



FREE TEXAS

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1980's: LIBERTARIAN DECADE

Will the 1980's bring about the final collapse of America into the Brave New World of Orwell's authoritarian *1984*? Or will this new decade witness a rebirth of the American Dream of progress, peace, prosperity, and the pursuit of happiness — based on the libertarian ideals of maximum liberty and minimal government which originally made America great?

No one can foretell the future, but it's easy to despair. In the last ten years Big Government mushroomed. The State grows increasingly powerful, increasingly oppressive, and increasingly corrupt.

Federal spending alone is now more than \$2,000 for each man, woman, and child in the country. Add in the cost of state and local governments, and the total runs well over \$10,000 for a family of four — \$10,000 we'd have for our own wants and needs if it weren't for government. To pay for it all, the American people are being taxed to death, while inflation — fueled by Federal Reserve printing presses — skyrockets to the South American level of between 10% and 20% a year. In the 1980's, America could well be transformed into a

banana republic!

Yet there is reason for hope. Since the 1970's, due to the lessons of Vietnam, Watergate, and Three Mile Island, more and more Americans have come to realize that government is not the solution. **Government is the problem.**

People are beginning to understand that the problems of today's headlines — inflation, the energy crisis, war, taxation, crime, unemployment, pollution, monopoly, racism, censorship, bureaucracy, and disregard for human rights — can largely be laid at the door of statism, the concentration of power in the hands of government.

Vietnam was the most graphic demonstration possible that the State thrives upon violence. The mindless mass murder and pointless butchery in Vietnam exposed the waste, destruction, and immorality of global interventionism. The use of conscription showed how readily the government would openly enslave us, even to fight in meaningless wars. The government's attacks on dissenters in the anti-war movement, from FBI spying to Kent State, laid

bare the fear it has of its own "constituents", the people. And the destruction wrought by the permanent war economy demonstrated how seriously the government really takes the sufferings of the poor, compared to the comfort of the military-industrial complex.

Watergate marked another turning point in American politics. Here the government's utter lack of concern for the civil liberties and individual rights of the people, the casual and practiced lying to them, and the all-consuming pursuit of power — each of which had been elements of the Vietnam debacle — were exposed, but without the more enormous crime of war to distract our attention.

Finally, **Three Mile Island** exemplified the corruption of government intervention in the economy. Subsidized and controlled by the State from its inception, nuclear power today is the perfect example of corporate socialism. The corporate favorites which built the nuclear power plants, relieved by the State of responsibility for safety, cut as many corners as they could. The government utilities which operated

them, relieved by the Price-Anderson Act of insurance liability for accidents, didn't care. And government regulation created the illusion of safety. When they were all proven wrong, the American people discovered that they'd been had by the corporate state.

Vietnam, Watergate, and Three Mile Island shocked every American who had faith in a benevolent government. As a result, while the American government grew increasingly authoritarian in the 1970's, the American people grew increasingly libertarian. Alan Baron, a Washington political analyst, confirmed this new development in his newsletter: "If any trend in opinion is evident, it's toward libertarianism — the philosophy that argues against government intervention and for personal rights. Conservatives welcome that trend when it indicates public skepticism over federal programs; liberals welcome it when it shows growing acceptance of individual rights in such areas as drugs, sexual behavior, etc. and increasing reticence of the public to support foreign intervention." (Continued on page 11)

Clark for President

Ed Clark's Presidential candidacy is shaping up to be the most successful campaign in the Libertarian Party's short, nine year history.

Clark predicts that Libertarians will get at least several million votes next year and will do even better if he is permitted to debate with his Republican and Democratic opponents.

The Libertarian Party, which drew 171,627 votes for its ticket in 1976, received more than 1.3 million votes for its candidates in 1978, and expects its vote totals to dramatically increase in 1980 when Clark, and his Vice-Presidential running mate David Koch, achieve ballot status in almost all 50 states.

Already the third largest political party in America, the LP could well be the catalyst that brings about a real three party system in America. If neither the Republicans nor Democrats are making proposals that make sense to the American people, why not have a little more competition? Why not have a three party system? More and more people think the Libertarian Party is just the answer for what ails American politics.

