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LP Con:

Walter Elected Chair

Philadelphia, PA - David Walter swept to a narrow but decisive first ballot victory in the race for national Libertarian Party chair, capping the six day bi-annual national LP convention held at the Franklin Wyndham Plaza Hotel in Philadelphia August 29 - September 3. In addition to electing Walter's "Performance Team" to top LP leadership posts, delegates also downsized the LP's governing body, the Libertarian National Committee, made other significant rules changes, variety of libertarian luminaries ranging from Marshall Fritz and Francis Kendall to Walter Williams and Charles Murray.

Berglandista Triumph

The major item of business was choosing officers and LNC (NatCom) members. The election of the Philadelphia area "homeboy" David Walter returned the long dormant *Berglandista* faction of the LP to total victory after nearly being wiped out two years ago at the Seattle presidential nominating convention. This group, influential in internal LP politics for many years, particularly after California based Bergland's 1984 LP presidential nomination, saw chair candidate Walter, vice chair candidate Mary Gingell and treasurer Steve Fielder elected on first ballot victories, while rival candidates from the Turneyite and Monroe/Ron Paul factions were shut out completely from elected party offices.

A total of 301 delegates from around the country attended the convention and voted in the chair race, about 21% fewer than attended the 1987 presidential nominating convention but 20% more than the comparable turnout at the post-election 1985 Phoenix LP convention.

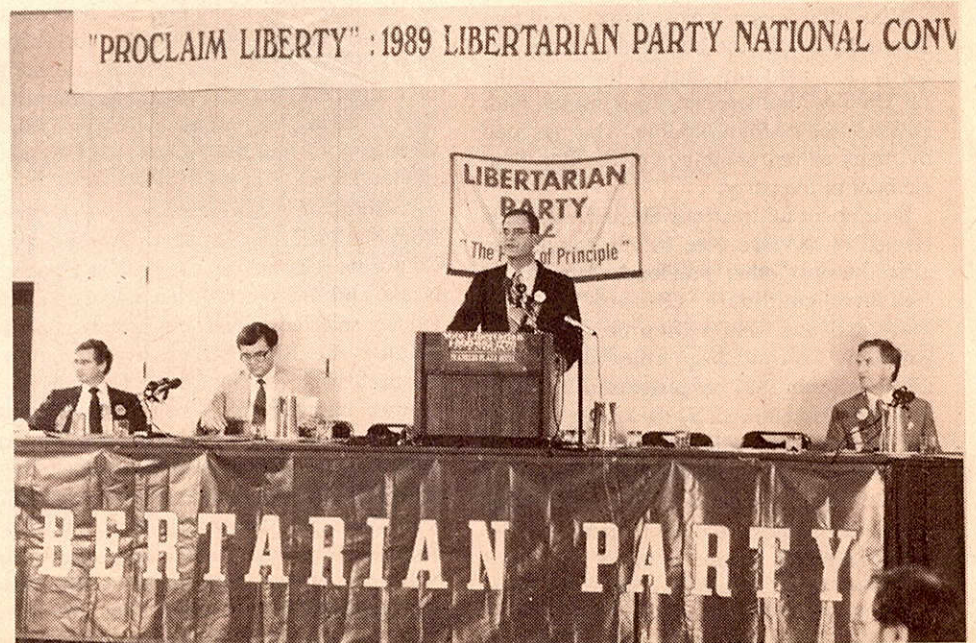
With 23% of the delegates coming from just two large states (California, Pennsylvania) the first LP convention held on the east coast in several years saw a much larger turnout from states east of the Mississippi than in recent conventions, and a corresponding attendance drop from states farther west. This showing, combined with what most saw as a successful nine month interim Walter LP administration in the wake of

former chair Jim Turney's resignation last December, is credited by many for the first ballot Walter chair election.

Out of 301 delegates voting, Walter received 149 (50.3%), exactly the number needed to garner the first round knockout. Four states (CA, OH, PA, IL) provided over 42% of Walter's first ballot votes. Walter, a Philadelphia area accountant who has served on the LP's NatCom since the late 1970s, has a long history in the party. He has served as party vice chair, treasurer and auditor. He has also served as co-director of the Society for Individual Liberty (SIL), which until a surprise merger announcement was made early during the convention, was the oldest continually existing libertarian organization in the nation (see related story elsewhere in this issue).

Coming in a distant second in the chair race was Houston cardiologist Matt Monroe, who was the first chair candidate to declare for the race. He is a former LP finance and membership committee chair, as well as publisher of *American Libertarian*. Monroe received only 64 votes (21.6%), with over 50% of those coming from four states (TX, CA, MI, FL).

Coming in a relatively close third was Robert Murphy, formerly of Oklahoma and recently re-located to Virginia, who received 49 votes (16.5%), over 37% of which were from just two states (NY, CA). Murphy's showing was a surprisingly strong finish for a



Convention LP chair debate lineup: (from left) Robert Murphy, David Walter, debate moderator Larry Dodge, Matt Monroe.

candidate who (like Walter) had announced his candidacy less than a month earlier. He also narrowly escaped outser from the LP NatCom (by one vote) due to his controversial role as a would-be informer to the Federal Election Commission over alleged improprieties during 1988 by the Ron Paul presidential campaign (and the LP's own Ballot Access Committee (BAC). Murphy's effort was led and supported by close allies of former LP chair Jim Turney, who didn't even attend the convention, reportedly due to a business engagement in France.

NOTA (None Of The Above), always a can-

didate in LP internal elections, also received a surprisingly large total of 34 votes (11.5%), reflecting a disenchantment with all the other candidates in the race. Five votes were cast effectively as abstentions, bringing the total votes counting in the race down to 296, of which 149 were required for the first ballot majority, exactly the number Walter received. The vice chair race was more decisive, with Mary Gingell of California receiving 176 votes (61%) out of a total of 288 cast. Mike Iddings, also of California, finished a distant second with 62 votes (22%), while

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Debacle at Philadelphia:

The Revenge of the Luftmenschen

by Murray N. Rothbard

Murray N. Rothbard is S.J. Hall Distinguished Professor of Economics at the University of Nevada at Las Vegas, Academic Vice President of the Ludwig von Mises Institute and a frequent contributor to American Libertarian. He is a long time Libertarian Party activist and a former member of the Libertarian National Committee.

Philadelphia, PA - The 1989 national convention at Philadelphia was a fateful turning point in the history of the Libertarian Party. For it constituted a triumphant counter-revolution against the dynamism of the Ron Paul campaign that had attempted to capture and transform the Libertarian Party. As I wrote at the time, the point of the Ron Paul campaign was not just to offer a viable candidate for president: it was to carry the Libertarian Party, kicking and screaming, into the real world, into the world of Real People and bourgeois culture.

The Paul campaign was an attempt to

transform the LP from a tiny social club for juvenile misfits and losers into a growing mass party of adults with regulars in the real world. Despite the doubling of LP presidential votes in 1988 from 1984, the noble attempt of the Paul forces failed: for there was no hoped-for influx of middle and working class adults into the LP which could seize power from the same old clique of crazies who remain hopelessly marginal to the real world. The reasons for this failure are not fully known; perhaps one more viable, real world presidential candidate could have completed the job. But certainly the task was made more difficult by Nadia Hayes making the Paul campaign a one-woman dictatorship, topped off, of course, by the revelations of her financial irregularities at the end of the campaign.

The campaign of Matt Monroe for chair was an attempt to carry forward this Paulist strategy, and it is no secret that the leadership of the Monroe forces, including Matt

Monroe himself, had been leaders in the Paul campaign. The Nadia Hayes scandal, unfortunately, proved to be a fatal political flaw which the coalition of *luftmenschen* (neo-hippie people of the air and wind) could use against us.

The rout of Matt Monroe was total, Monroe getting only 22% of the vote; the split between the victorious incumbent Dave Walter (50%) and Robert Murphy (17%) was unimportant. In fact, the Murphyites were simply marginally more hostile to the Monroe-Paul camp than were the Walter coalition. It must be remembered that the reason for Murphy's turning stool pigeon to the FEC was an attempt to lambaste Burt Blumert, Matt Monroe and the other leaders of the Paul campaign, conveniently forgetting that no one would have known about the peccadilloes of Nadia Hayes but for the disclosures to the party by Burt Blumert and Ron Paul.

Both the Walter and the Murphy forces

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LP Convention

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Charles Manhart of Florida received 42 votes (15%), with NOTA garnering only 6 votes (2%).

Gingell was a prominent part of Walter's "Performance Team" slate, who recently served as the appointed Affiliate Parties LP committee chair, although she wasn't a member of the previous NatCom. She and her husband, the sometimes controversial Bill Evers, have long been key *Berglandista* faction members, stemming from the Gingell and Evers campaign management of Bergland's 1984 LP presidential bid. Gingell also had a previous stint as LP vice chair from 1983-1985.

Mike Iddings was a close associate of Lyn Sapowsky-Smith, the key leader of the formerly dominant Jim Turney faction of the LP. Charles Manhart had allied himself with chair candidate Matt Monroe, who was seen by many as representative of the Ron Paul element in the party.

Incumbent LP treasurer Steve Fielder was elected on a voice vote by the convention after the only other previously announced treasurer candidate, Clifford Thies of Maryland and also a Monroe supporter, withdrew his candidacy. Thies was elected LP treasurer in 1987 but resigned in 1988 in a protest over treatment by then chair Turney. Fielder was a former key member of the Turney faction, but defected to the Walter-Berglandista camp in the wake of Turney's resignation in Oklahoma City in December 1988.

