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Ron Paul in New Orleans

by Greg Kaza

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New Orleans, LA — Libertarian Party presidential candidate Ron Paul came close to crashing the Republican National Convention here Aug. 15-28, but Vice President George Bush's forces, with an assist from televangelist Pat Robertson, blocked the move.

However, Paul's bold maneuvering around the GOP convention generated breakthrough press coverage in the *NY Times*, *LA Times*, *Christian Science Monitor* and two appearances on the CBS "Evening News". Perhaps most significantly, Paul received coverage in the conservative *National Review*. In a Sept. 2 cover story, publisher William F. Buckley Jr. wrote "(George) Wallace's scorn for the essential equivalence of the two major parties might today be replicated by the Libertarian Party." Buckley is clearly worried at the spectre of Paul splitting right-wing, free market votes from the GOP; his article concludes, "It is in the interest of the United States to elect George Bush President, and to vote the Republican ticket."

Rebellion On The Right

Michigan has been at the center of LP efforts to split the GOP's right-wing base. In August, leaders of the Michigan Conservative Union, perhaps the largest right-wing activist group in the state, endorsed Paul in *The Banner*, the group's newsletter. (AL, August 1988) A subsequent issue of *The Banner*, prepared for the GOP state convention in mid-September, contains more articles promoting Paul, and some MCU activists have begun working on his campaign for President.

The Banner endorsements had an electrifying effect on Robertson delegates who began circulating a letter contrasting Bush's economic views with those of Paul. "If we expect George Bush to carry the standard of our vision, we are wrong," the letter said, adding that Paul would "carry the standard" of a free market economy and that Bush would not. (*NY Times*, Aug. 10). The letter was symbolic of the deep-seated

friction between Robertson and Bush supporters. Robertson was Bush's toughest opponent in Michigan, and infighting between the two factions led to fistfights earlier this year. In May, Robertson suspended his campaign and endorsed Bush, though some of his supporters opposed the move, threatening to sit the election out or vote for Dukakis. Paul stepped into this void, with an assist with the Libertarian Student Network (LSN).

In early March, LSNers arranged a meeting between Paul and Harry Veryser, co-chairman of the Michigan delegation to the Republican National Convention and leader of the 13 state Robertson delegates. This summer, Veryser attended a Mises Institute seminar at Stanford University, where he met Paul supporters like Lou Rockwell and Murray Rothbard. The week before the GOP convention opened, Veryser went public, declaring the party's right wing might desert Bush's campaign in November for Paul. The alternative *Detroit Metro Times* noted (Aug. 10), "While

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August NatCom Meeting:

Treasurer Thies Resigns

Burlingame, CA - The unexpected resignation of LP Treasurer Clifford Thies added drama to what otherwise seemed the dull meeting of the Libertarian National Committee in several years. In other business at the meeting, the party's governing body rescheduled the 1989 LP national convention and made changes to its 1988 budget.

Turney's "Secret Meeting"

Two days prior to the meeting, members of the LNC received certified letters from party chair Jim Turney asking them to attend a pre-meeting get-together on Friday night. This invitation was intended to "improve communication" between LNC members and the chair, an apparent reference to Turney's attacks on several LNC members and their publicized rejoinders (See "LP Turmoil Continues" August 1988 AL). Some potential attendees, upon receipt of this unprecedented invitation, dubbed it the "secret meeting", since the invitation implied that it would be open only to LNC members.

Actually, only about half the LNC showed up at the Turney suite, where the LP chair spent several hours trying to sell various projects for 1989, including the hiring of a full-time LP publicity person. Turney ended up monopolizing most of the "communication" which occurred, and several times shouted at people who attempted to disagree with him on specific matters. Most of the LNC members left after an hour or two, although some close Turney supporters stayed until the wee hours.



LP Vice Presidential candidate Andre Marrou and Indian libertarian activist Russell Means appeared on this large LP float in the Golden Days Parade in Fairbanks on July 23 during a week-long swing through Alaska. Illustrating the theme "paddle your own canoe," contrasted with the sinking "ship of State", their float won the 1st place trophy in the political category.

Turney said that Hess had sufficiently recovered from his heart attack to return to his West Virginia home and that he was able to resume his normal editing duties with only slight interruption.

Turney also complained of not being kept informed of how money was spent by the LP headquarters, prompting him to order the national office staff to take control of the party checkbook from the Treasurer. Puzzled by Turney's claims of not knowing where and how funds were spent, Steve Givot of Illinois asked exactly where the checkbook was kept. Acting LP Director McKee said it was kept on LP office premises in the desk of the LP bookkeeper. It was not clear why Turney couldn't get the national office staff to keep him informed of transactions.

Other reports were given, and it was noted that the 1987 convention sponsoring group, Convention Services, had finally tendered the required documentation a week earlier, clearing the way for the final payment of their \$2,800 bill for publicity and secretarial services.

Acting Director McKee presented his report, noting that the new LP Platform was now available. He also sported a nasty scar underneath his eyes, which he received in a recent night mugging a block from the LP office. For the most part, the reports were routine, even dull. McKee detailed the maintenance program for the LP copier, and LP chair Turney at one point gave a 5-minute lecture on the theory and practice of UPS shipping policies.

LP Auditor Mike Holmes presented a report detailing lack of documentation for

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New Orleans

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Republicans are hoping their party convention in New Orleans can revive George Bush's sagging fortunes, some conservative political activists in the GOP would like to use the occasion to "deep-six" the candidate. Efforts are underway in Michigan and several other states to break right-wing activists away from the party this fall and enlist them in Libertarian Ron Paul's presidential campaign. The rebellion was ideological, but went far beyond empathy for Paul's free market views. *The Metro Times* noted, "...the real issue with the conservatives would appear to be political power within the Michigan Republican Party. President Bush would be able to use the power of his office to fully revive the moderate (read conservative, but nonideological) wing of the state party. A Bush defeat, on the other hand, would most likely send Robertson back onto the campaign trail by, say, Nov. 12, and give conservative activists another shot at using the shock troops of the religious right to wrest control of the party away from their moderate rivals."

State Bush leaders seemed to welcome the defections. Oakland County Prosecutor L. Brooks Patterson, co-chairman of the Michigan delegation, termed Robertson delegates and other conservatives "fringe, far-right ideologues who will have no impact in November." Patterson said, "They cannot derail the Bush campaign," but acknowledged "there's no question about Michigan being an important state for Bush." (*Oakland Press*, Aug. 11) MCU Chairman Mark Koldys, secretary of Ronald Reagan's 1980 Michigan campaign, and later under consideration by the U.S. Justice Department for the U.S. Attorney's post in Detroit, disagreed with Patterson. "Bush won't carry Michigan without conservative support, and from what I can see right now, he's going to have a hard time getting it." (*NY Times*, Aug. 10). That week, the news that the state GOP's right-wing was considering a defection to Paul was front page news in most state dailies.

The Big Easy

During the 1980 Republican National Convention in Detroit, delegates could view an Ed Clark billboard if they drove several miles from the Renaissance Center, the event's site. In New Orleans, Ron Paul came close to taking his campaign onto the floor of the Superdome.

The Michigan developments were occurring amidst signs of a more general conservative disaffection for Bush. On Aug. 8, Howard Phillips, head of the Conservative Caucus, and Richard Viguerie, a major fund-raiser for conservative causes, met with Paul in Washington. Phillips said neither he nor Viguerie endorsed Paul, but were encouraging his campaign to dramatize free market economic issues. Phillips said he would act as an advisor to Paul but remain a Bush supporter (*NY Times*, Aug. 10).

