man, who lives in the remotest of places, who is still being punished for pursuing the noblest of causes - human liberty. ■

"Performance Team" Watch

It's been eleven months since David Walter has been chair of the Libertarian Party and nearly two months since his much ballyhooed "Performance Team" won virtually every leadership position in the top ranks of the LP.

However, if recent reports are any indication, Walter's Performance Team in action seems like the same old bunch of clowns which has been running America's "third largest political party" into the ground for the past few years.

Immediately on the heels of Walter's convention victory came the report from the LP's new auditor that there is now "nothing to audit" since the party's financial accounting data base was apparently wiped out in

mid-September. Something about an unsuccessful attempt to back up the computer data. Seems like the previous "back up" copies didn't work either.

The solution? Fire the previous bookkeeper, who's being blamed for the mess, and hire the LP treasurer's wife on a part time basis. Meanwhile, the LP national director has been working overtime manually re-entering every accounting transaction since the first of the year. If they're lucky, new LP financial statements will be ready just in time to prepare next year's budget. Hmmm ...

But the true benchmark of "performance" is still the party membership cards. You remember, those things the Republicans keep sending you in their direct mail fundraising letters. It seems that the LP hasn't sent out any of their own membership cards since November 1987, when they still operated out of the Houston office. Of course, they spent nearly \$3,000 on new computerized card stock in 1988, and then membership chair Matt Monroe paid a computer consultant in early 1989 to check out the LP's own software to make sure the card producing system still worked. (It checked out fine.) So what's the problem?

Inquiring minds have been told that LP membership cards "are a low priority," despite the fact that they are one of the few tangible benefits of party membership.

If and when the national LP begins to produce timely financial statements and membership cards again, we'll know that Walter's "Performance Team" has managed to catch up to the LP's 1987 level of performance, the last time these two simple things were done correctly. We'll be waiting. ■

Guest Column: Betrayal of Principle

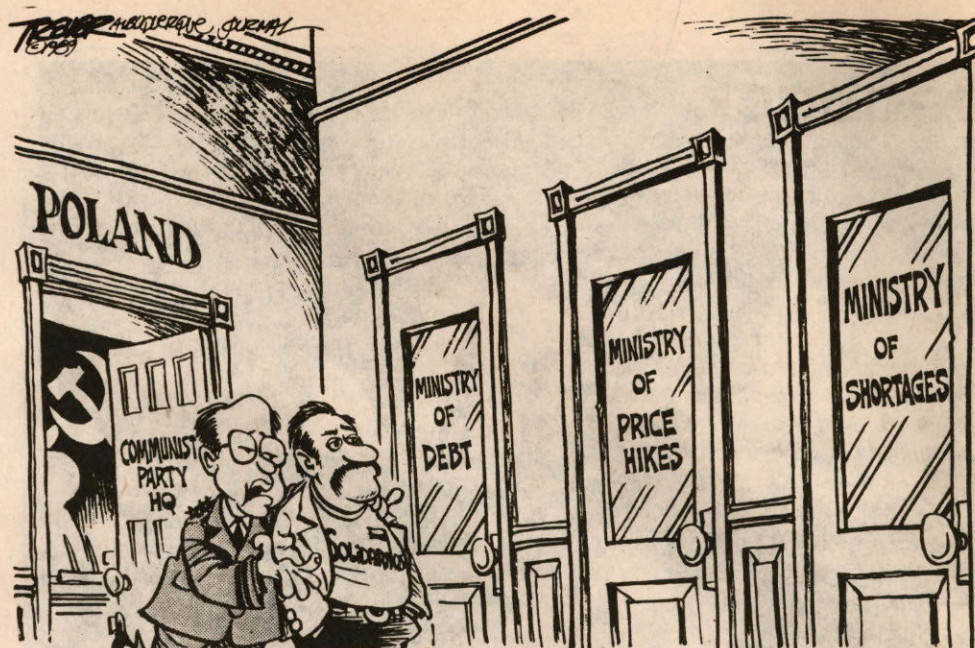
by Tibor Machan

Tibor Machan is a well known libertarian philosopher who teaches at Auburn University in Alabama. He also edits the Reason Papers journal.

We all know about the "L" word. It is "liberal" and it has figured prominently in the 1988 presidential campaign. "Liberal" for the Democrats means "have the government liberate us from our problems."

But of course "liberal" did not always mean this. A collection of intellectuals purchased space in various daily newspapers shortly before the end of the 1988 election campaign, insisting that what they want is to "reaffirm America's liberal tradition." They claimed that "liberal" means what the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights say to us, namely, "freedom of the individual." They lamented "that the President of the United States has taken the lead in vilifying one of our oldest traditions ... made sport of 'the dreaded L-word' and continues to make 'liberal' and 'liberalism' terms of opprobrium."

