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An Inside View

Victory and Defeat in Seattle

Part I, The Paul Victory

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During 1987 he has been a consultant to the Ron Paul for President campaign during the battle for the Libertarian party nomination. He has also served as an informal advisor to members of the Libertarian National Committee centered around former LP presidential candidate David Bergland and his wife Sharon Ayres, immediate past LP Vice Chair.

In Part I of this two-part article, Rothbard gives his inside look at the Ron Paul nomination victory. In Part II (which will run next month), he deals with the LP leadership question in "Transcending the Factions, The Crushing of the Berglandistas".

Two striking events occurred at the LP Presidential convention in Seattle over the Labor Day weekend. One, widely known and heralded in and out of the Libertarian movement, was the thumping victory of ex-Congressman Ron Paul for the Presidential nomination and the defeat of American Indian activist Russell Means. The second

significant event, barely acknowledged by the participants themselves, was the crushing defeat within the Party structure, suffered by the formerly dominant Berglandian faction of the LP.

The Paul Victory

While Ron Paul won a majority on the first ballot by only a few votes, his victory was more substantial than it looked, for he defeated Means by a ratio of 5:3, with the remainder a sympathy vote for tax rebel Jim Lewis of nearly 50 votes. Lewis, who ran for Vice-President on the LP ticket in 1984, was recently indicted for willful failure to file income tax forms. Lewis had pledged that, should the presidential vote go more than one ballot, he would withdraw on the second ballot and throw his support to Ron Paul. A Paul victory on the first or second ballot was therefore never in doubt.

And yet, while Ron Paul won the minds and the votes of the LP delegates, he did not win their hearts. The Paul campaign deliberately made an impressive demonstration of their professionalism and of their money-raising ability; the Paul forces raised a formidable \$250,000 for the nomination campaign — and this in the absence of any billionaire sugar daddy — and its savvy and hard-working staff came to Seattle to mount an operation of effec-

tiveness and power. The most impressive part of the Paul operation — and one which was employed to maximum effect at the end of the nominating-and-seconding time for the Paul candidacy — was a blockbuster TV spot that brought delegates to their feet. The 8-minute spot, conceived by top Paul staffer Nadia Hayes and written, produced, and edited by second-in-command Lew Rockwell, was a superb and rousing effort that reminded the LP of the glory days of the 1980 campaign when there was enough funding for national TV recognition. The Paul victory was an acknowledgement by the LP delegates that here was a candidate and an organization of professionalism and of power that made Ron Paul the only truly credible candidate, the only possible candidate to bring the LP, as well as the principles of libertarianism, into the mainstream of American politics.

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Paul-Marrou Nominated for LP Ticket

Seattle, WA - Former four-term Texas GOP Congressman Ron Paul, who joined the Libertarian Party in February, received the party's presidential nomination for the 1988 race in a dramatic three-vote first ballot victory over Indian activist challenger Russell Means. (According to LP National and Convention Secretary Dean Ahamd this three-vote victory margin differs from the widely reported one-vote margin because three votes cast for Andre Marrou — who declined the Presidential nomination — are considered abstentions for purposes of determining a majority)

Former Alaska State Representative Andre Marrou, now of Las Vegas, NV, received unanimous approval for the Vice Presidential slot in an unchallenged bid for the second spot on the ticket.

Incumbent LP Chair Jim Turney won reelection by a large majority over challenger Hugh Butler of Salt Lake City, UT. And a slightly smaller Libertarian Party National Committee (LNC) emerged, which appeared to place party progress and unity ahead of past leadership differences (see separate story elsewhere in this issue).

"Most Successful Convention Since 1981"

These dramatic events unfolded at the Seattle Sheraton Hotel during the pre-Labor Day week of September 1-7, which marked the fifth time the nation's third largest political party has chosen a Presidential ticket. It also marked the first time no Californian (home of the nation's largest state LP organization) appeared on the LP ticket. Almost unique among so-called "minor party" presidential tickets, for the fifth straight time the LP picked a brand-new standard-bearer for the upcoming presidential race (although 1984 presidential candidate David Bergland was also the LP's VP candidate in 1976).

The convention itself, hosted by the non-profit Convention Services Group of Seattle, led by long-time LP activist Ruth Bennett, had total registered attendance in excess of 700, according to estimates. This nearly matched the post-1980 election crowd at the 1981 Denver LP convention which saw about 800 people in attendance. The largest LP convention ever held was at the 1979 Los Angeles convention, which nominated Ed Clark and David Koch, with over 1,400 people present, although that convention reportedly racked up a deficit of over \$30,000 to stage.

Bennett said "this is being called the best LP convention since Denver" (which Bennett also played a major role in organizing).

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She echoed the comment of many others that the Seattle convention resulted in a more positive and upbeat spirit of optimism than had several recent party conventions. "Everyone seemed to have a good time," she noted.

The Convention Services Group which hosted the convention took over from an earlier convention organization led by Skip Barron. Bennett said that the convention "probably made a profit." But as of late September, all of the accounting information was still not compiled. Estimates of final profits range from \$5,000-\$10,000.

According to Bennett, there were over 700 paid registrants, 573 banquet meals served, and the Saturday morning Karl Hess breakfast served 328 meals, the largest other meal event. The most popular non-meal function was the "Sex, Drugs and Rock & Roll" seminar hosted by Fraser Institute economist Walter Block (sex), fantasy novelist and "discordian" philosopher Robert Anton Wilson (drugs), and nationally syndicated L.A.-based disc jockey Dr. Demento, with attendance exceeding 275. The Thursday evening Puget Sound sunset dinner cruise was packed to the gunwales, with over 450 conventioners enjoying the salmon and majestic mountain scenery.

In general, although there were over two dozen individual speeches, panels and workshops (including a whole separate seminar series on libertarian communication sponsored by Marshall Fritz's Advocates for Self Government organization) many of them were lightly attended. The main focus for most delegates was the floor action which included rules and by-laws revisions, platform debate, candidate speeches and forums, and the climactic presidential nomination and LNC officer elections.

"Liberty Works and Liberty is Right!"

Although convention work sessions on credentials, rules and bylaws and the Platform began on Wednesday, September 2, the official convention keynote address began on Thursday morning. Don Ernsberger, co-founder of the Society for Individual Liberty (SIL) and longtime veteran activist (although also a longtime skeptic of LP effectiveness) launched into a carefully considered keynote address which echoed and examined the theme "liberty works and liberty is right!"

Ernsberger emphasized the benefits of free international trade and cited as examples of the power of free market ideas the growing liberalization in places like Communist China and Russia, and the growing ideological impact of pro-free market ideas. He noted that the major political parties in the U.S. will tend towards centerism and "moderate" statist positions in 1988, leaving the field wide open for the explicit pro-individual freedom themes favored by the Libertarian Party.

Following the keynote address the Credentials Committee presented their report based upon fairly strict interpretation of LP rules by party Secretary Dean Ahmad. A few additions to state delegations were voted in by the delegates. Earlier rumors of a planned mass increase in the number of allowed delegates (a rumor attributed by both the Means and Paul camps to each other) proved groundless and no such change was proposed.

Mark Hinkle, Chair of the California LP delegation, argued that his state should get several additional delegates due to an unintentional foul-up in sending in nearly 100 more paid national members to national party headquarters by the February 28 deadline. (LP delegates are awarded based

largely upon the number of dues paying party members in a state). An *ad hoc* committee was appointed to review this situation and ultimately rejected the claim for additional California delegates. Few of the California delegates seemed greatly concerned (they were already by far the largest delegation) but an angry Hinkle at one point urged a total California delegation walk-out over this rejection. This went nowhere since few delegates were interested in going home over this questionable matter.

Rules & Platform

National Committee member and immediate past Management Committee Chair David Walter had earlier circulated a number of specific proposals to reduce the size of the LP's National Committee, its governing body, and assign specific responsibilities to members, as well as to restructure their method of election. While he lobbied for these changes prior to the convention, the Rules and Bylaws Committee rejected them and Walter's proposal never even reached the convention floor for debate.

Two rules changes were eventually passed by the convention, however. The formula for allocating regional Libertarian National Committee (LNC) members was altered to a percentage formula rather than based upon absolute number of paid national LP members. This change has the effect of permanently reducing the number of regional LNC members from 21 to 18. The other major change was the establishment of a new "unpaid" national membership category, an idea which was originally suggested by Russell Means during his nomination campaign. Means observed that other political parties did not charge for party membership and that addition of a new category would be a means of encouraging new prospects to contact the party and eventually become paid members. This idea proved popular and Matt Monroe of Texas, who was campaigning for an At-Large LNC post, had 5,000 "instant membership" cards printed up prior to the convention, and began passing them out once the change was passed.

The Platform Committee, chaired by David Bergland, considered a number of changes but only a few were presented to the convention as a whole. According to reports, several unprecedented attempts were made to water down or modify sec-



The news media crowded around the LP presidential candidate once the first ballot votes were in.

tions of the existing platform dealing with a woman's right to abortion. This effort failed in Committee and other changes presented out proved less controversial.

David Bergland substituted an entirely rewritten Military Affairs plank, which primarily unified and re-organized the style of the prior plank. These changes handily received the necessary two-thirds vote of approval.

A controversial plank on the AIDS epidemic initially contained language which emphasized the personal right to discriminate against AIDS victims and harsh penalties for those who intentionally spread the disease. In perhaps the most dramatic display of floor action, members of the Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns (LGLC) organization quickly drafted new wording with a more sympathetic emphasis and empathy for AIDS victims and presented it as an amendment from the floor. This amended version passed handily, although not before convention news stories on Friday went out on news wires containing the original harsh Platform Committee wording, stressing "Libertarians want to discriminate" and painting the LP as unsympathetic to AIDS victims. Naturally, the final wording adopted by the convention received far less media attention.

A concerted effort was made to discuss

the proposed LP "Program", a document which was authorized at the prior Phoenix convention but never actually drawn up by the party. (Originally the Program was intended to focus on practical and specific actions advocated by the LP to help attract public support.)

Delegates twice voted to make time in the schedule to consider this matter in a lengthy series of parliamentary maneuvers on the floor, which left most delegates baffled and confused. Not a few delegates, who generally dislike too much structure of any kind, were disgusted by this tedious display of Roberts Rules of Order.

Despite the wrangling, which occurred on Friday evening and concluded Saturday morning immediately prior to the presidential nominating speeches, no fully worked out draft Program was presented. Delegates eventually decisively rejected the entire idea of an LP Program to supplement the Platform.

Smoke filled Rooms

While the official convention business rolled on, and convention panels, speakers and workshops attracted others, many delegates were wrapped up with what most saw as the real business of the week, the presidential nominating and LNC election battles.

In addition to the nearly 50 exhibitors there were at least 7 "official" hospitality suites and probably an equal number of unofficial ones.

Festivities were ushered in with the jam-packed *American Libertarian* reception on Wednesday evening, which hosted nearly every delegate in the hotel with seafood and champagne for a good 45 minutes, until refreshments ran low.

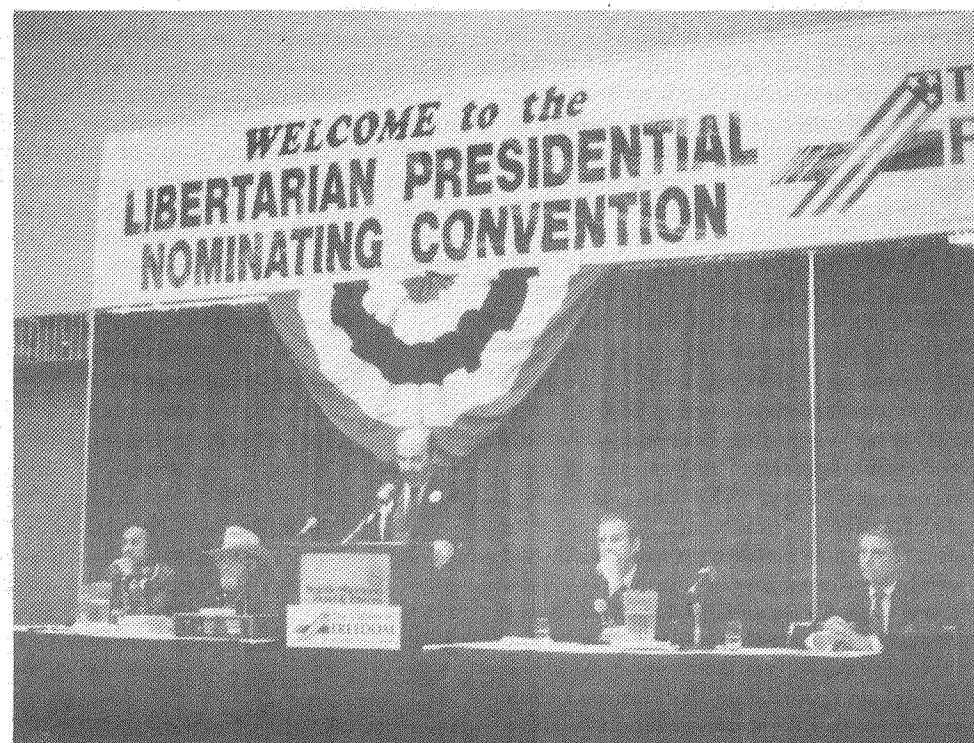
During the remainder of the convention, LP Chair candidates Hugh Butler and Jim Turney feted delegates, as did the Ron Paul and Russell Means campaigns. Also hosting delegates were the Texas LP, the LP's Ballot Access Committee (BAC), the Society for Individual Liberty (SIL) and the Libertarian Republican Organizing Committee (LROC).

Most of the actual politicking took place here, amid varying types of refreshments and atmosphere. The smoke-filled rooms at this convention, however, were as likely to be filled with *cannabis* smoke as that from a good cigar. Other refreshments were likely to be lukewarm beer, jug wine and pretzels.

At one of the best attended events, "An Evening with Robert Anton Wilson and Karl Hess", several hundred convention goers enjoyed a wide ranging rap session between these two libertarian gurus, while they both

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Vice Presidential candidate Andre Marrou won points during the candidate forum with his sense of humor and warm presentation style. Other candidates (all for President) from left: Russell Means, Harry Glenn, Ron Paul, Jim Lewis.



An Inside View The Paul Victory

From page 1

But if Paul won the heads of the LP, he did not win their hearts. Applause for Paul was never more than polite and respectful, whereas the applause for Russell Means was thunderous, and even Vice-Presidential nominee Andre Marrou was received with more enthusiasm than was Ron Paul. For underneath the relative harmony of the convention there was waged a fierce *kulturkampf* between the "real people", rooted in bourgeois Middle America, and the countercultural *luftmenschen*, rootless neo-hippie people of the "air and wind". (For a fuller description of "luftmenschen", see Rothbard's "Life or Death in Seattle", August 1987 *Liberty*.) Unfortunately, similarity of ideology did little to overcome bitter differences of style and culture. The correlation of vote, or at least of deep empathy, between the bourgeoisie and Ron Paul, and the *luftmenschen* and Russell Means, was remarkably high. Some long-time LP activists were able to predict Means voters accurately, sight unseen, on the basis of their counter-cultural lifestyle. I, myself was astonished to learn that a top LP functionary, long pledged to Ron Paul, abstained on the first ballot. "What happened?" I asked. "I like Ron," he replied, "but he's too straight," as he went off to smoke a joint.

There was also culture shock for both camps. Some new party members devoted to Ron Paul [Paulists] were astonished and repelled to find a mass of party members who were "continually rude", "looked strange", "smelled", and whose women looked like "unmade beds" and didn't wear bras. On the other hand, many of the Paulists, some of whom were dedicated anarchists, were brusquely dismissed by the *luftmenschen* as "Republicans" because they wore suits or makeup.