Ironically, Paul was scheduled to address a conservative leadership group privately, and the Young Americans for Freedom, in New Orleans. Indeed, an anti-Social Security YAF rally Aug. 14 in New Orleans' Lafayette Square turned into a Paul rally, much to the chagrin of the pro-Bush YAF minority. One Bush YAFer was overheard to remark, "I want out of YAF if it's going to turn into Young Libertarians for Freedom." Paul's speech to the 75 demonstrators was hard-core libertarian, including demands for a gold standard, abolition of the Federal Reserve System and income tax, withdrawal from NATO and an end to draft registration. "If you are a free person your

life is your own, not the government's," Paul declared, adding that "the right-wing in this country will not support George Bush." The rally set the tone for the rest of the YAF convention, with the California-based libertarian wing maintaining control of the group. When Paul spoke to YAF again Aug. 18, more than 80 people were in attendance. By comparison, former Delaware Governor Pierre DuPont IV drew a scant dozen. The Paul campaign's ability to mobilize YAF activists this fall could prove critical to its success in right-wing areas such as Orange County, CA, on election day.

On Aug. 14, the day before the convention opened, the Paul campaign upped the ante in its pursuit of delegates. After discussions with dissident Robertson delegates, it became obvious that Robertson himself would strongly counter any move to place Paul's name in nomination, an action that required support from five state delegations. A decision was made to focus on the Michigan Robertson delegation and its 13 votes, while publicly noting right-wing disaffection for Bush. In a statement released that afternoon, Paul asked Robertson to release his delegates before nominations for President on Aug. 17. "As a friend of Pat's, I am asking him publicly to release his delegates, for the good of the conservative cause, and the good of our nation. The choice of George Bush is no choice for Reagan conservatives and others committed to limited government." Paul had discussed free market economic issues on Robertson's 700 Club TV program on three occasions. "I identify with Pat Robertson and his supporters," Paul said. "After telephone conversations and meetings with Robertson delegates, it has become clear that they identify with me."

Some media coverage focused on the Robertson dissenters, while others raised the larger question of Paul's impact on the fall campaign. "In most cases, the Robertson newcomers are being peacefully integrated into the ranks of the GOP leadership. There are some glaring exceptions," the *Christian Science Monitor* reported (Aug. 15). "The bitterness of Robertson supporters in Michigan, where they were outmaneuvered by the Bush and Kemp campaigns, is so deep that some are supporting Libertarian Party candidate Ron Paul in protest against Bush." The *LA Times* noted "the threat by some to switch to the Libertarians highlights the ambivalence many conservatives feel about Bush." Paul told the *LA Times*, "The Robertson people aren't Republicans first. They're new to the party." Many of the conservative Christians who gave Reagan a major boost in Southern and border states simply find Bush unattractive, he said.

The GOP convention opened on that note. Immediately, trouble erupted in the Michigan delegation, where the ideological split between moderates and conservatives became physical when 30 non-voting Robertson alternates discovered they would not be sitting with the rest of the group. Although only 50 feet separated dissenters and other delegates on the Superdome floor, the split may as well have been measured in miles. "They're trying to purge the Michigan Republican Party of conservatives," said Debbie Schlusel, one of the non-voting delegates. State Bush leaders quickly moved to douse the flames. "The last thing we need is a disruptive convention," Patterson declared (*New Orleans Times-Picayune* Aug. 16).

The second day of the convention, Pat Robertson himself appeared before the Michigan delegation. Bush's son, George, introduced the televangelist, declaring, "Civil War II... is over." He called Robert-



Ron Paul spoke to a successful gathering of supporters at the August 1 \$25 per plate fundraiser at the Adams Mark Hotel in Kansas City, MO. Former Republican Congressman Jim Jeffries of Kansas (second from left, next to Carol Paul) was on hand to lend his support to the LP presidential contender.

August NatCom:

Philly Bait-and Switch

From page 1

some LP transactions and included copies of Turney's controversial telephone bills. The LP Executive Committee promised to respond in the future to audit comments, and Holmes suggested some conflict of interest policy be established.

Philly Bait-and-Switch

Steve Givot of the LP Convention Oversight Committee explained that the 1989 Valley Forge LP convention site approved at the last meeting was no longer available from the Pennsylvania convention committee group, and said the new site in Philadelphia was an acceptable change. In the wake of this change, Honey Lanham of Texas received permission to make a brief presentation in favor of an alternate San Antonio, TX, convention site.

Lanham handed out popcorn and thick convention packages, including a letter to each LNC member signed by San Antonio Mayor Henry Cisneros. Although no one seemed to notice, the Cisneros letter was slightly ironic in the wake of a purported "assassination plot" on his life by a 1982 Texas LP candidate (See "Former LP Candidate Nabbed in Alleged Plot" June 1988 AL).

After her presentation, LNC member Don Ernsberger, one of the partners of the Pennsylvania convention group, erupted angrily at Lanham, demanding to know how she had found out about the convention site change, since it had not been officially an-

nounced prior to the meeting. This outburst prompted the reply that Lanham found out from *American Libertarian*, which had planned to do a story on the convention and in the course of research, learned that the original plans had been put on hold and were eventually changed completely. Lanham also rejoined with a question as to why Ernsberger's group or the LP Oversight Committee failed to inform the LNC of the changes prior to the meeting, since the original Valley Forge convention plans fell through in July. Steve Givot, Oversight Committee chair and often viewed as the most affluent member of the LNC, claimed NatCom wasn't informed because "my committee doesn't have a budget", i.e., he couldn't afford to mail out 30 letters.

After some discussion, both Ernsberger and David Walter, partners in "Proclaim Liberty" Convention Associates, which is sponsoring the convention, were questioned about the change. They said that aside from "being 15 miles down the road", the new proposal was exactly the same. A vote was taken, and the Philadelphia site was approved 14 to 3. However, despite these claims, another vote had to be taken the following day to approve a change in convention dates, since Saturday's discussion neglected to include the fact that the approved July 1989 convention dates were not available at the new hotel site. The LNC ap-

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son a one-time political unknown who ended the race as "a man who left with some clout." Robertson asked his delegates to "rally with whole-hearted support around Republican candidates, the Republican platform and especially our great candidate, George Bush." Though Paul's was not mentioned he was clearly on many minds. Lori Packer, a Robertson field director, predicted all 13 delegates would cast their ballots for Bush, whose coronation was not to be disrupted (*Detroit Free Press*, Aug. 17).

Robertson's lobbying on behalf of Bush had a devastating effect on the Paul operation. These were, after all, footsoldiers loyal to Robertson, not to the principles of limited government. That evening, Robertson told the convention during a prime-time speech that it was time for conservatives and fundamentalists to join the Bush campaign. "I release my delegates and alternates who have come to this convention and urge you and all of my friends across America to give your enthusiastic support to our party, our candidates and our presidential nominee," Robertson said. "It matters to us and our

children whether we vote Democrat or whether we vote Republican."

Backed to the wall, Paul supporters among the Robertson delegation proposed escorting him into the Superdome, using a guest pass, with the press in tow. But Ron Paul decided against the move, deeming it a violation of property rights and libertarian principle. The same day, Buckley's article appeared in *National Review*, providing some irony. It warned "(the LPs) vision is unreliable, and their prescriptions dangerous. Because there looms between the two parties a crystallizing difference in the matter of what one might call (and I will) the national ethos."

The next day, Bush won in a unanimous vote, although several Robertson delegates from Michigan said afterward they were prevented from casting votes for Paul. However, at a meeting of 100 state conservatives a week after the convention, Paul was touted by one of the delegates as a protest vote for right-wingers upset with Bush. ■

NatCom

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proved the new dates of August 28 - September 3, 1989.

Ballot Access, Membership

Burt Blumert of the Ballot Access Committee (BAC) gave a detailed report on progress and impressed upon the members the financial urgency of funding the remaining ballot drives. In response to a question about the LP's payment of its \$31,000 budgeted contribution, Blumert responded by saying that the BAC had to assume no contributions from the national LP would be forthcoming.

Blumert reported that BAC had raised and spent over \$350,000 and pointedly contrasted this with LP Finance Committee chair Paul Kunberger's complaint at a previous LNC meeting that BAC was "looting the party."