Joe Dehn of Oregon received 162 votes (62%) to Lyn Sapowsky-Smith's 90 votes (34%), and NOTA's 11 (4%) for the post of LP secretary, out of 263 votes cast. None of the secretary candidates was officially a part of the Walter "Performance Team." Walter had endorsed a draft of former LP secretary Dean Ahmad but he declined to run. Ironically, both Sapowsky-Smith and Dehn had been encouraged to run by Walter, although Sapowsky-Smith was a key supporter of Turney in the past. However, in August she became embroiled in a bitter political dispute with California LP chair John Vernon, who

Philadelphia convention attendees were disproportionately from the eastern states, since this was the first national Libertarian Party convention since 1983 held east of the Mississippi.



fired her in August from her post as CLP office manager. As Vernon was a key Walter supporter, both Sapowsky-Smith and Walter approached Dehn as a possible backup LP secretary candidate, although Sapowsky-Smith believed Walter would ultimately back her for election. However, Walter backed neither candidate and the less controversial Dehn won handily.

New NatCom

Following reductions in the size of the NatCom enacted earlier in the convention, five at-large NatCom members were elected along with nine members selected as regional representatives.

Elected at-large were (in order of votes received) former LP secretary Dean Ahmad of Maryland, former auditor Bill Redpath of Virginia, Norma Segal of New York, Toni Black of South Carolina and Steve Alexander of California. Former NatCom members Gerry Walsh, Gary Johnson and Jim Turney were also in the running but failed to make the final cut.

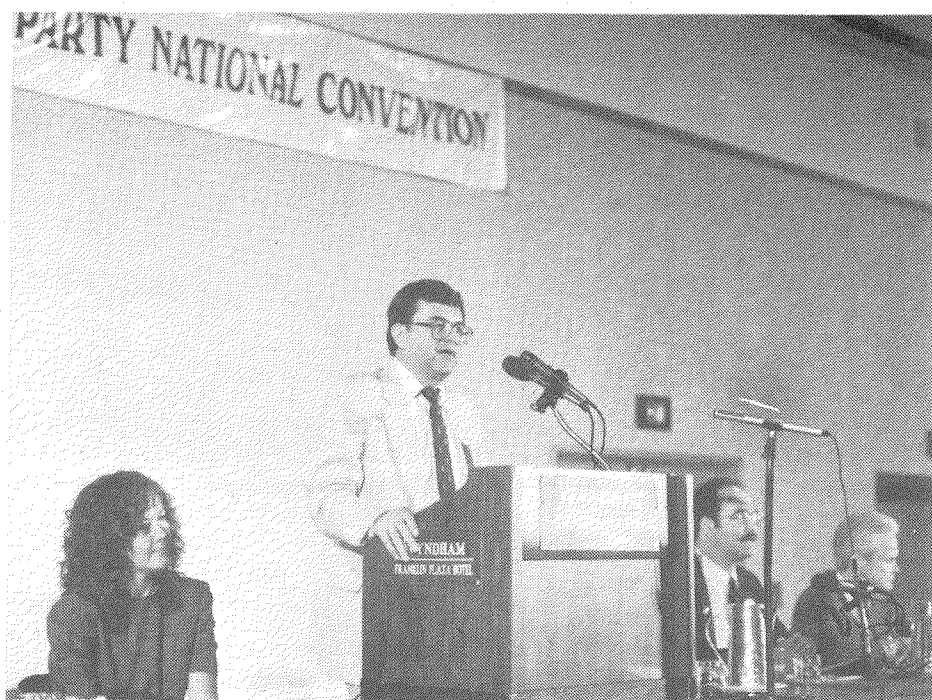
Washington's Karen Allard was elected from the large northwestern region, while California regional representatives Geoffrey Neale and George O'Brien had been previously selected as NatCom members at the February California state convention. Steve Dasbach was returned to the NatCom by a group of mid-Atlantic and midwestern states, while Georgia's Ron Crickenberger was selected by the large south-southeastern region. The mid-Atlantic region elected Clifford Thies of Maryland, while the New England-New York region selected former NatCom member Vicki Kirkland. The large mid-western region returned Illinois' Steven Givot to the LNC while Texas and the southwest returned the Lone Star state's Gary Johnson.

Elected to the party's Judicial Committee, which arbitrates disputes on rare occasions, were Gerry Walsh, David Nolan, Alicia Clark, Bill White, Jack Dean and Alan Turin.

The Non-Campaign Campaign

Although the election of party officers and NatCom leadership was the major item of business at the convention, the politicking was surprisingly subdued and occurred largely outside of the formal convention agenda. The was undoubtedly no accident, since the incumbent chair David Walter had been waging an unofficial non-campaign campaign since the moment he was appointed in December. Having fired his rival Monroe as party membership chair at the April NatCom meeting, in what was a clumsy and obvious politically motivated move, Walter retreated to the pages of the party newspaper *LP News*, where his front page column became a new staple. He also sent numerous "Waltergram" memos to key LP leaders and launched a series of fundraising letters to members all signed by Walter himself, filled with glowing accounts of "progress" made during his brief tenure.

Walter and his longtime sidekick (and "enforcer," according to some) Don Ernsberger, along with fellow Philadelphian Linda Morrison, constituted the Convention Associates partnership which had won the LP contract to host and manage the convention. It was little wonder then, that the convention agenda was heavily larded with Walter supporters and endorsers and that scheduled opportunities for other leadership candidates to appear before the convention were totally absent. The one exception was an 11th hour chair debate scheduled as the final item of business on Saturday afternoon before the evening banquet and Sunday morning elections. The Walter regime made little secret of their efforts to squeeze out any opposition, ranging from use of LP headquarters as their regular strategy meeting site, to heavy use of LP telephone and committee budgets to pay for



LP chair David Walter was a speaker on the "Keynote Panel" which opened the convention. He later won election to chair with 50.3% of the vote on the first ballot. Seated (from left): Linda Morrison, David Nolan, David Bergland.



Controversial LP chair candidate Robert Murphy (l) and Matt Monroe (r) were shut out of the spotlight by convention organizer and incumbent national LP chair David Walter. But they held their own "wildcat" debate on Friday afternoon despite Walter's iron fisted control of the convention schedule.

phone calls and mailings by Walter and Gingell.

The so-called "Keynote Panel," which opened the convention on Thursday in place of the traditional keynote address, consisted of Walter himself along with Walter endorsers David Bergland and David Nolan. Balancing this out were Ed Clark and Larry Dodge, neither of whom endorsed anyone. Dodge, as Montana's lone convention delegate, was known to have abstained in the final chair balloting.

Matt Monroe had clearly run the most active campaign since February, visiting state conventions, running ads in libertarian publications, and sending out mailings of his platform, copies of *American Libertarian*, and other material to newly selected delegates. The Monroe campaign also hosted an open bar hospitality suite for three nights during the convention, which saw nearly every delegate at the convention attend at least once. All in all, the Monroe campaign is estimated to have cost nearly \$10,000.

By contrast, the Walter campaign didn't even publicly declare until late July. Aside from one campaign leaflet, some day-glo buttons and a Saturday night hospitality suite (which was apparently a last minute response to Monroe momentum building up on Friday night), Walter's campaign was largely non-existent. The Murphy campaign consisted of some buttons and a scaled down hospitality

effort.

But Walter clearly had the backing of most of the LP establishment, with his single campaign flyer listing nearly 60 endorsers, ranging from Karl Hess, David Nolan, Jim Lewis, David Bergland, and Andre Marrou to former LP chairs Randy Ver Hagen and Paul Grant, along with a host of assorted current and former state LP chairs and NatCom members.

Monroe wasn't able to counter with endorsers, although ultimately both Ron Paul and Alicia Clark supported his bid as did Mike Holmes, Honey Lanham, Murray Rothbard, Bill Bradford, Burt Blumert and Lew Rockwell, Jr. Murphy supporters included Sharon Freeman, Paul Kunberger and Utah LP chair Bob Waldrop.

When the Monroe and Murphy camps learned upon arriving that the only scheduled debate was slated for late Saturday, and no public forums or discussions were provided for any of the other candidates they immediately rejected this plan which was prepared without consulting them and proposed a series of three debates over Thursday, Friday and Saturday. The Walter camp replied by effectively saying "tough luck, but it's our convention."

