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Atlanta NatCom: Shoot-Out on Peachtree

Atlanta, GA - The April 4-5 Libertarian Party National Committee meeting held at the Ramada Inn Central in Atlanta might be described as the "shoot-out on Peachtree Street."

In a surprising resurgence of open LP factional warfare (see related sidebar on LP NatCom factions), there was a lot of noise and smoke but no one was badly injured when the shooting was over. There was however, an open display of hostilities. The targets, most notably LP Chair Jim Turney, Ballot Access Committee (BAC) Chair Stephen Fielder (who was not present at the meeting) and LP Director Terry Mitchell, escaped largely unscathed but were considerably chastised.

Amidst some of the sharpest criticism leveled against LP leaders in several years, there was some actual business conducted. The long awaited resolution of the LP's current and future computer plans took one step back and two steps forward. And nearly lost in the barrage of criticism was the good news that at long last (and for real, this time) the national LP is finally out of debt from the 1984 election effort. Perhaps more disturbing than the acrimony publicly displayed (five months before the Seattle LP national convention) was the lack of any real discussion of the dramatic 20% membership decline of the LP (see related story elsewhere) which was not even discussed to any extent at the meeting.

West vs. East

In contrast to the fall NatCom meeting (see "LA NatCom: Kiss & Make Up" Jan.-Feb. 87 AL) frustration with the current LP leadership, factional turf war, and jockeying for position for the upcoming LP Chair election in Seattle all played a major role at the Atlanta meeting. The California-based Bergland faction, with ten members present and nearly a majority of the 24 members present, came looking for scalps from the smaller Eastern faction led by Virginia's Jim Turney, LP Chair.

Computer Follies

Turney got himself into trouble as a result of the crash of the LP's decade-old Data General minicomputer in mid-January

(which is leased from the Liberty Services partnership). After spending over \$5,000 with no clear fix on the cause of the problems, Turney decided the LP needed a new computer to continue to function, particularly since the repair bills were costing as much as a new PC based computer system would.

However, if there's one thing Libertarians like to argue about (aside from abstract philosophy) it's computers, and Turney made the error of failing to consult the dozen or so computer buffs on the NatCom before buying an Apple Macintosh PC. The Computer Oversight Committee, theoretically in charge of such matters, has not really functioned for a year and a half and Turney had never managed to get a new group appointed. The real sticking point was that no computer purchase had been budgeted for 1987, and under NatCom resolutions Turney had to get the Treasurer's approval for an unbudgeted expenditure in excess of \$1,000.

Depending on who you believe, Turney either tried and failed to reach LP Treasurer Sam Treynor during the computer emergency for approval, or did reach him but was told Treynor either would or could not ap-



Norma Jean Almodovar, shown here with a young visitor at last fall's Future of Freedom Conference, now faces a prison term of at least three years.

prove such a purchase, or didn't really bother to try very hard either way. The real explanation lies in the political feud between the Bergland camp, of which Treynor is a senior member, and Turney's Eastern faction. Treynor was not about to give Turney any extra slack, particularly since Turney's preference for an Apple based system (he, Fielder and LP News editor Karl Hess own Macs already) was at odds with

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Almodovar Sentenced to Jail

Hollywood, CA - Norma Jean Almodovar, the Los Angeles "Cop-Turned-Call Girl" and 1986 California LP Lt. Governor candidate, lost her sentencing appeal to a three-judge State Court of Appeals panel and was ordered to service a minimum of three years in prison for her original 1985 pandering conviction.

In a 29-page opinion, which was prompted by an appeal by the LA District Attorney's office over Norma Jean's original sentence of probation, the two male judges upheld the minimum sentence (3-6 years) while the female judge in a separate six-page dissenting opinion noted that the mandatory term "was out of all proportion" to Almodovar's offense.

Almodovar's attorney, Lawrence Teeter, said he would appeal the prison term to the State Supreme Court, and as of late April Almodovar was still free pending additional appeals. In a statement Norma Jean said, in part,

"I do not intend to go to prison without a struggle, and the next step is to take my case

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LP Membership Down 20% From 1985

Houston, TX - According to revised figures released by the national Libertarian Party office, paid national LP membership dropped by 1,364 members between February 28, 1985 and February 28, 1987, slightly more than 20%.

Despite a resurgence of enthusiasm for the LP, brought on in part by the high profile campaigns of LP presidential nomination contenders Russell Means and Ron Paul, over one-fifth of dues-paying LP members quit during the past two year period. A number of high party officials and former employees believe paid membership peaked during the early 1980's at around 7,600. However efforts to verify that figure were unsuccessful due to inability to locate necessary records. According to current LP National Director Terry Mitchell, paid membership actually dipped to around 4,500 in mid summer 1986 during a difficult financial period marked by management upheaval.

No investigation of the cause of this drop has yet been instigated (see related editorial on this subject in this issue) although it has been suggested by LP office staff that membership renewal procedures have been inconsistent or, at times, non-existent. Regular membership renewal mailings

were re-instituted during the fall of 1986 but the total breakdown of the LP's computer in January and February of this year caused at least 350 renewals not to be mailed during those months by the national office. Subsequent successful repairs allowed renewals to resume and the backlog caught up. The LP's Finance Committee has also begun a three-part renewal reminder and follow up mail effort.

The LP does not regularly compile or report membership data, but in every odd-numbered year a tally is required to allocate delegates to the LP's national convention. In February 1985 the LP had 6,781 paid members. Two years later this total dropped to 5,417. Aside from reducing financial support, this decline also drastically reduces the potential size of the attendance at the national convention.

A state-by-state analysis of the two year period shows declines in the nine largest states (CA, TX, NY, AK, MI, CO, PA, IL, IN) accounting for over 61% of the drop, ranging from a 10.8% drop in the largest state (California) to a whopping 65% in Alaska, possibly caused by Dick Randolph's GOP defection and the disastrous 1986 election. In a handful of smaller states (AL, DE, ID,

NV, ND, OK, OR) LP membership actually grew, though the largest increase, in Oregon, was only 18 members.

National LP membership has not been strongly stressed in the past few years, and the history of membership suggests that growth is a by-product of active campaigns, particularly at the presidential level.

Although the LP has a Membership Committee headed by California LP Chair Mark Hinkle, it has not been very active and membership recruitment has largely been a by-product of other fundraising efforts. Membership Chair Hinkle disavowed any responsibility for the recent membership decline at the recent National Committee meeting in Atlanta and even suggested that his committee be abolished as a separate entity.

While the current trends are negative, the Libertarian Party is still believed to be the largest explicitly libertarian membership organization in the world. Many state and local LP members are not dues paying members of the national organization. In addition, the national LP has another five or six thousand contributors who have donated in the recent past, but who are not necessarily paid party members. ■

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the apparent majority sentiment that an IBM compatible system would be preferable.

Had Turney bought an IBM system, the uproar might not have occurred, but the theological dispute over computer brands fanned the flames of discontent over his admittedly unauthorized purchase.

Perhaps it's a healthy sign in the LP that differences over computers loom larger than philosophical issues, but in any event a pre-Atlanta mail ballot on the issue of the purchase resulted in a 17-to-one defeat for Turney's action.

The matter quickly came up again at the meeting, with Utah LP Chair Hugh Butler proposing a harshly worded resolution on the matter insisting that Turney buy back the Mac, and accusing him of "civil and criminal" transgressions and describing him as a "perpetrator."

Police blotter language aside (although it is these small touches that give the Bergland faction their reputation for throat cutting), the measure gave everyone an opportunity to criticize Turney, who could do little more than repeat his earlier arguments that the computer emergency justified his action. The issue was finally resolved when Turney agreed to buy back the Mac if the newly formed Computer Acquisition Committee chose not to keep it.

Turney also came up short on the Dale Hemming motion calling for the Chair's resignation, a somewhat longer version of a similar resolution which was quickly killed on a procedural motion at the previous NatCom meeting. Hemming, who has done little but complain during his current term, cited a long list of rules violations and unkept promises by Turney as a basis for his motion.

The Bergland camp quickly modified the motion to call for censure rather than resignation, citing the unauthorized computer purchase and a general "dereliction of duty." A move to remove the dereliction portion of the motion failed on a 10-10 tie vote and the final roll call vote was 12-to-10 against Turney, with Secretary Ahmad and Turney (inexplicably) voting to abstain. The Bergland faction voted solidly in favor of the motion with Hemming, Tonie Nathan and Steve Dasbach also siding with the anti-Turney move.