The low point of the Paul campaign came at the beginning, where one wants to have it. At the earliest and largest state convention, California. Ron Paul had just announced, and his campaign had barely gotten into gear; whereas Russell Means had also just announced, and he was able to impress mightily with personal charisma and by the unusual fact of an American Indian candidacy. While Paul was clearly the professional candidate who could bring in a large amount of funds, the Means candidacy served as a rallying point for all the *luftmenschen* and marginal folk in the Party and in the movement as a whole. To counter the evident effectiveness of a Paul nomination, the Means forces absurdly claimed that he would generate enough free publicity, and would attract hundreds if not thousands of Indian activists, many of whom were supposed to show up in Seattle. Needless to say, not one of them appeared. (One of the humorists in the Paul campaign suggested that to counter the supposed incursion of Meansian Sioux, the Paul campaign stash away in reserve a couple of hundred of the Siouxes' ancient enemies, the Apache.) The aesthetic low point of the Means campaign was his preposterous claim that he would finance his presidential race by selling dolls of himself.

One of the most bizarre aspects of the Means effort was the colorful and unconsciously amusing activities of assorted Meansians who had dropped out of the LP, and returned for the express purpose of supporting Means and denouncing Ron Paul. Thus, young Iowa farmers Ben Olson and wife Sylvia Sanders, who had formerly been

important activists and then dropped out of LP activities about eight years ago, suddenly reappeared to send out mailings for Russell. More bizarre were the activities of California's Carol Moore and of the San Francisco area gang of four, the Libertarian Republican Organizing Committee (LROC). Ms. Moore, who had dropped out of the LP years ago and denounced any libertarian political activity as immoral, had then shifted from libertarianism to decentralism and joined the Green International. All of a sudden, when she heard of Paul's candidacy, she rejoined the LP specifically to attack Ron Paul. Pursuing a single-minded devotion to the abortion issue, Carol peppered every delegate and almost everyone else in sight with weekly mimeographed and stapled manifestoes, denouncing Paul with mounting desperation. LROC, consisting of Justin Raimondo, writer and theoretician; Eric Garrius, organizer; Colin Hunter, financier; and Alexia Gilmore; had announced last year that they had joined the Republican Party to help work for and influence the allegedly quasi-libertarian California Senatorial campaign of Ed Zschau. One likes to think Zschau's loss to Cranston was influenced by LROC support, but undoubtedly their influence upon, and attention paid by, the California Republican Party was zero. So the LP soon found LROC back on its doorstep, urging us all to join the Republican Party in one mighty organized effort, presumably with LROC as our prophet and leader. Unfortunately, LROC's joining the Republican Party in no way meant that they would leave us alone.

But here came perhaps the single nuttiest aspect of the Paul/Means campaign. LROC had urged all Libertarians to join the Republicans and push for Ron Paul for President on the **Republican** ticket. But as soon as they heard that Ron Paul announced his candidacy for the LP ticket, LROC rushed back to the LP. To support Ron Paul, you may ask? No, on the contrary, to **oppose** Ron Paul's LP nomination with all of their might, finally wearing "Anyone But Paul" buttons. Make sense of **that** one, and I'll give you a good cigar.

At any rate, the LROC campaign against Paul, like Carol Moore's, became increasingly shrill, accusing Paul, for example, of being excessively anti-AIDS. At one point, LROC reprinted a four-year old article of Raimondo's attacking Paul's voting record, which he claims was **really** largely written by one Bill Evers. Unfortunately, the effectiveness of this ploy was strongly reduced by the fact that Evers was not, as had once been expected, Paul's campaign manager. Also, it gave rise to one quip: "I wonder who writes Raimondo's crap **now**?"

One likes to think that the Moore and LROC smear campaigns proved counter-productive, but one's confidence in the acumen of the LP is not strengthened by the fact that both sets of double turncoats promptly got elected as California LP delegates to the Seattle convention.

In any event, the important point is that the Means campaign peaked early, after his success in California and in the succeeding Michigan and Illinois state conventions. First, he soon ran out of money, a problem not helped by his insistence on flying everywhere first class for himself and his family — while Ron Paul and his wife flew coach, often on the same plane. But more important, it soon became apparent that Means knew little or nothing about libertarianism. Simply proclaiming that "Indian philosophy is libertarianism," or "I believe in every line of your platform", is not going to hack it, particularly among Libertarians, who however nutty in many areas, **do** take their ideology very seriously. Neither could this deficiency be offset by efforts of Means'



A jubilant Ron Paul works his way through the convention floor shortly after his first ballot victory.

Editor's Note

The September and October issues of *American Libertarian* have been combined for this special double issue, which is together the size of two regular issues.

Personal travel commitments and other obligations have combined to delay our normal publication schedule. We intend to return to our regular schedule with the next issue.

We thank all of you who expressed concern about the delay and apologize for any inconvenience.

Mike Holmes
Editor

major LP theoretician, long-time Montana activist Larry Dodge, to coach him in the nuances of Libertarian doctrine.

Hence, by late spring or early summer, it was evident to all of us that the Means campaign had peaked and had entered into an irreversible decline. Fortunately, this erosion coincided with an increasingly effective Ron Paul campaign effort.

The Paul campaign had an excellent candidate and an equally able and experienced campaign staff. Their main problem was a lack of familiarity with the LP players, and with the LP political culture, and here the core staff was aided by veteran LP activists Burt Blumert of California, and the present writer; Blumert becoming Chairman of the Paul campaign committee. It was important to mobilize LP opinion on the merits and on the strategic importance of the Paul candidacy, which I did in articles in *AL* and in *Liberty*, the former distributed as a pamphlet by the Paul campaign committee. Meanwhile, it was frustrating that while Ron Paul's record was a subject to detailed and picky cross-examination by a number of hostiles, no one was leveling any searching questions at Russell Means. This deficiency was made up outside the Paul campaign by Jim Peron, owner of the Free

Forum Bookstore and of the Cobden Press in San Francisco, who in two editions of his pamphlet, **Does the End Justify Means?**, desanctified Means by exposing his dubious ideological record. Peron's pamphlet was attacked vigorously in a widely distributed manuscript by Texas' Bill Howell, one of the key members of the Means campaign team. But Howell's rebuttal came far too late in the campaign to have any serious effect. Moreover, while most of the rebuttal criticized an excessive identification of libertarianism with Objectivist philosophy, one Paulist wag retorted that: "It's true that it is not a **requirement** of libertarian doctrine that one be in favor of technology or of Western civilization. But do we really want a presidential candidate, however libertarian, who opposes a written language as European and anti-Indian?"

The Paul campaign early realized that, being mainly outsiders, it was necessary for us to secure the support of the three organized factions in the Libertarian Party (the Berglandians, the Eastern or "Fieldberger" faction — named for Steve Fielder, West Virginia and Paul Kunberger, District of Columbia — and the Clarkians). This task was made easy by the fact that the leaders of all three factions supported the Paul effort. Each campaign was allocated 16 minutes of nominating time to use as it wished, and we decided that the nominator of Ron Paul and at least two seconders should symbolize support from all three factions. As the man who is arguably the most widely respected and admired person in the Libertarian Party, Ed Clark become our clear choice for the nominator. Paul Jacob was an excellent choice from the Fieldberger faction, since Jacob, as our resister to draft registration, embodied the militant stand on civil liberties that Ron Paul was widely (and erroneously) perceived to be weak on. Moreover, Jacob greatly admired Ron Paul for his staunch and courageous support and testimony as Congressman in Paul Jacob's behalf. This left a slot as seconder from the Berglandian faction, and Sharon Ayres,

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LP nomination challenger Russell Means responds to a question during the candidate forum. He held his own during the presentation but failed to gain much ground on front runner Ron Paul.

Candidate Means and LP founder David Nolan listened to country western singer Harry Glenn during the candidate forum. The colorful Glenn, while entertaining, had little actual support among delegates.

Paul-Marrou Nomination

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sat onstage and passed a marijuana joint between them.

Both principal presidential candidates held regular orientation sessions with state delegations and caucuses. The Paul and Means campaigns were predominant, although Jim Lewis did quietly talk to a number of delegates one-on-one. Indiana country-western singer Harry Glenn added a colorful presence but did little real campaigning. Announced presidential candidates Ed Roth and Jim "Libertarian" Burns failed to show at all in Seattle and weren't ever formally nominated.

There was an abortive "draft Marrou" effort centered around some disgruntled Southern California delegates unhappy with the choice between Means and Paul. However, Marrou was not anxious to alienate either candidate and did not respond to the draft effort. Marrou, in fact, had the entire Vice Presidential effort all to himself since no other VP candidates were seriously put forth. Ex-presidential nomination candidate Carol Newman was theoretically available but attracted little notice and did not campaign. Several people approached *LP News* editor Karl Hess but he categorically ruled out any possible VP candidacy.

Both Means and Paul campaigns had literature tables, floor managers, buttons and signs. However, the far better funded Paul effort reflected the political experience and funding muscle supplied by his veteran campaign team. Their hired campaign convention manager, John Hix is an experienced political pro who has managed LP nomination campaigns in the past for MacBride and Clark (and who bears a certain physical resemblance to another political mastermind, N.V. Lenin). He was extremely effective in polling delegations and seeing to it that no detail was neglected.

The Means team made up with enthusiasm what they lacked in resources. They relied upon videos of Means discussing various subjects (prototypes of possible Means TV commercials), and the presence of the strong personality of the candidate himself to overcome the odds.

There was a certain amount of negative campaigning at the convention, as there had been during the summer campaign. The LROC group circulated a number of flyers linking Paul to Lyndon LaRouche for purported similarities on AIDS positions. They

also tried to link him to the ultra right John Birch Society, which has reprinted some of Paul's articles and lists him on the masthead of the *New American* as a contributing editor.

Reprints also appeared of critical articles about Means, including one from *Mother Jones* in the late 70's reflecting Means' criticism of "European" civilization. Despite these efforts (including an LROC "Paul/LaRouche 88" button) most delegates ignored this and few, if any, votes were won or lost by these actions.

The main public confrontations between the candidates occurred at an impromptu Thursday morning debate with public questioning, moderated by *American Libertarian* editor Mike Holmes, and a Friday afternoon forum hosted by LP founder David Nolan, consisting of questions submitted by the four presidential candidates (Paul, Means, Glenn and Lewis) and Andre Marrou.

Each candidate gave a brief statement of campaign goals during the debate, but none seemed to gain an edge. The format was too brief for Means to exercise his considerable rhetorical skills to any great extent. Questions from the floor concerned candidate plans and particularly, willingness to run as the VP candidate. Harry Glenn rambled on, and his folksy humor won him considerable sympathy as "a country boy for the country". His remark about "deep-sixing" IRS agents resulted in gasps, cheers and — to the embarrassment of convention organizers — considerable local news coverage. Jim Lewis defused a loaded question from staunch Paul opponent Carol Moore concerning endorsements by the Birch Society, when Lewis said that he would use any forum to spread libertarian ideas. This brought applause from the audience. Means was articulate, but his obvious unfamiliarity with the details of libertarian positions and LP organizations (repeatedly calling Ballot Access Committee Chair Steve Fielder "Stan Fielder", for instance) simply reinforced existing views about his inexperience in selling libertarian ideas.

Means' inability to mount a suitably funded campaign effort, to bring his Indian allies into the party, or aid in state ballot access efforts with Indian petition signers — all promises made during his nomination effort — left his supporters vulnerable to the charge that his charismatic campaign lacked the depth to mount a serious presidential bid.

The Friday candidate forum was more sedate, although the inclusion of Andre Marrou was a fortuitous occurrence for him. Marrou's quick wit and warm personal style stood out from the crowd and key Paul

campaign operatives quickly donned "Marrou" buttons as they left the convention floor after the event.

Speeches and Commercials

By Saturday morning, the Paul camp was confident of victory but unsure of whether they could achieve it on the first ballot. Most observers felt the first ballot was too close to call, with the influence of Lewis (who had quietly pledged to endorse Paul on a second ballot, if necessary) and the always present None of the Above (NOTA) adding to the uncertainty. As the Paul camp heard from LP convention manager Hix, LP members are notoriously difficult to predict and a close first ballot could shift momentum and create opportunities which the Means forces could use to their considerable advantage.

The slightly disorganized Means effort deliberately refused to make vote counts or predictions public prior to the actual voting, wanting to minimize any despair these hard counts might engender. They also played down their nearly \$30,000 campaign debt, believing any mention of it could only hurt their chances. In truth, their highly decentralized campaign effort was nearly leaderless. Honey Lanham and Larry Dodge still held major roles from earlier in the campaign and Texan Bill Howell formally led the effort in the final month. However, Howell was also the official convention parliamentarian and was largely out of the action during much of the electioneering. Washington LP activist Bill Swales took over some of the Means campaign duties and Margaret Werry of Dallas also helped coordinate the Means effort. However, to outsiders it appeared that no one was fully in charge. This situation did not appear to inspire confidence in the Means organizational effort.

By contrast, the well oiled Paul campaign had two full hotel suites. In addition to John Hix, they nomination campaign staffers Nadia Hays, Jan Kessman, Jean McIver, Kevin Southwick, and former Convention Services Group staffer Richard Shepard (who was fired by Ruth Bennett the day before the convention started for "insubordination") all on staff, plus a blue ribbon group of floor managers and volunteers who were rounding up votes and constantly counting delegations.

Oddly enough, none of the presidential candidates had an opportunity to speak at length in front of the convention, except for brief statements at the debate and forum. This probably hurt Means most, since he was unable to demonstrate his powerful presence and emotional speaking style to

proper advantage. By the Saturday morning of the nomination, it seemed evident that only a dramatic personal appeal by Means or the presence of a surprise celebrity endorsement could turn the tide for him, and neither prospect seemed likely. Looking out at the mostly white, well-educated audience of veteran LP activists, it clearly wasn't a Means-type crowd — likely to choose heart-stirring emotion and minority outreach over the organizational and financial muscle of the Ron Paul campaign.

Lots were drawn for nomination speeches and Californian John Vernon nominated Andre Marrou. Marrou was allowed to second his own nomination and quickly declined the presidential nomination. He graciously acknowledged the honor but noted he had campaigned with all of the major candidates and said he would be honored to be on a ticket with any of them.

Ron Paul was nominated next, with 1980 LP Presidential candidate Ed Clark leading off. He emphasized Paul's financial success and organizational ability, citing his own 1980 race as evidence that these strengths were essential. LP Vice Chair Sharon Ayres followed Clark with a subdued, even lackluster seconding speech. Celebrated draft registration opponent Paul Jacob followed Ayres, and completely turned around the momentum by making a few brief remarks about Paul's testimony at his own 1985 draft registration trial. Jacob then asked that the lights be turned down. Immediately, a large screen to the right of the hall lit up and a professionally made 8-minute Ron Paul commercial was shown.

The commercial, which touched on a number of themes (some of which have — naturally — proven controversial with some LP members) made a powerful impression and concluded with a standing ovation from much of the audience.

This was a tough act to follow, but Means was next. He was nominated by Colorado Indian activist Ward Churchill, who admitted he was new to the LP but pointed out that this was what the Means campaign was all about. Montana's Larry Dodge gave the first seconding speech, proclaiming "politics is a lot like sex, it has to be seductive to be successful." Both Churchill and Dodge stressed Means' ability to get free media attention ("ten times what Ron Paul can get, so we need only one-tenth of the money"). Respected California LP leader Bill White gave the third seconding speech, stressing the need to go beyond the current "all white" LP. National Party Secretary Dean Ahmad gave a passionate and well

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The Paul Victory

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Vice-Chair of the party, was the obvious choice both as a leading Berglandian (she is the wife of David Bergland) and as a pro-choice woman to defuse the abortion issue.

We also decided to bring aboard as convention floor manager the legendary John Hix of California, a professional politico who has been the supreme floor *maven* in all of LP history. It was Hix who managed to pull victory out of the fire for the MacBride forces at the stormy 1975 presidential convention in New York City; and if Hix had not been busy at the 1983 convention in New York, and the Crane Machine had succeeded in getting Hix as floor manager for Earl Ravenal, the modern history of the LP might have been very different. Hix is a phenom, and I have seen him at conventions, starting off not knowing who the players are, quietly walking around the floor talking and listening, and returning after a few hours to give his candidate a complete rundown on who is for whom and why, and what is needed to pull victory out of probable defeat.