"For the overtaxed, overregulated, overburdened and underpowered millions of the American middle class," says columnist Nicholas von Hoffman, "Libertarians are the only people worth voting for."

"I think it's important that we have a challenge to the two-party system," says former U.S. Senator Eugene McCarthy. "I'm supporting their effort to establish a third party. On many issues, . . . I am closer to the Libertarian position than to either of the two major parties."

The *Washington Post* finds "The Liber-

tarians' commitment to an undiluted human freedom is singularly impressive," while *The Progressive* considers the LP to be "one of the most interesting — and the fastest growing — new parties on the American political spectrum."

New West, discussing the LP's 78 campaigns, noted, "But the most significant achievement came in California's gubernatorial election, where Ed Clark got nearly 400,000 votes, the best showing for a third-party candidate in California in more than three decades. Suddenly people were talking about the Libertarians . . . this could be the tip of a very large political iceberg."

Howard Jarvis, father of Proposition 13, stated, "I thought Ed Clark ran a terrific campaign. When you think of the entrenchment of the people in public office, both Democrats and Republicans, when you think of the pork barrels and the tax money that they can use to improperly affect their elections, Clark ran a fantastic race. I like many of the things he said."

Ed Clark, a 49 year old California attorney with an LLB degree from Harvard Law School who lives in Los Angeles with his wife Alicia and their five year old son Ned, feels that "It's time to free up the system. The American people want a new direction in politics. Libertarians are giving them one: a principled commitment to human liberty in the economy, foreign affairs and our personal lifestyles."

Clark promises that the LP intends to use every chance it can to get government out of our pocketbooks, out of our bedrooms, and out of our lives. "I would like to communicate a sense of the tragic injustice of government and the politicians' attempts to pit us against each other," says



Clark. "As the power of government has grown like a cancer, intruding more and more into our lives, I have seen taxpayers pitted against the poor; the young pitted against the elderly; whites pitted against blacks; gays pitted against straights. All in a heartless game of political manipulation. As far as I can see, the only purpose to this game is to buy enough votes to keep some unprincipled politician in office at our expense. I think that Americans have had enough."

The *Bakersfield Californian* newspaper, which endorsed Clark during his 1978 Gubernatorial race, editorialized, "Considering the mood of the voters, trying to hold back the Libertarian Party is like trying to shovel sand against the tide."

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Political workshop set for Dallas

How do you move people in the direction of freedom? How can you get Texans excited about your ideas and enthusiastic about working for liberty?

Tired of frustrating conversations and pointless debates? Then you're ready for **THE ART OF POLITICAL PERSUASION MARATHON WEEKEND WORKSHOP**, scheduled to take place March 1 and 2 in Dallas, at the North Park Inn.

It will be an intensive two-day experience unlike anything you've ever encountered

before. It will make you ten times as effective at spreading libertarian ideas. You'll join a small group of fellow libertarians for a weekend of "total immersion" in the tools of political communication, persuasion, and motivation. It's exciting, it's informative and it's fun.

Michael Emerling, an experienced libertarian activist, teacher, author, and campaigner, will show you proven strategies and techniques for winning others to the side of political freedom. Not just changing

their minds on a few isolated issues, but getting them actively involved in the libertarian movement and the Libertarian Party!

So confident is Michael Emerling that you'll be excited about his workshop that he makes a personal guarantee to every attendee. If, by the end of the weekend, you're not convinced that you've gotten many times your money's worth out of the experience, he'll give you back 100% of the admission price (\$29 per person for the

Dallas workshop) — out of his own pocket.

Michael's energy and optimism are positively contagious. "In 1980, the Clark/Koch ticket will get two million votes," he predicts, "and our vote totals will be reported by Walter Cronkite on the CBS Evening News. We'll elect 5 Libertarians to office this year. By 1986, we'll have two U.S. senators, 11 congressmen, and 1.2 million registered Libertarians. And in 1996, we'll have a Libertarian president in the White House." —M. E. & M. G.