Ultimately, in a complicated, but unsuccessful, maneuver designed to prevent a "wildcat" debate by Monroe and Murphy on

LP Convention

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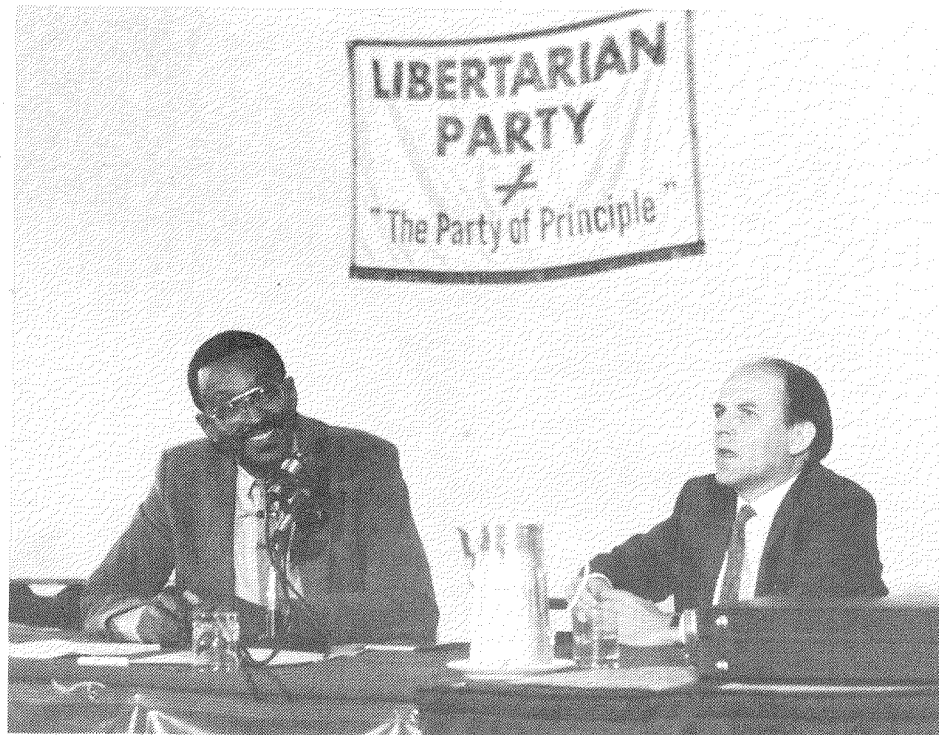
Friday afternoon, the Walter camp endorsed a two-hour recess for lunch Friday. The Murphy and Monroe forces immediately took this as a debate opening. So during the second hour of the lunch recess on Friday, all declared chair candidates were invited to participate in an "unofficial" debate in the convention hall.

Walter was nowhere to be found (he later arrived obviously unhappy, right before the session officially re-opened), but Monroe and Murphy each made short statements and answered questions in a debate moderated by Larry Dodge. Turnout was good, about the same as the regular convention business session, and Walter could not help but be upset at the upstaging of his carefully orchestrated convention program by the unofficial debate interlopers.

During the "official" debate on Saturday, which was televised by C-SPAN along with other convention business and some speaker segments, all three candidates presented brief speeches and answered questions submitted from the floor. It was also moderated by Larry Dodge. Walter and Monroe reiterated their general campaign themes with little drama, although Monroe was somewhat at a disadvantage by his slight Polish accent. The surprise of the debate was Robert Murphy, whose only chair campaign theme was "TV commercials for the LP," period. This was a surprisingly effective theme, given the frustration LP members encountered during the 1988 campaign over the issue.

Even more surprising was what Murphy said regarding the infamous FEC "stool pigeon" letter episode. At the urging of his campaign advisors and Matt Monroe prior to the televised debate, Murphy eloquently responded to a question about the issue by apologizing graciously to Ron Paul and the Libertarian Party for his "hastily considered" action, which he ultimately attributed to his "Irish temper." Perhaps also as the result of his Irish gift for blarney, Murphy received a standing ovation from the assembled delegates, demonstrating that he was clearly the best speaker of the three candidates, which is always a popular commodity with LP delegates.

The only other formal LP campaign activity were the nominating speeches. Walter was nominated by 1988 LP vice presidential candidate Andre Marrou, *LP News* editor Karl Hess and LP founder David Nolan. Murphy was nominated by Utah LP chair Bob Waldrop, California NatCom member Darlene Brinks and New York LP activist Dottie Lou-Brokaw. Monroe was nominated by 1988 LP presidential candidate Ron Paul,



The biggest convention crowd turned out to hear economist Walter Williams (l) and social scientist/author Charles Murray (r).

former LP chair Alicia Clark and libertarian theorist and economist Murray Rothbard. Cullene Lang of California spoke in favor of NOTA.

In brief concession remarks after the chair vote, Monroe told delegates to "just give me a call" for his help and Murphy also said he would continue to work for LP television ads. Eschewing the usual political etiquette of praising his rivals, Walter instead remarked about how nice it was to finally be "recognized by one's peers" for his long years of service to the party. A bottle of cheap champagne materialized on the dais so he and acting convention chair Bergland could toast their victory.

In the post-mortem analysis, the Walter victory was seen as decisive - nearly two-to-one over his nearest rival - but not as a mandate, since 49% of the delegates chose someone else or no one else. Most attributed the Walter victory to relentless campaigning from the "Rose garden" of incumbency, a desire by delegates for stability after the turmoil of the previous Turney administration, and a perception that Walter was a safe managerial choice with a long record of service to the LP. Walter also ended up endorsing two of the major campaign themes of the Monroe campaign, shrinking the size of the NatCom and spending more resources on student outreach. Murphy's call for more TV was implicitly endorsed by everyone, particularly since no one ever brought up the delicate matter of how to pay for it, an expen-

sive proposition which has long eluded the LP and most of its candidates.

Rules & By-Laws

In other party business, significant changes were made to governing LP by-laws. In a committee heavily dominated by inner circle LP members such as Ernsberger, Nolan and Sapowsky-Smith, most changes proposed by the rules committee were endorsed in some form by convention delegates.

In what was perhaps the most critical issue, the LP National Committee was reduced by 11 members in what amounted to a 38% reduction in size. This was accomplished by cutting the regional representatives in half, requiring the formation of all new larger regions (with the exception of California, which lost two of its previous four representatives) and by the elimination of the immediate past chair as an automatic NatCom member, along with a reduction from 7 to 5 of the at-large members.

The convention also approved a measure which prevents changes in LP rules and by-laws during the presidential nominating conventions and sanctioned the formal existence of a NatCom Executive Committee, to have day-to-day authority over LP management and which will be appointed by the chair with NatCom approval.

The previously approved LP Program, a ten point "popular" recitation of LP positions on current issues, was sanctioned but authority was given to the NatCom to alter the Program at will, rather than by solely convention. Other changes enacted involved approving the use of computer E-Mail for NatCom mail ballots, requiring new platforms and rules be produced within 90 days of the convention, and requiring state LP organizations to have at least 10 paid national LP members by the beginning of 1990 or face losing their affiliate party status.

One of the more controversial proposals rejected by the convention which was endorsed by the Rules Committee was to require the LP presidential candidate to sign a binding contract with the national LP as a condition of being nominated. This would have obligated the LP ticket to turn over any mailing lists generated by the campaign to the national party. In another surprising move earlier in the convention, delegates rejected treasurer Fielder's financial report to the convention by objecting that the LP auditor hadn't seen it and that written financial statements were not made available to delegates. An embarrassed Fielder hastily arranged for copies to be made, but the motion to approve his report was tabled and was never

brought up again in formal convention business.

Platform

Platform issues were surprisingly absent from the business. Although a number of platform changes were proposed, most were ultimately rejected by delegates.

Aside from minor wording changes, the major addition was a plank opposing the "War on Drugs" and re-titling an existing plank "Women's Rights and Abortion." Platform committee proposals to toughen the existing pro-choice plank on abortion and add new, stronger language in the defense and foreign policy planks were ultimately rejected by delegates. Deletions to the platform can be made by majority vote but additions require two-thirds approval.

A proposal pushed by anti-abortion activist Doris Gordon to spell out parental obligation to children was also rejected by delegates, although it received a majority approval from the platform committee.

Speakers & Events

Nearly everyone was pleased with the speakers and events during the convention. The largest crowds attended the special "outreach day" presentation on Saturday that featured noted free market economist Walter Williams and social scientist and author Charles Murray giving speeches and answering a wide range of questions from the audience. Williams was asked again about his interest in the LP presidential nomination, and in true political style he managed to whet the appetite of those backing such a move while remaining formally noncommittal as to his ultimate intentions. Among other preconditions, he said he would only consider making a "serious effort by a serious party" able to mount a credible election bid.

Also making presentations or serving as panelists were South African authoress Francis Kendall; drug panelists James Ostrowski, Gary Greenberg, Jarrett Wollstein and Robert Goodman; LP tax resistor and former candidate Jim Lewis; Marshall Fritz; libertarian journalist/commentator Sheldon Richman; Larry Pratt of Gun Owners of America; Wayne Gable of Citizens for a Sound Economy; Melanie Tammen of the Competitive Enterprise Institute; journalists John Fund, Michael Grossberg, Kevin Southwick, David Boldt and Richard Aregood; and tax patriot spokesman Robert Clarkson.

Both the Atlantic City casino tour and Independence Hall/Old City bus caravans were enjoyed by many delegates, though none of the LPers were reported to have "broken the bank" in Atlantic City.

A Torch Club luncheon hosted by Sharon Ayres honored the LP's \$1,000 and up donors and the Saturday evening banquet fundraising auction and other appeals raised upwards of \$16,000 from the more than 200 attendees. Originally billed as a colonial costume affair, only a handful of libertarians dressed in revolutionary garb since the costume part of the event was canceled by the convention organizers. But not all the attendees were notified, making the libertarian fashion mix even more varied than usual.

Indian activist and 1987 LP presidential nomination contender Russell Means was a last minute no-show, reportedly due to a miscommunication over an Arizona court appearance date involving his recent run-in with the BIA. Originally set for late August, Means apparently was told it had been postponed until March until he was picked up three days before he was due at the convention on an arrest warrant for failure to appear at his preliminary hearing. After eventually getting sprung, Means found that his discount air ticket purchased by the convention organizers (economy class, no refunds, etc.) could not be used for a later flight, and subsequent efforts to get him on later flights from

LP Platform committee members ponder changes to the platform. From left, Greg Clark, Henry Haller III, Bill Bradford, Jorge Amador, and Margaret Fries. Photo courtesy of David Brown.