While the censure move carried barely a third of the full NatCom (which numbers 33) the move was largely symbolic, since Turney was not inclined to resign. Some Bergland faction members privately admitted that both this move and the attempt to oust Fielder were designed to hurt their respective chances for Chair election at the upcoming Seattle convention.

Fielder & Mitchell

BAC Chair Fielder came close to being fired by the NatCom (9 to 10) for failing to provide financial data to the Treasurer or Auditor as required by the rules, and for generally keeping everyone in the dark about ballot access efforts since the last meeting.

He was given a 10 day reprieve and has subsequently agreed to become more cooperative. Citing business pressure as the reason for his absence, according to Paul Kinberger of Maryland, some NatCom members felt that perhaps Fielder was unable to cope with the difficult job and needed to be replaced if he couldn't handle it.

David Bergland volunteered to take on the BAC post and suggested that a full time staffer might be needed. In a neat bit of lawyerly cross-examination, attorney Paul Kunberger unearthed the fact that Perry



LP NatCom members consider arguments during the sometimes heated deliberations at the Atlanta meeting.



LP Secretary Dean Ahmad types minutes in "real time" during NatCom meetings into his portable Osborne computer. The NatCom sessions are also taped.



Sitting at long tables in hot, overcrowded hotel meeting rooms is one of the rewards of being an LP National Committee member. (Left to right): Jim Lewis, Matt Monroe, Chad Colopy, Gary Johnson, David Waller, Randy Ver Hagen at Atlanta meeting.



Key Bergland faction NatCom members Sam Treynor and Sharon Ayres put the pressure on national Chair Jim Turney at the recent meeting.

Willis was ready and able to become the paid BAC staffer "if asked." So, added to everything else, some believe the assault on Fielder was part of a Willis job creation project, since his contract fundraising work for Sharon Ayres' Finance Committee provides less than fulltime employment.

Bill Evers also launched an investigation by the Management Committee (see related articles elsewhere) into allegations about the national office made by a former fired LP employee who distributed a lengthy "poison pen" letter in February. Randy Ver Hagen volunteered for the job and the investigation effort was still underway via mailed questionnaires as of early May.

1985 Repeat?

Motives are, of course, difficult to assess. David Bergland contends that what happened at the meeting was merely the NatCom exerting discipline over blatantly wayward leadership. Others see a more faction-based explanation.

The criticisms were largely selective, since previous actions taken by Chairs outside the budget (including Randy Ver Hagen's \$10,000 "loan" in the summer of 1985) were authorized after the fact by many of Turney's harshest critics, who were suddenly imbued with a "born again" respect for NatCom resolutions. At the LA meeting, the NatCom voted to hold Treasurer Sam Treynor harmless for the imposition of a \$1,000 FEC fine caused by late reports to the government, despite the fact that he was responsible for filing them timely.

Mark Hinkle was quick to criticize Turney's shortcomings, and had plenty of time to prepare a detailed computer proposal to replace the MacIntosh. Yet Hinkle's own Membership Committee report, presented in the final hour of the two-day meeting, skimmed over the LP's 20%

membership drop in the past two years and lamely suggested that the Membership Committee be merged with the Finance Committee.

Some NatCom members sensed a near repeat of the 1985 pre-convention situation, when the resignation of Chair Paul Grant and the appointment of Randy Ver Hagen as Chair paved the way for the wholesale firing of the LP headquarters staff and the suspension of *LP News*. The resulting lack of activity prior to the Phoenix convention demoralized the rank-and-file and resulted in the smallest LP convention attendance since the early 1970's. This move backfired politically for Ver Hagen, but some noted that the brinkmanship in Atlanta, had a few more votes been cast against Turney & Company, could have resulted in the ouster of Turney, Fielder and Mitchell from their key leadership positions. *LP News* editor Hess would have quit had this occurred and once again, as in 1985, the LP would have been five months from the national convention with a complete leadership upheaval and in considerable turmoil.

Some Progress

Aside from the factional political theatre, some progress was made on actual business. The Broadcast Commercial self funded action committee (renamed LP Advertising Development Committee) was turned over to experienced TV producer Mike Hall (although, in typical LP fashion, he promptly lost a \$2,500 cashier's check sent to him by the headquarters). The Seattle convention effort was put back on track after months of confusion about the status of the contract between the Washington LP group and the national party. Former Director Honey Lanham was named Convention Oversight Committee Chair and a resolution was passed forbidding the appearance of speakers hostile to the LP or political ac-

tion in general, after several complaints by NatCom members that they were "tired of going to LP conventions and paying to hear how stupid they were for engaging in politics."

And in the hubbub of argument about LP computers, the long simmering Liberty Services partnership matter was finally set on a course of final resolution. This private limited partnership, formed in the late 1970's to purchase and lease the Data General computer to the LP, agreed to take the system back within 120 days in return for \$18,000 in notes payable to be issued to the limited partners. Reportedly, all the limited partners in the past few years have agreed to donate their shares to the LP, but were prohibited from doing so by the partnership agreement.

Melinda Pillsbury-Foster representing Liberty Service's general partner Craig Franklin, and a three person Natcom subcommittee, hammered out the agreement during the meeting. In the meantime, a newly formed computer acquisition committee formed will recommend a replacement system within sixty days. The 1987 LP budget was also increased by \$24,200 reflecting improved financial prospects and was allocated towards a new computer system, paying off Liberty Services and for small staff salary increases.

Fallout

In addition to the NatCom meeting, the Georgia LP held a well attended state convention featuring a number of speakers and appearances by both major LP presidential nomination contenders, Ron Paul and Russell Means. Both candidates made brief courtesy appearances before the NatCom as well. Ron Paul gave an evening banquet speech to nearly 200 attendees and Georgia LP activist James Harris presented the

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LP Nomination Races Gear Up

Katy, TX - In what most observers agree has been the most visible and active LP nomination race to date, the principal Libertarian Party presidential contenders have entered the second phase of their already hectic campaigns.

Nearly all the remaining state LP conventions in which the delegates are chosen will occur in May thru mid July, and both Ron Paul and Russell Means are going to be traveling virtually non-stop during this period to spread their messages and win votes.

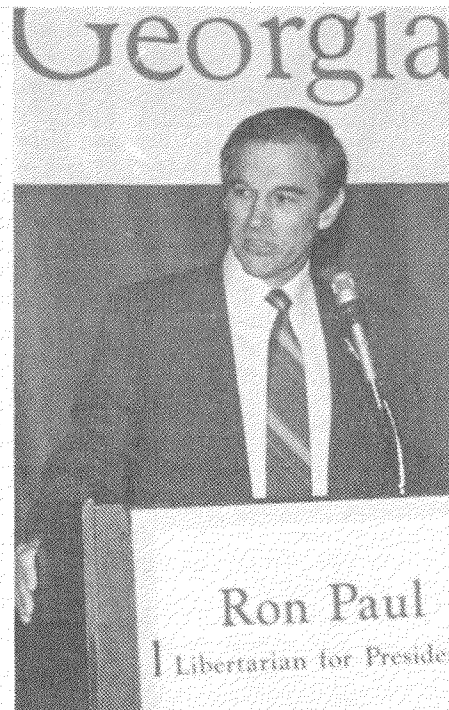
With a total of approximately 375 possible voting delegates, past history indicates that about 300 to 330 voting delegates will actually be on hand to vote in the Seattle Labor Day nominating convention. Winning candidates will need about 150-175 delegates, depending upon the exact turnout. Some anticipate a record percentage turnout due to the heightened interest in the hotly contested race.

While it is far too early to handicap the race, and Libertarians are notorious for waiting until the last minute to fully commit, some experienced LP watchers believe that former GOP Congressman Ron Paul has about a two-to-one edge over Indian activist Russell Means at this point. But both main candidates are newcomers to the LP, and Russell Means is fast closing the "knowledge gap" concerning his libertarian bona fides and is impressing many with his distinct message and charismatic style, honed for many years as an Indian rights spokesman.

The Paul campaign has lost its initial over confidence, which appeared in the earliest stages of the campaign when it appeared Paul would not be seriously challenged. If anything, it is now the Means camp which verges on over confidence, with one leading Means' supporter questioning "what's Ron Paul going to do with all the money he's raised when he loses the nomination?"