TEST YOUR LIBERTARIAN IQ

How much do you value individual freedom? How consistently do you support the free market and civil liberties? Here's an entertaining, easy way to test your Libertarian IQ.

Simply score your answers True or False, then compare your answers with the Key on page 8. No second guessing! You may be more libertarian than you have ever imagined.

1. Each individual is sole owner of his or her own life. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
2. Human rights are actually privileges granted by society. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
3. Freedom means the right to live in whatever manner one chooses, so long as one does not forcibly interfere with the equal right of others to live as they choose. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
4. Each individual is sole owner of the product of his or her labor or income. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
5. Citizens have a moral obligation to obey all laws and government regulations. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
6. There is an inherent conflict between individual rights and the maintenance of civil order. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
7. If a majority votes to enact taxation or elects a politician who enacts taxation, then the tax is a just one. TRUE ___ FALSE ___

8. If a majority votes to murder a man, no injustice is done. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
9. By joining a group, such as a government, an individual may acquire rights which he or she would not possess as a person acting in his or her own behalf. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
10. The initiation of force must be barred as a means of achieving political or social goals. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
11. Individuals are entitled to self-defense. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
12. The Constitutional right to bear arms should be repealed. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
13. Persons have a duty to defend their country "right or wrong". TRUE ___ FALSE ___
14. Military conscription (the draft) is involuntary servitude. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
15. Society owes every citizen medical care. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
16. Free public education is a right of all citizens. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
17. Society has a duty to provide poor people with government welfare. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
18. Government has a duty to tax to support its "needed" services for the "public good". TRUE ___ FALSE ___

LETITIA BY HELBER



19. Government, acting in the "public interest", should maintain laws against gambling, drug use, voluntary sexual relations, and attempted suicide. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
20. Pornography should be outlawed. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
21. Unsafe products should be outlawed. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
22. Racism should be outlawed. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
23. Nuclear power should be outlawed. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
24. People should be free to risk their own lives, choose for themselves, and voluntarily interact as they wish. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
25. In order to curb inflation, government must enforce wage and price controls. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
26. In order to end the energy crisis, government must ration gas, control prices, and expand the powers of the Department of Energy. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
27. In order to stop monopoly, government must create more regulatory agencies like the CAB, ICC, FCC, FTC, OSHA, etc. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
28. In order to reduce unemployment, government must raise the minimum wage. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
29. Government is the cause of inflation, the energy crisis, monopoly, and unemployment. TRUE ___ FALSE ___
30. As government grows bigger and more powerful, the people have less freedom, prosperity, and peace. TRUE ___ FALSE ___

California LP Wins ballot

The California LP, after an enormous effort and at great expense, has won permanent ballot status for their candidates at the local, state, and national level.

The climax of the 6 month, \$190,000 voter registration occurred January 2nd, 1980, when the California LP turned in between 90,000 and 95,000 Libertarian registrations. The Secretary of State confirmed the LP success in a December 28th announcement that a preliminary survey of the larger California counties revealed over 73,000 Libertarian registrations, guaranteeing the LP permanent ballot status through the 1980's and 1990's. The LP victory was a first in California history; never before had a third party won ballot status under the onerous state law requiring at least 71,000 voter registrations.

Traditionally, the Republican and "Democratic" parties have used harsh election laws to prevent independent candidates and new parties from competing with their government-granted monopoly. For example, Texas, long a one party state, has one of the strictest ballot requirements in the country: in only 60 days between May 4 and July 14, 1980, the LP of Texas must obtain 25,000 valid signatures, in-

cluding voter registration numbers, from registered Texas voters who do not vote in the 1980 Republicrat primaries.

Nevertheless, the LP is working to get on the ballot in all 50 states in 1980. So far, California, Nevada, Idaho, North and South Carolina, Wisconsin, Alabama, and Hawaii have achieved ballot status. In addition, by the end of January, formal recognition of LP ballot status will be granted in New Jersey, Michigan, Ohio, Colorado, Kansas, Delaware, Oregon, Iowa, Utah, Alaska, Vermont, Arizona, Nebraska, North Dakota, Minnesota, Kentucky, Louisiana, and New Hampshire.