In contrast to many campaign managers, moreover, John Hix is not a tough, ruthless type. Courtly, kindly, and even emotional, John not only came to know the players in a very short time, but he motivated and inspired our staff and troops. Furthermore, Hix's very existence filled the Paul forces with confidence, while I'm sure it spread dismay in the ranks of the enemy.

While it was important for Ron and Carol Paul to go to as many state conventions as possible and for the Pauls and the LP delegates to get to know each other, under the able generalship of Nadia Hayes the decision was made to go for the power: to impress the delegates with our professionalism and the money we were able to raise. The bringing in of John Hix and finally the blockbuster Hayes-Rockwell film was the culmination of this effort.

Also important for the campaign was the late decision to support Ron Paul by Alicia Clark. One of the managers of the Means effort was Honey Lanham of Texas, who had felt she was unfairly treated by the party hierarchy when she was fired as National Director in 1985, a dismissal brought about by both the Bergland and Fielderberger factions. Alicia had always been close to Honey, and had brought Honey in as National Director at that mighty and magnificent moment when Craniac Eric O'Keefe had been fired from that post in 1982. Alicia's decision, made after a great deal of soul-searching, to support Ron Paul for President, was therefore a significant blow to the Means campaign.

As the convention neared, it was pretty clear to all of us that victory was ours, short of some monumental last minute gaffe.

By the eve of the presidential vote on Friday night, John Hix, assisted by Emil Franzi, reported to the Paul leadership that a win was in the bag for Ron Paul. They overestimated the extent of a first-ballot victory only because they did not fully realize the extent of the sympathy vote that Jim Lewis would command. When we asked Hix, "if you were Russell Means' campaign manager now, what would you do?" he answered that he would try for some big emotional speech by Russell, but even that would not be able to save the day.

One thing that **did** worry us a lot toward the end of the campaign was the strong possibility of a "consolation" Paul-Means ticket, with Means running as Vice-

President. We were dead set against such a ticket, for it would betray much of the point of the "Paulist revolution", that is, the attempt to leap into mainstream Middle America; an Indian activist of dubious libertarian credentials would surely undercut that effort. Knowing the average LP delegate's devotion to "fairness" and to keeping everyone happy, however, a Means VP candidacy posed a real threat. Furthermore, at least before the Seattle convention opened, Andre Marrou's Veep effort didn't seem to be catching fire, and we were worried that Means might defeat Marrou for Vice-President.

At that point, some of us began to take seriously the idea of drafting [LP News editor] Karl Hess for Vice President. Not only is Karl beloved in the LP, he also has the striking capacity to appeal to **both** right-wing and left-wing audiences, so that he would do well in the "real world" as well. Some of us approached Karl to see if he were amenable to a draft if such were necessary to defeat a Means candidacy. As it turned

out, the question was moot, since it was clear at Friday afternoon's candidates' debate that Marrou was a rousing speaker and taking off among the delegates; but I think that Karl would have been amenable to a draft had it become necessary.

In fact, we began to be concerned that Marrou was being received a little **too** enthusiastically; perhaps he might take it into his head to run, as a third force for President? In fact, he had already said that he would agree to be drafted if a deadlock should develop between the two major candidates; and now John Vernon, of California, was organizing a Draft Marrou for President campaign. John Hix, at any rate, put our worries to rest by getting a firm pledge not to run both from Marrou and from Marrou's campaign manager, the veteran Michael Emerling.

The Paul nomination secured, and the Means threat ended, the next big step was the Party elections the following day.

(Part II of this article will run next month.)■

Turney Re-Elected LP Chair

Seattle, WA - Incumbent LP Chair Jim Turney of Richmond, VA was re-elected by a substantial majority to a second term in office, prevailing over serious internal party factionalism which only months earlier seriously challenged his continued leadership.

And despite earlier fears of continued factional warfare or a split resulting from the heated presidential nomination battle, the LP emerged with a united front and decisive endorsement of Turney's sometimes controversial leadership style.

"There Are No More Berglandistas"

Most of the attention in Seattle was focused on the presidential race. Activity on behalf of the LNC (Libertarian National Committee) elections was much more subdued, in part because both LP Chair contenders were known to favor presidential front-runner Ron Paul. Virtually right up until the LNC elections, there was only one announced candidate each for Vice Chair, Secretary and no announced candidate at all for Treasurer. A number of candidates for At-Large LNC positions had buttons and literature, but campaigning was mostly low-key and conducted one-on-one.

In addition to Jim Turney, the incumbent, Utah LNC member and former state Chair Hugh Butler declared for National LP Chair two weeks prior to the Seattle convention. Word of his entrance into the race was slow to get out and Butler did little campaigning prior to the convention.

Texas LP Chair Roger Gary had announced for Vice Chair, but he also did little campaigning prior to the actual nominations on Sunday. Moments after the Chair race results were announced, long-time LNC member, former Treasurer and SIL co-founder David Walter threw his proverbial hat into the Vice Chair ring.

Texas LP Secretary and LNC member Gary Johnson, who unsuccessfully sought the national LP Secretary's office in 1985, announced his candidacy in July, making him one of the earliest announced candidates. Johnson also placed ads and sent out literature to convention delegates. He was opposed by incumbent Secretary Dean Ahmad, who had earlier hedged on running for re-election until he arrived at the convention.

Incumbent LP Treasurer Sam Treynor had stated he did not intend to seek re-election, and no declared candidates for this office emerged until Sunday morning. Finally, Baltimore economist and Maryland LP Chair Clifford Thies decided to run, and was immediately challenged by Joe Lusardi

of Houston, a virtual unknown who served as Treasurer of the Harris County (Houston area) LP.

Underlying the entire LNC election process was the simmering feud between the two main factions on the LP's governing board. Chair Turney, aided by allies Stephen Fielder, Paul Kunberger, Clifford Thies, Paul Jacob, and others (sometimes called the Eastern faction) had been working hard during the summer to mount an effective sweep of key LNC positions and ensure Turney's re-election. Key elements in their program (although these were not always stated explicitly in public) were to move the LP's headquarters from Houston to the Washington DC area and to hire Paul Jacob as the party's National Director (retitled "LNC Office Manager" at the pre-convention NatCom meeting).

Opposing Turney and highly critical of his past performance was the largest faction and bloc of votes on the NatCom, led by David Bergland and his wife Vice Chair Sharon Ayres (sometimes called the Bergland faction or Berglandistas). This group, centered around the west coast, was highly critical of Turney's leadership and had gotten the LNC to censure him at their last meeting and also launched an investigation of Turney's National Director. After that outbreak of hostilities, Turney eventually retaliated by firing Ayres from her position as Chair of the powerful Finance Committee. (Although Turney claimed she had of-

fered to resign, Ayres and others scoffed at this explanation). Turney also re-shuffled a number of other committees. These moves infuriated the Berglandistas as did other projects involving outreach and activist newsletters begun by Turney's staff during the summer, which were not explicitly approved in advance by the LNC. Word of various meetings during the summer by the Bergland camp to discuss possible opponents to Turney filtered back.

But as the summer wore on it seemed that none of the "leading Berglandistas" were willing to directly challenge the popular Turney or devote the time and energy needed to run and serve as Chair. David Bergland, Sharon Ayres, David Walter, Andre Marrou, Bill Evers, and Mark Hinkle were all names rumored to be considering the run or being urged to challenge Turney with the support of the Bergland faction. Early in June, however, Utah LNC member Hugh Butler, one of Turney's most vocal critics and head of the project to select the new LP computer system (after the LNC rejected Turney's "emergency" purchase of an Apple MacIntosh last spring) had been sounding out people for a Chair run. Butler has served on the LNC for several terms and was considered a supporter of the Bergland faction, although he was not one of their top strategists.

Butler, who owns a successful computer software firm based in Salt Lake City, eventually agreed to challenge Turney when it became apparent that neither Bergland, Ayres or Walter — considered the stongest potential challengers — would commit to the race.

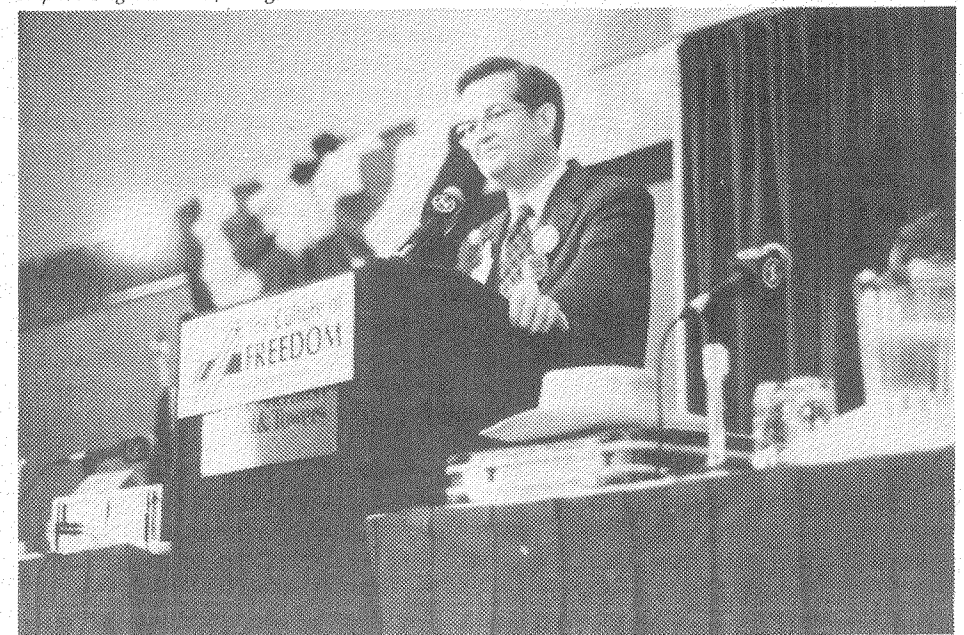
But in the final match-up between the Turney forces and the Berglandistas, it was hardly an even contest. For the most part, the Bergland supporters didn't even take to the field.

Many convention attendees were surprised at Bergland's physical appearance at the convention. He looked pale, drawn, and unusually subdued. Some wondered about his health. He led the Platform Committee discussions but turned over most of the convention duties in presenting the report to others. Bergland's time was heavily committed to Marshall Fritz's Advocates for Self-Government Summit workshop presentations, which were held in conjunction with the convention. Still, his absence from a number of events was noticeable. He failed to appear at David Nolan's "16 Candles" LP birthday party honoring 16 individuals selected by Nolan as key libertarian activists — Bergland was one — which also honored the 16th anniversary of

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Popular 1980 LP Presidential candidate Ed Clark formally nominated Ron Paul's candidacy, emphasizing the need for organization and

financial resources for a successful 1988 campaign.



LNC Elections

From page 5

the LP. He was also absent from the Torch Club luncheon which honored major LP donors, at which he was originally scheduled to speak. Nor were he and his wife Sharon Ayres seen at many of the social functions, open bars or hospitality suites. Bergland's political punch was much softer at this convention than it has been previously.

In addition to Bergland's own lack of leadership, many key Berglandistas simply didn't show up at the best attended LP Convention in six years. Immediate past LP Chair Randy Ver Hagen whom Bergland single-handedly got appointed to replace Paul Grant in 1985, was absent. Former LP National Director Perry Willis, a key Bergland operative, also did not show. Bergland strategist Bill Evers, who has been a political fixture in party politics for nearly two decades, also failed to appear, largely due to new teaching responsibilities as a professor of Political Science at Emory University in Atlanta. Evers was reportedly very concerned about the collapse of the opposition to Turney, but his long-distance telephone entreaties to his longtime friend Murray Rothbard to support Butler fell on increasingly deaf ears. Rothbard, a staunch supporter of Ron Paul, was growing disillusioned at LP in-fighting. Taking a cue from the Ron Paul campaign leadership, Rothbard was publicly neutral on the Chair race. Since both Chair candidates officially (though in Turney's case, fairly quietly) supported Ron Paul, the race narrowed down to personalities and rather dull arguments over who would make the better manager.

Butler, though generally well liked, was not widely known outside of NatCom circles and the mountain west. With the Berglandista camp in disarray and largely dysfunctional, Butler had to press his case on a personal basis, arguing that he had better managerial experience. Butler also argued that a move of the LP headquarters operations to his offices in Salt Lake City would ensure more efficient management. Even this was downplayed, since Salt Lake City doesn't conjure up an image of libertarian Valhalla in the eyes of most LP

members.

Early in the convention Butler had talked of running the office with a non-political office-manager type person, contending that past LP Directors had become too enmeshed in internal LP politics. This was about as close to criticism in public of Turney as he got, though privately Butler was much more candid about Turney's shortcomings. In private, he discussed Turney's censure by the NatCom at the spring Atlanta meeting (part of a series of moves supported by the Berglandistas largely to discredit Turney's re-election bid) but never made this a public issue in the campaign.

The fear of public backlash over perceived factionalism between Turney and his NatCom opponents resulted in a strangely quiet election. Butler had also suggested that convention organizer Ruth Bennett would be his choice for "office manager" early on in the convention. But as Bennett's abrasive style began to take its toll, particularly among the Ron Paul campaign leadership, Butler dropped any mention of Bennett and she finally disavowed any ambitions in that direction during her nomination speech for Butler. Butler was reduced to saying nice things about Turney, which were as difficult to believe coming from Butler as they were undoubtedly difficult for him to say with a straight face.

In one unusual bit of politicking, Turney announced at the Saturday evening banquet that he had a number of telegrams of congratulations to read from various European libertarian groups and leaders. Turney, whose business has led him to forge extensive and longstanding ties with foreign libertarian leaders, was continually mentioned by name with high praise in this long list of "salutations and fraternal greetings" from libertarians abroad.

Turney, who has often been accused by critics of substituting style for substance, cleaned up in this contest: well-travelled Nice Guy Turney (who really never had to defend his record) vs. a bland, Mr. Brown Shoes "more management" challenger unknown to most delegates.

When the elections finally began the balloting went rather quickly. Turney received 191 votes (62%), Butler 113 (37%) and None of the Above, 5 votes. It was a convincing victory, even a mandate of sorts, for continued leadership by Turney. More importantly, it was a message from the membership for an end to what many saw as destructive in-fighting and factionalism.

Despite the harshest public attacks in LP history on an incumbent LP Chair by the Bergland faction, this criticism was largely ignored and even rejected in favor of what was seen as necessary unity in the face of the all-important 1988 elections. The concerted criticism by the LNC-based Berglandista faction had largely passed by without notice by the rank-and-file, who tend to see this type of thing as merely quibbling. Turney and his regime remained popular with the LP grass roots.

After the convention, when Ballot Access Committee Chair Stephen Fielder called up David Bergland to offer a position on the BAC to a "member of the Berglandista faction" (a designation Bergland himself reportedly dislikes) Bergland told Fielder, "there are no more Berglandistas."

Berglandista Wipeout

But the Chair election was just the beginning. Texas LP Chair Roger Gary had early on announced for Vice Chair. David Walter had repeatedly disavowed any interest in the Vice Chair position "unless someone other than Turney was Chair."

However, as soon as a Turney victory was apparent, the former LP Treasurer and longtime LNC member threw his hat into the



LP Chair candidate Hugh Butler (speaking) stressed his business and management credentials during his race against incumbent LP Chair Jim Turney (seated). Fearing a backlash against a

hard-hitting negative campaign based upon Turney's sometimes controversial tenure, Butler was deprived of his most effective issues challenging the popular Turney.

ring.

Gary did little campaigning and was largely unknown outside of Texas, and had never served on NatCom. Walter, who was much better known, was expected to do well. However, Walter miscalculated the effect of his nominating speech endorsing Butler.

In the first ballot for Vice Chair, something totally unprecedented happened. Gary and Walter tied, with 128 votes each, and 2 for NOTA. Walter was visibly stunned and was a little embarrassed. Gary was one vote shy of a major upset, largely because Walter was seen by many as anti-Turney.