But boundless optimism is the traditional hallmark of nearly all LP candidates regardless of the circumstances, and very few nose counts have yet been conducted. Means has picked up momentum, in part because he's been on the road more in March and April. However, both candidates are fully committed for the next several months and the much larger Paul organization has just now fully swung into action. Both candidates are improving their sales pitches. Means, for example, has been stressing his academic, business and economic credentials and emphasizing his past dealings on the international political stage. Ron Paul, on the other hand, has begun emphasizing more non-economic issues and is demonstrating more emotional vitality in his presentations. Both candidates are becoming more comfortable with often difficult libertarian audiences and both have been heavily selling themselves and their future campaigns as vehicles for enlarging and strengthening the party in 1988 and beyond.

Means is expected to show strength in Texas, Michigan and in Northwestern states, and has been picking up a number of



Ron Paul gave the banquet speech to 200 listeners at the Georgia LP convention. Photo by Ken Rand.

strongly committed activists nearly everywhere he appears. Paul's effort tends to be favored by the party's organizational "establishment", including both major LP NatCom factions, as well as by many activists who yearn for a 1980-scale LP campaign and a more conventional candidate image.

Ron Paul

The Paul for President effort claims to have raised over \$75,000 from more than 775 contributors, including rank-and-file LP members as well as from Paul's own 120,000-name list of past contributors and supporters.

Bert Blumert is the Ron Paul campaign Chair with David Bergland, Sharon Ayres and Ed Clark as honorary Co-Chairs. Matt Monroe is the Treasurer and former GOP activist and Houston area suburban councilwoman Jan Kessman is the Campaign Manager. Houston activist Kevin Southwick was recently named Press/Issues Coordinator and Lori Paul Pyeatt does the scheduling. There are a number of official campaign consultants, according to a recent Paul campaign newsletter, including Jack Dean of California, Emil Franzi of Tucson, Lew Rockwell Jr. of Washington, Jeffery Tucker of Virginia, Murray Rothbard of Nevada and Jim Hedbor of Vermont. Longtime Paul aide Nadia Hayes of Houston is also listed as a consultant, but this designation considerably underestimates her clout within the Paul operation.

With a full-time staff of four, the Paul operation considerably overshadows their opposition. In addition to their regular *On The Freedom Trail* campaign newsletter, the Paul campaign has been issuing a steady stream of news releases on a variety of subjects ranging from the IRS and money supply to the "dumping" issue and recent highway legislation. Paul has also done a large number of radio interviews and talk shows. He appeared on an April 15 CNN TV interview along with IRS Director Mortimer Kaplan and was invited on the "Crossfire" interview program but did not appear because they could not find a pro-IRS spokesman.

Russell Means

The Russell Means Freedom campaign has been run by an enthusiastic group of volunteers, led by Montana LP Chair Larry Dodge, who is also the Means Campaign Manager. Former National Director Honey Lanham is the campaign Treasurer and has been handling fundraising as well as coordinating overall campaign efforts. Liz Barth-

low of Houston recently became Means' national media coordinator, and Alexia Gilmore (who has also been active in the past with the Libertarian Republican Organizing Committee) is the national mailing list coordinator.

Reportedly the Means effort has raised over \$10,000 and has access to more than 3,000 names.

Means has demonstrated an extraordinary ability to engender publicity during the course of his travels, in part because he is a well known and colorful figure (he always appears in imposing braids and silver jewelry) and is a seasoned veteran in dealing with news media. In one recent Los Angeles visit, a chance meeting with a Means supporter and an LA City Council candidate resulted in Mean's leading a 100 person candlelight march protesting a threatened school board eminent domain seizure. While attending the April Georgia LP convention in Atlanta, Means was invited by Joe Lowry of the Southern Christian Leadership Council, a well respected civil right organization, to attend the memorial ceremony at the Martin Luther King gravesite on the anniversary of King's assassination. He was invited to speak at the televised event and met with Coretta King and Hosea Williams, who both know Means from his previous Indian rights activism.

Means also has a talent for the quick quip. In a reply to a question about his stand on immigration, he noted "well, you should know the American Indian position on that. You're here aren't you?"

He also practices a radical version of libertarianism is his daily life, noting that "I 'lost' my Social Security card when I was 18," says he hasn't paid federal income taxes since 1971, and is currently battling South Dakota authorities on driver's license and license plate issues, which he says shouldn't apply to Indians driving on their own land.

Means has also inspired an anti-Means booklet entitled **Do The Ends Justify the Means?** authored by San Francisco's Free Forum Bookstore owner Jim Peron. In the 10-page booklet, Peron argues from a strongly Objectivist oriented position that Means advocates an "anti-industrial philosophy" which is "anti-competitive, anti-technological, and at its core, anti-reason and anti-man." Peron also argues that Means favors foreign intervention if such intervention favors Indian peoples, such as in Nicaragua, and contends that Means' past associations with "extremist organizations" and "the revolutionary Left" disqualify him for LP candidacy.

Vocal Ron Paul critic Bill Howell of Dallas is reportedly researching Means' varied political past extensively and is in the process of preparing a biographical essay on Means for inclusion in Means' campaign literature.

American Libertarian will carry interviews with both candidates in upcoming issues.

Other Candidates

Announced LP Vice Presidential candidate Andre Marrou has raised over \$2,000 to date and is in the process of additional direct mail fundraising efforts and state convention appearances.

Jim "Libertarian" Burns, formerly of Nevada and rumored to be a possible candidate last year in an attempt to publicize his "small states" campaign strategy, has recently surfaced in Vermont and has officially announced his candidacy for the LP presidential nomination. The Burns campaign (8 South View Dr., South Burlington, VT 05403) is not expected to mount a major challenge to the two leading candidates, but Burns was slated to appear at the Vermont

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Norma Jean

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to the State Supreme Court. If they won't hear my case, I will take it to the United States Supreme Court. And under no circumstances will this prevent me from publishing my book.

I am asking everyone to write a letter to the Governor of California, and to the Los Angeles District Attorney, Ira Reiner, and to the California State Senator David Roberti, the liberal Democrat, who introduced this horrible law. Please tell them that you think this is awful, that since probation is allowed for violent acts against others, why is it not allowed for me? I hope that by flooding them with mail, they will be forced to take a good look at what they are doing, and know that everyone is watching them. I don't know if it will keep me out of prison, but it certainly won't hurt.

Please write to:

Governor **George Deukmajian**
State Capitol Building
Sacramento, Calif. 95814

District Attorney **Ira Reiner**
210 W. Temple St. 18-709
Los Angeles, Cal. 90012

State Senator **David Roberti**
State Capitol Building
Sacramento, Cal. 95814

Norma Jean was originally convicted of "pandering", a victimless crime, in a case which had political overtones from the outset due to her previous stint as an LAPD civilian traffic officer, and her intention to write a book exposing corruption within the police department. Despite California's mandatory sentencing laws requiring jail time, her original judge, Superior Court Judge Aurelio Munoz, sentenced her to three years probation declaring the state law unconstitutional as cruel and unusual punishment. "In this case, the punishment

is clearly out of proportion to the actions of the defendant," Munoz stated. However, the District Attorney's office, in what many see as a vindictive effort to silence Almodovar (who was set up by a former co-worker on the pandering charge, according to Almodovar), to prevent the publication of her book.

In the meantime, Norma Jean is out on the publicity trail garnering support for her predicament. Her story was published in the May issue of *Penthouse*, which sponsored a speaking tour to publicize the article in April. Fox Broadcasting's Joan Rivers has also had Norma Jean on her TV talk program several times, the latest on April 2, a move which Norma Jean describes as "tremendously courageous". She describes Rivers as "a Libertarian at heart, notwithstanding the fact that she is a registered Republican."

Norma Jean also appeared on the Donahue syndicated TV program on March 9, discussing the decriminalization of prostitution. While the show aired nationally, the local NBC affiliate apparently felt it was "too controversial" and yanked it off the air despite having publicized it earlier in the day. Norma Jean also reports that "it looks like *60 Minutes* is definitely going to do a segment on me, but not for this season. It will most likely air at the end of this year or at the beginning of 1988."

Her legal situation has also drawn support from a variety of civil liberties commentators, including *LA Herald Examiner* columnist Ben Stein, who also writes for a number of other political publications. In a January 8 column earlier this year, Stein said "[LA District Attorney] Reiner, take note, please: Norma Jean Almodovar must be protected, not prosecuted for speaking out on public policy issues. You may think she is kooky, but for you to say that free speech compounds a felony is completely wrong."