Among these fine figures of academe were found such notables as Kenneth J. Arrow, the Nobel Prize winning economist from Stanford University, Daniel Bell of Harvard University, Derek Bok, Harvard's president, Donald Kennedy, Stanford's president, James Tobin, the Nobel Prize winning econo-



"IT'S A DEAL, THEN - WE KEEP THE MINISTRIES OF DEFENSE AND POLICE, AND YOU GET TO BE IN CHARGE OF EVERYTHING ELSE..."

mist from Yale, and many more. This is an impressive lot. How could a mere U.S. President with the educational background of Ronald Reagan defend himself from charges leveled by them?

Well, not with great difficulty, actually. There is pure and simple equivocation going on here. It is true that at one time "liberal" was used to mean "favoring freedom from oppression, regimentation, enslavement, coercion." Among liberal institutions were the free marketplace, civil liberties, due process of law, the rule of law, absence of prior restraint in dealing with crime, etc., etc. Indeed, all these characterize the distinctive American political tradition. The Declaration of Independence does refer to "unalienable rights ... to Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." And the Bill of Rights also alludes to several of these rights, including the right to free speech, freedom of religion, freedom of assembly, and private property.

But it is sheer deception to maintain that when Ronald Reagan or George Bush refer to the L-word, and when Democrats are characterized as liberals, the term is being used in the sense that we rightly associate with the American political tradition. The signers of the Declaration, which was entitled "A Reaffirmation of Principle," gave a clear clue to their awareness of this fact when they referred to the freedom of individuals as meaning the effort "to attain their fullest development." In fact, in the original American tradition of liberalism, no one had any right or freedom to attain anything at all - they had the right to pursue various objectives of their own choice. This means that even if men and women chose to pursue less than their fullest development, even perhaps their own downfalls, they were to be left free from other people's intrusions.

Indeed, what "liberal" means for the august body which signed the newspaper ad has little to do with classical liberalism, which motivated the Founding Fathers and the framers. Rather, these folks are taking their "liberalism" from the socialist Karl Marx, for whom to be "liberated" meant exactly for everyone to "attain his fullest development."

But that kind of "liberation" requires crushing the liberties prized by the American tradition. That kind of liberation means enslaving all so as to help all, with the government being the firm administrator of the "help" deemed appropriate.

In a recent PBS broadcast one heard a no-holds-barred statement from 1988 Democratic Party presidential candidate Mike Dukakis to just this effect. He said, without any hedging, that "Government must do something, not simply stand by the sidelines. The free market does not work!" That is a clear com-

mitment to the kind of liberalism that Europeans call socialism! It means that the government is not the adjudicator of disputes, but instead is the goal setter for all the people in society.

Modern socialist and fascist liberals are making every effort to deceive the American public into thinking that liberal - as used by many Democrats and their left-leaning friends - means what liberty means in the context of the unique American political tradition. Far from it. Liberal now means using government to solve all problems, even if it means the crushing of all genuine, bona fide individual rights and liberties. ■

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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.

Contra Ben Harrison

Re: "LP RIP" (Feedback, September 1989 AL) by Ben Harrison of Washington, DC. Ben, you did the right thing by re-joining the Republican Party, where you obviously belong. By the way, why don't you take a few of the other aging Bircher misfits with you?

Perhaps you would feel better about the LP if everyone took a drug test. Or how about a background check to see if they attend church, ever had long hair, or, God forbid, were at Woodstock?

The LP has a lot of shortcomings, but it's the only show in town if you care about real liberty, not just your own personal version.

Bill Loika

Deep River, CT

LP Achievements

I'm writing in response to the letter of Ben Harrison, in the September issue. Mr Harrison said "What has the Libertarian Party achieved?"

The LP has achieved a great deal in the

fight for political freedom. The party has won victories in court against laws which tried to restrict the freedom to engage in politics. Specifically, Libertarian efforts have struck down these laws:

1. Laws forbidding political parties from organizing themselves as they wish;
2. Laws forbidding political parties from endorsing candidates;
3. Laws which forbid anyone to pay someone else to circulate a petition;
4. Laws making it very difficult for a new party to get on the ballot (specifically, in Alaska, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Kansas, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Nevada, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, West Virginia & Wyoming).

Although not all ballot access problems have disappeared in those states, important improvements were made due to Libertarian Party efforts.

Richard Winger
San Francisco, CA

Sad But True

Murray Rothbard's "Luftmenschen" piece (AL, 9/89) disturbed me as a revelation of the sad truth. Another sad truth is even more disturbing to many libertarians: politics is a mean, dirty game of power and ego.

Matt Monroe was a thoroughly competent, experienced, and honorable candidate for Libertarian Party national chair. He was also thoroughly trounced and trashed because nice, smart, capable libertarians are still unable or unwilling to accept the usually dirty power of political action.

Peter Elloway
Houston, TX ■



McMinnville, Oregon school board member Jo McIntyre.

of that material." When it came, all I found was opinion and hearsay to support the position. Opinion: "I used calculators in my class and we all liked it." Hearsay: "In a survey of 100 studies, 40 dealt with calculators and in 19 of those students did as well or better with calculators, in 2 cases they did worse, and in 19 there was no difference." No studies, just summaries of reports on studies.