While the Texas delegation voted unanimously in favor of Gary (including Ron Paul, who was a delegate from Texas) several Paul staffers who were salted away on small state delegations voted for Walter.

Gary had waffled on his original endorsement of Paul and had angered some Paul staffers with his *de facto* support of Means in Texas. Walter's allies, including several influential in the Ron Paul camp, sprung into action. John Hix, officially retired as Paul's convention manager after his earlier presidential nomination victory, was seen bobbing throughout the convention floor with other Paul staffers attempting to turn votes around in favor of Walter. Their view was that Walter was a known quantity with considerable management experience, which was considered more important than Gary's somewhat wavering loyalties and close connection with the Means camp.

On the second vote, additional delegates were rounded up and Walter pulled ahead with 154 votes (57%) to 112 (41%) for Gary, with 4 votes to NOTA. Walter had long supported Paul publicly, and the Paul camp pulled his feet from the fire on the second ballot. But this was the only Berglandista victory of the day.

The vote for Secretary was much less dramatic. Incumbent Dean Ahmad, who had a great deal of visibility during the convention at the front podium table, was challenged by Texas LP Secretary Gary Johnson. Both were experienced LNC members although Ahmad was better known. Ahmad had endorsed Means while Johnson supported Paul, which may have affected a few votes. But there seemed to be no major issues and the race generated little excitement. More than 50 delegates left the floor after the second VP ballot, and Ahmad handily beat Johnson by 137 votes (65%) to 73 votes (35%), with 1 for NOTA.

The Treasurer's vote was even more lopsided. Clifford Thies of Maryland, a known Turney supporter and Maryland Chair LP

(and former Montana LP Chair), announced at the last minute with Turney's blessings. Houstonian Joe Lusardi jumped into the race just seconds before nominations were closed. Thies won in the most lopsided contest of the day, besting Lusardi by 136 (72%) to 54 (28%).

A curious fact about the winners was that for the first time in memory, the four top LNC officers all lived within 150 miles of each other in the central Atlantic area of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. For once the large California LP was shut out of top LNC offices.

Next came the LNC At-Large representative races, who are elected by the convention as a whole. Regional LNC members are elected by their regions. Although they all have just one vote on the committee, the At-Large positions are viewed as more prestigious than the regional reps.

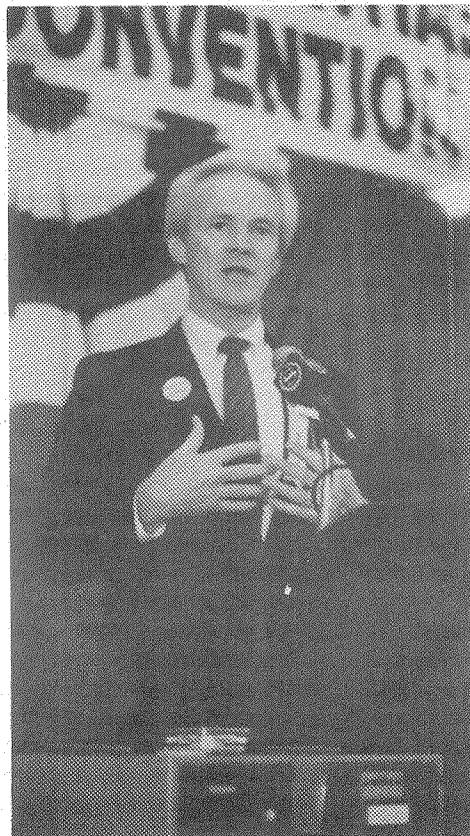
Seven At-Large representatives were elected from 14 nominations. Top vote getter was Matt Monroe of Texas (and publisher of *American Libertarian*) who ran the most active campaign throughout the convention and who also serves as Treasurer of the Ron Paul campaign. Monroe came in with 172 votes. Following him was Stephen Fielder, visible Turney ally and Chair of the Ballot Access Committee, with 163. Former 1972 LP Vice Presidential candidate and convention media spokeswoman Tonie Nathan of Oregon came in third with 148 votes, followed by convention keynote speaker and SIL Co-Director Don Ernsberger with 140 votes, in his first attempt at national LP office.

Fifth was longtime LNC At-Large member Gerry Walsh of Illinois with 115, who has also been an elected LP officeholder. Close behind Walsh with 112 votes was Sharon Freeman Mitchell, a national office employee who spearheaded an outreach effort popular with members but vigorously opposed publicly by David Bergland. Rounding out the At-Large votes was Lew Rockwell Jr. with 111 votes, in his first attempt at LNC office. Rockwell is head of the Mises Institute, a former Ron Paul congressional staffer and chief fundraiser for the Ron Paul campaign.

Unsuccessful in their At-Large election attempts (in order of vote totals) were Turney ally and Legal Action Committee Chair Paul Kunberger, Vice Chair candidate Roger Gary, LNC member Chad Colopy, former Vice Chair Mary Gingell, immediate past Treasurer Sam Treynor, Secretary candidate Gary Johnson, and LNC member

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David Bergland making a point during the convention. Many delegates thought he was unusually subdued during the convention activities.



Seattle LNC Meetings Tense But Routine

Seattle, WA - Two meetings of the Libertarian Party's governing body, the Libertarian National Committee (LNC) were held immediately before and after the party's September Seattle convention.

September 2 NatCom

Emotions were tense as LNC members from across the country began the last official meeting of their committee prior to new elections. While no one was expecting any major confrontations, some viewed this as a possible testing ground for the major adversaries for the upcoming LP Chair election. Both incumbent Chair Jim Turney and challenger Hugh Butler were present and clearly differed on a number of issues.

(Simultaneous with this meeting was a larger meeting of the *ad hoc* Council of State Chairs, hosted by former LP Chair Alicia Clark. Over two-thirds of current LP state chairs attended and heard over three dozen presentations from LP activists on a variety of practical subjects. This nuts-and-bolts affair contrasted sharply with the political shadow-boxing at the concurrent NatCom meeting. Plans were made at the conclusion to continue these meetings at subsequent LP conventions.)

Former LP National Director, Perry Willis, was replaced as LNC representative from the Arizona/Hawaii region. Party leaders in this region were unhappy at the former Arizona Chair's sudden departure to California, leaving a number of matters undone.

Turney heard the results of a mail ballot scheduling repayment by him to the party by year end of the cost of the Apple Macintosh computer, which the committee had earlier voted to reject as the party's computer system. Later in the meeting they heard the Computer Acquisition Committee report on the purchase of two IBM AT machines and related software, which will eventually be networked for multi-user capability. Resolution of the old computer system lease, owned by the Liberty Services partnership, was also discussed based upon an agreement to pay \$18,000 in notes payable to the partnerships' limited partners, most of whom have indicated willingness or intent to donate their shares to the LP.

Turney presented a lengthy report from the Chair, some of it critical of various people and activities. A good deal of it was intended to be pre-emptive of criticism by Hugh Butler and his allies in the Bergland LNC faction critical of his leadership.

After probing by Bergland supporters Hall, Hemming and Sharon Ayres, Turney eventually had to settle for approval of his oral, not written (and possibly usable in a campaign battle) report.

Round One: Even.

Ballot Access Committee Chair Stephen Fielder reported on ballot drive progress, indicating \$30,000 was raised, with overhead less than 30% (including fundraising) for this separately managed and budgeted LP committee. He said that about \$200,000 in additional funds would be required to secure 50 state ballot access for the 1988 presidential ticket.

Finance Committee Chair Paul Jacob presented his report, which was critical of the shutdown of telephone fundraising by the LP's contractor during August, and heard discussion about various other fundraising details.

Headquarters staff member and Outreach Committee Chair Sharon Freeman Mitchell (spouse of National Director Terry Mitchell) presented her report, which discussed production of a special *LP News* outreach issue designed for recruiting, which was funded from the Outreach Committee budget. David Bergland, who had traded highly critical memos with Mitchell prior to the meeting, objected to the project and several of his supporters were critical of how this was handled. But before full factional warfare could break out, the controversy died out (since the project was *fait accompli*) and her report was accepted.

Round Two: Jim Turney.

An Affiliate Party Committee was established on a motion by Sharon Ayres, intended to aid in the development of state party organizations. Ayres also proposed a Media Relations Committee be established to increase the LP's public relations profile, which was also accepted by the LNC.

National Director Terry Mitchell presented a lengthy headquarters report and abruptly announced his resignation. He said he would be available for several months to aid in a transition. Butler ally Ruth Bennett started to criticize Mitchell's written report, complaining about "inaccuracies" and tried to question Mitchell. In a particularly tense moment, Mitchell, whose voice had dropped to nearly an inaudible level and who was clearly unhappy with working for the fractious LNC, mumbled that he had resigned and "didn't intend to be badgered any more" by hostile LNC members. He stalked out of the room. Things got very quiet.

A number of Turney opponents seemed



The long post convention LNC meeting starts to take its toll on LNC member and Ballot Access Committee Chair Steve Fielder (end of table). The newly elected LNC officers seem to hold up better. From right: David Walter (Vice Chair), Jim Turney (Chair), Dean Ahmad (Secretary) and Clifford Thies (Treasurer).

taken aback and matters sputtered to an embarrassed silence for a moment. After complaints about Mitchell's "take this job and shove it" behavior (a feeling shared by nearly all prior LP National Directors but never quite so explicitly acted upon) a proposal by Hugh Butler ally Mark Hinkle to re-name the Director's position "Office Manager" was made, ostensibly to de-politicize the job.

In truth, this title change was part of Hugh Butler's Chair campaign program and this idea was promoted by Turney opponents to embarrass him. An amendment was made to call it the "LNC Office Manager" which passed after much discussion by a close 12 to 11 vote.

Round Three: Hugh Butler.

In the final bit of important business, Internal Education Committee Chair Mary Ruwart submitted her report. This was a hot item because Sharon Freeman Mitchell and Ruwart had begun a new publication, the *Activist Network News*, without formally getting NatCom approval, as a means to improve LP activism. Berglandians on the NatCom were also upset because Turney had appointed Ruwart to chair the committee without their approval (though he had the authority to do so). What rankled them was that this was an unbudgeted project which met with a positive response from the rank-and-file, who usually appreciate new activities on their behalf. Obviously this also helped Turney's re-election chances.

After wrangling over the fine points of authority, Gerry Walsh suggested amending the budget for the publication. Bergland attempted to amend this measure to require explicit plans and editorial policy for the publication be submitted to the LNC after the convention for approval. The amendment, viewed as another test vote of Turney's strength, failed by 11 to 12 and the budget authorization passed handily. Round Four: Jim Turney.

Various other reports were also heard, but eventually Turney announced the adjournment of the meeting with visible signs of relief. He had gotten through the meeting with no major catastrophes, and no real damage done by his political opponents.

Score it two rounds Jim Turney, one round Hugh Butler and one round even.

September 6 NatCom

The post-convention LNC had a considerably different line-up, far friendlier to Turney. He was obviously happy, as were his supporters, and his far fewer opponents were subdued. Over half of the committee members were new to the job, and the bulk of this long (and dull) meeting consisted of explaining the purpose of various committees and procedures to the newly elected committee members.

A motion was carried to increase the budget to allocate the above expected convention income to ballot access, and another motion was carried to exempt headquarters newsletters from review in advance by the Advertising/Publications Review Oversight Committee (which is headed by Bergland).

Matt Monroe was named Chair of the Membership Committee and David Walter

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LNC Elections

From page 6

Stephen Dasbach.

Dasbach, Johnson and Kunberger later won regional representative LNC offices in elections which followed the At-Large elections. Under the new rules, fewer regional representatives were chosen, with a heavy tilt towards California, which has five out of the seventeen members elected. The New Jersey/Pennsylvania region continued its tradition of deliberately not being represented — voting for NOTA — which effectively leaves the post vacant. The state of Alabama also chose to be left unrepresented when it pulled out of the southern "super-region" which stretches from Florida to Delaware and all the way to Oklahoma.

Aside from David Walter, the Bergland faction was left with only two NatCom representatives: California Chair Mark Hinkle, re-elected from the California region, and Bergland himself, who barely won the fifth of five California regional representative seats in a runoff with Mike Hall, after originally tying. Bergland supporters Gingell and Treynor failed to win seats at all, and the LNC line-up is apparently far more favorably disposed to Turney than was the old committee.

The Ron Paul campaign has emerged with its own nucleus of LNC members, numbering campaign Treasurer Matt Monroe, campaign fundraiser Lew Rockwell and campaign Chair Burt Blumert as NatCom members. Whether they will evolve into a definable faction on the LNC remains to be seen, since to date Turney and the Ron Paul campaign have enjoyed excellent working relations.

The Berglandista faction, for all practical purposes, was wiped out. But the continued presence of Bergland and several close allies ensures that Turney will not receive any blank checks from the LNC, despite his convincing mandate. Turney's close supporters on the NatCom are still a minority, with most LNC members being supportive of Turney initially but ultimately more concerned about LP performance than loyalty to any specific brand of leadership. ■

SIL Co-Director Don Ernsberger (middle) and Sharon Mitchell, wife of former LP National Director Terry Mitchell, are two of the new

NatCom members who were elected to At-Large LNC seats. Both had urged an end to divisive factionalism in the LP leadership ranks.



Libertarian Outlook

Constitutional Hoopla

It has been difficult to escape the recent hoopla over the 200th anniversary of the U.S. Constitution. There have been a number of public events and ceremonies and many articles and commentaries about the meaning and impact of that document. There has also been some insightful analysis of the fundamental issues originally raised during the process of formalizing the original Constitution and Bill of Rights.

Many libertarians carry with them a dual and sometimes conflicting set of beliefs about the Constitution. On the one hand, libertarians have been profoundly influenced by the writings of Lysander Spooner (in particular) and others challenging the very notion of the Constitution. As Spooner argued, as a contract, only those who originally signed the Constitution had any obligation to honor it. In general, the Constitution is just another example of the "implied consent" doctrine of obedience to government. In essence, this says that since you live here in the U.S., you are automatically bound to uphold whatever set of rules have been established to regulate your life here. If you don't like it, move. Love it or leave it.

While it is hard to totally dismiss Spooner's arguments, the hardline anarchism implicit in that view clashes with the day-to-day realization that most of the freedoms and liberties Americans enjoy today exist due to the continual application and reference to specific Constitutional safeguards. This recognition of individual rights has over the years held back to some extent the ever-encroaching tide of statism. Whether libertarians "believe" in the Constitution or not, most acknowledge its very real practical value in protecting our lives and liberties.

The important matter is, or course, not the specific words on aging parchment. The founding fathers did not believe, for the most part, that Americans had certain rights and liberties only because they sat down and wrote them out on sheepskin. They recognized that we have these rights and freedoms inherently, and it was only to unambiguously make them explicit that a written Constitution was needed at all. The worlds on paper don't grant rights, they only help draw attention to them from time to time when government or others attempt to trample those rights.

As we all recognize, this formal Constitutional codification has been seriously flawed and ignored over much of our history. Minorities, slaves, women, draftees, businessmen, political dissenters and many others have over the years had their sacred rights ignored and trampled upon despite the words written 200 years ago.

Recently, the U.S. Congress voted to appropriate \$1.25 billion in compensation for the abridgement of the rights of Japanese Americans by their forcible internment during World War II. This blatant disregard of their Constitutional rights was upheld at the time by the very system enshrined in the Constitution and loudly celebrated today. This wasn't the first, probably not the last, and perhaps not the most outrageous example of lawless government trampling rights despite Constitutional safeguards. The very fact that 45 years later (when most of the victims are dead) restitution is proposed indicates the system can fail and fail very badly.

Constitutions need not be written to pro-

tect rights. Great Britain's far older constitution is not explicitly written down. And written constitutions do not necessarily have any practical effect in protecting citizens from statism. Every Third World dictatorship and Marxist gulag state has a written constitution, many of which — on paper — sound better than our own. But despite those glowing words, individual rights in these countries are ignored, violated and lost in the charnel houses of government torturers.