Blumert also said he had agreed to a \$1,900 reduction in the LP commitment to BAC in exchange for an immediate transfer of \$5,000 from the LP to pay bills. The motion approving this passed unanimously, and within a week of the meeting the \$5,000 was sent to BAC by the national LP office.

During his report, LP Membership Committee chair Matt Monroe complained that the figure of 27 "instant members" (non-paying, but official LP members) reported by the national office couldn't possibly be accurate, since much higher numbers had been reported at previous meetings. Don Ernsberger then revealed that "hundreds" of these membership cards were at the LP office (he estimated 1,500), but acting LP Director McKee said computer programming difficulties prevented the office from integrating these with the regular LP database. A motion was passed to require monthly membership reports be sent out.



Paul campaign and Ballot Access Committee chair Burt Blumert agreed to trade \$1,900 from the ballot access budget in return for \$5,000 immediate cash from the national party.

Thies Resignation

On Sunday afternoon, after Turney departed, the LNC addressed a matter dealing with LNC Resolution 302 which LP Treasurer Clifford Thies had brought up earlier but which had been postponed. Resolution 302 governs the uses of *LP News*, and among other things, stipulates that the paper should not be used for "personal attacks on individuals or institutions in the libertarian movement."

As discussed in the May and August issues of *American Libertarian*, Jim Turney's chair column in the May-June issue of the party paper contained harsh words for his fellow LNC members and blunt criticism of the actions of the LP Treasurer. Thies raised the issue that Turney's column in *LP News* violated Resolution 302 and proposed a motion for the LNC to acknowledge that violation. Thies requested no other action be taken but said he had been personally at-

tacked and he wanted the LNC to acknowledge Turney's violation of NatCom policy.

Considerable discussion ensued. Several members felt it was a minor matter, and Don Ernsberger, who has become one of Turney's defenders on the LNC, suggested that NatCom members should have "thick skins" if they choose to serve on the body.

In the first roll call vote of the meeting, the LNC rejected the Thies resolution by a vote of 7 to 10 with 3 abstentions.

Thies then asked to be recognized, and to the surprise of everyone in the meeting, announced that he resigned as Treasurer effective immediately. He advised the group to select a replacement promptly so that Treasurer responsibilities could be carried out without interruption. He then left the room.

The LNC was abuzz with surprise. Thies had not raised the issue during the previous debate on Resolution 302 and many were puzzled by his resignation. Several people asked him to reconsider. He later returned and told the LNC that he felt he had been personally attacked and that "loyalty is a two-way street." He added that he felt there were bad personal feelings between him and the LP leadership and he didn't want to remain in that uncomfortable position.

The LNC then voted in favor of a follow-up resolution requesting Jim Turney apologize to Thies for any offense which may have been given in the *LP News* article. But this vote failed to sway Thies.

Thies explained to *American Libertarian* that "Jim Turney in the *LP News* article accused me of misrepresentation, and this is a personal attack. That's why I asked the LNC for that finding. The LNC didn't agree, and this leads me to conclude that the LNC believes that my statements may not be accurate or may be misrepresentations. As Treasurer, this is unacceptable, and therefore they (the LNC) should find someone in whom they have more confidence."

The LNC promptly began a search for a replacement. After several telephone calls, LNC member and former BAC chair (and previous Turney supporter) Stephen Fielder (who wasn't at the meeting), and immediate



Mark Hinkle of California raises a point during the August LNC meeting in Burlingame, CA, near San Francisco. Other members, from left, are Joe Dehn of Oregon, Don Ernsberger of Pennsylvania, Hinkle, Gary Johnson of Texas and Matt Monroe of Texas.

past Treasurer (and sometime Turney critic) Sam Treynor were both nominated. David Bergland nominated Treynor, and Paul Kunberger nominated Fielder. After brief presentations for each candidate, the vote was held, and Treynor was elected by a 9 to 5 vote with 2 abstentions.

The LNC then voted to formally apologize to Carol Moore, in an unprecedented frenzy of NatCom contrition, for having hired and fired her during the course of one day in early May after objections were raised about having the vocal anti-Ron Paul activist on the LP payroll. This vote was 7 in favor, 5 against and 6 abstentions. Immediately after the vote, BAC chair and Paul campaign chair Burt Blumert announced that he was resigning. After a moment of uncomfortable silence and a few nervous laughs, a collective sigh of relief was heard after it became apparent that Blumert was unhappy about the vote but not serious about his statement.

As the meeting wound down (described by one wag as an "LROC recruiting session"), the LNC voted to schedule the first 1989 meeting for Washington, DC, over the weekend of April 22-23. The next meeting is slated for Oklahoma City, OK, the weekend of December 3-4, 1988. ■

Bulletin

Paul Loses MO Court Case

Kansas City, MO - The Libertarian Party presidential ticket lost the 8th circuit federal appeals case by a 2-to-1 vote on September 22. Two Reagan appointees voted against, and a Johnson appointee to the bench voted in favor of the LP ticket.

U.S. Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackmun, considered a conservative Nixon appointee, is the final hope for the LP in the case. Blackmun is the Supreme Court Justice with jurisdiction over appeals from the 8th circuit. In 1976, Eugene McCarthy won in the same manner after lower court reverses, but the odds don't favor a successful Libertarian outcome. ■

Last Minute Access Woes

Houston, TX - While the LP ballot access effort ended August breathing a sigh of relief at its 47-state-plus-DC achievement, last minute paperwork snarls and one controversial close call marred the ballot access outlook. In addition, one of the LP's most successful political officeholders - Gerry Walsh of Illinois - saw his state representative race vanish in a controversial ballot access crash.

Missouri

The bad news came Labor Day weekend. Despite meeting grueling and difficult Missouri ballot drive requirements, which includes a unique congressional district distribution requirement, the Ballot Access Committee (BAC) learned that due to late paperwork, the Missouri Secretary of State was not going to certify Ron Paul and Andre Marrou on that state's ballot for the November election.

According to several sources, this problem arose immediately prior to the August 1 signature submission deadline. Jerry Geier, a volunteer ballot drive coordinator who spearheaded one of the congressional district's drives and was in charge of securing presidential electors, realized that there might be a problem with one of the previously selected electors, whom he thought might also be a candidate. That is not allowed. Although BAC field coordinator Paul Jacob and others urged Geier to turn in the electors list by the Aug. 1

deadline set by the Secretary of State, concern over this problem prevented him from doing so. While the elector problem was soon cleared up, it wasn't until September 7, well over a month after the deadline, that the LP elector petitions were turned in.

"The law is ambiguous about this," said Missouri LP chair Mike Hurley, who was somewhat defensive about the matter in an interview with *American Libertarian*. He also said that Geier had personally financed a good deal of the Missouri drive from his own funds and had taken considerable time from his job to manage the effort. "Major parties don't have to turn in their electors until October 18", Hurley said, "and at the time of the original turn-in, we thought there was a problem with one of our electors."

The signature count did not pose a problem, and this disqualification only concerns the presidential ticket. Other Missouri LP candidates will automatically appear on the ballot.

Needless to say, the Paul campaign was not happy at this development. The Paul campaign manager was "livid" according to some accounts, particularly in the wake of the hard work and considerable expense undertaken to secure Missouri ballot status. "If we had it to do over again, we would have turned in the electors last spring," LP chair Hurley said. But hindsight didn't help the situation. Instead, Oklahoma City ballot

access attorney Jim Linger, considered among the best in the field, weighed in with a promptly filed Federal court action which was given high probability for success, due to the evident unfairness of the situation.

However, in a September 16 hearing by a Reagan appointee, Federal Judge D. Brook Bartlett of Missouri's western district in Kansas City, the LP's appeal for judicial relief was rejected. Linger promptly filed for an emergency appeal hearing in the 8th circuit.