Ultimately, I didn't go to battle on the issue of math instruction. After a year on the board, I have learned there is little support for delving into the content of what is taught or how it is taught. The only acceptable objection to a proposal is that it is too expensive. Bureaucrats then simply scale back their intentionally-inflated request and get just what they wanted all along.

Stalking the Elusive Fact

If I sound disillusioned, it is because I am.

But this does remind me of a rule I learned as a reporter, and is even more valuable for elected people. *Always Ask for Original Supporting Material.* You will be amazed at how often the material does not, in fact, support the position the bureaucrat is taking. On occasion, it doesn't even exist.

Nowhere is this rule more important than in looking at the numbers that drive budgets. In the case of schools, those number are enrollment figures. Elsewhere in government the numbers are population, poor people, sick people, criminals (or crime), and so on.

In no other realm is reality so elastic as in school enrollment figures. I will leave to the reader's imagination the struggles I have been going through to try to rein in district administrators' enrollment reports and projections.

In summary, I have had a few successes, and lots of failures; more support than I expected from fellow board members, and less willingness to face the fundamentals than I had hoped for.

The biggest challenge has been not to get too depressed about the failures, nor too elated about the successes. ■

Notable Quotes



Government Schools As We Remember Them

"High schools are now almost the functional equivalent of prisons, insofar as protections set forth in the Bill of Rights are concerned."

Federal Judge William Wayne Justice in a June 3 speech to the Freedom of Information Foundation annual conference in San Antonio, TX. Roy Bragg, *Houston Chronicle*. ■

Surviving Election:

My Life on the School Board

by Jo McIntyre

Jo McIntyre is an Oregon-based journalist who currently edits the *Oregon Libertarian*. She was elected to the McMinnville School District Board of Directors in March 1988.

It's kind of like having a baby. All the books tell you how to deal with pregnancy and childbirth, but very few mention what to do after the baby actually gets there. There is lots of advice about how to get elected, but very little information on what it is like after you win.

One year after being elected to the local school board for a district of 3,800 students, I am ready to furnish a little of that information.

The seven-member, unpaid, non-partisan board governs an independent district, whose sole purpose is to provide educational opportunity for every school-age child within that district. That means that, though the district is affected by state law, board members report to no one except the voters. My fellow board members were wary of me, a known Libertarian, when I first joined the board. But once they found we shared some common goals - economical operation of the district and good basic education, they became as willing to listen to me as I am willing to listen to them.

Confrontations

There have been confrontations: an early one involved a trip to New York. Administrators wanted to fly there with the board chair and some bond advisors to talk to a bond rating agency. It was going to cost taxpayers some \$4,000 for four days in The Big Apple.

After expressing my opposition and giving out copies of information I had collected from local bond experts indicating that such a trip was pointless, the vote was 4 to 3 to allow it. After waiting a few minutes, I made another attempt.

"I urge one of you who voted in favor of this trip to move to bring the issue back on the table," I said.

"Oh, all right, I so move," said the board chairman, who had said he would never go on the trip, but had voted for it anyway. He got a second. All eyes turned to me.

I said the school district had a credibility problem which was just now being solved. I noted that local voters had extremely long memories.

"This is something they won't forget for a long, long time," I said. Finally, one board member changed his mind, changing the vote to 4 to 3 **against** the trip.

I relate this incident in detail because it illustrates several points about what it takes to succeed as a Libertarian in any elected position: guts, determination and detailed knowledge about the topic at hand.

Knowledge Is Power

Unfortunately, detailed knowledge is also the rock on which the ship of principle founders. It is impossible to have the necessary detailed knowledge about every issue that comes before you to be able to defend your position.

On the other hand, detailed information is a weapon in the hands of a skilled bureaucrat. Board members and community advisory committee members are routinely bombarded with piles of statistics, budget figures, and educational jargon.

If you actually succeed in reading everything you've sent you find there is very little real information in it. Let's look at an example involving math instruction and calculators.

"There are 100 studies which support use of calculators in math instruction," a state department of education bureaucrat had told me on the phone.

I immediately said, "Please send me a copy

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Vernon

From page 1

resolution to merely "study" the idea of relocating the San Jose CLP office - and the money it was costing the state party to both pay for the \$1,950, per month office manager position as well as to pay for an equally costly CLP Field Coordinator position recently contracted to 1984 LP vice presidential candidate Jim Lewis (see "Lewis Hired by California LP," July 1989 AL).

This financial crunch began to get serious in mid-summer as the CLP's entire budget is approximately \$60,000 - \$70,000, although the Lewis coordinator post was supposed to be separately funded by a dedicated pledge program apart from other CLP expenses. However, personality and political disputes between CLP activists Steve Alexander, CLP finance chair Mark Hinkle, and Sapowsky-Smith had seriously hurt fundraising, since both Hinkle and Alexander had effectively resigned after saying they could no longer work with Sapowsky-Smith.