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Libertarian Outlook

Two Cheers for the Medellin Cartel

Recent news about the Colombian cocaine mafia and the government's oft-repeated declarations of war on same lead us to conclude that with enemies like this, they can't be all bad.

In fact we rate them at least two cheers.

First, for once again demonstrating that regardless of hype, legislation and massive police and military action to the contrary, the Market always wins and Prohibition always loses. It's reassuring when reality proves out libertarian theory.

Second, for demonstrating that Market doesn't equal Power. By all accounts, the Medellin Cartel (and its Cali and related cousins) hasn't been much interested in politics other than for self defense. While they've rented or leased the governments and territory of several Central, South and North American nations, the cocaine mafia is mainly interested in servicing their customers, not ruling over others. So contrary to old fashioned Marxist assertions, the capitalist class - even the black market variety - doesn't automatically or necessarily turn into the ruling class.

We can't quite muster that third cheer, however. The cocaine mafia is still mafia, after all, and their money making tactics do not respect libertarian boundaries involving respect for the individual rights of others. Ruthless gangsters they are, regardless of the foolishness of Drug Prohibition. Al Capone was no libertarian either.

Like the purveyors of other mind and body destroying products, such as alcohol, tobacco and network television, the Medellin cartel should enjoy libertarian tolerance but not admiration. Libertarians allow people to make their own choices, but that is not the same as advocating the making of foolish choices.

If we had our way the Colombian drug mafia, and drug mafias elsewhere, would be quickly put out of business by ending Drug Prohibition. Once the black market profits are gone, the Medellin cocaine cowboys would go the way of R.J. Reynolds Tobacco or Seagrams & Sons, hated and feared only by their Wall St. rivals, and loved only for their dividends and by their product liability defense attorneys. ■

Disappointing Process

Readers of this newspaper will not be surprised that the outcome of the Philadelphia convention race for Libertarian Party chair was a disappointment to us. After all, our publisher was defeated by more than two-to-one, in an effort managed by this paper's editor.

But we accept the results and wish the best for the newly elected chair and other members of the Libertarian National Committee. As always, they have a tough job ahead.

More disappointing than the outcome itself was the discouraging lack of maturity and political savvy displayed by most of the convention delegates. These libertarians, who consider themselves tough-minded advocates of fearless radical change in the size and scope of government, act more like seventh grade school children when it comes to the administration of their own political party. This has been all too evident in the past, but reached new heights at the Philadelphia convention.

Since the convention was owned literally and figuratively by incumbent LP chair David Walter, who also was a partner in the group that sponsored the convention, the schedule and format was obviously rigged in his favor to the detriment of the other candidates. Only one token debate was scheduled as the last item on Saturday, without consulting any of the other candidates in advance. This was too little and too late to really bring important leadership issues before the assembled delegates. No debates or forums were held at all for any other LP leadership races.

Did any of these tough-minded freedom fighters notice or object? Did any of them decry the lack of issues presented at the convention, or notice that the winning chair candidate made not one single written statement about what he intended to do if elected? Did anyone object to the use of party resources to bolster the undeclared candidacy of David Walter, or to his unprecedented use of paid

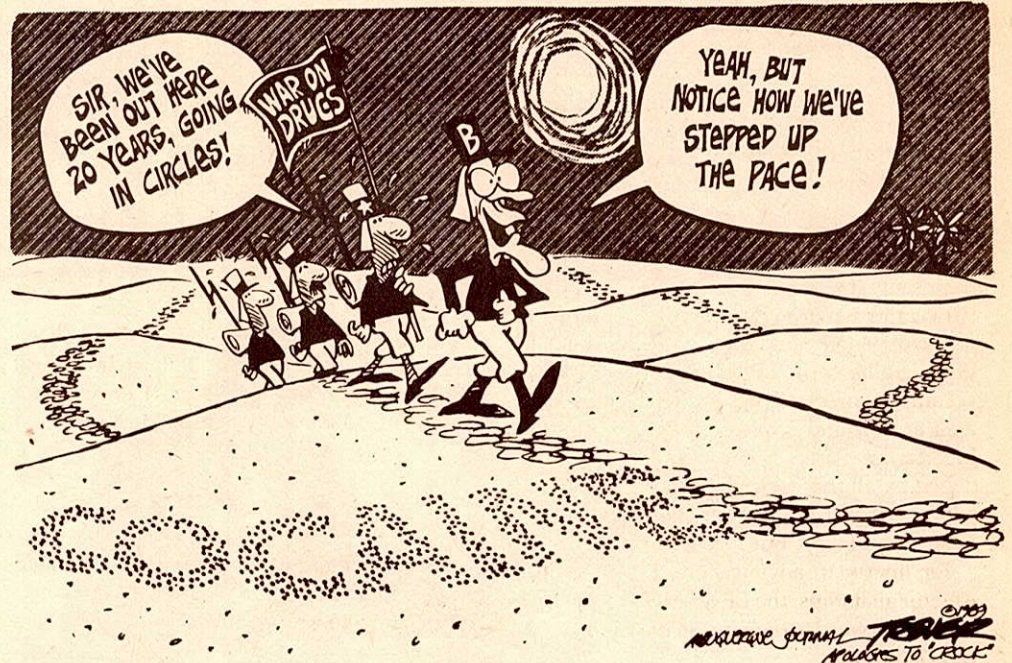
LP spokesman Karl Hess in his campaign? Think again ...

The LP has an all too frequent history of choosing its leadership on the basis of glad-handing, personality issues and vague perceptions rather than experience, performance and clearly defined platforms. And all too frequently LP members later wonder why their party is so badly run at the top. No wonder ...

Being associated with truth telling or objective criticism of the LP brings nothing but a childish reaction about being "negative" or "destructive," much as the pupil's objection to the heavy-handed government school atmosphere is derided as an attack on "school spirit." It was readily evident that Matt Monroe's publishing sometimes critical stories about the libertarian movement and the LP in *American Libertarian* badly hurt his political fortunes in Philadelphia. But David Walter's unfair and one-sided usage of the party news organ *LP News* - recently filled with glowing predictions and trumped up reports of nonexistent "progress" - was regarded as normal and even positive by assembled LP delegates.

We can understand if delegates preferred Walter's "leadership that is already leading" to Monroe's "leadership for a change." Less understandable is how Robert Murphy's "leadership that turns the party in to the FEC" can finish only 15 votes behind Monroe. And totally incomprehensible is how this so-called Party of Principle can periodically decide its top leadership posts - and thus the future of the LP - on the basis of such a shallow and juvenile process.

Does this analysis imply that the LP is irredeemably bound for continued futility and frustration? Hopefully not. Children sometimes make poor or ignorant decisions, but this is due to immaturity, not deliberately evil intentions. And children also eventually grow up. Therein lies the prospect for future improvement in the Libertarian Party. ■



THE LOST PATROL

Feedback



Letters Policy

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should be kept short and are subject to editing. Letters submitted to other publications will not be considered. Send to: Feedback, American Libertarian, 21715 Park Brook Drive, Katy, TX 77450.

LP: RIP

Philadelphia has come a long way, honkie, since the 18th century. Instead of Ben Franklin, it has the dim-witted Mayor Wilson Goode - responsible for the only aerial bombing of an American city in history. And instead of William Penn's hardworking Quakers, it has welfare bums, drug dealers, muggers, and the aggressive "homeless."

How appropriate, then, that the Libertarian Party should hold its national convention in the new Philadelphia on Labor Day weekend. And that the party should there vilify its real-world remnant, as represented by the Ron Paul campaign.

In Philadelphia, a gang of aging hippies and petty crooks took total control of the Libertarian Party. A bankrupt's scam-PAC was blessed, as was a party official who filed a complaint with the FEC about supposed crimes (victimless) by the Ron Paul campaign. Warm applause greeted these worthies from a gibbering gang that reminded me of the grotesque monks in the movie version of *Name of the Rose* ... but without their redeeming characteristics.

As I sat uncomfortably in that assembly I wondered what exactly, in its 17 years of existence, has the party achieved? Good people have taken part, but the party's culture of loony incompetence has always negated their work. Millions of dollars and tens of thousands of man-hours have created not a better climate for liberty, but a Soviet-scale misallocation of resources.

The existence and activities of the Libertarian Party have in fact harmed the cause of liberty by firmly associating it in the public mind with countercultural perversion. That libertarianism today means atheistic hippie-dom is an achievement of the LP. It was all summed up for me in a recent Associated Press dispatch quoting LP druggies, including a party ex-chairman, and portraying the LP as pro-drug, which indeed it is.

The events at Philadelphia mean that

finally we "paleo-libertarians," Old Rightists who believe in liberty and Western civilization, must look elsewhere, specifically to an alliance with the resurgent paleo-conservatives who share our Old Right roots.

The Libertarian Party was born - despite its honorable name - in a corrupt attempt to justify "alternative lifestyles," and it has been firmly associated with them ever since.

That is why, if the ideals of liberty are ever to reach the broad masses of real Americans, as they did in the 18th and 19th centuries, we must ditch the Libertarian Party.

As paleo-libertarians, we need not approve of all we would legalize; in fact, we are morally obligated not to do so. And if we

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American Libertarian

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Feedback

From page 4

hope to make any progress among family-oriented, church-going, middle-class America, such a disapproving attitude is politically essential.