This distraction has proved costly, and the Paul campaign is footing the bill. There were some suspicions that the seemingly "suit happy" Missouri LP - aggravated by discriminatory treatment by state officials - actually encouraged this problem to test the early elector deadline. Other observers chalk this up to just another overlooked detail and paperwork screw up.

LP observers were surprised at the initial courtroom defeat. Ballot access expert Richard Winger explained the federal court result as "just a political thing, the Secretary of State is a Republican and so was the federal judge. Even the state assumed they would lose, according to our people at the hearing."

Virginia Emergency

After another last minute snafu, which fortunately ended up favorably, Paul campaign manager Nadia Hayes issued a memo to LP Chair Jim Turney detailing her charges that the national LP office failed to help the badly imperiled Virginia ballot drive. This is all the more ironic since

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Libertarian Outlook

Taking the LP Seriously

As the nation's largest and most visible third party, the Libertarian Party still has trouble getting the public and news media to take it seriously. More often than not, efforts by the party's candidates to present issues are dismissed as publicity stunts or as purely educational campaigns. But after 16 years of existence, the LP wants to be taken seriously as a political party.

But first it will have to learn to take itself seriously. Sometimes party members have to settle for publicity or educational impact in real-world political contests where they have no real hope of victory. But at other times, the LP seems to harbor a secret death-wish, reflecting the view by some of its members that politics is a smelly, dirty game that real libertarians shouldn't be playing.

Take for instance, the problem in Missouri. After thousands of dollars and man-hours, Ron Paul's and Andre Marrou's place on that state's ballot was jeopardized because some simple paperwork was neglected. Lots of fingers have been pointed, but those closest to this foulup were also the same people who worked hard for the Missouri ballot drive in the first place. But what counts is results, and inattention to detail has led to this heartbreaking result. Did anyone really think the election officials were going to give the Libertarian Party a break?

Or take the national LP's role in 1988 ballot drives. In 1984, under admittedly far more trying circumstances, the national party went deeply into debt and spent over \$100,000 on its own to fund presidential ballot access. This year, despite repeated LP National Committee votes, the party administration has reluctantly provided less than \$30,000. And the national office has been accused by the presidential campaign of indifference to ballot drive priorities and had to be forced by repeated direct votes of the party's National Committee to actually write checks for ballot drives. What are we to make of LP Chair Jim Turney's cries of poverty in the middle of ballot drive efforts (at the end of July) when he refused to release a paltry \$1,500 for a key state ballot drive, at the very same time when internal LP reports showed the national LP office with \$10,000 in the bank? Just what were their priorities? What is more important for a political party than to have its candidates on the ballot?

And the LP's stubborn refusal to even consider the idea of seeking federal matching funds has once again proven short sighted. The question is not whether the Paul campaign should have applied — although they opposed the idea. Right now, as several libertarians have noted over the years, the party's nominating process (which takes place a year earlier than most political parties) virtually rules out LP candidates from receiving federal funds, which are only available for third parties during the nominating process until after elections are over.

Whether we like it or not, seeking federal funds to overcome expensive ballot access limitations, burdensome financial reporting requirements and small maximum contribution limits for private contributions is the only practical way a third party can begin to compete with the Big Boys in politics. Libertarians are also forced to use government roads and the monopoly post office system

to carry out their campaigns. Yet LP members don't moralize over those purely pragmatic uses of government services.

How can LP members expect the public and news media to take them seriously when Libertarians don't seem to take their own party seriously. All too often, the LP is mired down in carelessness, incompetence and muddled or wishful thinking.

It's time to stop.

The Libertarian Party doesn't operate in a vacuum. Groups like the Libertarian Republican Organizing Committee are anxiously awaiting the collapse of the LP. They are already at work scavaging the weary LP toilers burnt out by one more unsuccessful election or punishing ballot drive. And the real movers in politics, the ones who have taken the LP seriously and set up new legal roadblocks, are hoping that the LP will fail so that bothersome libertarians will lapse into self-righteous but impotent irrelevance, much like the collapse of the much vaunted Objectivist movement a few years ago.

And that would truly be a shame. Too much blood, sweat and tears have gone into the LP to see it collapse under the weight of its own inability to deal with the real world.

Too much is at stake to let statist politicians romp over the political playing field with no principled libertarian opposition. ■

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.

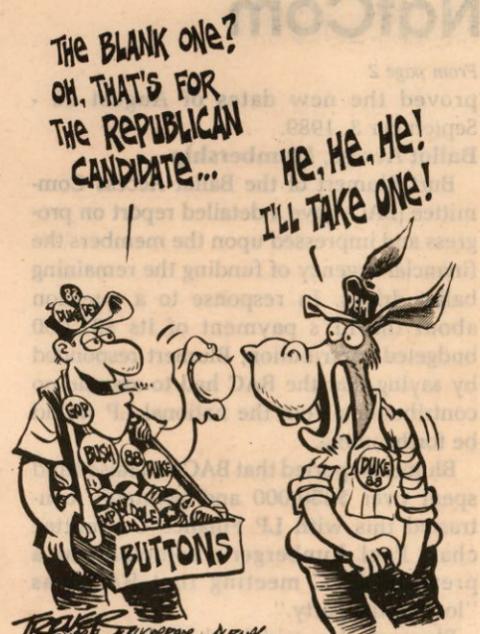
Amador Responds to Rothbard

Does Murray Rothbard read what I write (Feedback, July '88)?

My *Individual Liberty* column did not say that Ron Paul hasn't raised "enough" money. It said, "At the current pace, the Paul for President campaign seems unlikely to reach the \$5-\$7 million level widely circulated before the nominating convention in Seattle" — a hope of riches which helped entice many LPers into supporting his nomination. The comparison of Ron Paul's fundraising performance is with his own vaunted fundraising abilities.

Murray wrote in *Liberty* magazine that the Paul campaign "will be geared to attract the millions of quasi-libertarian Old Rightists who have been cast in the shade for three decades by the theocratic, war-mongering post-*National Review* right-wing. The stress, we proposed, would be outreach to the average Old Right middle-class American." That breed is long gone, Murray. Nor have pollsters or demographers found any modern version of the Old Right, certainly not numbering in the millions.

The "bizarre" idea I advocate in *The Pragmatist* is merely that total freedom relieves social problems and offers unprecedented prosperity to people of every background. Libertarians can market



freedom on the basis of its immense practical benefits. Is that "nutty"?

If Murray cared to read the issues we've been sending him for free, he would know we don't "call loudly for immediate abolition of the State." Our Statement of Purpose simply says, "We agree with Henry David Thoreau that 'That government is best which governs not at all; and when men are prepared for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have.' . . . We will achieve it when a majority of people desires it" — and not a minute sooner.

Murray's reference to "what is happening in the Soviet bloc today" corroborates my view that only practical, pragmatic considerations give freedom a chance. The revolution, such as there is, is empirical, not ideological.

Jorge Amador
Forest Grove, PA

"Self-indulgently unfair, snide, superficial, and ultimately vacuous."

Reluctantly, I must criticize your otherwise excellent July issue.

1. Gene Berkman's coverage of the Rohrabacher campaign was factually satisfactory but left me tantalized by the story not told: What enabled Rohrabacher to elicit support from leading libertarians despite his lapse of principle? A fair and close reading of the reprinted Rohrabacher/ North announcement reveals much better than "a gaggle of libertarian supporters" and it would seem incumbent on a journalist to explain this phenomenon, rather than stand apart from the subject in a display of nose-holding.

2. The sensibility of your "Flight 655" editorial was marred by the obvious adulation of the fatal accident as a mere pretext to pillory the administration for the sin of "interventionism" — as though a disagreement over foreign policy carried more weight than the deaths of 290 innocent persons. The issue of "interventionism" is a murky concept, despite its currency in libertarian jargon. It is not evidently at odds with principles of voluntarism and is simply impertinent to this case. U.S. vessels may rightfully navigate international waters, including the Persian Gulf. In no way can such rightful exercise be considered illegitimate. The propriety of the decision to fire on Flight 655 is an issue independent of venue, for comparable circumstances may confront U.S. vessels elsewhere in the world. It should be treated as an honest question — not swept under the rug of anti-administration polemics. Though the U.S. has a right to be in the Persian Gulf, it can still be criticized on grounds of impropriety, imprudence, and incite-

ment — charges far more relevant and substantial than "interventionism".