Sapowsky-Smith, on the other hand, maintained that she regularly offered to resign at ExComm meetings if the leadership was unhappy with her performance, while admitting that she was "not a people person" who necessarily worked smoothly with everyone. But even her detractors gave her credit for dedication and hard work, and she had been active in the CLP for many years, with the longest tenure of anyone on the CLP ExComm. Additionally, she also served on the national LP's National Committee for the past two years and remains the first alternate NatCom regional representative as a result of downsizing that body.

However, it became obvious that she didn't approve of Vernon's commitment to hire Lewis last May, several months after Lewis was released from his sentence in federal prison for "willful failure to file" three years worth of income tax returns. Vernon contends that Sapowsky-Smith became insubordinate and viewed Lewis as a threat to her continued role as office manager, while her supporters maintained that Vernon had over-

committed the CLP financially to the Lewis project without ExComm authorization and that party funds were rapidly being depleted. Both sides agreed that finances were increasingly shaky, but Vernon's argument was that office management overhead should be cut rather than Lewis's outreach oriented project.

Politics, Telephones and Resolutions

Against a backdrop of charges and counter charges by Vernon of sabotage and insubordination and high-handed power grabs by Sapowsky-Smith, in mid-August Vernon finally hand delivered a termination letter to Sapowsky-Smith at the San Jose headquarters, only to be met by a delegation of a dozen Sapowsky-Smith supporters.

They argued that the late July ExComm resolution postponing any decision to relocate the CLP headquarters until a task force study was completed on November 4 also precluded Vernon from making any staff changes. Vernon later admitted that the headquarters relocation move was in part designed to ease out Sapowsky-Smith without a bloodbath. He wanted the headquarters moved to southern California nearer to him and most of the other officers, while Sapowsky-Smith is based in the San Francisco Bay area. Her supporters contended that the resolution postponing any hq move also precluded any firing - in part buttressed by a point of order ruling in answer to this very question right before the ExComm resolution was voted upon - whereas Vernon said that the resolution did not specifically address staff changes and that nothing prevented him from taking action.

A special LP Judicial Committee meeting was convened during the Philadelphia LP national convention, but they failed to resolve the matter. Meanwhile Vernon changed the locks at the San Jose hq and barred Sapowsky-Smith and supporters from entry. He also contended that she improperly removed the CLP data base from the computer which was later restored by Vernon supporters. Sapowsky-Smith said the data was being stored off site to "prevent the IRS from obtaining it" and that much of the data base software was copyrighted by her associates,

making Vernon guilty of theft.

Meanwhile, right before he took possession of the San Jose office, Vernon objected to being put on the hq speakerphone and being recorded by Sapowsky-Smith in his phone calls to her. He reportedly shouted and cursed at her at one point, telling her to stop recording him, and she later refused to take his calls at all. While taking possession of the office, Vernon filed illegal telephone recording charges against her with the San Jose police department. Even this is disputed, since Sapowsky-Smith maintains that the specific law Vernon cited in his complaint was repealed and that he knew and implicitly consented to her recording of him in any event.

National Politics and The Gordanian Knot

As charges and counter charges flew, and mailboxes began to bulge with letters, memos and documents to ExComm members and others about the increasingly bitter and complicated battle, the national LP convention interrupted the feud at the end of August.

Both Vernon and Sapowsky-Smith were backing eventual national LP chair winner David Walter, but Sapowsky-Smith was more or less dumped from his so-called "Performance Team" slate by Walter in the wake of this controversy. This purported betrayal further angered her, though it was obvious that Walter needed the support of the largest state LP delegation chair at the convention

more than he needed her support, particularly since Sapowsky-Smith had historically supported former LP chair Jim Turney in his many battles with the Berglandista NatCom forces who were the major backers of Walter's candidacy.

But this tangled Gordian knot was finally cut with the one-vote ExComm victory for Vernon, and the body also later voted to allow CLP finance chair Mark Hinkle to contract with a professional telephone fundraising firm to restore party cash flow. Meanwhile, Vernon has backed a headquarters relocation to an attractive Orange County (LA area) site, which will have to wait until the November 4 ExComm meeting for final approval. In the meantime the landlord posted the CLP San Jose office for eviction - which may or may not be related to the foregoing political dispute - and the party will be out on the street, at least temporarily, until a new office is secured. Volunteers will be taking over in the interim, sources indicate.

Vernon is pleased with the narrow victory while Sapowsky-Smith is reportedly very unhappy, despite her moral victory in the censure motion.

For many outside observers, the entire episode is another object lesson in why merely slapping the label "Libertarian" on a political party doesn't automatically end the usual political wrangling over power, money and personality in such organizations. ■

The Atlas Model Ideas for a Better World

by Richard A. Cooper

Richard Cooper is a frequent contributor to libertarian and other publications.

Spanning the globe with its efforts, the Atlas Economic Research Foundation promotes free market ideas and research. The San Francisco based group is affiliated with the Institute for Humane Studies at George Mason University in Virginia. Atlas fosters the creation of independent, non-political think tanks devoted to public policy research with a free market perspective. Atlas also shows these independent institutes how best to communicate their findings. I recently attended a workshop for affiliates held near Washington.