It is no wonder, then, that the Libertarian Party is losing members and money, for it represents the dregs of Woodstock. The Ron Paul campaign brought a temporary infusion of good people, but they were scorned in Philadelphia as the LP reveled in decadence.

I am a former and present Republican who took a short and unpleasant detour into the Libertarian Party. Some people were saddened by all that took place in Philadelphia, and by what it implied for the future of the Libertarian Party. But I say, Hurrah.

For liberty to advance, the LP must die. And for all its sins, the LP deserves to die. I'm looking forward to dancing on its grave.

Ben Harrison
Washington, DC

Wrong Turn for LP Revisited

The recent editorial, "Wrong Turn for LP" (August AL) mischaracterizes both the Federal RICO statutes and the exploring behind Dave Walter's attempt to explore the question of civil disobedience with respect to ballot access laws. As one of those surveyed to contribute my thoughts on the subject, I must object.

Your reference to feds using RICO statutes "to prosecute 'conspiracy' charges" is a red herring. First, RICO comes in two "flavors:" criminal and civil. It is true that the feds have shown uncharacteristic imagination and creativity in using RICO's criminal forfeiture provisions against large businesses - particularly those with Wall Street addresses - where there are lots of nice juicy assets for the king to seize. I have not heard of any Federal prosecutions under RICO against anti-abortion (or, for that matter, any other kind of) protestors. They appear to be prosecuted (if at all) under local trespass law.

Civil RICO actions, in contrast, are generally brought by private parties hoping to cash in on the treble damages available to the civil plaintiff under that law. To my knowledge, the only plaintiffs currently involved in RICO suits against anti-abortion types are physicians and abortion clinics. In the interest of brevity I will conclude by simply noting that there are many reasons why federal prosecution (particularly under 18 USC § 1962) of peaceful demonstrators is rarely, if ever, undertaken.

Your condemnation of what you describe as "Walter's 'how should we break the laws' survey," leads me to conclude that you did not bother to obtain and read a copy of Jorge Amador's thoughtful inquiry on the subject of civil disobedience. Had you read it, you would have known that what was sought was the participant's comments on a large number of hypothetical situations, many of which could not be characterized as "illegal" under any definition of the word (eg: picketing outside government offices, calling press conferences, etc.). The format was completely open-ended, and those responding were encouraged to explore all the possibilities from a variety of perspectives. It was, as far as I could tell, an invitation to a philosophical and practical debate over the pros and cons of an interesting issue which is, in my experience, a fairly common libertarian pursuit (in or out of the party). ... We tend to favor the notion of a "marketplace of ideas."

It was never suggested that picketing, media conferences or sit-ins might serve as a substitute for petitioning and lobbying. Your praise for the Herculean efforts and successes of Paul Jacob and the Ballot Access Committee is correct. Regardless of our official policy, however, it is no secret that petition-

ing efforts are not always conducted in strict conformance with the applicable law. The truly oppressive time limits and procedural requirements (i.e.: petitioner qualifications and witness statements) in some states have resulted in quite a bit of "law stretching" and "law bending" by LP activists. Now, I can justify (or at least rationalize) as well as the next person, but I fail to see how this activity is somehow more noble or "grown up" than a peacefully conducted sit-in.

Finally, you characterized civil disobedience as childish and fanciful. I can think of at least a few people (such as: Henry David Thoreau, Mahatma Ghandi, Martin Luther King, Jr., Paul Jacob, et. al.) who might beg to differ. For my own part, I can only say that your analysis was "like, really far out, man!" ... but then, what can you expect from a "passe' countercultural protester" who came of age in a decade that seems to have made you so uncomfortable?

Margaret M. Fries
Binghamton, NY

While we thank attorney Fries for enlightening us on the two flavors of RICO, we would still argue that possibly subjecting LP members to either variety makes the entire notion of civil disobedience unpalatable.

One Pittsburgh anti-abortion hotline operator has been sued under RICO by an abortion clinic and NOW because her hotline alerted people to planned demonstrations at the clinic. Antonio Califa of the ACLU told columnist Nat Hentoff: "Under RICO's expansive provisions, it is relatively easy for plaintiffs ... to embark upon intrusive discovery proceedings, which may be particularly threatening to political advocacy groups. Indeed, plaintiffs intolerant of a group's opinions may file suit with the sole intention of inhibiting activities they abhor."

We read the original survey sent out at the behest of Libertarian Party chair David Walter and agree that while "open-ended" in format,

several of the alternative scenarios presented clearly suggested illegal protest activity, such as sit-ins, chaining to furniture, etc. After all, if it's legal, it's not civil disobedience.

And clearly whether brought by the federal government under a criminal provision (particularly if the national LP were to orchestrate a successful civil disobedience effort) to harass the LP or "seize juicy assets" like mailing lists, or whether brought by civil sanctions from private plaintiffs like Secretaries of State, the two major parties, or anti-LP individuals, neither prospect can be ruled out or dismissed out of hand as harmless or unlikely. Surveys by party leaders suggesting illegal activities would be particularly damning evidence under RICO in either case.

We did not say civil disobedience was "childish and fanciful." We did say it was "premature and possibly dangerous" for LP ballot access efforts in light of RICO and widespread public apathy over minor party ballot access difficulties. ■

Notable Quotes



Rohrabacher Watch

"Rep. (Dana) Rohrabacher...has no reason to be anything less than a super free-trader given that his district encompasses the Los Angeles

Harbor. (Rohrabacher has) been backsliding and adopting the "level playing field" demagogu popularized by the likes of Rep. (Richard) Gephardt (D-Mo.), much to the dismay of Nobel economist Milton Friedman, an early supporter. And now Mr. (Newt) Gingrich was there, notwithstanding his enthusiasm for the FSX, to help him (Rohrabacher) out with some Gephardtian arguments.

"Was Mr. Gingrich, the former history professor, rhetorically winking? I mean, if you understand, as do most economists, that trade must first be free before it can be fair, then it can be fair politics to adopt the opposition's language. Indeed, it is just that sort of savvy politics that made Mr. Gingrich a House heavyweight.

"Alas, no. Mr. Gingrich allows, with modified Gephardtism, that some retaliatory measures might be appropriate - the kind of thinking that ultimately collapses any resistance to modern versions of Smoot-Hawley and, thereby, crashes and depressions; the kind of thinking that throws the Republicans back to the Hoover era. If the onetime professor thinks me an impossible purist for saying that, I will gladly invoke the name of Friedman."

From "Young Men At A Grand Old Party" by K.E. Grubbs Jr. in *The Orange County Register*, 23 July, 1989.

For Once, Something George Will Said We Can Get Behind

"In the last two years under that law, the deficit has actually increased. Congress and the executive branch have conspired for their mutual convenience (that is what bipartisanship, so much celebrated just now, really means) to fudge the assumptions and cook the books in ways which, if practiced in the private sector, might get the practitioner sent to prison.

This is the time of year for senior-class trips to Washington by high-school students. They come in brightly colored buses that sometimes park bumper-to-bumper down Capitol Hill. If there were criminal sanctions attached to Gramm-Rudman, there would be bumper-to-bumper paddy wagons lined up to cart Congress and some of the executive branch to jail."

"Ethics Apply Only to Little Things," syndicated column,, George F. Will, March 1989 ■



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Debate

From page 1

consist of the same barnacles that have been dominating and leeching the Libertarian Party for many years; they are all part of the same crew of moochers, petty con-men, bunco artists, and scam-meisters who have been taking and taking from the LP for years. They are the leaders of the gang of scrofulous and infantile *luftmenschen* who constitute the bulk of the Libertarian Party. Even those few who **look like** real people, aren't: they are lawyers without a practice, failed comics, aging perpetual students, con artists who couldn't find a hearing outside the libertarian movement - leaders of an army of the botched.

On the other hand, the Monroe-Paul forces were, by and large, the givers to the party rather than the takers: people like Matt Monroe and Burt Blumer who have dedicated their lives to liberty, and have given unstintingly of money, energy, and great competence to the Libertarian Party. In return for this generosity of substance and spirit, the Monroe forces functioned as scapegoats and Hate Objects for the bulk of the convention: It was the Revenge of the Nut-Balls.

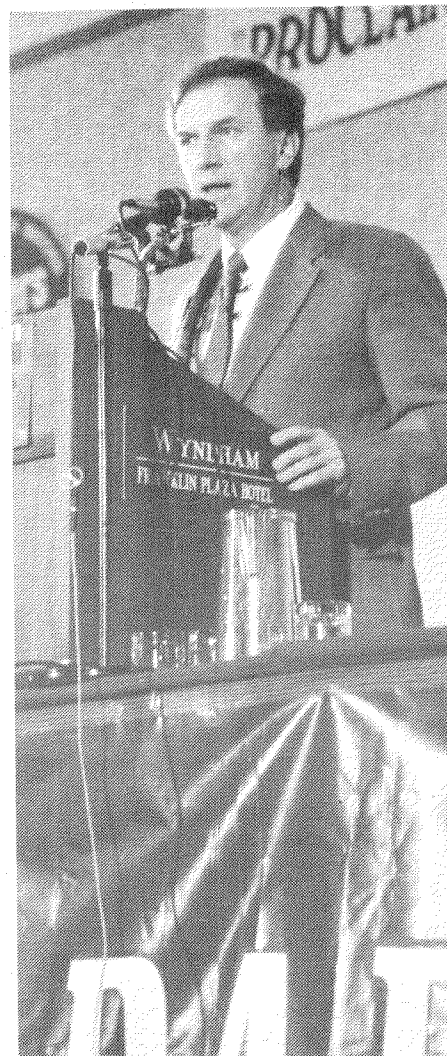
It was a weird experience, though - in view of the people involved, not a surprising one. While the Monroe forces took the high road and ran a campaign exclusively stressing Matt's great merits, we were accused loudly and angrily of being negative; whereas the opposition, aside from a few nonsensical claims about Dave Walter's "achievements" in office, spent its energies vilifying us, but were in no way considered negative by the bulk of the Party. For me, the essential spirit of this convention was expressed after the debate for chair, when one young man paraded up and down with a hastily scrawled sign mocking Matt Monroe's Polish influenced syntax. Well thanks a lot, fella; thanks for your swinish behavior making the true issues of this convention, and my subsequent role in the Party, crystal-clear.