AL will continue to report developments in this case. ■

Libertarian Outlook

LP: Grow or Die

Because the Libertarian Party in the United States is the largest explicitly libertarian membership organization in the world, the state of its health is of particular concern to us. And while recent political events in the Libertarian Party have caused renewed enthusiasm among the rank-and-file, stemming largely from the candidacies of Ron Paul and Russell Means for the LP presidential nomination, other indicators of health have taken an alarming downturn.

Precise membership figures for the national LP have always been maddeningly elusive. While most membership organizations regularly report and analyze membership and trends, the LP has usually taken a distinctly lackadaisical attitude towards paid members. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the LP's influence is far greater than its small membership would first suggest. Also, most libertarians prefer to focus on ideas rather than the mundane details of organization.

Although we have been unable to verify it, knowledgeable observers believe LP national membership peaked in 1981 after the Clark campaign. Fortunately for us nose-counters, LP rules require a precise count every two years (in odd numbered years) to determine delegation size to the national LP convention. These counts are taken at the end of February, and for this reason about half of LP membership renewals occur in December, January or February.

Based upon comparisons between February 1985 and 1987, the national party has lost 1,364 members in this two year period, over 20% of its total strength. This is a shocking and startling decline, and made all the more so by the indifference to this drop shown by the national party leadership. Membership totals are not regularly reported at LP National Committee meetings, and the Membership Committee reports have been perfunctory and usually held in the final hours of long two-day meetings. This recent drop caused nary a ripple at the recent Atlanta meeting.

Most organizations or businesses which lost one-fifth of its members or customers in the past two years would be worried sick, or at least demanding reasons why and corrective action. Not the Libertarian Party. Virtually none of the political commotion in the national party has to do with this drastic decline.

Since no one else has looked into this (after all, these things can be embarrassing to the folks in charge), we might speculate as to the reason for this drop.

Clearly, the Bergland 1984 campaign proved disappointing to many. Yet near record high membership totals were achieved nearly four months after the 1985 election in February 1985.

The LP went through a bruising upheaval in the summer of 1985, with the wholesale firing of the national staff and the suspension of the LP's national newspaper for nearly 8 months. The smallish Phoenix national convention wrought yet another top leadership change. All of this turnover and political wrangling undoubtedly demoralized the rank-and-file, who are usually turned off by the appearance of faction fighting.

Saddled by debt, the LP resumed a slow climb in late 1985 and began to turn around in 1986. Yet the mechanics of membership

renewal and internal party communication were erratic and inconsistent. While the arrival of Karl Hess as *LP News* editor was heralded by many party members, Hess has been far more interested in promoting libertarianism as an idea rather than as a party organization. His inclusion of anti-LP advertising and publicizing non and anti-LP organizations in the party's house organ caused yet more criticism from certain party segments, which also spilled over into the pages of the paper. Bleak financial performance and computer problems caused the firing and resignation of LP staff, and by late summer 1986 the LP was teetering on the edge of insolvency.

As has been chronicled on these pages, in the past nine months or so, things have begun to improve and there were signs of renewed unity and effectiveness in the LP. But just as the debts disappeared, the national office computer crashed for over a month and no renewals were sent out during the critical January-February period.

But does this chronology explain what happened to 20% of former LP members? Possibly. And certainly, the popularity of Ronald Reagan and the general political apathy of the country played a large role as well. Perhaps what is needed is a survey of former members to determine why they quit. Have they all become "born again" statist? We hope not.

The prospects of an exciting LP presidential ticket in a wide-open 1988 election year is a tantalizing opportunity. Active LP campaigns always build membership and tangibly demonstrate the value of a national Libertarian Party organization. There is an implicit hope by many LP members that the 1988 elections will re-build membership and strengthen the party.

Let us hope so. For if the past recent trends continue, the LP could slip below a critical mass within a few years. Although it remains the largest third party, overhead required for a national political organization demands a fairly large member and donor base.

Paid national membership isn't the whole story, of course. Local LP groups and non-member donors probably outnumber actual paid national LP members. But it is clear that the LP has to stop the decline. Like any living entity, it must either grow or die. There is no other choice. ■

Feedback



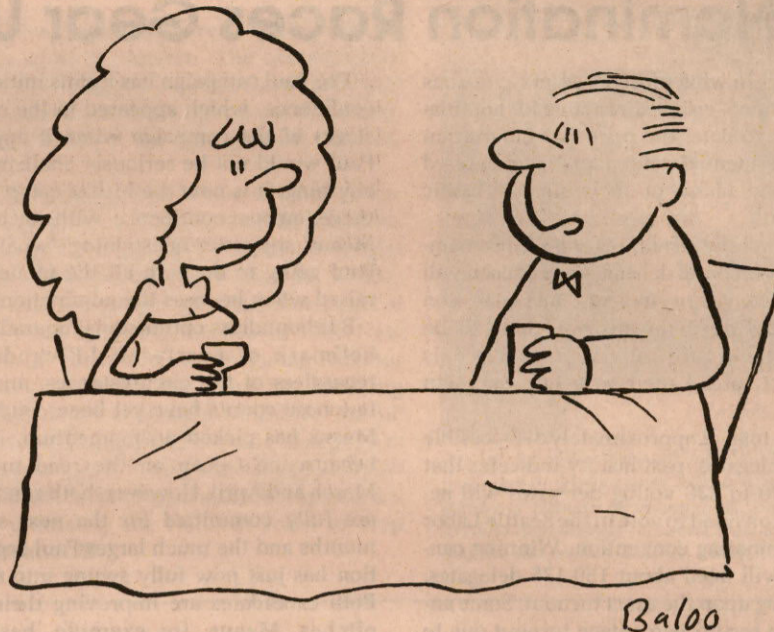
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are subject to editing. Send to: Feedback, American Libertarian, 21715 Park Brook Drive, Katy, TX 77450.

Dunn On Wheeler

I continue to eagerly anticipate and enjoy each issue of *American Libertarian*, primarily for its forthright publication of all the news that does not appear in the official LP organs — news that is often pertinent to one's judgement of official LP affairs. It is therefore out of genuine fraternal concern that I must object to your libelous account of Jack Wheeler's speech at the Future of Freedom Conference and of my own character as an editor of *American Defense*, the publication of the Libertarian



"You're a Libertarian? Oh, nuts — I thought you said you were a libertine!"

Defense Caucus.

You lamented the evidence of an "unexpected right-wing undertone" at the FoF Conference, instanced Jack Wheeler's speech as an example of this "theme" that was not better than a "1960's era anti-communist sermon", and reported specifically that Jack "dismissed solely private efforts to aid the Nicaraguan Contras as insufficient and suggested that both a draft and a U.S. military invasion of Nicaragua might be appropriate in order to 'contain Communism'."

Considering that I have recently prepared for publication a verbatim transcript of Jack's speech (to appear in *American Defense* #40), I think I have a basis for finding fault with your description of the event. In the first place, if a speech whose topic was the emergence of spontaneous resistance movements to the Soviet colonization of the Third World can be viewed only as "right wing", then I believe you are being unfair to the many libertarians who rightly regard the Soviet Union as a malignant force and who find hope in the news of its decay from within. Secondly, of these events and speeches appeared to be a "theme" finding root amid the "choir", I don't see that there was much libertarian sentiment left for Steel, Rohrabacher, and Wheeler to "influence." Thirdly, why should anyone be apologetic for pointing out the authentic evil accomplished by the Soviet Union and why should you feel that such a concern is worthy of denigration? Is it somehow virtuous for a libertarian to give lip service to the Soviet Union's accomplishments, but not to look them squarely in the face and recognize the true horror of untrammelled state power?

Aside from these biases, your report of Jack's comment is seriously in error. Although he did state that (in his view) solely private assistance to the resistance movements would not be sufficient (because of market limitations on the private procurement of military weapons), he certainly did not despise it, and he took pains to indicate his dissatisfaction with the waste and stupidity associated with government aid. As for the draft, Jack specifically stated that he did **not** support the draft and further pointed out that it was an issue that was crucial to his and other's willingness to countenance the Reagan administration's efforts. As for invading Nicaragua, Jack specifically expressed **objection** to the idea — the subject arose from a question asking Jack whether he thought an invasion will occur, not whether it was desirable. And nowhere in the speech do I recall Jack

invoking the "containment" of Communism as a pretext for U.S. military intervention.