The prime mover behind Atlas was Sir Antony Fisher, who pioneered independent free market research institutes with the Institute for Economic Affairs (IEA) in London. IEA, led by Sir Antony and Lord Harris of High Cross (the Lordship was an honor in recognition of his work with IEA), proved instrumental in reviving free market ideas in Great Britain and paving the way for the "Thatcher Revolution."

The guiding principles of IEA, and later of the Atlas Economic Research Foundation, have been to be aloof from partisan politics of any kind; to avoid being captive to any industry, firm, or economic group interest; and to be topical in its concerns while scholarly in quality. Moreover, IEA and the Atlas message to would-be emulators is to "Subject the research to expert analysis, then publish the conclusions in language which can be understood by educated laymen as well as students." The late Sir Antony Fisher founded Atlas to bring the same proven technique to the benefit of the world's people.

The recent Atlas workshop gathered together people active with institutes and foundations from Argentina, Australia, Canada, Belize, Ghana, New Zealand, El Salvador, Brazil, France, Austria, Panama, Spain, Mexico, Guatemala, Hong Kong, and the United States. Programs covered topics



L-R: Luis Reig (translator of Ludwig von Mises for Union Editorial, Spain) with Elio Scotti (Western Books Foundation-USA) at Atlas Foundation Workshop.

such as computers, graphics, magazine publishing, press relations, and communication of ideas.

Atlas as an organization has an international flavor. Its president is from Great Britain (John Blundell) and its Director of Advisory Services (Alejandro Chafuen) is from Argentina.

I learned some interesting tidbits from participants: that Paraguay exports more than it produces because people smuggle from Brazil and Argentina; that in Austria all state industry jobs are shared between the two political parties; and that none of the major "think" magazines in this country runs at a profit.

Charles Mensah, a graduate student of economics at George Mason University, is trying to set up an IEA Ghana with help from Atlas. He told me that he was a chicken farmer in Ghana, came here to study, drove a cab, and was saved from Marxism by studying with Walter Williams at George

Continued page 7

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Atlas Workshop: from L-R: H. S. Snaith (David Hume Institute, Scotland); Richard Wong, (Hong Kong Centre for Economic Research), Alejandro Chafuen (director of Advisory Services, Atlas).

Atlas Model

From page 6
Mason.

Jeanne Bardeau and G. Pons represented the Foundation De La Liberté in France. Also known as *Libertés Services SA*, this is engaged in some interesting endeavors. *Libertés Services SA* does not function as a charitable organization like the other groups at the Atlas Workshop, but is organized as a for-profit company. *Libertés Services SA* bills itself as a service group for entrepreneurs of liberty. They offer to provide legal assistance for deregulation; they offer communications services in order to promote free market ideas using modern ("American style") techniques such as direct marketing. They have a syndicated radio program and special reports called "*Les Cahiers de la liberté*." *Libertés Services* is willing to help foreign firms fight the legal obstacles to entering the French market.

Miguel Araujo of FUSADES is trying to bring some good news out of El Salvador by promoting economic development, while Argentine-born Elio Scotti has begun the New York-based Western Books Foundation to bring free market classics in Spanish to Latin America.

Robert Woodson of the National Center

for Neighborhood Enterprise spoke eloquently on the defects of the American approach to welfare and how it supports failure. He faulted conservatives for not paying heed to the lack of information available to the poor, and damned liberals for their elitist belief that the poor are stupid. He took to task another speaker who seemed to desire a "conservative welfare state" (my term), using public assistance to promote "good" values.

Space does not permit mention of all the fine people and talks given at the Atlas workshop. Clearly, there are some signs of hope that the world can be changed for the better. Although some tension was evident between conservatives and libertarians at the workshop, the participants could see the benefits of learning from experience to put the tools to work to show "the blessings of liberty."

In a world of poverty and conflicts worsened by statist economic policies, the Atlas Economic Research Foundation has helped light what Atlas associate Hernando de Soto of Peru calls "the other path" - the free market. Those who wish to help this work can contribute to: **Atlas Economic Research Foundation, 220 Montgomery Street, Suite 1063, San Francisco, CA 94104.**

"Mises University" a Success

by G.F. Knob

G.F. Knob is the *American Libertarian* Northern California correspondent.

"I never thought it would be possible, putting something together like this," said Richard Hite, graduate student in economics at Virginia Polytechnic. "Intellectually, it was a great success. It aimed at all levels of Austrian economics and hit the bull's eye every time."

"This has to be one of the greatest events of its kind in the history of Austrian economics," said William Laffer, graduate student in economics at George Mason University.

Neither of these gentlemen are given to hyperbole. Such statements were not unusual among the participants in the "Mises University," the Ludwig von Mises Institute's summer instructional conference held at Stanford University, July 8-15, 1989. They are the expressed sentiments of nearly all those who took part.