And so the convention was essentially a

class struggle: the takers vs. the givers, the exploiters vs. the exploited, the looters vs. the lootees, the fleecers vs. the fleeced. And the looters won. Decisively. But how could that be? Here we should remember the great insight of Lysander Spooner, explaining why the majority of the people support the State. There are three classes of statist supporters, Spooner pointed out: the Knaves, who benefit from the State; the Duped, who are suckered by the Knaves; and the Cowards, who know the truth but are afraid to reveal the truth. Well, since the Libertarian Party is a voluntary organization that does not practice coercion, the Coward category does not apply.

But if the looted are a majority, why can't they learn the truth about their exploiters, and vote them out of power? In the first place, we must realize that while, in a sense, rank-and-file LP members are exploited as dues-payers, that the **real** exploited, the real fleeced, are the **donors**, who are often not even members, and who certainly do not correspond one-to-one to the class of members. And donors undoubtedly did not constitute anything like a majority of delegates at the convention. Moreover, the terribly rapid turnover of LP convention delegates meant that from 30% to 40% of the delegates were first-timers, naive to the Byzantine and cynical ways of the Party, and tending to believe the Authority Figure who happened to be the incumbent chairman. But more unfortunately, the *luftmenschen* who constitute the bulk of the Party activists and delegates admire, and therefore identify with, their corrupt scam-artist leaders. These leaders, and not people of genuine achievement, form the role-models for the moochers in the rank-and-file. It all fits in a coherent, if grisly, way.

The rout of the Monroe forces was so great that we had no incentive for second-guessing the nuances of the campaign. Surely, we made many mistakes, but nothing we did could have changed the outcome. We had two major regrets: one, that we didn't do what the mendacious opposition **accused** us of doing, and hit them with all the exposures of their crookery that we had stored up; **then**, they really would have had good reason for their hostility. We couldn't have



Houston cardiologist Matt Monroe worked hardest and spent the most, but ultimately finished a disappointed second in the LP chair race.

done worse, and we would have had the great satisfaction of speaking Truth to Power. Our second major regret was having allowed ourselves to be suckered by David Bergland and his Svengali, Bill Evers, into joining them in overthrowing Jim Turney as chair last December. If we hadn't done so, then Turney would still have been chair at Philadelphia, and things might have been very different. As one of us said at our post-mortem, to be suckered by a person of stature is not too bad; but to be conned by a Dave Bergland **really** hurt.

A few interesting nuances of the convention. Robert Murphy, at the debate, got up and apologized to "each and every one of you" and particularly to Ron Paul, for his "hasty and ill-considered action" in calling in the FEC; all well and good, except that he did **not** recant his bizarre theory that the FEC was in some way a "libertarian" institution. But even if his recantation was sincere, it was ludicrous although unsurprising that the LP gave Murphy a standing ovation, and that Murphy got almost as many votes for chair as Matt Monroe. It's as if someone announces his abandonment of a career as pickpocket one day, and the next day is selected for canonization. The reaction of the convention revealed the looney sentimentality and *luftmensch* sensibility that permeated the delegates. For if Dave Walter won the heads of the delegates, Robert Murphy won their hearts. Some heads! Some hearts!

Other amusing tidbits: the New York LP, in voting overwhelmingly for Murphy (11 for Murphy, 3 for Walter, none for Monroe), maintained its age-old tradition of being the most repellent libertarian organization in the cosmos. Karl Hess, in speaking for Walter for chair, continued his tradition of toadying to whoever happens to be his current employer (Turney in 1987, Walter in 1989). Hess spent most of his speech attacking, though not by name, *American Libertarian*, for being a newspaper that doesn't follow his principles (that is, a paper that is consistently boring and rambling). Then, in a speech nominating

Michael Iddings (a Turneyite from California) for vice-chair, Hess returned to the attack, with myself this time as the object. He croaked proudly that he was "half-space cadet" (an obscure reference to a long-forgotten category of libertarians I had denounced about a dozen years ago), and "half-*Untermensch*." Presumably, Hess meant *luftmensch*, unless, of course, Karl really meant to refer to himself as "sub-human."

On Sunday night, after the vote, most of the Monroe leadership (with the exception of Matt himself, who sensibly left to go on the town with his wife) gathered in the lobby of the Wyndham Hotel for a post-mortem. Many of the leaders of the opposition were also grouped in the lobby, and they must have been surprised to see us, not mopey and depressed, but yukking it up, animated and laughing unroarously. For we looked at each other and simultaneously realized a great truth: that, far from being depressed, we felt a wonderful sense of detachment, an incredible lightness of being, a sense of joy and liberation. For we were free at last! After many years of toil and struggle, of being smeared and vilified, we realized that it was finally over, that we never had to deal with, or look at, these bastards ever again! Also, we would never again have to spend a lot of time apologizing for, or explaining away, our Libertarian Party comrades.

And we realized, too, that Lew Rockwell, who of all of us had had the most experience in real world politics, was right. From the very beginning of the campaign, Lew maintained two propositions, both which first struck most of us as extreme and even bizarre. First, that we would be smashed at the Philadelphia convention, that there was no hope. We all realized that Walter would start off with an advantage of about fifty votes, among the assorted bureaucrats, functionaries, and *apparatchicks* - whom Rockwell brilliantly termed the *kleptoklatura* - the barnacles and leeches of the LP Old Guard social club. But we expected that the sound rank-and-file would rise and redeem us. Pointing to the grisly nature of the California rank-and-file, however, Lew maintained that most of the other state parties would prove to be the same - for why else do the *kleptoklatura* keep being elected? Over the months of the campaign, we began to find it increasingly difficult to argue against Lew on this point. Rockwell's second thesis was even more profoundly radical: that it is **far better** if we lose, for if we win, we'd have to spend two years being weighted down by these leeches and barnacles, and accomplish nothing. As we at the post-mortem felt the blessed relief of the burden of the *apparatchiks* being lifted from us, we turned spontaneously to Lew and toasted him: "We're all Rockwellians now!"

Engaging in profound sociological analysis of the LP, we also arrived at another epiphany. We suddenly realized the answer to a problem that has racked libertarians for ages: "Why are there so few women in the Libertarian Party?" Why did our own wives, all dedicated libertarians with a small "I," regard our membership in the LP with, at best, affectionate derision? It's not the old nonsense about men being too coldly logical, or about the LP being mysteriously if invisibly permeated with "sexism." The answer was much simpler, and ready at hand all the time: women tend to be a lot smarter about people than men, and most women need only one whiff of the modal LP members to run quickly in the opposite direction.

In short, esteemed former comrades of the Libertarian Party, Atlas is shrugging. The people of money, brains, and competence are leaving the power and the coffers of the national Libertarian Party to the Grand Kleptocratic Coalition. The prognosis for the na-

Continued page 7

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Debacle

From page 6

tional party is grim; indeed, the national LP seems to me unredeemable for the foreseeable future. As the stumblebum nature of the current leadership becomes evident, the money and the membership (and it is, of course, the money that is their major interest) will slowly but surely wither away, and as the moolah dwindles the Grand Coalition will turn on each other like scorpions in a bottle. Already, before the convention was even over, disgruntled ex-Waltersians came rushing to us with offers of dossiers of incriminating material. Remember, kleptocrats: this is the first day of the rest of your life! I mean that, of course, in a sardonic rather than the conventional Pollyanna manner. Enjoy your little moment of power and euphoria, because it's all downhill from now on. Moreover, you have already begun to suffer your greatest, and most deserved punishment: each other's company.

I do not maintain that the entire Libertarian Party is hopeless, for there are some wonderful people in some of the state parties, notably the Michigan, Georgia, Kansas, Florida, and Texas parties. The important thing for these worthy, adult, and real world libertarians is to do what all good state parties have always done - ignore the national party, and hunker down in their states, concentra-

ting on building the good state LPs. Most important is to **defund** the national party, for once the parasitic leeches are deprived of the blood supply of their hosts, they will begin to wither away.