In view of the seriousness of these errors, I believe it is incumbent on you as an honorable person and an editor of integrity to publish a retraction and apology.

Turning now to my own case, I find that, despite our amicable acquaintanceship over the years and what I thought to be a responsible appreciation of the work of the Libertarian Defense Caucus, you now find me the purveyor of "hysterical defenses of American imperialism" in an "admittedly hawkish" publication.

This is completely unacceptable. I categorically deny that I have ever published (or the LDC supports) any defense of imperialism, "hysterical" or otherwise. You are obliged to offer evidence for this accusation. Further more, in no way have I or the LDC "admitted" to being "hawkish" —

Continued page 5

American Libertarian

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Notable Quotes

Piddled Off

"I'm running out of self defense," (Nevada Assembly candidate) James Frye said. "I can't stomach the Democrats and the Republicans. The government has no right

to tell you what you can read or make you piddle in a bottle to see if you are doing your job properly."

Jim Sloan, Reno, NV Gazette Journal, October 24, 1986

Merciless Forces of Capitalism Dept.

"Major airlines backed off from a plan to sharply limit their discount fares after Texas Air, the nation's largest carrier, refused to go along. The decision leaves the industry wondering when the fare wars will end."

The Wall St. Journal, Feb. 27, 1987

Now We Know the Problem

"I love government."

Former National Security Council advisor Robert McFarlane, in an interview with National Public Radio

Feedback

From page 4

whatever that word might mean. It is certainly poor form for libertarians who support rational analysis of public affairs to indulge in the deliberately vague vocabulary of conventional politics, whose only effect is to transport a baggage of connotations without the slightest trace of principled meaning. The connotations are, of course, unfavorable — and I object to them. But worse, the term is obfuscatory, and I object to that even more. If all this be "hysteria", so be it. . . but I think you would be ashamed to make such a claim to my face, or to bandy it before anyone who is familiar with my writings. I am not a dispassionate person, but I have always rooted my rhetoric in fact, logic, and the shared principles of honesty and freedom. Moreover, when I am wrong, I admit it. . . and I have always kept the pages of my publication open to critics and opponents, whose views I have never censored.

Inasmuch as I have recently retired from the editorship of *American Defense*, I can offer you only a change of target. But the issue is not moot. Fellow libertarians do not need to libel each other simply out of disagreement with the points of view they may be expressing. I think too highly of you to believe that this appeal will fall on deaf ear.

Michael J. Dunn
Auburn, WA

At the risk of going on too long (a one-page letter I once sent to Mike Dunn's *American Defense* newsletter drew a seven page reply from Dunn, complete with charts and graphs) I should note the following:

1) Regarding "hawkish" describing the LDC: Perhaps they don't admit to it, but it's a term in common usage denoting a strongly pro-military or pro-defense position. I think "hawkish" is a fair characterization of the thrust of their views.

Positions featured in *American Defense* relating to this are: strong support of the "Star Wars" Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), complete opposition to disarmament negotiations with the Soviet Union, condemnation of all trade with Russia, advocacy of a massive civil defense system in the U.S. against nuclear attack, and opposition to the "Wrangell Island giveaway".

While these positions have not all apparently

been officially endorsed by the LDC (if indeed such endorsements are granted) I believe "hawkish" is reasonably accurate. Regardless of the merits of these positions, even the "admittedly hawkish" Reagan administration does not go along with a number of these positions. 2) Regarding "hysterical defense of U.S. imperialism":

While I must limit my citations for space reasons, the specific item which prompted my original characterization is:

"Though I subscribe heartily to our general "non-interference and non-intervention" principle, I believe we must put a condition on it, that this policy will prevail **only** if and when it permits **our** country to truly protect itself.

. . . I believe our southern land border with Mexico is truly **non-defensible**. I believe it is a national suicide for our (Libertarian) Party to think that we can allow **any** strong, possibly unfriendly power to develop at any place between that border and the virtually impenetrable swamps on the other side of the Panama Canal.

. . . Our truly defensible border utilizes the Arctic, the two oceans, and the aforementioned Panama swamps. This includes Alaska (Hawaii may or may not be possible for us to defend), and it includes all the Central American Republics. With my knowledge of these peoples, I believe they could someday be admitted to our Union as six states; I would favor this, and this would make their physical position in relations to the contiguous states similar to that of Alaska. Canada and Mexico would remain out of our Union.

Letter to the Editor by Elbert Sowerwine, Jr. *American Defense*, Number 29, January-February 1985, page 8, 9

In part, Mike Dunn's reply was as follows: "Mr. Sowerwine raises a challenging and interesting issue, one which we are glad to air.

. . . To buttress some of Mr. Sowerwine's points, our past issue (#38) contains a critique of the Bergland campaign's issue pamphlet in which the usual position of non-interventionism ("neutrality") is analyzed and found to be incompatible with libertarian principles. Therefore, Mr. Sowerwine's argument that non-interventionism should be subordinate to national security consideration is not unreasonable.

. . . As for bringing the smaller Central American republics under our Union, that may be more problematic. For one thing, it is doubtful that the citizens of these nations may be enthusiastic about such a relationship (not to mention the possible difficulty approving such Statehood in a predominantly Anglo-Saxon Congress.) But it may be more realistic to propose a Commonwealth relationship such as now exists between the United States and Puerto Rico, which would achieve U.S. foreign policy objectives without totally removing local sovereignty from the member republics."

I will let readers decide if I was incorrect in categorizing the above exchange as hysterical defense of U.S. imperialism (though I will nominate Mr. Dunn as the first commandant of the "Commonwealth of Nicaragua" when this "proposal" is effected).

In fairness to the LDC and Mr. Dunn, it would be incorrect and irresponsible to leave readers with the impression that *American Defense* or the LDC endorses imperialistic foreign policy as a matter of course. What such "imperialism" consists of, both historically and prospectively, is open to wide debate within the libertarian movement as well as without.

While I stand by my somewhat pointed characterization (admittedly a narrow one used for effect in my original context) I will apologize to Mr. Dunn if he believes my remarks were an attack upon his motives or meant to be an indictment of his efforts.

3) Finally, on the matter of Jack Wheeler's speech as reported in *AL* (Jan-Feb 1987):

In answer to a question regarding the appropriateness of federal aid to the Contras, Wheeler answered (in part): "There is only one way, given the state of military affairs and the way things are handled, that you can get adequate weapons to these insurgents. You cannot buy them on the open market. . . It could be handled a lot better, but it cannot be handled through private assistance alone. That's the way it is."

However regretfully, Wheeler does support outright U.S. government aid to the Contras financed by tax dollars. Since the U.S. is not at war with Nicaragua, most libertarians are reluctant to support government intervention in a foreign nations' internal politics.

In answer to the question "Do you think the U.S. will invade Nicaragua?", Wheeler answered "I hope it won't be necessary, okay? I think the Contras have a much better chance of it."

In answer to a question as to whether conscription can ever be justified, Wheeler replied "I think it's real difficult to justify conscription in a free country. That's really where you draw the line, as some of us do in working, for example, with the Reagan administration. I know Dana Rohrabacher, (a White House speechwriter) one of the founders of this conference; that's where he draws the line."

(These replies are both from Dunn's transcript of the speech and the Liberty Audio tape.)

To address Dunn's points: Wheeler did endorse government aid to the Contras, however reluctantly. He did not specifically state he ruled out the draft. His words are curiously ambiguous, referring to drawing a line and discussing someone else's strong opinions on the subject. Perhaps Wheeler deserves the benefit of the doubt here, but in the overall context of the speech and his answers, my statement that "Wheeler dismissed solely private efforts to aid the Nicaraguan Contras as insufficient and suggested that both a draft and a U.S. military invasion of Nicaragua might be appropriate. . ." does not seem unfair or distorted in its accuracy. Wheeler did not strongly or clearly object to either possibility.

I do stand corrected on the "containment" issue. Wheeler calls for support of revolutionary movements to overthrow Communist and self-proclaimed Marxist regimes rather than mere containment of Communism.

Mike Holmes, Editor ■

Media Watch



Libertarianism Hits the Books

New York, NY - A discussion of libertarianism and the Libertarian Party has finally reached the textbooks in Houghton, Mifflin Co.'s *The Challenge*

of Democracy, Government in America by Janda, Berry and Goldman.

The text contains a modified version of the "Nolan Chart" showing the political spectrum and features several pages of discussion of libertarian political philosophy and the history of the LP. The text is expected to be widely used in college level instruction.