3. Your "Billions for Defense" editorial (regarding the current defense procurement influence-peddling scandal) was self-indulgently unfair, snide, superficial, and ultimately vacuous. You imply that the scandal has in fact resulted in equipment deficiencies, the mulcting of billions of dollars, and routine bribery — all of which is a knowing exaggeration. Out of a defense industry of some 3 million employees and a military service of some 2 million enlistees, the scandal has resulted in about 40 indictments — for which the sums involved in direct bribery are unlikely to exceed a few million of dollars, if even that. Though some procurement contracts may have been

Continued page 5

American Libertarian

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Feedback

From page 4

tainted, the facts remain to be seen. No major programs seem to have been involved. You dismiss the effort of the investigation as being "tardy" — a classic no-win bind, with the alternative being ignorance of the problem.

My point is **not** that we should look leniently on this problem — indeed, the Melvyn Paisleys should be brought to speedy trial. However, no credit is extended to the vast majority of defense contractors and servicemen who have performed their duties with integrity and excellence. And, more importantly, you fail to recognize that the problem of bribery and corruption can arise equally well in a libertarian administration, in which defense procurement (one of the few legitimate government functions) is performed through competition in the private sector (the very environment that engendered the scandal).

Libertarians will have to rise above their anti-administration bigotry to recognize that some contemporary problems cannot be solved by the restoration of free government, and that a libertarian administration may find itself in the hot waters it formerly decried previous administrations for occupying.

Michael J. Dunn
Auburn, WA

Michael Dunn is a weapons analyst for a major defense contractor and a founder of the now-defunct Libertarian Defense Caucus. Ed.

Illinois Ballot Drive Corrections

The successes of the Libertarian Party ballot access efforts are gratifying, and your August article ("47 States Plus DC") illustrates that many individuals contributed to our success.

Several aspects of the report on Illinois, however, are inaccurate and suggest or create problems that did not exist. Most importantly, from a local perspective:

1) BAC did not send in outside petitioners to replace lower cost local petitioners. For about one week all paid petitioners were laid off in Illinois due to lack of funds; during that week we sent some of them to South Dakota and Missouri to help in those states, which had earlier deadlines. Nadia Hayes and BAC sensibly decided to spend their very limited funds on states with earlier deadlines; and then sent money to Illinois as soon as possible. While having to wait for money allowed us to share the dreads of minimal checking account balances so vividly described by Nadia Hayes, it did not result in waste of donors contributions, and actually helped get other states on the ballot.

2) The money we borrowed in Illinois to meet payrolls was lent instead of donated for personal financial reasons; not, as implied by your article, because of lender's support for Russell Means. Illinois Means supporters donated substantially to ballot access and the LP ticket.

The above corrections are important because they show that Libertarians can achieve important goals when they work effectively with each other. I do not know if excess internal Party politicking will abate before November, but I urge individual Libertarians to work with each other between now and the election to advance their shared goal of liberty in our lifetime.

Robert B. Coolidge
Chair, Illinois LP
Chicago, IL

In Defense of Col. North

I would like to comment on your reply to Tony C. Rudi's letter in your August 1988 issue. You ask who will protect us from "patriots" like Col. North, who illegally

sold weapons to the hostile government of Iran?" But you make several assumptions in this question.

First, you appear to find something inherently wrong with patriots who act illegally. Clearly, this is a mistake. In fact, virtually all Founding Fathers of the American republic, whose patriotism is not in reasonable dispute, acted illegally. Yet this did not disqualify them from being patriots — loyal defenders of their country.

Second, you assume that it is settled that the Boland Amendment applied to what Col. North was doing. Since Col. North has not even gone on trial yet, this is premature. He may be accused of doing things illegally but what he did has not been shown, in a court of law, to be illegal.

Third, isn't there something in libertarian theory that implies that trade ought to be free, even with those one does not approve of? I am not sure who owned the weapons Iran was promised — if I am not mistaken, they were owned independently, by a private firm. So why not sell these to Iran? Why is this worse than, say, IBM selling computers to the Hungarian government or Fiat selling cars to the Soviet Union?

I admit that I am not certain how to view Col. North's activities. Nor am I privy to his motives. But on its face those who found him so wrong seem to me to either (a) favor leftist causes *carte blanche*, or (b) have a knee-jerk isolationist foreign policy viewpoint.

All in all, I think you were too glib about the Iran-Contra affair. You may be simply following the lead of some other libertarians who are too glib about foreign policy matters — who think that one can simply apply the ideal foreign policy principles of a fully free society to the muddled realities of choosing the best possible of many pretty bad alternatives in the actual world we live in.

Tibor R. Machan
Department of Philosophy
Auburn University
Auburn, AL

When I unwisely yielded to the temptation of responding to Mr. Rudi I called into question Mr. Rudi's adjective "patriot" in connection with Col. North.

Quite correctly, Prof. Machan notes that illegal acts do not preclude one from being a true patriot, and Col. North has not yet been judged guilty by a court of law.

However, the Boland Amendment only deals with Central America, not Iran, and it is clearly illegal for anyone to ship weapons abroad (not to mention sophisticated missiles and aircraft parts) without numerous licenses and government approvals, which North and others did not obtain in Iran-Contra. The question is not whether such shipments were illegal, but whether North "was only following orders" issued from above by such fall guys as former NSC chair McFarlane or the late CIA Director Casey, or even Reagan himself.

As for free trade, all traded items were owned by the U.S. government, not private sources, so this argument really doesn't apply. The official U.S. policy embargoes all trade with Iran, public or private.

North traded U.S. government property to the openly hostile Iranian government. Other military personnel who have sold U.S. property (secrets, military plans, blueprints, hardware) to hostile governments (like the notorious Walker spy ring) have been tried and convicted of spying. Yet North's selling of U.S. hardware to an unfriendly government is deemed "patriotic" by some and defended by libertarian philosophers. Could it be that North's professed motive in the matter — aiding anti-communist Contras — is what earns him special respect in those eyes. Or have all U.S. military spies been equally "patriotic"?

*One doesn't have to be a *carte blanche* leftist*

or a "knee jerk isolationist" to question the patriotism of a military man secretly trading sophisticated government hardware to an avowed enemy government, in contravention to

the professed public policies and laws of the U.S. government. Or are Col. North's defenders proposing a libertarian revisionism for all military spies? Ed. ■

Guest Column

Access for Minor Parties: No News is Minor Party News

by Michael J. Robinson and Margaret A. Sheehan

*Michael Robinson and Margaret Sheehan are authors of **Over the Wire and On TV**, a book chronicling the 1980 presidential campaign coverage by UPI and CBS, from which this article is excerpted. ©1983 by the Russell Sage Foundation and reprinted with permission.*

It made virtually no difference to the national media whether they came from the left or the right of the political spectrum: minor parties had no significant access to the news. What access they did have was so paltry that there is not point in graphing the result. Percentages were too small to register, or to be seen. Rounding to the nearest whole number, minor party candidates receive 0 percent of the newstime, 0 percent of the stories on CBS and UPI.

In all of 1980, there was only one complete story on CBS weekday news about a minor party candidate — a less-than-3-minute piece about Libertarian candidate Ed Clark. On UPI there were two stories featuring Clark, and two featuring Citizens Party candidate, Barry Commoner. And that was it for the two most "important" of the minor party nominees. In a year's worth of campaign reporting on CBS and UPI, we analyzed over twenty-three hundred campaign stories dealing with the presidency. Fewer than ten moved outside the major

party system, unless, of course, John Anderson and his National Unity Campaign is counted as legitimately outside the two-party world. (Technically and legally Anderson was an independent candidate for President, not a party nominee.)