Our Constitutional rights are not entombed on ancient paper. They are, to be sure, recorded there partially and imperfectly. But the true guarantee of our Constitutional liberties as Americans — as free people — is in our hearts, our minds and our souls.

No words on paper can protect what "we the people" do not protect ourselves, every day and in every case where they are threatened. Our written Constitution can remind us of our liberties, but only individuals can take actions to preserve freedoms and expand upon them. Twenty-five years after the Constitution was written, British imperial forces burned the Capitol and attempted to resubjugate America. Deeds, not words, protected our liberty.

Only constant awareness and continual exercise of our liberties can preserve and protect us.

As historian James J. Martin said in his introduction to Spooner's *No Treason*, "Constitution-worship is our most extended public political ritual, frequently supervised as often by mountebanks as by the sincere."

The Constitution doesn't protect our rights unless we recognize and protect them first as individuals. Amidst the hoopla and ritual celebration let us remember this: The libertarian revolution begun by our ancestors did not end with the Constitution. It is a revolution that we as libertarians today must continue to fight. ■

Feedback



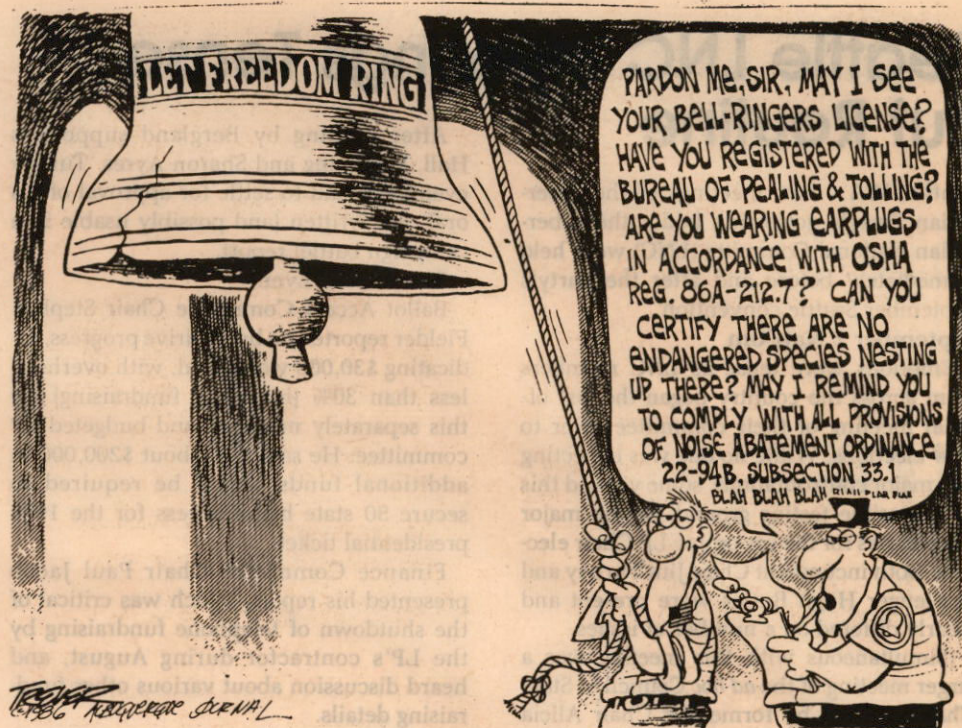
Letters Policy

Letters are accepted provided they carry the author's name and address. A phone number should be included for verification purposes only. Letters should be kept short and are subject to editing. Send to: Feedback, American Libertarian, 21715 Park Brook Drive, Katy, TX 77450.

Letter from Norma Jean

Thank you for sending me a copy of the current *AL* (August 1987). And I certainly appreciate the coverage. It is a never ending battle to fight these bureaucrats. What an enlightening experience this is!

By the way, I am in the State Penitentiary — State prison — what have you — now. As a convicted felon, I qualify to be with the more notorious criminals of our state. Susan Atkins (a former Manson family member -Ed.) is here as well as other interesting and notorious murderers. Hey, I tell you — trying to fulfill a friend's sex fantasy — for money — really ranks up there, right up there with the major crimes! When we sit around and recount our crimes and sentences for each other, why, I'm up there with the major offenders! "Three years for



that?" The women don't believe me! They are in here for assault, armed robbery, forgery, etc. and they have sentences of six months, eight months, 16 months — but me, with my 3 years — that really takes the cake!

So, if you do another article about me, which I hope you will continue to do, to help keep me in the public eye, please mention the fact that I did not violate my probation, of which I served 2 years and 7 months, and which does not count at all for anything. The community service I did and the money I paid for "restitution" (for what?) does not count, nor will I get my money back. There is no new "crime" involved, it is simply a case of vendetta by the L.A.P.D. and the D.A.'s office because I refuse to shut my mouth! The D.A. prosecuting my case told my attorney, Larry Teeter, that he would not approve of the judge postponing my resentencing until after the D.A.'s five week vacation, because "I want her in prison now! I'm sick of hearing the bitch talk to the press!"

He confirmed the previous statement made to a friend of mine by D.A. Ira Reiner, who said when confronted about the appeal — "Stay out of it or you'll get hurt. If you can get the c-t to shut up on TV, we'll consider dropping the appeal." Does that verify the First Amendment violation or what?

Anyway, it might also be interesting for you to note that after I was the banquet speaker (at the LP convention) in Ohio — someone from Kentucky wrote me an anonymous letter, urging me to work a couple of hours as a call girl at \$200 an hour, to pay for my own legal defense, instead of asking others to help me. What that person did is the same thing that I'm in here for as a convicted felon. "Encouraging a person to commit an act of prostitution" is what pandering is, and whoever wrote the letter is certainly guilty of that! Perhaps if people understood what the "crime" was, they would understand how ridiculous the law is and how cruel the 3 to 6 year mandatory prison term is. It is fortunate that whomever wrote the letter, no matter how well intentioned, did not sign his name — or the Federal Government could charge them with a federal crime under the RICO laws!

The California prisons are very overcrowded! They are being forced to release some violent criminals and those convicted of robbery early, in order to make room for me!

I don't know that I sounded "cheerful" when I talked to you from county jail — I'm just trying desperately not to let them break my spirit. And believe me, it would be easy to do, if I didn't know why I'm here (as a

political prisoner) and that I will eventually win. The humiliating and degrading things that are forced upon one are unnecessary and cruel. The food is not good and very unhealthy.

According to their own statistics, over 50% of the women in county jail are in for prostitution. Another 40% for drugs, sometimes for both. And in state prison, while the figure drops a little for prostitution, (because it is punishable in jail, not prison) the rate increases for drugs. And the shrink who gave us orientation yesterday says that they have a 60-80% rate of recidivism, or that 7 out of 10 return! What does that say for their so-called rehabilitation program, which is what they say arresting and incarcerating drug users will do? Ha, ha!

On a personal note, I'm reading Robert Heinlein's book *The Moon is a Harsh Mistress*. Not that it's really important, but

Continued page 9

American Libertarian

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

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In Review



George M. Hollenback is currently pursuing studies in finance and economics at the University of Houston. He is a member of the Ludwig von Mises Institute, Libertarian International, and Groundswell.

The Great Depression of 1990, By Dr. Ravi Batra, Simon & Schuster 1987, Revised Edition, 235 pp., \$17.95

This popular book with a favorable forward by fadish MIT economist Lester Thurow, is written by an eminent economist from Southern Methodist University and is a synthesis of social and economic cyclical theory. Dr. Batra's "law of social cycles" — borrowed from his mentor P.R. Sarkar — states that people may be divided into four classes based on their "frame of mind": laborers, warriors, intellectuals, and acquirers. Historical eras, according to the author, are dominated in turn by each of these mindsets.

The West has gone through two such cycles: 1) early, primitive societies (laborers); ancient empires (warriors); the Church (intellectuals); and feudalism (acquirers) and 2) anarchy and peasant revolt (laborers); strong monarchies (warriors); the Enlightenment (intellectuals); and capitalism (acquirers). A new "laborers" era is imminent, according to this analysis.

Batra also identifies four economic variables that occur with cyclical regularity, which are only interrupted by cataclysms such as the U.S. Civil War. Cycles of money growth, inflation, and regulation peak every third decade. Cycles of depression occur either every third or sixth decade. (A depression that doesn't materialize that third decade comes back with vengeance the sixth.) Thus we are due for a double whammy: the dissolution of the West into its third "laborers" era and the greatest depression in history. (This would be funny were it not for the frightening accuracy of Dr. Batra's other predictions which have come to pass.)

According to this book, the main cause of depressions is unequal distribution of wealth. Great concentrations of wealth in the hands of a few lead to speculative mania and to "shaky" bank loans made to the masses whose creditworthiness has deteriorated as a result of this inequity.

Dr. Batra's surprising current best seller offers practical investment advice for weathering the impending financial storm. He even suggests that the cyclical structure of economic phenomena can be mellowed if the right steps are taken by government. He wisely avoids inflationary and protectionist nostrums, but alas, he advocates such remedies as a federal property tax and minimum wage legislation, among others.

Batra seems to be totally unaware of the Austrian theory of the trade cycle, first developed by Ludwig von Mises. This theory — having by far more explanatory power — attributes depressions to distortions caused in the economy by the expansion of credit through fractional reserve banking and the ability of governments or central banks to create money out of thin air. This expansion of money upsets the natural rhythms of the interest rate structure and causes "malinvestment" when people are misled by artificially lowered interest rates. The monetary expansion percolates through the economy unevenly, distorting relative price structures. Inflation and higher nominal interest rates may follow. When these "malinvestments" begin to correct themselves, depression

Foreword by Lester Thurow

THE GREAT DEPRESSION OF



Why it's got to happen—
How to protect yourself
DR. RAVI BATRA

results. The speculative mania and shaky loans cited by Batra are only part of this far greater malaise.

Another criticism that can be made of Batra's analysis is failure to appreciate the role that politics and government play in creating social and economic disharmonies. He presents the succession of social cycles in deterministic fashion, not seeing that the

Feedback

From page 8

it is comforting to read books sympathetic to my beliefs.

One more thing — could you ask readers to write me? Looking forward to getting mail is the only bright spot of the day — so I'd appreciate it if people would write me. I need lots of letters. Thanks!

Norma Jean
Frontera, CA

Readers may write Norma Jean as follows: Norma Jean Almodovar, W27022 RCA 24 Upper, 16756 Chino Corona Road, Frontera, CA 91720. Her support group, Friends of Norma Jean, can be reached at 1626 No. Wilcox Ave. #580, Hollywood CA 90028. (213) 382-6445 or (213) 382-4495. Ed. ■

Dunn Disagrees

I continue to admire and anticipate each issue of *American Libertarian*, but this does not mean I am eager to see the insinuation of editorial opinion in articles that purport to be a mere factual record. I am referring to the article on Pierre du Pont by Greg Kaza and Eric Rittberg appearing in the August issue. Although I am no enthusiast for du Pont, it is simply dishonest to describe his support of freedom fighters as being an endorsement of "Angolan Jonas Savimbi, an avid Maoist, the Afghan mullahs and to the Nicaraguan Contras, led by remnants of the fascist Somoza regime" — as though all these unsavory descriptions were the truth.

Certainly the most thorough, first-hand accounts of the Angolan, Afghani, and Nicaraguan freedom fighters were published in April, September, and June-July 1984 issues of *Reason* magazine, respectively. Savimbi is a strange Maoist indeed if he can be quoted as saying to his followers that the goal of their resistance "is to be masters of ourselves, for each of us to be master of his own life, and not for me to be the master of your life, not for the party to be master of your life, but for you to be master of your own life." Other quotations and the record of Savimbi's accomplishments argue against the "Maoist" label — with one possible qualification: being as how Mao Tse-tung was arguably one of the world's best guer-

common denominator motivating this succession is State Power — used by the current ruling "class" to subjugate the others, which is then seized in turn by each successive "class". He correctly decries those who have aggrandized themselves at others' expense through political power or government favoritism. But then he turns around and says that the cause of depressions is unequal distribution of wealth and "not faulty government policies."

When one aggrandizes himself at another's expense through political power or government favoritism, that is "faulty government policy"! Like most sincere but naive reformers, Dr. Batra wants to legislate Utopia. But he doesn't realize that the same coercive, political paraphernalia he desires to wield in order to create his Utopia can and will in turn be wrested from his grasp by the very ones who were misusing it in the first place. Such is the nature of politics.

Libertarian social and economic theory seeks to break this cycle by radically limiting government and politics to the realm of protecting people from force and fraud.

I would challenge Batra to analyze his social cycle theory from this kind of libertarian perspective and to incorporate the insights of the Austrian school into his study of economic cycles. He may be pleasantly surprised at what he finds. ■

ila strategists, it is not unreasonable to expect that Savimbi would be an interested student. Patton, after all, studied Rommel. Similarly, the libel against the Afghan and Nicaraguan resistance is groundless.

In particular, the accusation about the "Somocista" leadership of the Contras is nothing more than a malicious falsehood. Who are the Contra leadership? We have Adolfo Calero, a former Sandinista responsible for ousting Somoza; Edgar Chamorro, a former Sandinista supporter who later opposed them as publisher of *La Prensa*; Alfonso Robelo, a former ambassador of the Sandinistas; Arturo Cruz, another former Sandinista diplomat and minister; Eden Pastora, aka "Commandante Zero", formerly of the Sandinista revolutionary army. While it is hardly encouraging to think that the Contras are led by a collection of incipient socialists, to call them "Somocistas" is

both bizarre and thoroughly ignorant.

It never ceases to amaze me that libertarians can, on the one hand, speak all-too-knowingly of the Doublethink re-writing of history exemplified in Orwell's 1984, and yet lap it up as thoughtlessly as a cat would drink poisoned milk . . . not to mention having a hand in the practice.

Michael J. Dunn
Auburn, WA

Notable Quotes



New Age Libertarianism

"Government is an awesome strategy for avoiding pain and conflict. For a considerable price, it relieves us of responsibilities, performing acts that would be as unsavory for most of us as butchering our own beef. As our agent, the government can bomb and tax. As our agent it can relieve us from responsibilities once borne face to face by the community: caring for the young, the aged, the handicapped. It expends our impersonal benevolence to the world's needy, relieving our collective conscience without uncomfortable, firsthand involvement. It takes our power, our responsibility, our consciousness.

The failure of other social institutions has caused us to heap even more responsibility on government, the most unwieldy institution of all. We have relinquished more and more autonomy to the State, forcing government to assume functions once performed by communities, families, churches — people. Many social tasks have reverted to government by default and the end has been creeping paralysis — reality."

Marilyn Ferguson in *The Aquarian Conspiracy*

Governments Galore!

"A fact of our business is that the CIA is a sovereign government working inside the U.S. government and that subgovernments operate within the CIA."

Hamilton Spence, managing director of *Interarms* (the world's largest private arms dealer), "The War Business", *Regardies*, August 1987 ■

Keeping Up with the Joneses?
And the Clarks, the Tryons, the Pauls,
the Rothbards, the Berglands, The Cranes,
the Randolphins, the Jacobs, the Givots, the Dodges
the Nolans, the Konkings, the Hesses, the Marroues, the Lewises...?

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Paul-Marrou Nomination

From page 4

delivered seconding speech as well, perhaps the best of all the nomination and seconding addresses. He stressed the importance of not selling out for pure financial considerations. Iowa's Sylvia Sanders, an admitted "LP dropout", rounded out the Means' nominating speeches and emphasized the candidate's ability to generate enthusiasm from activists.

Alan Rickman nominated Jim Lewis, with Margaret Fries seconding. They stressed the fact that "the media can't ignore Jim Lewis" due to his well publicized IRS problems, and the hearty applause by the audience reflected the affection LP members have for the popular 1984 VP candidate.

David Meyers and Mark Shepard nomination and seconded the colorful Harry Glenn ("the old coot candidate") and noted that his presence in the LP reflects recognition of the importance of grassroots libertarian populist sentiments and the view that everyone deserves a chance to be heard.