Cato Emeshed in Siegan Controversy

Washington, DC - The Cato Institute, which published a book in 1985 by San Diego legal scholar Bernard Siegan, nominated by the Reagan administration for a federal appeals court judgeship, was the focus of considerable attention in February when various civil rights groups claimed that unnamed sources at Cato had excised critical references by Siegan about the landmark 1954 case Brown Vs. The Board of Education (on school desegregation) from his book *Beyond the Status Quo*.

Siegan's book, which in general argues against unfettered judicial activism, was claimed to have originally been critical of the desegregation ruling but was edited by Cato prior to publication, according to the *Legal Times* trade publication. This accusation drew predictable fire from the usual civil rights group spokesmen, and Siegan's nomination is expected to undergo critical scrutiny by the Democratic controlled Senate Judiciary Committee, which must ratify the nomination.

The 62-year old law professor is well known in libertarian circles and has been a staunch defender of the right to property. *The Wall St. Journal* also weighed into the fray with an editorial defending the Siegan nomination and claiming that Cato's David Boaz has denied any mention of the Kansas desegregation case in Siegan's original manuscript.

Siegan has declined comment on the matter and it has all the earmarks of a traditional political hatchet job. ■

Keeping Up with the Joneses?

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the Rothbards, the Berglands, The Cranes,
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the Nolans, the Konkings, the Hesses, the Marrous, the Lewises...?

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Evers, Ver Hagen Launch LP Internal Investigation

Atlanta, GA - In what was perhaps the most surprising event of the tumultuous April LP National Committee meeting, the Natcom authorized the LP's Management Committee to conduct an "investigation" as to whether "anti-Jewish humor is pervasive in the national LP office," whether "time and energy is being wasted" in the office "drawing up plans to combat a possible terrorist attack" and whether the national office is "excluding local volunteers from volunteer work" in the office.

This unusual move was put on the floor by Bill Evers of California, a key Bergland faction ally and critic of LP Chair Turney. It did not appear on the original agenda and was proposed following the National Director's headquarters report.

Although Evers' only alluded to it, the principal cause of this investigation request was a four-page letter circulated to the National Committee and others in early February by a former national headquarters employee who was fired in June 1986 by then LP Director Perry Willis. This letter was a long rambling account of this employee's problems with his job and contained numerous allegations about current National Director Terry Mitchell. While Evers suggested there were other sources of information which prompted his concern with the national office operation, he provided no further details at the meeting.

There was little substantive discussion of this proposal, although Bergland faction

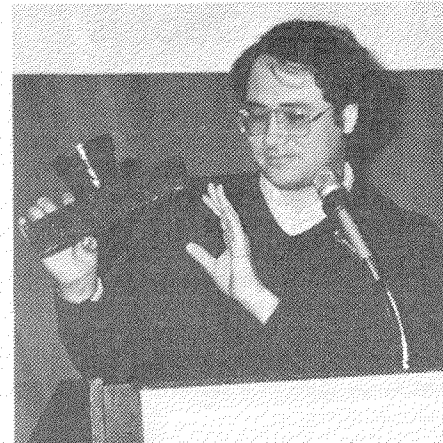
members argued that it was within the NatCom's authority to conduct such an investigation and that "it would clear the air." In essence, it would prove the innocence of the LP Director Mitchell and his staff.

The proposal was approved on a voice vote and Management Committee member Randy Ver Hagen volunteered to conduct the inquiry.

Ver Hagen immediately began the inquiry, grilling National Director Mitchell and his wife (who also works in the headquarters) for several hours at the Atlanta meeting in private. In mid-April Ver Hagen sent a number of people in the Houston area

a fourteen question survey concerning the three areas of concern. The questionnaire was to be completed by the end of April and respondents have the option not to be identified outside of the Management Committee.

This investigation is not without precedent, though it is the first to be based on poison pen letters and to encompass alleged jokes. NatCom members Stephen Fielder and Paul Kunberger spent the better part of two years following the heated 1983 New York LP convention investigating Director Honey Lanham for allegedly offering unauthorized assistance to one of the LP presidential nomination contenders prior to the convention. This effort dragged on and consumed a lot of time and correspondence but ultimately the NatCom voted to drop the matter. ■



The Georgia LP's "Cracked Pot" awards, here presented by James Harris, are an eagerly awaited feature of Georgia LP conventions. They are given to those dreaming up the worst state legislation, and the competition is fierce. Photo by Ken Rand.

To Our Future Readers: A Message from the Editors of Liberty

Dear Friend of Liberty,

The name *Liberty* may lack something in originality, but it makes it up in propriety. What better name could be found for a libertarian journal of ideas and analysis? Like the idea *Liberty* signifies, it is tried and true.

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Among the articles scheduled for the first issue of *Liberty*:

- "The Films of Ayn Rand"— It is widely known that Rand spent years as a screenwriter in Hollywood. But aside from *The Fountainhead*, her films are practically unknown. Rand scholar Steven Cox has hunted them all up and written a cogent review of them.

- "The Politics of Purity"— Murray Rothbard takes to task those too "pure" to accept Ron Paul's libertarian credentials.

- "The Mystery Man of the Libertarian Movement"— After founding the pioneer libertarian periodical *Innovator* in 1964, Tom Marshall concluded that our state-saturated society was an unhealthy place to live in and disappeared into the wilderness. We offer a retrospective of his life, a young libertarian's account of a visit to Marshall in his wilderness retreat, and an essay by Marshall himself.

In every issue, we present lively book reviews, challenging and expanding libertarian thinking; movie reviews, keeping you current on today's cinema, as well as uncovering special films of the past; surveys of

Liberty

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by Stephen Cox

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by Murray N. Rothbard

I Ride the Rails

by Douglas Casey

The Mystery Man of the Libertarian Movement

articles by Roger Kenmore, R. W. Bradford and Tom Marshall

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Races Gear Up

From page 3

LP convention and may be hitting the campaign trail to other state conventions.

North Carolina investment advisor Ron Holland has been a rumored LP Vice Presidential candidate for some time but *AL* has been unable to verify this or his membership in the national LP. Holland was also scheduled to appear at the May 2 Vermont LP convention but the Vermont LP Chair was unable to confirm any additional details about this possible candidacy as of press time.

Hard core Objectivist leader and author George Reisman reportedly called for the eventual formation of a "Capitalist Party" to presumably be run on purist Randian lines. This call for an educational and leadership type organization was made during early October at Reisman's neo-Objectivist Jefferson School in New York City.

Oklahoma LP NatCom member Robert Murphy has written David Stockman and Playboy Enterprises president Christi Hefner to determine their interest in possible LP political races (a Stockman/Hefner ticket?), although no response has yet been reported.

And last, and certainly least, political crazoid and alleged con artist Lyndon H. LaRouche Jr. declared for the Democratic presidential nomination during late January in New Hampshire. There's good news and bad news. The good news is that the feds have virtually shut down the entire LaRouche empire in the wake of a contempt citation for \$21 million in unpaid court fines stemming over allegations of massive credit card fraud. The bad news is that if they can put LaRouche out of business so easily, other minority political viewpoints are equally at risk of Big Brother's crackdowns. ■

Branden, Means Debate At Oregon LP Convention

by Jo McIntyre

Jo McIntyre is an Oregon based free lance writer and edits the *Oregon Libertarian*.

McMinnville, OR - Libertarians at the 1987 Oregon LP State convention on March 21 were treated to appearances by some world-class public figures: Barbara Branden, Russell Means and Andre Marrou.

The three figured in one of the most interesting events of the day, but few convention-goers attended or even knew it was happening. There was a sort of Dueling Brains, a Randian Mind-probe, between Means and Branden. Marrou was also present, but was busy arranging media interviews, so spent most of his time observing.

It was a rich discussion, apparently enjoyed by both, that began outdoors at the entrance to the convention hall and continued unabated for some time in the LPO's hospitality suite.

Branden, who was the biggest draw to the convention for Libertarians, had been invited to give the banquet speech. Enthusiasm about her imminent arrival was so high that for the first time in LPO convention memory, convention-goers pressed their checks into coordinator's hands without being asked. And even though it was held some 40 miles or more from Oregon's major population center, attendance was 50% higher than last year, with 60 diners.

"She was even more wonderful than I expected," said Mona Loner, of McMinnville, who provided transportation for Branden during her stay and introduced her at the banquet.