Minor parties have not won a presidential election in the United States since Lincoln and his new Republican Party did it in 1860. Given that reality, and the reality of news, minor parties have no valid claim to anything approaching equal time. But one can still wonder whether minor parties really got less media coverage than they "deserved" and whether their limited news access was based on what one might call professional news values, or, on the other hand, something not quite so professional.

Consider the two minor party candidates who did receive attention, Ed Clark and Barry Commoner. Clark, the Libertarian nominee, received well over 1 percent of the final popular vote and ran a strong third in Alaska in the general election, getting almost half as much of the vote there as incumbent Jimmy Carter. Yet Clark received nowhere near that much attention on "Evening News" (.4 percent). And the news coverage he did receive came in late July, the dog days of Campaign '80, the period between conventions.

Citizens Party candidate Barry Com-

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LP Ballot Woes

From page 3

Virginia is Turney's home state and only minutes away from the DC-based LP headquarters. But Turney was in Europe and evidently was out of touch when things got difficult.

According to Hayes, "On August 23, Paul [Jacob] and I added up the numbers and concluded that the Virginia effort was in danger. ... With just three days to go before deadline I called the national office for help, only to be told that, before leaving for Europe, you issued a memo to employees telling them that if they helped with petitioning during office hours, except in DC, they would be fired."

Hayes went on to note that acting National Director Kirk McKee refused to reconsider, even after LP Vice Chair David Walter assured McKee that the Turney edict wouldn't result in any firings of employees temporarily assigned to Virginia for the final three days. Hayes also said McKee refused to assist by allowing the BAC to deposit funds in the LP's bank account to help pay petitioners locally. A non-libertarian friend was eventually enlisted by the BAC. Nearly all the Houston Ron Paul campaign staff on hand was dispatched to Virginia ("at \$600 each" in airfares, according to Hayes) to bail out the effort.

Hayes concluded her memo (which was also copied to all LP state chairs and NatCom members), "I find your lack of support, and the attitude you have inculcated in your staff, to be disruptive and destructive to the goals of the campaign, to ballot access and to the Party itself. It is beyond rational understanding."

In an interview with *American Libertarian*, acting LP Director McKee said he found Hayes's memo to "be in bad taste" and said that the position attributed to the national office "was entirely mistaken." He also said that the incident had not disrupted the otherwise good relationship his office had with the Paul campaign staff.

In a written reply dated Sept. 5, McKee said Turney was still out of the country and hadn't seen the original memo. In a rather vague reply, McKee termed "this type of correspondence to be counterproductive" and said that the factual information in Hayes's memo was "either inaccurate or incomplete."

Despite this denial, only one LP staffer - Barry Valentine, who resigned in early September - actually helped out in Virginia despite David Walter's reassurance. The LP refused to deposit BAC money into their account to pay petitioners, despite the fact

that the LP was at the same time sending money to Houston to make good on required contributions to the BAC.

Although the matter has concluded, and the Virginia ballot drive did succeed, some LNC members are still unhappy. One NatCom critic of Turney's in a letter to Hayes supporting her, said "Neither can Jim [Turney] get off the hook by claiming not to have seen your letter. I'm sure McKee read it to him over the telephone. McKee would not dream of writing such a response without Jim's approval. The Chair and the acting Director should respond to your memo in the fullest possible manner because the facts as you describe them are much too serious to be ignored. And the NatCom should demand that they do so!"

Gerry Walsh Bounced

And on the micro level of ballot access, former elected Libertarian and NatCom member Gerry Walsh came up 100 signatures short in his petitioning to get on the ballot for Illinois state representative. Walsh's opponent, who would be otherwise unopposed in the election, challenged the residency of 354 of the signers on Walsh's petitions. The Republican incumbent successfully got a State Board of Elections hearings officer to disqualify Walsh's bid. He needed to collect 1,400 signatures to qualify.

These hardball political tactics had a slight backfire, however. James Tobin, chair of the Angry Taxpayers Action Committee (an influential anti-tax group in the state), said in a letter to the Bush/Quayle campaign that if Walsh were disqualified by the Republican incumbent, "I will alter the time I allocated to the Walsh campaign to the Libertarian presidential candidate Ron Paul. This will probably take away between 10,000 - 50,000 additional votes from George Bush in Illinois."

Other Developments

According to Richard Winger, the socialist New Alliance Party will be the only third party to have their presidential ticket on all 50 state ballots. ■

Minor Parties

From page 5

moner received a quarter of a million votes but no time whatever on CBS. In fact, CBS even ignored Commoner's attempt to force networks to cover him. In October, Commoner bought radio time to air a commercial beginning with the word "bullshit," a technique which, as the ad admitted in its opening paragraph was nothing more than a ploy to attract press. ABC News carried a story about the ad, a critical story as it turn-

ed out. But CBS and NBS treated the "bullshit" commercial with the same indifference they practiced in covering the entire Citizens Party campaign. Neither Barry Commoner nor his platform (nor his vulgar commercial) made it to the "Evening News."

What makes noncoverage of minor candidates like Clark and Commoner more intriguing is the press history of the Anderson campaign. Anderson was a Republican until April, a nonparty independent candidate from April on. A case could be made that Anderson was viable at one point in the campaign — a possible winner. Yet nobody we interviewed ever belived Anderson would win. In the words of Peter Brown, UPI correspondent assigned to him, Anderson was a sure loser long before his press coverage ended.

Right after the September 20th debate, Anderson became a non-story and we all knew it. All the reporters knew it. It was very obvious that once the debate was over and he hadn't done anything, he wasn't going to fly.

Anderson ended up a minor candidate if not technically a minor party candidate. Yet Anderson received more than one hundred

times as much attention on UPI as Clark. On CBS, he received almost two hundred times as much. During the general campaign, when an Anderson victory was considered by the correspondents we interviewed as an impossibility, Anderson received one-fourth the news coverage given to Carter and to Reagan. In the months of September and October, as an independent and a loser, John Anderson was granted more than 2,500 seconds of news time on "Evening News," almost 700 column inches of wire copy on UPI.

Why did Clark (and Commoner) do so badly, Anderson so well in press coverage? Part of the reason is that once Anderson had earned a press entourage, the entourage took on a life of its own. Bill Peterson discusses how bizarre life was on the Anderson plane in October and how hard Anderson reporters fought to get their stories in print. A press bus in motion tends to stay in motion. But Ed Clark never got his own entourage. Whatever the precise reasons for their invisibility, minor parties in general, and Ed Clark in particular, proved once again that access flows toward the mainstream candidates and away from everything and everyone else. ■

LP TV Ads

Salt Lake City, UT - The Libertarian Party Advertising Committee has announced the availability of eight 30-second television ads. These ads can be purchased by Libertarian Party groups for airing on local TV stations and cable systems.

According to an announcement by committee chair Willy Star Marshall, "seven are generic 'Vote Libertarian' ads, and one is for Ron Paul; two of the LP ads are specifically intended for use on MTV (Music TV, a cable channel)." Marshall went on to say that "the ads each end with the LP '800'

telephone number on a stylized background of the American flag" which can be customized for local groups as well.

These ads are remarkably inexpensive at only \$25 for a master tape with all eight ads in a ¾" U-matic format (broadcast quality). A home copy in VHS format for the eight ads is only \$10.