The Votes Are Cast

At long last the votes were cast. Each state was individually polled and the votes turned in to the Secretary.

California, with 76 votes, was by far the largest delegation. 382 delegates were in attendance, along with over 100 alternates. In contrast to previous conventions, all the states but Rhode Island and the commonwealth of Puerto Rico had at least one delegate in attendance. This was in part due to the diligence of the Ron Paul campaign, as well as the general high level of interest in the campaign. The Paul campaign took advantage of their extensive network of contacts, and in some cases "shopped" a number of smaller states, taking advantage of usually fairly loose delegation selection procedures. They placed a significant number of Paul supporters, some of them imported from Texas, on small state delegations (with the approval of the state parties involved) and gained a considerable edge. While the Means camp complained about this, they were powerless to prevent it.

Due to an error by the Secretary, the original winning majority was reported incorrectly and the first tally was off by two votes. This error was carried on the initial wire service reports and even in the prestigious *New York Times*.

However, as the state-by-state roll call progressed (beginning with Connecticut, chosen by lot) it became clear that Paul was piling up a significant lead.

In a dramatic turn of events, it wasn't until the final votes from Colorado were tallied that Ron Paul achieved his three-vote first ballot majority (originally reported at 195, later corrected to 193). Paul won 193 votes (51%), with Means at 120 (31%), Lewis with 49 (13%), Harry Glenn with 3 (1%), Marrou with 3 (1%), and None of the Above with 14 (3%). [With Marrou's votes considered abstentions, 190 votes were needed to win.]

Lewis won the majority of votes in the New York delegation, and Means prevailed in 12 states: Illinois, Iowa, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas (Paul's home state), Alaska and Colorado. However, Paul either won or tied in the others and in California, outpolled Means by 11 votes. In a number of smaller states, Paul won all of the votes and piled up majorities in most of the others.

Upon the announcement of victory, the band in the back broke out with "The Yellow Rose of Texas" and hundreds of balloons suspended from the ceiling dropped down (they had been placed there earlier by a confident Paul campaign staffer). Jubilant Paul supporters danced in the aisles, while Means, momentarily

stricken with disappointment, left the hall and angrily muttered that "Paul had bought the election." Means disappeared for a while but later re-appeared in a dramatic appearance during the Vice Presidential selection. Convention parliamentarian Bill Howell, a vocal opponent of Paul's and the last Means' campaign manager, rushed from the convention head table, reportedly suffering from ulcers and was not seen for the remainder of the convention.

The Vice Presidential nomination began with the surprise nomination of Russell Means by Ken Prazak, despite the fact that Means had said repeatedly throughout his campaign that he would not accept the Vice Presidential post.

Means was obviously disappointed with his loss and in comments to the press after his defeat, said his rejection by the convention "was a step backward" for the party. He was quoted as saying he would remain a Libertarian and use what he learned to help the Indian cause. But he also said he would no longer work with the national Libertarian Party or run for national office under the LP label. Subsequent news accounts of his remarks several weeks later give rise to a short-lived rumor, denied by close Means supporters, that he had quit the LP. (He has subsequently moved to Chinle, AZ, on the Navajo Indian reservation where his wife Gloria is originally from, and is contemplating another presidential bid in 1992, according to Honey Lanham).

After his Vice Presidential nomination Means strode back into the room and stood at the podium for what seemed like five minutes, scanning the cheering audience from side-to-side as they chanted "Means! Means! Means!" He struck a majestic pose. And if Paul had captured delegates' minds and the majority of their votes, this generous display of affection demonstrated that Russell Means had captured their hearts.

In a polished display of showmanship, Means immediately thanked delegates for their support and the honor, but declined the nomination, giving his wholehearted support to Andre Marrou, whom he call a "freedom fighter." Means also thanked the LP for saving him from becoming a racist. He explained that he came from South Dakota, "the most racist state in the Union" and that "I was becoming a racist myself, hating whites" by living there. He said by embracing the libertarian philosophy and fighting for freedom for everyone, he broke through the racist attitude which had nearly captured him. It was perhaps the most dramatic moment in a convention with several moments of high drama, and Means left the stage to a standing ovation by the entire convention.

Oklahoma-based LNC member Robert Murphy was then nominated, but he rose and quickly and declined the honor.

Finally, at long last, 1984 LP presidential candidate David Bergland addressed the convention to nominate Andre Marrou, former Alaskan state legislator and current resident of Las Vegas, NV. This nomination was enthusiastically seconded by 1972 LP Vice Presidential candidate Tonie Nathan and by Marrou's campaign manager, Michael Emerling, also of Las Vegas.

Ron Paul then addressed the convention, under the LP by-law provision which allows the presidential candidate to state his preference for a running mate. Paul also wholeheartedly endorsed the Marrou candidacy. Once nominations were closed, Marrou was nominated by acclamation and without audible opposition from the assembled delegates. This was an unprecedented show of unity.

Ready . . .



Convention delegates anxiously confer during the balloting on the first presidential ballot on Saturday.

Marrou then rose to thank the assembled delegates and promised to work hard for the ticket. His stated intention is to campaign in the smaller cities and communities and build up grass roots recognition and local LP organization. He also named Russell Means as his honorary Campaign Chair and announced plans for joint appearances for ballot access and fundraising purposes with Means.

Banquet & Bouquets & Brickbats

The well attended traditional Saturday evening banquet saw most delegates in high spirits, in more ways than one, thanks to the plentiful cash bars outside the hall prior the dinner. Delegates were treated to roast beef (like most convention food, good but uninspired) and were eventually served (rather late) complimentary wine.

It was an evening of fundraising — a predictable but necessary evil — and a libertarian amateur-hour entertainment program, which by most reckonings was heavier on enthusiasm than pure talent. The "Culture of Freedom" may have been the convention theme but culturally, the LP is still a party of computer programmers. The entertainment ended eventually and a well-received dance band provided the impetus for many delegates to unwind.

Ed Clark emceed the fundraising effort, and with a little help from a Sunday morning auction, slightly exceeded the stated goal of \$60,000 in cash and pledges from the assembled audience. Even Russell Means chipped in with a \$1,000 pledge, although this gesture of unity apparently backfired when several Ron Paul staffers saw it as grandstanding. It particularly irritated the tight-fisted Paul campaign, since they were just about to bury the proverbial hatchet and announce an effort to retire the Means' campaign debt in their own gesture of unity.

In the ensuing comedy of errors, the Paul staffers were so angry that they cancelled plans to help Means, whose campaign debt was never acknowledged and was even denied at one point by a leading campaign staffer still operating under the "we have no debt" line of the pre-nomination effort.

Because two campaign staffs had virtually no communication between them, prior animosities prevailed despite everyone's best intentions to overcome them. In truth, about two months after the convention Means' campaign Treasurer, Honey Lanham acknowledged the existence of about \$20,000 in leftover debt, most of it owed on Means' personal credit cards or owed to members of his volunteer cam-

paign staff. They are still raising funds to retire this debt.

The following day, on Sunday, the elections for LNC officers and members were conducted, with incumbent Chair Turney winning re-election (see related story elsewhere in this issue).

The overwhelming response to events by most attendees was positive, even those who supported Means.

A few delegates complained about hotel overbooking, or the lack of imagination shown in entertainment and outside speakers. Several announced or planned speakers, such as novelists Ken Kesey and Tom Robbins, declined to attend, dampening the "cultural" orientation of the event. Even the Mayor of Seattle refused to welcome the convention. And the art exhibit, intended to emphasize the cultural angle, consisted of only eight works by four artists.

Ruth Bennett's iron-fisted handling of the convention arrangements ended up angering the top leadership of both major candidates and that of the LP itself. The LNC hadn't bothered to organize contractual matters until April, but the initial contract offered to the LP and two subsequent revisions by the LP's Convention Oversight Committee met with rejection by Bennett, who refused to yield on a number of key issues. One matter, voted and approved by the LNC itself, barred any anti-LP organizations from speaking or having exhibits at the convention. The Convention Services Group ignored this resolution and allowed one such group, the Libertarian Republican Organizing Committee, to have a booth, greatly angering LP Chair Turney. Bennett's group attempted to charge delegates for attendance at public convention functions, contrary to express LP policy. Although they relented and didn't charge delegates if they objected, Bennett refused to provide badges for "free" delegates and failed to include official convention business in their printed schedule of events.

The Convention Services Group never did sign a contract with the LNC, although the show went on anyway. And there are lingering matters which are still in dispute over who owes whom for what.

The Ron Paul camp was furious with Bennett over what they saw as high-handed attempts to limit campaign activities, such as the balloon drop or screening of the TV commercial during the nomination speeches (reportedly on the grounds of "fairness"). Also angering them was the convention

Set . . .



Paul supporters are standing and cheering as the first-ballot victory for their candidate is announced.

Go . . .



The traditional ceiling balloon drop is triggered moments after Paul's narrow victory is announced.

staff's hard-nosed policy of requiring the candidate's and their wives to have tickets in hand before admitting them to functions where they were supposed to be guests of honor. Both candidates felt they were treated rudely, and both blamed Bennett as she was clearly the person making all major decisions. Displeasure with Bennett was so great that an earlier move by Chair candidate Hugh Butler to name her as his LNC Office Manager choice was hastily withdrawn in the face of opposition. This also resulted in an unofficial endorsement by top Paul staffers for Turney, largely as a reaction to unhappiness with Bennett.

Even the convention exhibitors were originally asked to pay extra for chairs at their tables. Convention Services relented on this but continued to harass exhibitors for sales tax collections and proof of liability insurance, which was also an issue in the LNC contract. Exhibitors were also unhappy when they were told they had to leave at noon on Sunday, a fact not previously

disclosed. Traditionally, the final day of the convention accounts for the bulk of exhibitor sales.

Despite this friction, even Bennett's critics enjoyed the convention for the most part and acknowledged the hard work the Washington LP volunteers put in to make things work. Press attention, while not spectacular, did merit a mention on Dan Rather's CBS evening news program and made Cable News Network, C-SPAN, all the wire services and major newspapers. Local coverage was also good.

"Unity!" buttons (circulated by 1984 LP nomination contender Mary Ruwart) were much in evidence. Overall, attendees were anxious to leave factionalism and differences behind and unite behind the newly nominated LP ticket. Sensing a unique opportunity in 1988 to get the message out, and buoyed by the most visible and vigorous nomination campaigns ever waged in the LP, delegates left ready for the election ahead. ■

groundless, though the heated campaign did involve concerted negative campaigning by those opposed to both Paul and Means.

Bill Howell, who served as Means' campaign manager during the final six weeks of the campaign, vowed to quit the party in his February broadside attacking Paul's voting record and position on abortion. Howell, who was Texas LP Treasurer and served as the official parliamentarian of the Seattle convention, disappeared from his prominent place on the podium immediately after the Paul victory. According to Howell and other sources, he has a serious ulcer problem and was physically stricken after the nomination.

In a subsequent interview with the *American Libertarian* Howell said "I have resigned from my positions as Treasurer of the Texas LP and as education director of the Dallas County LP executive committee." He did not elaborate on his reasons for resigning, though he did say that he was still a paid member of the national LP, "but under no circumstances will I work for the national ticket." According to most early reports, most Means supporters are following their candidate's lead in supporting the ticket and continuing to work in the LP.

Another sour note heard was in the form of an op-ed column distributed by sometime *Reason* and *Playboy* columnist John Dentinger, who was an alternate delegate from California. His column about the LP convention, which was circulated nationwide and was known to have appeared in the *Orange County Register*, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* and the *Houston Post*, among others, noted that the LP may pose a threat to the Republican Party in a close 1988 race. But Dentinger went on to discuss the gut-level appeal of Russell Means and criticized the Paul victory for his TV commercial and his "right wing image", which is "a high price to pay in hope of money and respectability." Though other libertarians share this concern over Paul's past conservative image, his stand on abortion and seeming reluctance to discuss victimless crime issues, some Paul partisans were upset that Dentinger did not admit in his column that he was an opponent of Paul's nomination and was active in the "Anyone But Paul" effort at the convention.

However, the negative fallout so far has been minimal and the Paul campaign is working on plans which will unite and broaden their appeal. Early indications are that they are planning on delivering a first class campaign effort in 1988. ■

Marrou Launches VP Race

Las Vegas, NV - Coming off of his successful bid for the Libertarian Party's Vice Presidential nomination — where he was the only active and announced candidate — the Andre Marrou campaign team is losing no time in organizing a serious effort for their 1988 campaign.

As is traditional in the LP, the Presidential and Vice-Presidential campaigns will be funded and operated separately.

Las Vegas based speechwriter and veteran libertarian activist Michael Emerling has been designated the Campaign Organizer, and in a recent press statement announced that a search is on for a full time Campaign Manager.

Marrou has said, "I want my Campaign Manager to be enthusiastic and have a pattern of completing projects successfully." Interested parties are asked to contact Emerling for further details.

Former LP presidential nomination contender Russell Means has agreed to serve as Honorary Chair for the Marrou campaign, and plans to make several trips with Marrou to raise funds and assist with ballot access efforts. Marrou said, "Russell Means will campaign with me in Alaska, the state with the largest native American population, and he'll also campaign in a number of other states. Russell is a magnificent orator and eloquent spokesman for individual liberty." Before moving to Nevada last year Marrou served a two-year term as a State Representative in Alaska from the Homer area.

The Marrou campaign has also designated an Intellectual Advisors and Review Board designed to "prevent intellectual and ideological errors, not apologize for them," according to Emerling. "They will help us run a campaign that is principled and persuasive," he said.

Among the announced members of this group include Washington LP Chair Karen Allard, columnist John Dentinger, Montana LP activist and Means campaign organizer Larry Dodge, SIL co-founders Don Ernberger and David Walter, former LP Vice Presidential candidate Tonie Nathan, California Attorney General candidate and former LP 1987 presidential nomination contender Carol Newman, Los Angeles LP

Continued page 12

Mixed Reaction to Paul Victory

Houston, TX - After a busy but successful Seattle convention effort to secure the Libertarian Party presidential nomination, the Ron Paul campaign is in the process of gearing up for the general elections.

"Steel Magnolias" and advance men

Immediately after the convention three top Paul campaign staffers (Jan Kessman, Jean McIver, Nadia Hayes) dubbed the "steel magnolias" by one wit for their mixture of iron resolve and southern charm, headed back for Houston with a bag containing over \$60,000 in cash and pledges from the convention banquet fundraising.

The Paul staffers grabbed some much needed rest and began the process of laying out plans for the next 14 months. Several staff additions are planned, but as of press time only one change was confirmed.

Eric Rittberg, of Delaware and Florida, and Chair of Students for Ron Paul, was recalled from temporary petitioning duty in Nebraska and hired by the campaign as campaign aide and advance man. Rittberg, 25, will be based in Houston and will spend much of his time preparing media and groundwork for Paul's visits around the country.

On September 18, less than two weeks after his nomination, Paul appeared on the *Sonya Freedman Live* program carried on the nationwide Cable News Network program.

His appearance, cut short by the live coverage of the Bork Supreme Court nomination hearing, led off with a question about his stance on abortion. He distinguished his personal opinion from the LP position and concluded by noting that it was a "difficult issue" for libertarians as well as everyone else. A question about running against Russell Means was prefaced with the remark that Means had "quit the Party" (subsequently denied by sources close to Means) and Paul noted that Means had been gracious in defeat and pledged money toward his campaign. The interview later focused on personal privacy and the right of Americans to choose what they watch and hear on radio and television.

The evening after his CNN appearance Paul appeared at a Los Angeles area fundraiser sponsored by David Bergland and Sharon Ayres, where several dozen supporters gathered to pledge funds and hear plans for TV advertising. According to Paul, it has been difficult to line up time due to heavy ad bookings and the length of the spot, which is basically the same as the one shown at the Seattle convention.

Negative fallout?

While some libertarian commentators prior to Seattle raised the prospect of a split in the Libertarian Party if either main candidate won, such fears have largely proved

Marrou Race

From page 11

Chair John Vernon and libertarian economist and author Murray Rothbard.