And who knows? At some point in the remote future, it might be possible for the good state parties to rise up and take back the national party, and fulfill the broken vision of an expanding, powerful, real-world libertarian political party. Or, if we keep our eyes open, there may develop alternative and more promising forms of real-world libertarian political action. After all, the Libertarian Party, whatever the *apparatchiks* may think, is not a good in itself; it is only good insofar as it can form a viable vehicle for libertarian political action and for rolling back the State. In these days of remarkable political change, when communism/socialism is collapsing throughout the world, all sorts of new alliances, of ideological realignments and coalitions at home may become possible. Libertarian ideas are on the march; but the national Libertarian Party is imploding, stubbornly resisting growth in the real world. Well, okay, libertarianism is a noble and beautiful political creed, and it is far greater than the group of losers and fourflushers who now dominate the Libertarian Party. Somehow, in some way, liberty is bound to triumph, and we should not despair because the monkeys have taken control of this particular monkey house. ■

SIL, LI Merge

Philadelphia, PA - In a surprise announcement at the SIL (Society for Individual Liberty) "Karl Hess Roast" banquet on August 30 at the Wyndham Hotel in Philadelphia, held in conjunction with the LP national convention, SIL and LI (Libertarian International) will be combined into a new entity called the International Society for Individual Liberty (ISIL) to be headquartered at LI's former Richmond, VA address.

Although billed as a merger, the practical effect of the move is a friendly takeover of SIL by LI rather than a merger. The new group will have former SIL co-directors Don Ernsberger and David Walter on the six-person board of directors, but initial indications are that the remaining vestiges of SIL will largely be absorbed by ISIL along the lines formerly run by LI. The new organization also has received IRS tax-exempt and tax deductible contribution status as a 501(c)(3) non-profit organization, according to subsequent information issued by ISIL president Vince Miller.

According to press materials, ISIL "will continue to emphasize networking and support of movement institutions and organizations. Former SIL members will now receive *Freedom Network News* bi-monthly newsletter" and "updated editions of the SIL position papers are now under development." Although both LI and SIL were theoretically membership organizations, neither group consulted members in making the recent merger, which has been underway since early in the year. In practice, both groups were run by the founders or directors as private enterprises.

The new ISIL board of directors consists of Vince Miller, James Elwood, Bruce Evoy and Hubert Jongen, all formerly leaders and activists in LI, and Walter and Ernsberger, who have been the SIL co-directors since the early 1970s.

SIL was founded in 1969 as an outgrowth of the Libertarian Caucus of YAF (Young Americans for Freedom). Nearly all the libertarians left YAF following the August 1969 St. Louis YAF convention, which saw a bitter split between libertarians and trads (traditionalists) in that conservative youth organi-

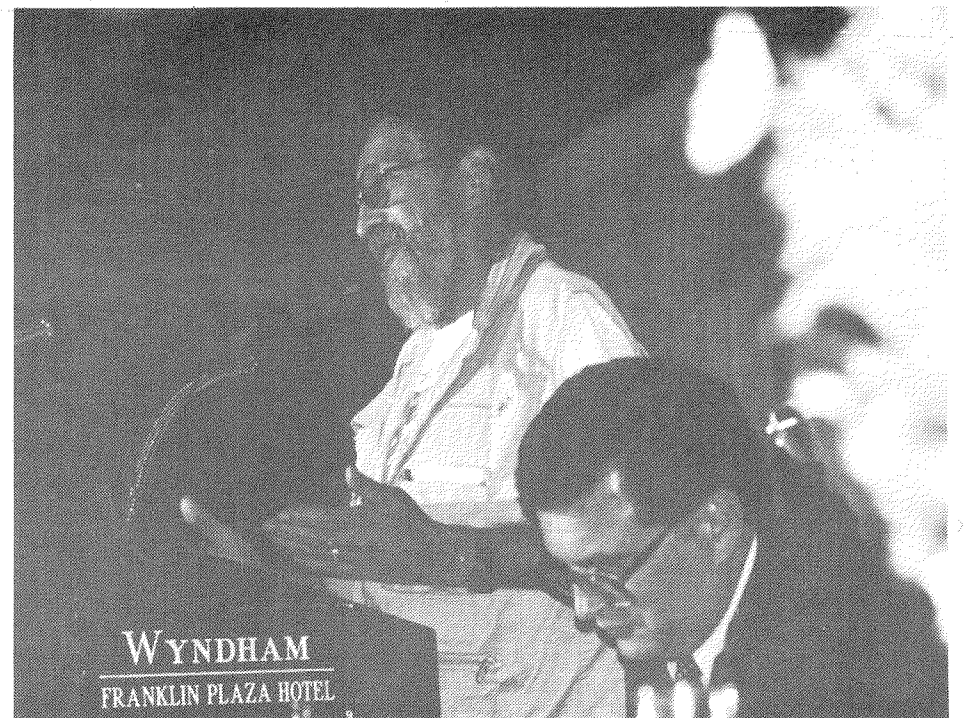
zation. SIL was originally called the Society for Rational Individualism (SRI) and was renamed a few years later. Jarret Wollstein was also an original founder of SIL but left active leadership in the group during the early 1970s. Until the recent merger, SIL was the oldest and longest surviving single libertarian organization in the U.S., although its membership has dwindled considerably since the mid-1970s. Exact financial and membership information has not been regularly published by either LI or SIL.

Reasons for the merger are many and varied, and the announcement of the union was unexpected by some closely associated with SIL and LI.

Although SIL was originally a campus based and youth oriented group, over the years its role has diminished to the point where only a handful of active or semi-active campus affiliates existed. Both membership and money considerations played a role in the merger decision, according to a source familiar with the inner workings of SIL. Additionally, the appointment of David Walter as LP chair last December may have also played a part, since both Walter and his longtime sidekick Ernsberger became increasingly absorbed with running the LP and running Walter's undeclared campaign for LP chair throughout 1989.

Although SIL used to award the Phoenix Award to outstanding libertarians, this was discontinued a few years ago due to insufficient interest among SIL members who voted for the recipient. Aside from maintaining a stock of libertarian leaflets, most of which were written in the 1970s, the main activity of SIL was publishing their monthly newsletter *Individual Liberty*. But the publication schedule, long the most consistent in the movement, began to falter in 1988 largely due to Ernsberger's race for U.S. Congress as an LP candidate. This race absorbed most of the energy of Ernsberger and Walter and efforts to resume regular publication of the SIL newsletter in 1989 never did quite catch up to the original monthly schedule.

This problem also took its toll on SIL finances and membership. Although SIL boasted membership in the low thousands in the 1970's, and claimed *Individual Liberty* circulation was 1,700 last year in a trade publi-



Karl Hess addresses SIL banquet attendees during the "roast" in his honor. LP chair David Walter, seated, is a co-director of SIL.

cation, recent newsletter issues were mailed to between 500 and 800 people, and paid membership has been reliably estimated at under 500. It is not clear how many total net members will be enrolled in the new ISIL organization, although ISIL sources believe the new group will end up with about 1500 members.

SIL was able to survive for these many years in part due to an \$800 per month subsidy paid by an "objectivist oriented libertarian," according to one former SIL insider. The erratic publication schedule in 1988 and 1989 seems to have resulted in a reduction or elimination of that funding. Since SIL's newsletter and literature were priced to break even, this monthly subsidy may have provided an incentive to keep SIL alive by Ernsberger and Walter. Walter reportedly charged SIL for rental use of an office in his basement and garage storage space. A member of Ernsberger's family was paid to maintain the mailing list. Whether this subsidy will continue to the new ISIL organization is not known.

Left in the dark until the announcement of the merger was longtime *Individual Liberty* columnist Jorge Amador, who had authored the "Libertarian News in Brief" and "Libertarian Calendar" features since 1981. Amador told *AL* the idea of an LI-SIL merger was only put to him three hours before the announcement as a "hypothetical" by Ernsberger, and that he was absolutely "surprised and shocked" at the subsequent merger disclosure at the August 30 banquet.

Amador asked Walter after the banquet why he wasn't advised of the merger beforehand, given his long association with SIL and the newsletter. Walter reminded him that he (Walter) and Ernsberger owned SIL and told him "frankly, it never even occurred to me to tell you."

When he later sought out Ernsberger for an explanation, Amador was told to "wait until Tuesday" after the LP convention was over. Amador told *AL* that neither Ernsberger nor Walter contacted him after the convention, although he did get a subsequent letter from ISIL president Miller apologizing for the poor way the situation was handled and inviting him to participate in "some way" in the *Freedom Network News*. Although Miller's letter indicated that the apology was extended after discussions with Walter and Ernsberger, Ernsberger subsequently sent Amador a note saying that this apology didn't include him and that his decision not to tell Amador about the merger was "borne out by your behavior at the convention," an apparent reference to the fact that Amador spent considerable time

at the Matt Monroe hospitality suite recounting his treatment at the hands of his former comrades in arms.

ISIL president Miller said in the formal merger announcement, "we know that some of you will be very disappointed to see that we no longer promote the word "Libertarian" in our title - but unfortunately the terms of the merger preclude this. Also, here in North America we have found it next to impossible to maintain an identity separate from that of the Libertarian political party. We do hope you understand and will excuse the secrecy that has surrounded this matter. We do want to assure you, however, that the new ISIL will, as before, be openly and uncompromisingly libertarian."

While the term "libertarian" is generally used more or less correctly in the U.S., outside of the U.S., particularly in Europe, the term has been historically associated with left-wing anarchism or a decentralized marxist-socialist ideology.

The ISIL also announced their intention to hold an international conference on the subject "World Environmentalism" and "The Future of Freedom in the 1990s" in San Francisco August 10-14, 1990 at the Golden Gate Holiday Inn, details to be forthcoming.

The address for the new ISIL (the old LI address) is: ISIL, 9308 Farmington Drive, Richmond, VA 23229. ■

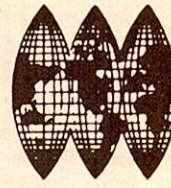
FPA to Hold Conference

Columbus, OH - The libertarian-oriented Free Press Association (FPA) announced five finalists for its annual Mencken Award along with details of its upcoming annual conference to be held in late October in New York City.