For three years, the Mises Institute has sponsored these summer instructional seminars in economics for undergraduates, graduate students, professors, and professionals to learn about Austrian economics. The past two years, the introductory and advanced conferences have been separate. This year, however, the Institute integrated them so the students could have the benefit of interacting with others. Four separate classes were being conducted at all times, and on three levels of

advancement instead of two.

"The introductory classes were just that, the middle-level built on and applied Austrian theory, and the advanced level assumed a strong economic background and wide familiarity with Austrian thought," said Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr., the Institute's president. (Austrian economics - associated with the names Mises, Hayek, Rothbard, and Kirzner - is widely regarded as the most free market, and therefore the most libertarian, of all schools of economic thought.)

Some 147 students and faculty from all over the world assembled for the week-long instructional seminar. According to Patricia Heckman, the Institute's vice-president for conferences, their offices were deluged with more than 450 applications.

The line-up of professors attraction. There were thirteen in all, forming what Professor Murray N. Rothbard called "the greatest concentration of Austrian scholars to be assembled since old Vienna." (see box)

Rothbard was the "Dean" of the "Mises University." He delivered two extra papers to begin and end the conference. The first was on the importance of Austrian method and the second was an upbeat look at what Austrian economics holds for the future. During the week, he spoke on his continuing work on the history of thought, and on banking theory.

But how could all this - 147 students and

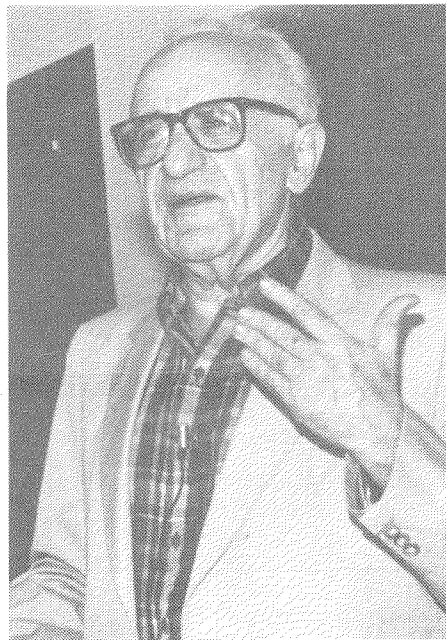
faculty, two group lectures, 50 classes, 110 sessions, 25 discussion groups, five social hours, and one barbecue - have taken place in one week, without a single significant slip up?

"Structure," answers Ms. Heckman. "The key is to develop a system, make sure everyone knows where to go, and then let the system run itself."

And run it did - like a clock. From 9:00 am to 6:00 pm, students scurried from class to class, with only fifteen minutes between them. It was barely enough time for students to complete their notes and argue some academic point with a classmate. Then off they were to their next class. Discussion groups continued from 8:30 pm to 10:00 pm. The pace was quick, which gave the week momentum.

Of the fifty classes, each student took twenty-eight. And since the classes were grouped according to level of advancement, students could pattern their schedule for the week to meet their own academic interests.

"I've been to many conferences in my academic career, but this one was the best," noted Professor Joe Salerno. "Nothing compared with this one - in the range of courses, in the integration between courses, and in the overall University atmosphere."



Economist Murray N. Rothbard of the University of Nevada-Las Vegas was Dean of the "Mises University".

The Mises University is a bold concept in another respect - it attempts to build scholars in Austrian economics over the long term. This may not sound controversial, but it is a departure from past strategies. Traditional instructional conferences have been intended as little more than one-shot inoculations against the more mechanistic aspects of neo-classical theory. But this strategy doesn't add to those who call themselves Austrians because it really isn't intended to.

The Mises Institute recognized that no university offers what the Austrian school most needs - systematic and extended training in all levels of Austrian thought and in a wide range of fields. The Mises Institute provides that. "Good students are encouraged to come back again. We want to provide extended University-like training," said Ms. Heckman.

The academic side of the conference seemed to revolve around two themes: the rebirth of the praxeological method and the necessity of pushing out the frontiers of Austrian analysis. In his first lecture, Rothbard illustrated the point. He argued that Austrian economics got off track when it tried to consider pieces of the system (say, business-cycle theory) apart from a grounding in the logic of human action. The attraction of Austrian economics comes partially from its internal consistency.

Without the roots, the branches wilt. The paradox is this (to dump the analogy, thank God): with a firm grounding in the proper method of economics, Austrian economics can expand its current station. It can look more carefully at financial markets, monetary theory, economic calculation, ethics, and historical application. In doing so, Rothbard argued, the school will expand intellectually and also grow in numbers.

There were other highlights. Debra Walker, the youngest member of the faculty, had some tough topics, but students evaluated her very highly. Mark Skousen revealed himself to be a learned and careful scholar, knowing more than anybody in the world about the Austrian model of structure of production. Jeffrey Herbener is fast developing a reputation as one of the finest teachers of Austrian thought anywhere to be found (he is also a hard-core libertarian activist). Sheldon Richman's writing classes helped students realize their responsibility to be understood. And David Gordon - beloved of all the students - was one of the most brilliant mind most students will ever be around, and so became the subject of continuing amazement. He also knows a few good jokes (and more bad ones).