The announced strategy of the Marrou VP campaign is to coordinate activities with the Paul campaign as needed and to concentrate on visiting smaller states and communities where Marrou can obtain media coverage and encourage local libertarian organizing.

In a lengthy interview in the *Las Vegas Review-Journal* in mid-September, Marrou outlined the issues he intends to focus upon during his campaign, including the Persian Gulf war, aid to the Contras, domestic subsidies, government regulation and bureaucracy, and victimless crime laws (he's against all of the above).

Marrou, 48, is currently a Las Vegas real estate broker and is pursuing a graduate degree in political science at UNLV. He is a native of Texas, a MIT engineering graduate and worked in engineering and real estate during his 13 year residence in Alaska.

According to Emerling, the Marrou campaign will emphasize the "foundations of the Libertarian Party" and will run a debt-free, self sustaining campaign with no federal subsidies and a total budget of about \$150,000. The campaign currently has about \$3,000 in the bank.

The campaign has a new address and telephone number and can be contacted two ways: **Michael Emerling, Campaign Organizer (702) 873-1213**, or **Andre Marrou/Vice President 88, 5143 Blanton Drive, Las Vegas, NV 89122 (702) 435-3218.**

Free Forum Books Materials Seized

San Francisco, CA - Libertarian Party mailing lists, Free Forum Books customer lists, payroll records, Norma Jean pardon petitions, Groundswell (South African libertarian educational organization) financial pledges and bookstore owner Jim Person's personal address book were all seized in an early morning arrest on October 23 of David Simons on three sex related criminal offenses.

"The libertarian and store materials were not specified in the search warrant," said bookstore owner and San Francisco LP Chair Jim Peron, "and 40 of the 60 items seized were bookstore or political items rather than David's personal property."

Simons, a part-time bookstore employee who lived on the premises during the week, and a friend were both arrested by San Francisco police and held on \$500,000 bail. Authorities initially charged Simons with molestation of a minor, distributing harmful material to a minor, and failing to register as a sex offender. Peron said that Simon, who once pled guilty to a sex offense, was not optimistic about the situation. But Peron pointed out that neither he nor the business were in any way involved with the charges and as far as he knew, none of the alleged offenses occurred on bookstore premises. An Assistant District Attorney said that the alleged victim or victims were age 14 years old or less.

Peron charged that the confiscation of political and bookstore materials was "pure police harassment, and an attempt at intimidation." He is planning on filing a civil rights law suit for damages as well as a court action to speed up return of his records.

"The twelve or so police who made the arrest at 10 a.m. closed the store all day on Friday and refused to let customers or my attorney inside," Peron charged. "None of those records or lists could possibly have anything to do with the case. It's a police at-

tempt to put libertarian names in their files. Attorneys I've contacted say it's an open-and-shut violation of my civil rights and constitutional rights."

Peron said a possible motive for this police action is the previous raid on the bookstore several years ago (under different ownership) at a time when the store was the headquarters for an "abolish the vice squad" petition effort. That raid eventually resulted in no charges and an \$8,000 out-of-court settlement by the city.

Peron says that this unwarranted police seizure of business and political materials has seriously hurt his business and forced him to become embroiled in an expensive legal action to get the items returned. "It's already cost me over \$1,000," he said in late October, "and it could wipe out the bookstore if it gets much more expensive." Free Forum Books is the largest storefront libertarian bookseller in the country, according to Peron. ■

LNC Meeting

From page 7

was appointed Chair of the new Affiliate Party Committee.

In the longest discussion of the meeting, the LNC became a committee of the whole to discuss plans for moving the party headquarters to Washington, DC, long a pet project of Turney and friends. After considerable discussion, a committee of the LNC was named to submit a written report on the move proposal to the LNC 15 days prior to a mail ballot on the move.

A motion was made by David Walter to appoint Bergland to draft a contract with the Ron Paul campaign, which eventually passed, although it obviously surprised the Paul campaign insiders on the LNC, who viewed the matter with suspicion. The LP had drafted a contract for the 1984 Bergland campaign but it was never signed by that campaign.

A move was made, but withdrawn, to require Ron Paul to resign from his controversial Contributing Editor status on the Birch Society's *New American* publication. Paul Campaign Chair Burt Blumert promised instead that all such relations would be reviewed and a policy would be provided to the LNC on the matter.

In the final piece of business, \$3,000 was allocated from the membership promotion budget and awarded to the newly created Media Relations Committee, which Tonie Nathan was asked to chair after intense lobbying on her part. After over four hours of non-stop discussion, the initial LNC meeting of Turney's second term was adjourned. The next meeting was set for December 5-6 in Orlando, FL. ■

LP Move Considered



This 1400 sq. ft. house in Houston has been the national LP headquarters since March of 1985.

Houston, TX - The Libertarian Party National Committee has engaged in a heated dialogue culminating in a late October mail ballot over whether to move the national LP office from Houston to Washington, DC.

LP Chair Jim Turney, who is based in Richmond, VA, has long advocated a return to the DC area ever since his election in 1985. This was, in fact, nearly his only identifiable campaign plank during his initial election.

Turney downplayed this position during his recent re-election bid (saying the decision was up to the National Committee, which it technically is) but Turney and supporters presented a formal written proposal to move the HQ at the immediate post-convention NatCom meeting in Seattle. The NatCom commissioned a written study distributed within 30 days of the meeting. They also set a 15-day deadline for a mail ballot following the move.

All of the current top officers live within 150 miles of the DC area, as does *LP News* editor Karl Hess. The original written proposal called for moving into a renovated two-story brick townhouse, with a \$500/month total lease cost increase over the Houston location and a \$5,000 one-time move cost. Subsequent to the circulation of the original move proposal, which was prepared by Paul Kunberger, Jim Turney, Vice Chair David Walter and Treasurer Clifford Thies, the building discussed in the proposal was leased by another party and unavailable.

A second space, only 600 sq. ft., (less than half the size of the current Houston HQ) is now the leading candidate for a DC move. According to Paul Jacob, Turney's choice for the LNC Office Manager (formerly

Bulletin: LP HQ Move Approved

Houston, TX - By a vote of 15 to 9 the Libertarian Party National Committee approved a mail ballot resolution to move the national party office from Houston to Washington DC.

The 15 vote total was one more than an absolute majority of the 28 member LP governing body. Four votes were not counted either because they arrived after the October 30 deadline or abstained. At least one vote on each side the issue was reportedly cast too late to be counted.

According to national office sources, the exact site of the new DC office had not been established as of early November but party officials were seriously considering one particular site. The sticking point at this location was the small size available (600 sq. ft.). If arrangements can't be made to lease additional space in a few months at this site, the search will continue elsewhere.

According to these reports, LP Chair Jim Turney doesn't want to have to move the location once in Washington, due to the disruption and extra costs of changing addresses. LP Chair Turney is also considering moving his business from Richmond VA to the DC area, and is even considering subleasing space in the same building as the LP office.

The actual move is expected to take place as soon as new location details are worked out. ■

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

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known as the National Director), the rent would be about \$600 per month and additional space could be subleased within a few months. This second location, which also includes additional storage space, would be the smallest site the LP office has occupied since the mid-1970's.

The smaller space is usable, according to Jacob, due to the recent changeover to two smaller IBM AT computers, replacing the much larger and older Data General mini-computer, tape drive and printers. Additionally, according to informed speculation, some of the current Houston employees will not be asked to make the move in the event of NatCom approval.

The LP national office moved from Washington DC in October of 1983 shortly after the New York presidential convention. It had been moved to DC in the late 1970's when the Cato Institute moved from San Francisco, the former LP HQ city. The move to Houston from DC was controver-

sial at the time and it took then-Chair Alicia Clark several years to gain enough support for the move, similar to the current effort to move it back. Among the issues involved in the original and current move effort are availability of local volunteers, political and media visibility and ease of on-site supervision by LNC officers. Also, LNC Office Manager designate Paul Jacob, who owns a home in northern Virginia and until recently employed by the Cato Institute, would prefer to remain in that area.

Results of the mail ballot were not available as of press time but sources expect the vote to be close. In general, support for the move to DC is directly proportional to the distance from the east coast. The strong support comes from eastern LNC members and the most opposition from middle and far western members. Several California LNC members are known to be among the most vocal critics of the move, and one claimed that the California LP Executive Committee would consider disaffiliating with the national LP should such a move occur. This action is considered extremely improbable by most observers, but underscores how divisive the move issue is.

Nearly half the LNC members have written letters and memos lobbying for or against the move. Turney was unsuccessful in two prior attempts during his first term to get a move approved, and is risking an end to the relative unity of his second term by pushing actively for the controversial change. Should the move be approved, it is anticipated that the physical move out would begin in early December.

The LP would still have to fulfill the remainder of the existing lease obligation, which runs until the end of February 1988, but funds for this and other expenses would be obtained from over-budget revenue sources. Opponents of the move have cited finances, including computer-related debts and ballot access, as reasons to stay put.

The Paul presidential campaign has been neutral. Some Paul supporters have privately backed the move in order to secure a DC based campaign office outpost at the headquarters. They also want to retain the services of Paul Jacob, the popular draft registration resister, who prefers the DC area but who has also said he would work in Houston. Several other NatCom members associated with the Paul campaign oppose the move, citing possible disruption of the campaign and the close proximity of the current LP headquarters to the Ron Paul campaign headquarters, located about 30 miles south of the party offices. ■

FIFE Caucus Announced

Mountainview, CA - A new caucus has been formed in the Libertarian Party with the intention of education and outreach to new and different constituencies, according to organizers of FIFE, the "Freedom Is For Everyone" caucus.

The formation of FIFE was announced at a press conference on Sunday, Sept. 6 at the Seattle LP presidential nominating convention. In many respects, this caucus is an outgrowth of the Means for President effort.

Alexia Gilmore, who was the database coordinator for the Means presidential effort, is the current Chair of FIFE and recently discussed plans for the caucus with *American Libertarian*.

"FIFE intends to reach out to small 'l' as well as large 'L' libertarians and concentrate on the basic message Russell voiced during his campaign: freedom is for everyone. In that respect, we are going to concentrate on ballot access efforts and outreach to minorities and former LP activists,"

Gilmore said.

"Russell is really the spirit behind FIFE, and he wants to help set up a defense and education fund for libertarians," Gilmore explained. "We're going to be working on speaking engagements for him and re-issue Means' campaign TV commercials for local use by libertarian groups. We are also looking for translators for libertarian material into Spanish, Vietnamese and Indian languages."

FIFE also intends to support HR 1582, the current federal ballot access law reform, bill, and to publish a regular newsletter. The first issue of the newsletter, *The Sound of Fife*, is expected to appear in mid-November and will be edited by Mike Mayakis, who formerly worked on *Libertarian Review*.

FIFE also wants to address local and regional issues in libertarian terms, and Gilmore cited planned efforts in San Diego to respond to the Simpson-Mazzoli-Rodino

"immigration reform" measure as an example.

Russell Means has recently moved to the Navaho reservation in Arizona, where his wife is from, and is contemplating a run for political office in that state. Means also spent a week in Spain in mid-September following the LP convention as a guest of the Spanish TV network SIN, where he was extensively interviewed for Spanish language audiences worldwide.

For more information, contact: FIFE, 444 Castro St. Suite 301, Mountainview, CA 94041, (415) 326-5769. ■

Dean Announces

Fullerton, CA - Veteran California libertarian political activist Jack Dean has announced his intention to secure the LP nomination for U.S. Senate in California.

Dean, immediate past Chair of the

California LP and former LP National Committee member, intends to run a visible campaign against incumbent GOP Senator Pete Wilson in the only statewide race in California in 1988.

In his opening announcement, Dean said "I plan to run a campaign based on principles, not programs. As of this date my main emphasis will evolve around our traditional themes: the indivisibility of civil and economic liberties and the importance of developing a non-interventionist foreign policy." Particular topical issues he will focus upon include tariffs, open borders, government drug policies and the 'war on the poor.'

Dean has a professional background in advertising and publishing and has been active in the California LP for many years.

His campaign can be contacted at: **Dean for Senate, 727 N. Harbor Blvd. Fullerton, CA 92632, (714) 871-0191.** ■

Are Two Different Visions Tearing Our World Apart?

Thomas Sowell is at it again.

Over the last two decades he has taken on and demolished a mountain of myths in one area after another. Now he's turned in another blockbuster that breaks new ground with an originality of perspective and a boldness of style that will make everyone, left and right alike, sit up and take notice.

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licts as they have raged for generations, and he has uncovered the remarkable fact that these conflicts have been dominated by two opposing visions that reflect radically different assumptions about the nature of man! On virtually every issue they line up on opposite sides, no matter how unrelated the issues. **The very meaning of such words as "freedom," "equality," "rights" and "power" differs drastically from one vision to the next.**

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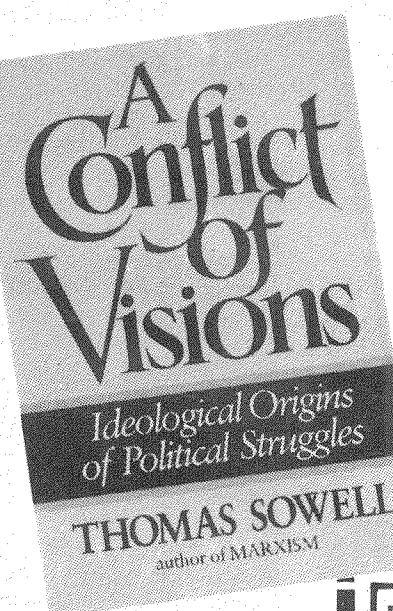
The purpose of this book is to help us think about them.

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- Why are failed visions in the natural sciences so much easier to abandon than in the social sciences?
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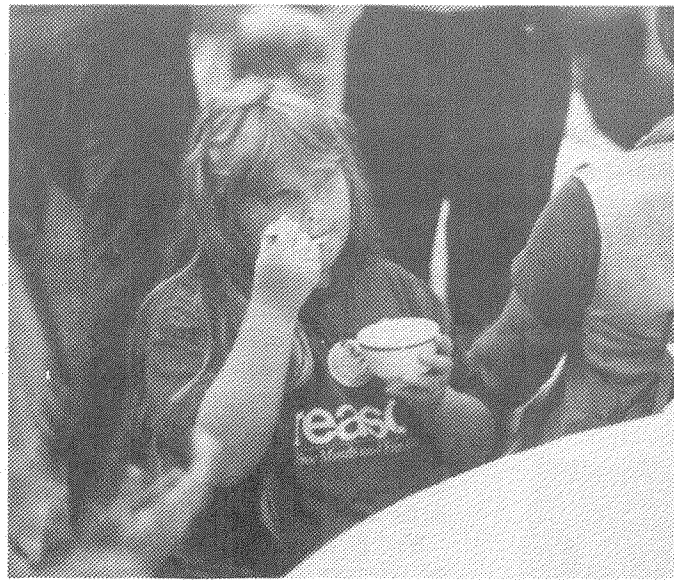
Convention Close-Ups



Yuppies, hippies and just about everyone in between were represented among delegates in Seattle.



Second generation libertarians were in greater abundance in Seattle than at prior LP conventions.



This young celebrant enjoyed the ice cream and cake passed out at David Nolan's 16th Birthday Party for the LP. Incredible as it seems to LP veterans, the LP was founded before she was born.

A long week of heavy politicking and sometimes dull floor action takes its toll on weary delegates. Or is he in deep meditation over a fine point in the platform?

Politicking was hot and heavy at the AL champagne reception prior to the beginning of the convention. Among those shown here are Means' campaign operative Larry Dodge, Liberty magazine publisher Bill Bradford (with beard) and Gloria Means.





Washington LP Chair Karen Allard welcomes delegates to Seattle. Hard work by Seattle volunteers contributed to the best attended LP convention since 1981.

LP Presidential Campaign Briefs

Newsletter Flap

Ron Paul & Associates, Inc. which is the LP presidential nominee's publishing business, has started the *Ron Paul Political Report* (\$50/yr) to publicize political commentary and analysis.