The Free Press Association has selected five Best Book finalists for its eighth annual Mencken Awards for outstanding writing in defense of individual rights:

- "Freedom at Risk: Secrecy, Censorship and Repression in the 1890s" edited by Richard Currey (Temple Univ. Press)
- "Liability: The Legal Revolution and Its Consequences" by Peter Huber (Basic Books)
- "The Third Century: America's Resurgence in the Asian Era" by Joel Kotkin and Yoriko Kishimoto (Crown Books)

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Philadelphia

From page 3

Albuquerque fell through. Ed Clark substituted for Means' breakfast slot.

Atmospherics

Among other highlights of the convention was the broadcast of large portions of the proceedings by the C-SPAN channel, which devotes itself to covering government and related political/intellectual events and gatherings. According to LP officers, over 1,300 inquiries were generated by the posting of the party's "800" tollfree telephone inquiry phone number at the convention lectern, where it could be seen throughout most of the televised proceedings.

This was the only significant media coverage the convention received, however, as there was no local TV coverage and only one story in the *Philadelphia Daily News*. The convention press room went largely unmanned and unattended, since Convention Associates followed a strict policy of refusing to credential members of the "libertarian press," and they were the only press much interested in the convention goings-on.

In other convention business, at least two resolutions from the floor were voted down; one in support of New York hotel queen Leona Helmsley (condemning the imprisonment of anyone for the "crime" of failure to pay taxes) and another calling for the investigation of Big Water, Utah mayor Alex Joseph, the LP polygamist political boss of the small Utah hamlet, for purportedly excluding a carpet-bagging libertarian immigrant from the local election ballot. Delegates were not in the mood to invest investigations of fellow libertarians nor voice any support for the much vilified Helmsley.

There was also the appearance of a satirical publication *American Libellarian*, a well produced four page newsprint mock up of another well known libertarian monthly paper. Featuring stories on "30 Ways to Destroy Your LP" and "Rothbard on Rothbard: a Self Critique," the parody was produced by Lyn Sapowsky-Smith and Mike Iddings, who later explained that the signed articles by Andre Marrou, George O'Brien and Michael Emerling were also authored by those individuals.

Aftermath

Most LP members viewed the results of the "Proclaim Liberty" convention in a positive light. The Walter leadership group was united and the losing political factions, the Turneyites and the Monroe-Paul forces, were for the most part shut out of elected LP leadership positions. As a result, the LP is not seen as vulnerable to the bitter in-fighting by opposing NatCom factions which hindered much of Jim Turney's two terms. For the most part, members of both losing camps are taking a "wait and see" attitude while the victors are moving ahead with plans.

At the pre-convention NatCom meeting Robert Murphy faced a half-hearted attempt to oust him again in the wake of the failed mail ballot effort. A tough conflict-of-interest prohibition proposed by Sharon Ayres was weakened considerably when it was noted

that in its original form, it would have required Walter and a number of other LNC members to resign. Both the Murphy issue and the conflict-of-interest matter vanished from the agenda in the aftermath of the Walter sweep.

Instead, the post-convention NatCom went about adding to the LP budget by allocating the banquet proceeds for a public relations contract with Tonie Nathan for the remainder of the year, along with appointing David Nolan as chair of the independent Advertising Development Committee. Nolan has recently formed his own TV oriented PAC (LIBER-TV) and both Nolan and Nathan were prominent supporters of the Walter election bid. Steve Alexander of California was appointed the new finance committee chair and Karen Allard of Washington was named membership committee chair. Vice chair Gingell was named to head the newly empowered affiliate parties committee, while acting chair Steve Givot was named permanent chair of the Ballot Access Committee. Former treasurer Thies was appointed LP auditor, while Bill Redpath was named audit and management committee chair. Gary Johnson was appointed outreach committee chair to oversee the new publicity operation by Nathan. The next NatCom

meeting was scheduled for San Diego in early December.

Both losing chair candidates Murphy and Monroe agreed to sign a fundraising letter designed to raise money to follow up on the 1,300 C-SPAN generated inquiries about the LP. Leading *Berglandista* David Bergland wrote Matt Monroe and his supporters after the convention saying "I observed your campaign, and those associated with it, to be consistently businesslike, professional and respectful of the delegates and the other candidates. I commend you and your campaign team ..."

So far the only casualty of the political wars has been LP headquarters bookkeeper Richard Perry, who was fired in late September in a move apparently unrelated to internal LP politics. He was replaced by LP treasurer Steve Fielder's wife Christine, who formerly held that job. This situation is being described as only "temporary" by LP insiders.

The "Liberty Proclaimed" convention ended with unified party leadership and a newly streamlined Libertarian National Committee. With Walter's "Performance Team" firmly in place the internal LP politicking has ended, and the time for performance has again resumed for America's third largest political party. ■

**BULLETIN
Jacob Resigns
From BAC Post**

North Little Rock, AR - In a surprise announcement, the LP's Ballot Access Committee (BAC) field coordinator Paul Jacob told *American Libertarian* that he was submitting his resignation from that post to the LP to be effective in mid-October. Jacob, who is a former draft registration resister and past national LP director, has held the BAC position since the spring of 1988 when he led the effort to get the LP presidential ticket on 46 state ballots, the most the party has achieved since 1980.

Jacob said he was taking a similar position with the Tax Accountability Amendment Committee, based in Illinois. This group has been organized to place a state constitutional amendment on that state's ballot to require a three-fifths vote of both state houses in order to raise taxes. He said they would have to obtain 400,000 signatures for that effort by the end of May 1990 to qualify for the 1990 election ballot. Jacob told *AL* he was approached by Howard Rich, a founder of Laissez Faire Books and a former LP activist associated with Ed Crane, several months ago about the new post. He admitted it was a "tough decision" for him in view of his longstanding commitment to the LP and its ballot access efforts, as well as the fact that the Illinois effort is intended to be an all-volunteer drive, compounding the difficulty.

However, Jacob told *AL* that he was frustrated by the BAC leadership under Steve Givot and "frustrated by the disarmament of the BAC, to the point where the leadership just told me where not to petition, where not

to lobby, and so on. They just didn't want me to be active and I didn't feel right accepting pay from the LP for doing so little work. I'm not interested in sitting around and collecting a paycheck for doing nothing."

Jacob said it had gotten to the point where the LP's BAC was under the effective control of Andre Marrou's private Project 51-'92 PAC, which also claims to be aiding LP ballot access efforts. "Givot told me he didn't want any lobbying in Florida by the BAC and that he only wanted petitioning in states guaranteed to give the LP 1992 presidential ballot access. But that requirement only leaves us with North Carolina, and the LP NatCom already voted to keep us out there because '51-'92" was supposed to be doing the drive there," Jacob said. So far, Jacob indicated, no ballot drive has been started in North Carolina.

Jacob said he might request a leave of absence from the BAC post, but he said it was unlikely that it would be granted. He said that the LP seemed to want him to do pure political field work in the BAC post rather than ballot access related projects, but that even those efforts seemed insufficient in terms of actual substance. He indicated that his new job would require relocation to Illinois, in the Chicago area, and that it also involved a substantial increase in pay.

Jacob had also come under internal scrutiny by some LP insiders who apparently wanted him out. He also cited constant problems in getting expense reimbursements, chronically late paychecks, and a cumbersome bureaucratic process which had him reporting to both BAC chair Givot, LP vice chair Mary Gingell, and day-to-day coordination with national LP director Nick Dunbar. ■

Convention

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- "In Pursuit of Happiness and Good Government" by Charles Murray (Simon and Schuster)
- "The Suicidal Corporation: How Big Business Fails America" by Paul Weaver (S & S)

More than 60 books published in 1988 were nominated for the 1989 Mencken Awards.

Finalists and winners - including soon-to-be-announced finalists for Best Editorial, Cartoon, Feature Story and New Story - will be honored at a Mencken Awards banquet ceremony Saturday, Oct. 28, during the Free Press Association's fourth annual conference in New York.

For the first time, the FPA will cosponsor its conference with a college, the journalism department at Long Island University, the country's ninth largest private university. That's also where all conference events will take place, just minutes from Manhattan at the Downtown Brooklyn campus.

Besides invited Mencken finalists, more than two dozen prominent writers and expert journalists are expected to debate First Amendment frontiers, other civil liberties controversies and the War on Drugs. A special focus of "Free Media, Free Minds IV: Questioning Authority" will be probing critiques of media coverage of minority issues, the economy and American foreign policy.

Conference speakers include Peter Brimelow (*Forbes* senior editor), Dennis Cauchon (*USA Today* reporter), Robert Corn-Revere (*The Nation* contributor), John Fund (*Wall Street Journal* editorialist), Charles Leventosky (1988 Mencken-winning editorialist and *Playboy's* First Amendment winner) and Russ Smith (editor/publisher, *New York Press*). Also expected is noted free market economist and columnist Walter Williams.

One of several special banquet speakers will be the most popular speaker from last year's successful FPA conference in Los Angeles: Movie Channel humorist "Joe Bob Briggs," aka syndicated movie critic John Bloom.

Conference/banquet registrations are \$75 or \$65 until Sept. 1. For a free conference brochure with the latest program updates, send SASE to FPA, Box 15548, Columbus, OH 43215. Or Call (614) 236-1908. ■

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