What about next year? "The 'Mises University' is going to get bigger and better, and with even more opportunities for learning," says Mr. Rockwell.

Given the current size of the waiting list, it is clear that the Institute cannot entirely accommodate the growing demand for its programs. But for those who made it into this year's "Mises University," they had, as one student put it, "the intellectual experience of a lifetime." ■

"Mises U." Faculty

Here are the "Ludwig von Mises University" professors and their subjects:

Murray N. Rothbard of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, and "Dean" of the conference; (history of thought, banking, keynote, and final address);

Robert Batemarco of Marymount College (macro theory, financial markets, futures);

Walter Block of the Fraser Institute (neoclassical theory, interventionism, privatization);

Williamson Evers of the Hoover Institution (theory and history, classical liberalism, East Bloc economic reforms);

Roger Garrison of Auburn University (capital and interest theory, trade cycle theory, recent macro controversies);

David Gordon of the Mises Institute (all aspects of philosophy, methodology, Marxism);

Jeffrey Herbener of Washington and Jefferson College (micro I and II, mathematics, bureaucratic management);

Hans-Hermann Hoppe of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas (praxeology, property rights, imperialism);

Sheldon Richman of the Institute for Human Studies (writing and Austrian economics, international trade);

Joseph Salerno of Pace University (international monetary economics, economic calculation);

George Selgin formerly of Hong Kong University (macroeconomic policy, banking, entrepreneurship);

Mark Skousen of Rollins College and *Forecasts and Strategies* (structure of production, economic forecasting, gold standard);

Deborah Walker of Loyola University (industrial organization, monopoly, history of thought, the firm). ■

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Paris LI Con

From page 3

Take up your Arms, Citizens,
Form your battalions,
Let us march, let us march,
In order that unclean blood,
May quench our thirsty ditches.

The principle that the blood of some people is "unclean" has clearly not been invented by Adolf Hitler and it being shed "to quench our thirsty ditches" makes no real difference with it being destroyed in gas chambers. Neither does the fact that the blood of the nearly 1,200 heads tumbled during the 13 months of the terror regime of 1793/1794, flowed in Paris gutters and not landed in Hitler's mass graves. And if we consider the principle only, there is no more difference between 1,200 murders being committed than 6,000,000.

Of course, those who live by the sword will perish by the sword. I know and I agree. But this happened in name of the rights of man, proclaimed a few years earlier and approved by most of the decapitated men, including Louis XVI. On the other hand, I don't think libertarian ideas can win by force. Its philosophy and its social structure are based on reason and mutual consent. I don't think that such a society can exist if it is not supported by a large part of the men and women of that society. No tyranny can exist a long time if most of the population is against it. Who said that people have the government they deserve?

But all that is past and history. Important are only the present and the future, and that that only a few determined and convinced French Libertarians have succeeded, with very limited means, very little time available and very high financial risks, not only to organize a convention of a very high intellectual level but also to initiate some novelties: is was the first convention with simultaneous translation and it was the cheapest convention - for the participants - since the series of International and European Conventions started in Zurich in 1982.

Much diversity was offered also, with a visit to the Paris 'Hotel de Ville,' (the Town Hall), where we were admitted the day before mayor Jacques Chirac would receive Philippine President Cory Aquino: on a platform three thrones fit for Their Highnesses, facing about a thousand gilded chairs for the guests, all in the style of the Second Empire, or was it Louis XVI! We enjoyed also two receptions and buffet at the Town Hall of the 'II° Arrondissement' and a presentation of the film - recovered and restored by Henry and Erica Holzer - produced in 1942 in Italy without the authorization or even the knowledge of the author of the novel which was the theme of the picture: 'NOI VIVI' or 'We The Living' of Ayn Rand. A European premiere, as far as I know. Last but certainly not least, they offered us the occasion to meet once again our many foreign friends so that we could assure ourselves of the fact that we do not stand so much alone as we think, sometimes, in our own surroundings. My thanks and appreciation to the organizers. ■



Charley Bates, a Human Resources Manager for Godfather's Pizza, will become one of the nation's most recent elected Libertarians effective in November. Bates, a Libertarian Party member since 1974, is running unopposed for the Sammamish Community Council, a five-member body elected on a non-partisan basis that deals primarily with land use issues in the Bellevue, WA area. Bates is active in the scouting movement and is well known for his steady stream of letters-to-the-editor on libertarian topics.

Prometheus Award Finalists Chosen

Penfield, NY - Members of the Libertarian Futurist Society have chosen five novels each for their 1989 Prometheus Award and Hall of Fame award.

The finalists for the eighth annual Prometheus Award are **Brightsuit MacBear** by L. Neil Smith, **David's Sling** by Marc Stigler, **Falling Free** by Lois McMaster Bujold, **Final Circuit** by Melinda Snodgrass, and **Moon of Ice** by Brad Linaweaver.