The 8-page offset newsletter debuted with the September 1987 issue and it has already proven controversial. The bulk of the first *Report* discussed the influence of the Israeli political lobby, detailing the workings of pro-Israel PACs, the Israeli Iran/Contra connection, and influence in the media.

Several libertarian Paul supporters are reportedly upset with the orientation of this initial issue, and one prominent libertarian penned a highly critical letter and voiced concern over the direction of the campaign. Paul responded to these concerns (reportedly he doesn't actually write the newsletter himself) and was perhaps unaware of how sensitive many libertarians are to perceived right-wing rhetoric.

Some libertarians are particularly sensitive over attacks on Israel. While not disagreeing over the facts, there is concern that this focus plays into the hands of right-wing anti-semites, and attacking the American political sacred cow of Israel, no matter what the reason, may not prove helpful to the libertarian cause.

New England Tour

Ron Paul left on a pivotal tour of New England (Massachusetts and New Hampshire) in hopes of igniting some interest early in his effort. He secured speaking engagements at several Ivy League universities (Harvard, Dartmouth, Brandeis) and was also slated to make the rounds of several newspapers and talk shows.

The campaign hopes to establish a media profile in New Hampshire, which is always deluged with presidential aspirants due to their early primary. Paul hopes to visit with the publisher of the conservative *Manchester Union-Leader*, the state's largest paper, which reportedly is leaning towards du Pont. Paul may also campaign in Iowa, another state with early political attention.

Media Focus

The slick *Texas Monthly* magazine (three hundred thousand circulation in Texas)

featured a profile on Ron Paul in their November 1987 issue.

The magazine, which tends to take liberal Democratic political positions, devoted nearly a page to the Paul campaign effort, which is also based in Texas.

The story gave extensive background on Paul and his recent conversion to the LP and noted that he has always been a political maverick. There was a touch of irreverence about Paul's sometimes squeaky vocal inflections and his apocalyptic analysis of government economic actions. The article also suggested that the Paul campaign had an element of "surrealism" based on "a ragtag coalition of anti-abortion activists, tax rebels, antiwar types, gold bugs and other anti-establishment single-issue voters."

But the article did treat him with a large measure of respect. They gave him credit (the first time in print) for having the potential of being a possible spoiler in some states like Texas "a la Eugene McCarthy and George Wallace in 1968."

The *Christian Science Monitor*, on Sept. 29, also profiled Ron Paul in a lengthy article discussing the impact of third parties and Paul's political philosophy and history. They even mentioned VP candidate Andre Marrou, although did goof in saying he was from Tuscon, AZ. The Paul campaign is so pleased with the *Monitor* article they are getting reprint rights and plan to distribute copies of the article themselves.

Leaflets Produced

The campaign has just produced a slick one-page campaign leaflet, with Ron Paul's picture on the cover and key issues discussed inside. These are: "abolish the income tax", "bring the boys home", "establish a gold standard" and "leave us alone". These are fairly hard core positions covering a range of issues. The back panel provides a biography and a discussion of Paul's philosophy and history.

This brochure is intended to be used in the early stages of the campaign.

Andre Marrou Where Are You?

Perhaps the weakest link of the LP campaign so far has been coordination between the presidential and VP candidates. Andre Marrou is not mentioned anywhere in standard Paul literature (such as the brochure above) and the only communication so far has been a few letters. Marrou's complaints about the situation were recently noted in a Detroit paper.

Marrou has moved recently and his campaign is separately organized and managed. Some Paul insiders are concerned that Marrou may want a heavy subsidy from the Paul campaign, and Marrou even suggested a 10% cut of Paul campaign funds in a Las Vegas newspaper interview.

One Paul staffer said "well, if he doesn't call us, that's not our problem" and some LP members are worried that Marrou, who has attracted support from a number of Russell Means backers, might be relegated to the "who is Jim Lewis?" status of the 1984 Bergland presidential campaign.

Perhaps the Paul campaign is preoccupied with its own fundraising and scheduling. Plans have been discussed for some joint Paul-Marrou appearances. This would be a first since no one seems to have caught Marrou and Paul in the same place at the same time for a photo, even at the Seattle convention.

In the meantime, the Marrou campaign has produced a campaign biography and recently acquired a new address and telephone number. It is: **Marrou/Libertarian for Vice President, 5143 Blanton Drive, Las Vegas, NV 89122 (702) 435-3218.**

Campaign Staffs Up

Houston, TX - The Ron Paul campaign recently announced the current lineup of campaign personnel and overall organization.

Continuing to head the Paul campaign committee is Burt Blumert of Burlingame, CA, a longtime Paul supporter who has ties with Paul's coin business. LP National Committee member and *American Libertarian* publisher Matt Monroe, a Houston cardiologist, remains the campaign Finance Chair.

Longtime Paul aide and *de facto* Paul nomination campaign leader Nadia Hayes has officially become the Paul Campaign Manager with nomination Campaign Manager Jan Kessman assuming the scheduler role and position of Assistant Manager. Longtime LP activist and former LP Chair Alicia Clark has been named Director of State Coordinators.

Mises Institute President Lew Rockwell Jr. has been designated the Senior Campaign Advisor and chief fundraiser. Rockwell was recently elected to the LP NatCom, is a former Paul congressional staffer and is well known for his fundraising expertise. Also designated as a Campaign Advisor is economist Murray Rothbard, who has been an active Paul supporter and who currently teaches at the University of Nevada at Las Vegas.

Other Paul staffers include Kevin Southwick, editor of the campaign newsletter *On the Freedom Trail* and correspondence director; Renae Hathaway, campaign secretary; and Eric Rittberg, chair of the Students for Ron Paul and campaign advance man.

Former Brazoria County (Lake Jackson area) journalist Bob McGower has been named as the Paul campaign media liaison person.

The Paul campaign can be contacted at: **Ron Paul for President, 1120 Nasa Road, Suite 104, Houston, TX 77058. (713) 333-1988.**

Buchanan Honored by West Coast Think Tanks

San Francisco, CA/Los Angeles, CA - Two prominent west coast libertarian think tanks honored 1986 Nobel Prize winner in economics James Buchanan in two separate dinners during October and November.

On October 29, the San Francisco based Independent Institute led by David Theroux hosted a national dinner to honor Buchanan at the Fairmont Hotel. Co-chairs of this event were Shelby Cullom Davis, former U.S. ambassador to Switzerland, Maurice Mann, Chairman of the Pacific Stock Exchange, W. Clement Stone, Chairman of the Aon Corp. and William Burgess, former Chairman of International controls.

Buchanan was also honored two weeks later at dinner in Beverly Hills hosted by the Reason Foundation based in nearby Santa Monica.

This event was held November 11 at 6:30 pm at the Beverly Hilton. This banquet is one of a series of annual banquets honoring famous contributors to free market and libertarian ideas.

now in video The Capitalist Revolution

Back in 1947, the heyday of central planning and socialism, F. A. Hayek gathered a small band of writers and thinkers at Mont Pelier in Switzerland. Their "mission impossible" task: to reverse the worldwide trend toward socialism and restore the vitality of classical liberal ideas of free trade, individualism, and free markets.

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Irving Kristol, and George Gilder. You will see their ideas in action... in an auto plant in India, in Sony's corporate headquarters, in the part-time Swiss parliament, in Washington, D.C. public housing project, and many other places.

"The New Enlightenment" was produced by London's Diverse Productions, in association with the Reason Foundation. It was broadcast last December on Britain's Channel 4—and quickly became the country's most talked about television series. Denounced by the left-wing dailies but taken very seriously by other media, it was termed "the most exciting and important non-fiction programme on television" by the *Financial Times*.

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Norma Jean Appeal Denied

Frontera, CA - The initial appeals request by imprisoned former LP California Lt. Governor candidate Norma Jean Almodovar to stay her 3 year sentence for pandering was denied by U.S. Supreme Court Justices Thurgood Marshall and Anton Scalia in late September.

The Norma Jean legal team was going to contact Justice Brennan for a final attempt, and possibly seek a writ of *habeas corpus* at the federal court level. Justice Sandra O'Connor was also contacted but she was ill and could not consider the stay request. Most observers are not optimistic that Norma Jean will be released via any extraordinary legal process.

According to Norma Jean, the CBS program *60 Minutes* was scheduled to cover her predicament in late September and may air a program segment on her case before the end of the year. Her legal defense committee is also circulating a petition for a gubernatorial pardon, although once again her chances for early release appear slim. One complication, according to Norma Jean, is that the "client" involved in her pandering case was related to the current California Governor, a fact which she said came out in the trial.

Norma Jean has begun receiving letters from libertarians and supporters, and is awaiting the delivery of a typewriter to begin corresponding with people. One complication seems to be that any inmate typewriter has to be brand-new — fresh from the box — before it can be received.

After initially being assigned with a lifer for a roommate, she was later moved into a room with a convicted drunk driver. She reports that the medical care is bad and that the prison is seriously overcrowded, but that contact with libertarians helps to keep her perspective in focus.

She can be contacted by writing: **Norma Jean Almodovar W27022, C.I.W. Miller, A54L, Frontera, CA 91720.**

FPA Convention

Columbus, OH - The annual convention of the Libertarian oriented Free Press Association (FPA) was scheduled for November 14 at the Chicago Hilton & Towers.

The conference, with the theme "Free Media, Free Minds II: A Bicentennial Perspective on Freedom of Communication", was held immediately following the much larger national convention of the Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi, which was held earlier in the week at the same location.

According to Michael Grossberg, founder of the FPA and current director (as well as film and theater critic for the *Columbus Dispatch*), scheduled speakers included:

- Jean Otto - former national president of the Society for Professional Journalists and editorial page editor of the *Rocky Mountain News*

COMING ATTRACTIONS

Interviews: Tibor Machan, John Trever and Robert Poole, Jr.

Libertarians for Animal Rights

Galt's Gulch in Ft. Collins?

Rothbard on Greenspan

Part II: Victory and Defeat in Seattle: Berglandistas Crushed

Sam Steiger's Fallen Star

Orlando Natcom Report

Attack of the Rightwing Crazies

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- John Trever - award winning editorial cartoonist for the *Albuquerque Journal*
- Asa Baber - contributing editor of *Playboy*, who spoke on *Playboy* vs. the Meese Commission
- John Fund - assistant editorial page editor of the *Wall St. Journal*, speaking on economic journalism
- Scott Stanis - cartoonist for the *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, who presented a cartoon slide show
- Roger Reed - a Swiss based free lance journalist who regularly appears in the *International Herald Tribune*
- Paula Brookmire - editor of the Sunday magazine the *Milwaukee Journal*.

Among the featured presentations were a "Year in Review" cartoon workshop, and panels and talks on the Fairness Doctrine, censorship, and selling the First Amendment. In addition, the regular annual Mencken Awards given by the FPA for the best book, editorial, cartoon, feature story and investigative journalism were presented. These are awarded based on submissions which, in the opinion of the judges, best reflect good writing and the values of free speech, reasoned inquiry and skepticism towards authority.

The FPA is a non-profit association of professional writers and journalists which is now in its sixth year. In addition to sponsoring the annual conference and Mencken Awards, the FPA publishes a quarterly newsletter *Free Press Network* which concentrates on First Amendment and journalism issues.

According to Grossberg, bids are now being sought for next year's conference, preferably on the west coast. "Last year's conference was in New York City, co-sponsored by Laissez-Faire Books," Grossberg noted, "and with the Heartland Institute co-hosting our conference in Chicago this year, we hope to move it back out west next year."

More information about hosting the 1988 convention or the FPA can be obtained from **Free Press Association, P.O. Box 15548, Columbus, OH 43215.**

Randolph Considered for AK State Senate

Fairbanks, AK - Former Libertarian Party Alaska State Representative Dick Randolph has been tapped by Fairbanks area Republicans and the state GOP Chair to fill a vacant State Senate seat in the Fairbanks area. There is one hitch, however. The Democratic Alaskan Governor, who actually makes the appointment to fill the seat vacated by the death of Republican State Senator Don Bennett, had said he would not fill the seat with someone who intended to run for it in 1988. Randolph has not agreed to those terms.

As of late October, according to a libertarian source in Alaska, the matter was at a standoff since Governor Steve Cowper had earlier also said he would abide by the wishes of the area's GOP leadership. The Governor's ultimate choice also has to be ratified by Alaska's Senate Republicans. Reportedly, Cowper is trying to get Mrs. Bennett, the widow of the former State Senator, selected as the replacement.

Although Randolph ran a poor third in the 1986 GOP gubernatorial primary (which office was ultimately won handily by the current Democratic incumbent) he carried the Fairbanks State Senate district now vacant. Randolph is also likely to seek re-election to the seat if appointed. Randolph at one time disavowed interest in the State Senate after serving two terms in the State House as a Republican and later served two terms as an elected Libertarian. He subsequently ran unsuccessfully for Governor as a Libertarian, prior to his most recent bid for the GOP nomination in 1986.

Some observers speculate that if appointed, Randolph would run in 1988 for the State Senate to lay the groundwork for another GOP gubernatorial bid in 1990. Obviously, the Democratic Governor is trying to avoid a Randolph comeback. ■

Big Water Bulletin

Big Water, UT - All three incumbent Libertarian Party Big Water, UT, City Councilmen were re-elected in the November 3 elections held in this small southern Utah community. Big Water holds the distinction of being the only community in the country governed by elected members of the Libertarian Party.

In addition, a proposed referendum to levy a city property tax went down to crushing defeat by a vote of 91 to 12.

In the first election since their original LP victory, three incumbent Big Water Councilmen won re-election. Two were opposed by Republican or Democratic opponents. Councilwoman Emily Beers was unopposed and received 81 votes.

Libertarian Charles Maness received 69 votes to defeat his Republican challenger Alda Ray Elmore, who received 34 votes.

James Joseph, son of Big Water Libertarian Mayor Alex Joseph, received 75 votes, compared to 30 for his Democratic challenger Betty Olson.

This election saw Big Water cast the highest percentage turnout of registered voters, over 90%, of any municipality in the state, according to Utah LP Secretary Willy Marshall.

Marshall, also the Libertarian National Committee representative from the region, explained the significance of the LP's successes in Big Water: "What this shows," Marshall said, "is that for members of other political parties to switch to the LP — like the Big Water Council members — doesn't necessarily mean that you have to commit political suicide. Officeholders who switch can win as Libertarians." ■

Walsh Fights Library Tax Tactics

Roselle, IL - Gerry Walsh, formerly an elected Libertarian Trustee on the Roselle Village Board, is raising Cain again about possibly unlawful government spending to promote the passage of a library tax increase referendum.

Walsh, who is also a member of the LP National Committee, wrote to the State's Attorneys in both DuPage and Cook counties requesting an investigation into the matter of using a tax-funded library newsletter to lobby for a dedicated "library tax" property tax increase. This lobbying effort appeared in the *Liberty Lights* newsletter published by the Roselle Public Library District. Walsh researched the matter and found that it violated Illinois statutes on spending tax money for partisan purposes.

Walsh also took his complaint to the Village Director of Public Safety. In addition to the lobbying effort (which the library claimed was merely "giving people information") a paid library employee headed up the tax passage effort.

Walsh put together a one-page flyer and a four-page brochure for mailing and distribution to Roselle voters.

The Cook County State's Attorney chose not to pursue the criminal complaint against the Library District.

But the DuPage County State's Attorney, Jim Ryan, sent a letter to the Library Board informing them that they had violated the state law regarding tax supported funding in partisan election issues. But shortly after his October 16 letter, the Library Board attorney sent a letter back saying he disagreed and advised the Library Board members not to reimburse taxpayers, as Ryan had suggested. Thanks to Walsh, accounts of this have appeared in numerous local and Chicago papers.

According to Walsh, the legal aspect of the matter is now up to the State's Attorney, since his ruling is being ignored.

In the meantime, Walsh organized libertarians and other opponents of the library tax increase for door-to-door leafletting against the tax increase. ■