This project was originally announced in a fundraising mailing sent in late 1985, but funds were not available for production until this year. Orders for the tapes and additional information should be directed to: LP Advertising Committee, P.O. Box 6175, Salt Lake City, UT, 84106, or call Willy Star Marshall (801) 364-7216. ■

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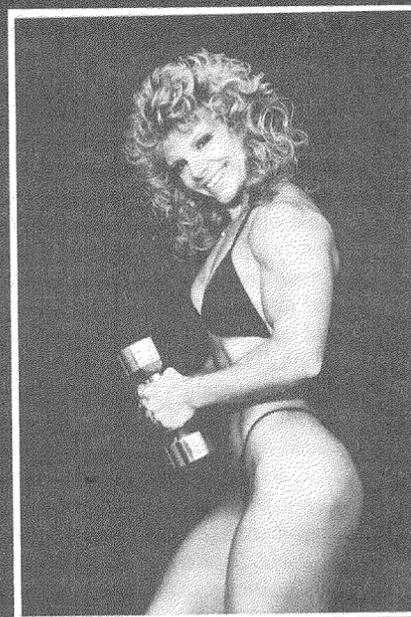
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**Presidential Spending Scorecard:
Paul-Marrou Ticket at Serious Disadvantage**

by Karl Peterjohn

Karl Peterjohn is a former LP state chair from Kansas and is the Wichita, KS based regional coordinator for the Ron Paul campaign.

Houston, TX - Between August 18 and November 8 it is clear how much George Bush and Michael Dukakis will spend in their respective campaigns for President. The Federal Elections Commission will present both of these candidates with checks for \$46.1 million to pay for their planes, their headquarters, their TV, radio, and print advertising, as well as their mailing costs.

This does not include the \$9.1 million the Republicans and Democrats received for their national conventions from the FEC. It also does not count the "matching funds" the FEC distributes to presidential candidates during the primaries, or the primary fundraising conducted by all 13 Republican or Democrat candidates earlier this year.

For Libertarians, the 1988 campaign expenditures is a valuable barometer of where the libertarian movement is going as a political vehicle. What are the chances of having an impact in 1988? Part of the motivation for some delegates to the Seattle convention in supporting Ron Paul for the Libertarian Presidential nomination was the idea that Paul's name recognition among a variety of groups — coin collectors, gun owners, taxpayer groups, among others —

would allow him to generate a significant amount of funds for the 1988 campaign. With the \$1,000 federal limitation for contributions to the Ron Paul for President campaign, the contribution level would be an excellent indicator of the interest and support for the Libertarian Party.

Historical Perspective

The history of the Libertarian Party goes back to only 1972, but the records kept in John Hospers race are extremely vague. Hospers's name appeared on the ballot in only two states. In 1976 the number of states carry Roger MacBride's name on the ballot increased to 31, and according to the FEC MacBride raised and spent just under \$400,000. MacBride received fewer than 200,000 votes.

The Ed Clark campaign in 1980 was a watershed race. After his nomination in Los Angeles in 1979, Ed Clark raised between \$60,000-70,000 from his convention banquet, while adding that to the \$500,000 donated by his wealthy running mate David Koch. These funds provided Clark with a foundation for conducting the crucial ballot drives to get his name on all 50 state ballots. The success of the ballot drives, combined with the disenchantment with the other candidates on the presidential ballot, gave the Clark campaign an excellent opportunity.

According to Ed Clark, \$3 million was raised and spent for his 1980 campaign. Two million came from his running mate,

David Koch. Of the \$1 million raised from all other contributors, Clark said that well over half of it came in during the last three months of the race. The Clark-Koch ticket collected over 900,000 votes on election day.

The 1984 LP campaign saw David Bergland step in at the last minute to replace the unexpected departure of Gene Burns. After winning a bruising fight for the nomination, Bergland campaigned with a much smaller budget, and with modest results. Bergland received under 300,000 votes after raising \$630,000. Ironically, Bergland's campaign was the first year in which the Libertarian Party was by far the most prominent third party. In 1976 Roger MacBride had Eugene McCarthy as a third party opponent in addition to the miscellaneous socialist candidates.

In 1980, Ed Clark was hurt by the John Anderson campaign, which drew a tremendous amount of attention away from the Libertarian Party alternative. The only benefit Ed Clark received from John Anderson was some help in removing onerous requirements from state ballot access laws. David Bergland's position as the sole significant third party candidate did not seem to aid his campaign.

The 1988 Campaign

This year there is no third alternative like John Anderson. Once again Eugene McCarthy is running for President under the Consumer Party label, but he will be lucky to get on the ballot in a dozen states. At the moment Ron Paul has only Lenora Fulani as a third party opponent who will be on the ballot in at least enough states to be theoretically elected president. Fulani will be on the ballot in all 50 states. The Paul-Marrou ticket will be on the ballot in at least 47 states, and this includes the eight largest.

Financially, the third party race between Fulani and Paul is roughly even. Fulani has raised \$800,000 through June 30. Ron Paul had raised \$1,100,000. Ron Paul's campaign received these funds from 18,000 separate contributions. However, Fulani had also received federal matching funds totaling \$731,000, as of July 31.

Ron Paul's effort is being aided by the Libertarian Party's Ballot Access Fund, which is able to receive donations greater than the \$1,000 limit for presidential candidates. With over \$315,000 raised for ballot access, this is providing a financial lift to Ron Paul's efforts by covering the cost of the ballot drives and being outside the \$1,000 limitation.

Ron Paul's campaign received its largest campaign boost with a fundraiser at the National Convention in Seattle which raised over \$50,000. Paul's primary opponent for the LP nomination, Russell Means, raised just under \$40,000 in his race for the nomination. The Means campaign still has a debt of close to \$20,000. Efforts are being made to reduce this deficit, according to Means's treasurer Honey Lanham.

A boost for the Ron Paul campaign is the Andre Marrou vice presidential effort, which is being run as a separate entity from the Paul campaign. Marrou has raised \$75,000 so far, according to his campaign

organizer Michael Emerling. Most of this is being spent on travel. Marrou has logged 58,000 miles while visiting 194 cities as of early August.

Critical for both the Paul and Fulani campaigns is their current cash position. Paul and Marrou combined had a cash balance of \$40,000 at the end of June. Fulani had about \$30,000. A surge in contributions will be needed for Ron Paul to be able to pay for any sort of TV advertising in the last two months of the campaign.

The role of the Federal Elections Commission is having a severe impact on the Paul campaign. "The \$1,000 limitation has severely limited our ability to raise funds," campaign spokesman Kevin Southwick said.

Campaign Effectiveness

Beyond the cold figures of funds raised and spent there are the questions of campaign effectiveness. One cannot compare Bush and Dukakis to any third party candidate. The older party candidates do not have to worry about fundraising once they get to their conventions. The FEC will provide each with checks topping \$55 million for their conventions and their fall campaigns. Ballot access is not a concern, since the state election laws grant both parties access without effort. Both Bush and Dukakis received hours of free network news air time to cover their national conventions. This is a huge advantage.

Even political cultist Lyndon LaRouche (now under federal indictment) enjoys prosperity while running for the Democratic presidential nomination. As of the end of May he had raised and spent \$3.3 million and had received \$663,000 in federal matching funds.

Ron Paul and other third party candidates do not enjoy any of this help. They have to complete their ballot drives successfully in July, August, and September and immediately turn around to conduct their entire two-and-a-half month campaigns.

Ron Paul has raised far more contributions than any Libertarian Party candidate except Ed Clark. Paul's contribution total is significantly higher than Clark's, if David Koch's contributions are subtracted from Clark's total. The main disadvantage for the Ron Paul campaign is the inability to have the funds available in a timely manner.

If past campaigns by Libertarians are any indicator, Ron Paul will raise a great deal more money in the last three months of this campaign than in the rest of his campaign combined. Based upon amounts raised so far, the Paul-Marrou effort may exceed the total raised by Ed Clark in 1980. It appears doubtful that Ron Paul's campaign will raise the \$5 million they had originally established as their goal.

Sadly, both the Clark and Bergland campaigns reported receiving a significant amount of "late funds". Late funds arrive at a campaign too late to be used very effectively. These funds typically arrive in the last week of the campaign, or in the days immediately following the election.