Hall of Fame finalists are J. Neil Schulman's **Alongside Night**, Ursula K. LeGuin's **The Dispossessed**, Ken Kesey's **One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest**, We by Yevgeny Zamyatin, and Ayn Rand's **We the Living**.

The awards were presented at a special ceremony at the 1989 Science Fiction Worldcon in Boston on September 2.

The Prometheus Award is given to books published in the previous year. Previous winners have included **Voyage from Yesterday**, by James P. Hogan, and **Marooned in Realtime**, by Vernor Vinge.

Hall of Fame nominees must have been published at least five years before the award year. Previous winners have included Robert A. Heinlein's **The Moon is a Harsh Mistress**, Ray Bradbury's **Fahrenheit 451**, and 1984 by George Orwell.

Additional information may be obtained from Victoria Varge (716) 248-3112, or at: **The Libertarian Futurist Society, 89 Gebhardt Road, Penfield NY 145265.** ■

Schmerl Campaigns in Tucson

Tucson, AZ - Third year University of Arizona law student and chair of the Pima County LP Peter Schmerl is running a serious two-way race for a seat on the Tucson City Council, according to Arizona LP sources.

Schmerl, long active in the Arizona LP, changed focus from an educational campaign to a run-to-win strategy after the Republican hopeful pulled out of the race at the last minute. Schmerl now faces George Miller, the Democratic incumbent, for the November 7 contest.

Furthermore, the incumbent is running on a single theme platform - banning pit bulls from the city - while Schmerl is concentrating on serious issues such as reducing city spending, privatizing local services and eliminating the city's campaign matching fund program.

Local Republicans, including the Tucson chapter of Young Republicans and precinct representatives from both parties, along with local Libertarian Party members, have all offered to aid Schmerl's effort. And the local pit bull coalition, always a formidable opponent in the dog-eat-dog world of local politics, has come out with an endorsement of Schmerl's candidacy.

For more information or to send contributions, contact: **Schmerl for City Council, P.O. Box 11, Tucson, AZ 85702.** ■

Lib Buckingham Places Seventh

Ft. Worth, TX - Four Democrats, three Republicans, and one Libertarian vied in the recent special election to fill the District 12 seat of former U.S. House Speaker Jim Wright (Fort Worth, Texas). Only 20% of registered voters turned out for the August 12 election, in which Libertarian Robert Buckingham, Jr., age 31, placed seventh.

In the 45 days of the campaign, Buckingham conducted a petition drive, raised \$6,000, ran radio spots 43 times and "gained unprecedented, positive exposure for a Libertarian Party candidate in Texas," according to campaign manager Joe Barnett.

"Partly because this was an eight candidate race," said Barnett, "the media gave balanced coverage to all the candidates. But Robert and his libertarian views stood out from the crowd because he was both articulate and likeable. Also, we had excellent relations with the media because of the work of our full-time media coordinator, Karleen Medaris."

As evidence of positive publicity, Barnett cites a candidate forum before several hundred voters. "The loudest and most sustained applause of the evening was for his call to cut \$200 billion from the defense budget by having Japan and Western Europe pay for their own defense."

His views on defense were featured in another local news report that used clips

from the forum and ended with the comment "Libertarian candidate Robert Buckingham offers the most unique plan to cut the defense budget ... that has been the sole breath of fresh air in this campaign."

A popular radio talk show conducted by David Gold was dominated by "arguments by Buckingham and Gold for legalizing drugs," when it became evident that the other seven candidates were all prohibitionists.

A columnist for the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, Bill Thompson, wrote on election eve that, "For those attracted to the offbeat philosophy of Libertarianism, they can find no better spokesman than Robert Buckingham."

With 9% of the vote, Buckingham was in a tight pack of five "also rans" who received between .39 and 2.4% of the vote. The two leading candidates, a Republican and a Democrat, received 39.4 and 31.8% respectively. The run-off election was held September 12, and was won by the Democrat. One wild-card Democratic candidate, Jim Lane, received 22.1%, forcing the run-off.

Buckingham also received an endorsement during the campaign. The North Texas Arms Rights Coalition (NTARC), a 150-member local pro-gun owners' rights group, endorsed Buckingham on the basis of a 40 question survey sent to all the candidates. NTARC was the only gun rights organization active during the race; members of the group actively supported Buckingham and contributed to his campaign.

Although final figures were not available, financial reports from the day before the six-week campaign ended indicate all the other candidates outspent Buckingham, whose total spending barely exceeded \$6,000. Buckingham was the only candidate who petitioned rather than paying a \$2,500 filing fee. Although the Libertarian Party has ballot status in Texas, a special election is treated like a primary, in which any number of candidates can run.

Summing up the campaign, Buckingham commented that "the reaction of many voters and people in the news media ranged from pleasant surprise that I was a real person they could agree with, to excitement and interest in the Libertarian concepts of liberty and responsibility as the pillars of self-government."

Robert Buckingham, Jr. plans to run for office again in the near future. ■

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