For those not in the inner circles of Libertarian thought, Russell Means, Indian activist and seeker of the LP presidential nomination, was the main attraction. Several TV reporters came to the airport press conference hastily arranged by convention organizers, who had been informed only a week beforehand of his Saturday morning arrival. A reporter for the state's leading newspaper spent several hours interviewing Means by phone.

"Means said all the right stuff," said Mel Loomer of Rockaway Beach, "but I would still watch him. He has his own tomahawk to grind. He may see Libertarians as a readymade platform or he may see them as the salvation of the Indian People."

Rounding out the trio of stars was Marrou, the LP's highest ranking elected official until his defeat for re-election to the Alaska House of Representatives. Marrou was the LPO banquet speaker in 1986 and was warmly welcomed by all who had met him last year.

Ron Paul, the other announced candidate for the LP presidential nomination, did not attend in person, but sent campaign literature.

Also at the convention, and quite possibly soon-to-be world-class figures themselves, were Kelly Ross, Portland, director of Oregon Counties Land Use Coalition; Philip E. Fixler, Los Angeles, director of the Reason Foundation's Local Government Center; and Ruth Bennett, Puyallup, WA, Region 3 (OR and WA) National Committee Rep. and a leader on the Seattle National LP Convention Committee.

Both Branden and Means will, no doubt, comment publicly on their meeting, but first-hand reports from fascinated observers may give an idea of the flavor of the conversation.

"Barbara Branden told Means several times that she found it hard to believe what she was hearing," said Steve Buckstein of Portland, who was one of the listeners and participants in the dramatic meet. "She had the impression that he had been closely associated with the Left and didn't think that could have simply been an impression fostered by the press without a basis in fact."

"Means emphatically denied that he was ever a Marxist even though he traveled to Eastern Bloc countries seeking a hand, not a handout," Buckstein said. "He sees the Left, the Christian Church and the Conservatives as all wanting to use Indians for their own purposes."

During the grilling, Buckstein had a chance to ask a question that had occurred to several Oregon Libertarians, when he wondered whether Branden was a member of the Libertarian Party herself. She said she was not.

There were two major areas of disagreement between Branden and Means, Buckstein found.

"Means said his philosophy is basically anarchistic and that an economic system of free trade would slow down technology, including atomic energy," Buckstein said. "He believes that free trade and individual responsibility would not allow hazardous waste products from uranium mining to harm his people. On the anarchy issue, Means sees the universe flowing from inside each of us and therefore we have complete individual freedom as long as we accept the responsibility that goes with it."

He said Branden was shocked by those views.

"She believes anarchy would be terribly destructive and she places a high value on technological advancement," he said. "It was her view that Means' compatibility with the Party was hard to believe and that his candidacy could do harm to the Party if he received the nomination."

Others at the convention held that view, Buckstein said. But another view was that Means "didn't sound like someone who had only recently come to the libertarian philosophy; he wasn't just mouthing what he thought we wanted to hear and that he might make a competent and exciting candidate."

Mel Loomer is one Libertarian who shares the latter opinion.

"I would take the risk of selecting Means over Ron Paul for three reasons," he said. "One, for publicity value; two, to throw a challenge in the teeth of the very liberal Democrats, and three, it could be that more minority people would consider the LP. Any minor party will flounder as long as minorities look at socialism as their salvation as so many disenfranchised people do."

LP Vice Presidential candidate Marrou quietly detailed his experience in the Alaska legislature. Means gave a witty presentation of the development of his thinking. During the questioning after their talks, Marrou said he would be willing to run with any presidential candidate the national convention delegates select. Means fielded a different question.

"By now, you must have had enough contact with Libertarians to know they are voracious readers," said Jerry Boal, of Corvallis. "What would you recommend that we read to understand where you are coming from as an Indian?"

"Read Custer Died For Your Sins, by Vine Deloria, Jr. (The McMillan Company,

1969)," Means said without hesitation. "He is one of our geniuses."

Even though she regretted not having enough time to hear Means, outgoing LPO Chair Trish Coffey still had time to form an overall impression.

"It was interesting watching him in the hall," she said. "He seemed stoic and aloof, yet with a sense of mystery. I'm not sure of his motives, but he came out sounding pretty libertarian during his presentation at the business meeting." ■

Mises Institute Announces Scholarships, Conference

Washington, DC - The libertarian oriented Ludwig von Mises Institute has announced a number of fellowships to be awarded for graduate and undergraduate study of economics. These are granted on a yearly basis and may be extended based upon performance. Graduate students may receive up to \$9,000 per year and under-graduates can receive up to \$2,000 annually.

Applicants are judged on the basis of academic performance and must be studying economics with an intention to teach on a university level. Financial need, commitment to the free market and the Austrian school (which Mises helped found) and willingness to assist the Mises Institute with research are also considered.

Conference

The Mises Institute is also presenting an Advanced Instructional Conference in Austrian Economics at Stanford University in Palo Alto, CA on June 21-26.

The week-long program will be directed by well known libertarian scholar and Austrian economist Murray Rothbard, currently S.J. Hall Distinguished Professor at UNLV in Las Vegas, and will consist of 20 lecture seminars and discussions covering a wide range of topics relevant to Austrian economics.

The course will qualify for one hour of graduate credit at many universities and other featured scholars include Charles Baird of Cal. State at Hayward, Walter Block of Vancouver's Fraser Institute, Roger Garrison of Auburn and Hans Hermann Hoppe of UNLV. The conference costs \$595, including room and board, and some scholarships are available for students.

For more information about the Mises Fellowships or the Conference, contact: **The Ludwig von Mises Institute, 322 Massachusetts Ave. N.E., Washington, DC 20002, (202) 543-7696.** ■

Push for Ballot Access

Houston, TX - As the nation's third largest political party, the LP has a vested interest in easing the many restrictions which often keep it off state election ballots.

HR 1582

In the last Congressional session, the federal bill to ease ballot access for federal candidates was HR 2320. It has been resurrected for the current term as HR 1582, sponsored again by Michigan Democrat John Conyers.

According to reports from Richard Winger's *Ballot Access News* the bill already has 20 co-sponsors, three more than HR 2320. One former co-sponsor, Barbara Mikulski, is now a U.S. Senator.

Elections Subcommittee Chair Al Swift (D-WA) bottled up the measure last year and never allowed a hearing. Swift has been evasive on HR 1582, claiming that "more important" measures, such as bills proposing taxpayer financing of federal campaigns, take priority. LP ballot access consultant Winger urges concerned libertarians to write their congressional representatives (c/o House Office Buildings, Washington, DC 20515) and support HR 1582.

HR 1582 would prohibit various legal gimmicks to keep independent and third parties off the ballot for federal office, but would allow for petition requirements not to exceed one-tenth of 1% of registered voters or 1,000 signatures, whichever is larger.

The Libertarian National Committee voted for a resolution endorsing HR 1582 at their April Atlanta meeting.

Alabama

Alabama LP Chair Frank Monachelli received statewide publicity for his call to go "door-to-door" if necessary to find a sponsor for a proposed bill to drop Alabama's prohibitive 20% of the previous vote signature requirement for state ballot access. The 20% requirement is the highest in the nation. However, as of early April no willing sponsor (who all belong to parties already on the ballot) had been found.

A statewide Associated Press story did generate favorable editorial support, however. Editorials in the *Gasden Times* and the *Montgomery Advertiser* noted Monachelli's efforts and called for support to ease the restrictive ballot conditions.

Maryland

The Maryland LP recently submitted 14,000 signatures to qualify the party for the 1988 election. Ten thousand signatures are required and it is apparently the first 1988 ballot access petition by any party to be submitted in any state. ■

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Shoot-Out

From page 2

satirical "Cracked Pot" Awards to various Georgia legislators for the worst legislation drafted.

A number of southeastern LP State Chairs and activists also attended a regional workshop, and several who observed the NatCom meeting were reported to be unhappy at the political in-fighting they witnessed. One southern state chair has been contacting people to drum up support for LP Chair Turney, and an informal "Save the Mac" committee has been started to garner support for the controversial Apple computer.

Political differences have been patched up for the moment in anticipation of the upcoming national convention, but knives are being sharpened for what promises to be a heated battle for top LP leadership positions in Seattle. ■

On LP Factions

Nearly every large scale organization sooner or later develops "office politics" and communities of similar interests, or factions. The Libertarian Party is no exception.