November Impact

The key question is, regardless of the amount of funds raised by the Ron Paul and

Continued page 8

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Disadvantage

From page 7

Andre Marrou campaigns, will they be able to make a major impact on the November ballot? For Ron Paul, this would mean reaching his 5 million vote goal, or at least collecting a significantly larger number of votes than Ed Clark received 8 years ago.

An important factor working against him is the fact that the Libertarian Party is not new anymore. In 1980, Ed Clark was in many states the first Libertarian Party candidate on the presidential ballot. The LP was new, wasn't easy to label into a left-right chart, and was raising many issues which the older parties were ignoring. Now the Libertarian Party is a known commodity, and the press coverage has been harder to get, especially from the TV news.

A factor helping Ron Paul, which was unavailable to past candidates, is the fact that he was elected to federal office. The contacts Paul has among elected officials may help him in receiving support from voters who are dedicated supporters of the free market regardless of past political affiliation.

Fragmentation of the national TV news media has also helped, since the Cable News Network and C-Span have been much more willing to cover Libertarians than have the three major national networks. Since most voters get their information from TV news, this type of coverage is vital to establish the Paul campaign's name recognition. (Name recognition is the percentage of people who, when polled, recognize Ron

Paul's name and can identify him as a candidate.) However, so far, there is no evidence to indicate that the Paul campaign is in better shape than was Ed Clark's at a comparable point in 1980.

Without name recognition, most voters will not consider a political alternative. Without the resources to advertise, due in part to limitations imposed on the FEC, Libertarians are at the mercy of the national news media. And the national news media is not disposed to cover Libertarian candidates.

Many national news reporters are tied to the older political parties. Ken Boide was a dedicated Democratic activist before joining NBC News. Pat Buchanan has bounced back and forth between the national news media and the White House like a ping pong ball. 60 Minutes correspondent Diane Sawyer was a White House employee, as was Bill Moyers, before they both joined CBS. These journalists will provide balanced coverage to Libertarians at the same time the sun begins to rise in the west every morning.

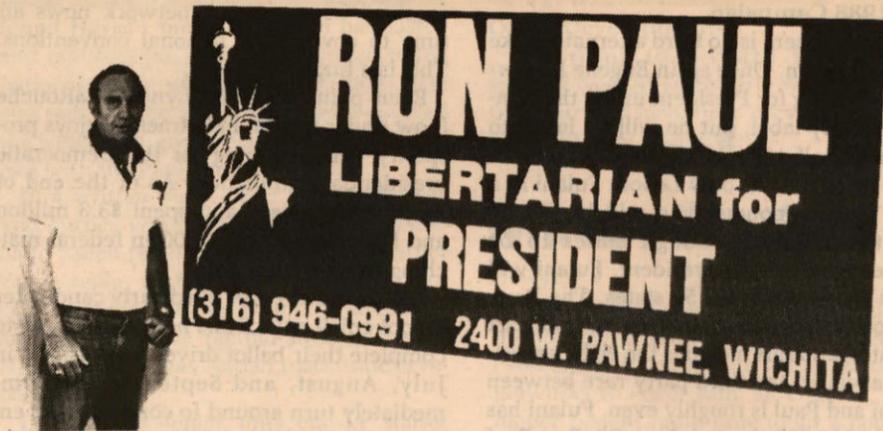
The Libertarian Party's presidential campaign appears to be boxed in despite their best efforts until a way round these roadblocks — huge government subsidies to their opponents, onerous ballot access requirements, lack of news media interest and name recognition — can be found. Although both the Paul and Marrou campaigns are charging ahead full throttle to the best of their abilities, the goals of a \$5 million dollar campaign, or 5 million LP votes, will likely remain a mirage until these real political obstacles can be overcome. ■

Presidential Spending Scorecard

CANDIDATE	Private Funds Raised ¹	Federal Nomination Matching Funds	Federal Convention Funds	FEC General Election Funds ²
Bush (R)	\$23.3M	8.3M	9.1M	46.1M
Dukakis (D)	18.2M	8.7M	9.1M	46.1M
Paul (LP)	1.1M	—	—	—
Marrou - VP (LP)	75K	—	—	—
Fulani (NAP)	813K	731K	—	—

¹ As of June 30 ² Provided after nominating conventions M = Million K = Thousand

Bill Earnest of Wichita was the motivating force behind these 8' x 4' billboards for the Libertarian presidential campaign. Over a dozen are displayed around Wichita and a similar version, without the address and phone number, has been sold to LP groups around the country.



Former Colorado LP Chair Helping McCarthy

Denver, CO - The immediate past LP state chair of Colorado, David Daniels, resigned from the Colorado LP state board this summer and announced his intention to help the Consumer Party candidacy of former U.S. Senator Eugene McCarthy.

McCarthy, who has previously run for president as both an independent and a Democrat, announced late last spring that he was running on the Consumer Party ticket and will appear on fewer than a dozen state ballots. According to ballot access expert Richard Winger, aside from the presidential race, "the Consumer Party is all but defunct."

Daniels was state chair until party elections held last spring, according to current Colorado LP chair Mary Lind, and he has moved to Minnesota (McCarthy's home state) to work as a research assistant for the campaign. Daniels was a prominent supporter of Paul's LP nomination opponent Russell Means, and was critical of the Paul

campaign.

There have been conflicting reports that Daniels was also selected as one of three McCarthy vice presidential running mates on the Consumer ticket. Official Consumer Party sources deny Daniels is McCarthy's running mate on any state ballot, according to Winger.

Lind stated that Daniels remains a libertarian at heart and told Colorado libertarians that maybe he could "change McCarthy's views on some issues" in his new capacity as a McCarthy aide. ■

COMING ATTRACTIONS

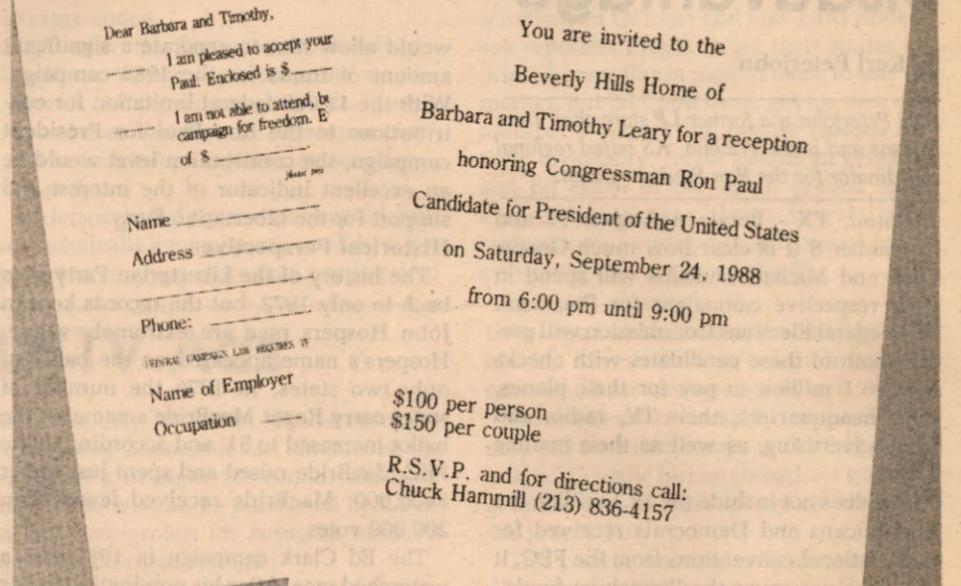
AL Interviews: Kerry Welsh, John Trever, Robert Poole Jr.

LI Swaziland Report

Election Computer Simulation: Paul Gets 4%

LP Election Results

UK Karl Popper Conference
Plus cartoons, political notes, media watch and more...



Freak Out For Freedom! 1960's consciousness-raising guru Timothy Leary, who has been calling himself a libertarian for some time now, hosted a

benefit for Ron Paul at his Hollywood home in late September.

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