There have been a number of LP factions over the years, including the famous (or infamous) "Crane machine" faction bankrolled by the Koch oil billionaires. They were dominant from 1979 to 1981 and lasted until the New York convention in 1983. A looser but sometimes larger "Clark faction" began in 1980 and propelled Alicia Clark to her LP Chair position in 1981.

Berglandistas

By far the largest and most organized LP NatCom faction currently is the Bergland faction (aka Berglandistas, Berglandians, California Mafia) which numbers nine NatCom members, two alternates and two immediate former members.

Led by former LP Chair and 1984 presidential candidate David Bergland, this faction commands 27% of the 33 member NatCom voting strength. It is often even more influential since several NatCom members either don't show up to meetings or their positions are vacant. With a number of alternates in the Bergland faction, along with occupying a number of key leadership roles, the Bergland force is the most influential in the NatCom.

Other top Bergland leaders are LP Vice Chair Sharon Ayres (Bergland's wife) and their chief ideologist Bill Evers, who heads the LP's Advertising and Publications Review Committee. LP Treasurer Sam Treynor is also in the top rank, along with non-Californians Randy Ver Hagen (immediate past Chair) and Management Committee Chair David Walter.

Others include California LP Chair Mark Hinkle, who also heads the Membership Committee, Utah Chair Hugh Butler, and Californian Mike Hall. Alternate NatCom members with ties to the Bergland faction include Carolyn Treynor (wife of Treasurer Sam Treynor), and former National Director Perry Willis, recently elected Arizona LP Chair. Former California Chair Jack Dean and Arizona activist

Emil Franz (who both served on the NatCom during the past term but recently resigned) are also aligned with this group.

Others closely associated with the Berglandians include LP telephone fundraiser Alexis Thompson of Tuscon, Vice Presidential prospect Andre Marrou, and economist Murray Rothbard.

Concentrated in California, the Bergland faction got its start in the quickly organized Bergland for President effort, which narrowly edged out the old Crane faction favoring Earl Ravenal during the 1983 New York Convention. The Berglandians gained confidence during their 1984 presidential campaign, despite criticism that their effort did not build party membership and was isolated from state and local organizations, and the national LP office.

Perry Willis, who has often been sponsored for employment in the LP by the Berglands, was quickly installed as National Director after the Bergland faction succeeded in getting Randy Ver Hagen appointed Chair after Paul Grant resigned in the spring of 1985. After Turney replaced Ver Hagen at the 1985 Phoenix Convention, the Bergland forces built up their representation on the National Committee and on the powerful LP Finance Committee.

Willis had to resign in mid-summer 1986 and the LP nearly went broke in late August. But the Berglandians pressed for budget cuts and pressured LP News editor Karl Hess to downsize the paper and forego non-political or anti-LP editorial positions.

Led by analytical attorney David Bergland, this faction has developed a reputation for ruthlessness and hardball politics. One well known former LP officer once termed them "a Crane machine without the money."

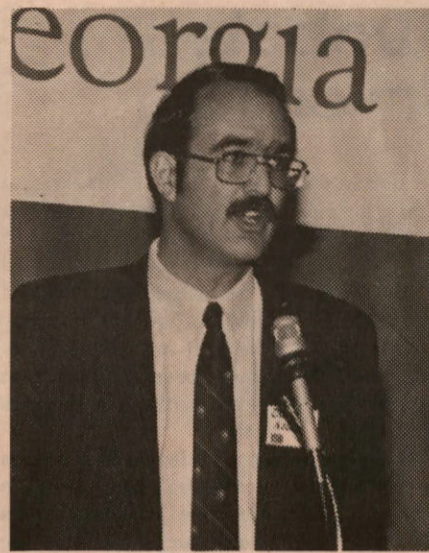
On the other hand, their attention to detail and ability to organize has proved a useful counterweight to a sometimes rudderless National Committee. Their factional tendencies did not fully emerge until late in Turney's administration, after a number of problems became evident and Turney appeared unresponsive to repeated back channel complaints and public NatCom criticism.

Neo-Craniacs

The only other functional NatCom faction is the Eastern faction (aka the Turney-Fielder clique, Neo-Craniacs) which more or less supports LP Chair Jim Turney. Turney has often denounced factions in the LP and his support group is far looser and less effective than the Bergland's.

Consisting of only five NatCom members (about 15%) other members include Ballot Access Committee Chair Stephen Fielder (who opposed Turney in 1985 for LP Chair), Maryland psychiatrist Peter Breggin, attorney Paul Kunberger (who along with Fielder sometimes supported the Crane faction in the early 1980's), and Paul Jacob (who currently works for Ed Crane at the Cato Institute). LP News editor Karl Hess, recruited by Turney and Fielder, can be considered an Eastern faction ally although he does not usually become involved with internal LP politics.

The Eastern faction began with Turney's election and their major political theme included support for a Washington DC based LP national of-



Libertarian Party founder David Nolan, now an Atlanta resident, addresses the recent Georgia LP convention. Photo by Ken Rand.



Reason Foundation President Robert Poole Jr. explains the latest wrinkles in privatization to a Georgia libertarian audience. Photo by Ken Rand.

fice and support for Karl Hess's editorship of the party paper.

They twice failed early on to move the national office and have only been partially successful at fending off criticism and budget cuts from LP News. If the Bergland faction has a reputation for ham-handed hardball, the Eastern faction would have to be described as "the gang that couldn't shoot straight."

Chair Turney's extremely laid back style sometimes becomes total nothingness, and inattention to detail and a frustrating lack of follow through have sometimes created opposition where none otherwise would exist. His frequent travels for his taping business (Liberty Audio) makes him a popular figure with most of the rank-and-file, but a difficult man to pin down. His aversion to pen and paper for communication is legendary.

Ballot Access Chair Fielder is smart and capable but is not widely trusted. The small size of the Eastern faction limits their ability to do much more than counterbalance the Bergland faction.

Gladhanders and Green Eyeshades

If the LP NatCom were a business, the Eastern faction, particularly Turney, would be the glad-handing sales team, popular with the customers but notoriously lax about paperwork. The Berglandistas would be the back-room green eyeshade types, big on long memos but short on social graces.

When they work together, both groups compliment each other. When in opposition, business grinds to a halt.

Both factions generally are believed to favor a Ron Paul LP presidential candidacy, so other forms of partisanship don't divide them. It's mostly, like in office politics, a turf battle for power and for what little patronage exists in the form of jobs and contracts.

Neither faction as of late April will admit to sponsoring an LP Chair candidate for the next term. However, Turney is expected to eventually announce for re-election. Another possible candidate is Paul Jacob, who has not been heavily involved in internal LP battles. The well known draft resister is a polished speaker, and is not burdened with a record to defend. On the other hand, he is fairly young with little nuts-and-bolts track record, and may not be in a personal position to undertake the time consuming Chair responsibilities,

David Bergland, Sharon Ayres and Bill Evers (who may be exiting the NatCom when he takes a fall teaching professorship) have all disavowed interest in the Chair race. Best bets for the Bergland faction for Chair are Management Committee Chair and former Treasurer David Walter, California Chair Mark Hinkle and Hugh Bulter from Utah, a computer business owner who is not in the inner circle of the Bergland faction. ■

LGLC Convention Cato Seminar

San Francisco, CA - The second international convention of the Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns (LGLC) has been set for the Memorial Day weekend of May 22-25, in San Francisco.

Among the planned speakers include former GOP Congressman Bob Bauman, *The Politics of Child Abuse* authors Paul and Shirley Beerle, Hubert Kennedy and AIDS drug policy researcher Dale Gieringer.

For more information contact: LGLC Convention '87, 1800 Market Street, Suite 210, San Francisco, CA 94102.

Washington, DC - The Cato Institute is once again sponsoring its popular Summer Seminar in Political Economy July 5-12, at Williams College in Williamstown, MA.

Registrations are due by June 9, and applications or requests for additional information should be directed to: The Cato Institute, 224 Second Street, S.E., Washington, DC 20003 (202) 546-0200. ■

COMING ATTRACTIONS

AL Interviews: Russell Means, Ron Paul, Tibor Machan

Rothbard and Thies on Buchanan's Nobel Prize

Contracting with Surrogate Mothers

Big Brother in Your Wallet

Drugs, Money and Smurfs

In Review: "Reports & Govt.", New magazine "Liberty", Reason's "New Enlightenment" "Dismantling the State"

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