By mid 1980, the LP expects to be on the ballot in 46 states at a minimum, far more than any other party except the Republicrats. If the LP does make it in 50 states, it will be the first time in a century that a third party will be able to compete on an equal footing with the two party monopoly — that is, if one can bring oneself to ignore the millions of our tax dollars spent by the Democrats and Republicans as a federal campaign subsidy.

Even so, the American people, for the first time in decades, will face a real choice in the voting booth come November.

—MG.

FREE TEXAS

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Ballot drive begins May 4

By Allan Vogel

Texans are on the threshold of the greatest revolution in Texas politics since the Battle of San Jacinto.

By November of this year we will see the emergence of the Libertarian Party as an important part of a new political system — a three party system — in Texas and in America.

There is one major obstacle which Libertarians must overcome if Texas is to have the opportunity to become a three party state this year. That obstacle is the Texas Election Code.

As in many other states, Democrats and Republicans have designed the Texas Election Code to perpetuate their political monopoly and eliminate competition from new groups with independent ideas. By Texas law, the rights of others to have equal access to the election ballot has been severely curtailed.

In order to gain ballot status, the Libertarian Party of Texas must submit a petition bearing nearly 25,000 valid signatures. The only persons eligible to sign our petition are registered Texas voters who do not vote in the Democratic or Republican primaries held May 3 and June 7, and who do not participate in the convention process of any other party. The petition cannot circulate before May 4, and all signatures must be turned in to the Secretary of State by July 14 (Bastille Day!)

With a little help from every Texas Libertarian, Texas voters will have the opportunity to pull a lever this November for Ed Clark and our other state and local Libertarian Party candidates. The LP is planning and fundraising now, so that we will be well prepared for a hectic two months of petitioning, come May 4th.

A pledge program has been organized with a goal of raising \$20,000 as well as 25,000 promised signatures. As of January 1st, 1980, \$5,782 has been pledged with \$2,107 already paid in. Signatures pledged total 4,200. Funds pledged to the ballot drive will be used for petitioning forms, office space, supplies, telephone expenses, and, most important, for hiring fulltime petitioners whenever necessary.

Fuller Files

For the first time, the LP has an official designated candidate on the state ballot.

Charles Fuller, a Houston libertarian, has filed, in a special election, for the office of State Representative, District 80 (in Houston).

The election is set for February 7, 1980. This is a wonderful opportunity to gain some early publicity and experience for the LP's 1980 campaign. Donations to Fuller's campaign should be sent to him care of the Harris County LP Headquarters. (See *Who to Contact.*)

SIC MASS TRANSIT GLORIA MUNDI

The Austin American Statesman, December 30, 1979 — "The Senate passed, 66 for and 23 against, a bill that commits Congress to completing Metro, the subway serving metropolitan Washington. Critics say Metro is the most expensive public works project in the history of mankind, but Metro officials say that it ranks second, behind the Pyramids."

IMPORTANT REMINDER: FREE TEXAS makes its mailing list available to the national LP and other libertarian groups. If you prefer not to receive promotional mailings, please let us know.

The LP is also searching for as many candidates as possible to run for office this year, at the state or local level. Up for election this fall are two seats on the Texas Railroad Commission, all U.S. Congressional seats, all state Representative seats, half of the state Senate seats, and many local offices including County Judge, County Commissioner, Constable, and Justice of the Peace. February 4 is the deadline for candidates to file notice of their intention to have their names placed in nomination, so any libertarian considering a campaign should contact the LPT immediately.

So far, David Hutzelman of Houston has announced his candidacy for Railroad

Commission, Bill Howell of Dallas for State Representative, Bill Ware of Houston for U.S. Congress, and Harry Robinson of Arlington for City Council.

The potential for the LP Presidential ticket of Clark and Koch, as well as our state and local candidates, is tremendous in 1980. What you can do to insure the success of our effort is:

- (1) REGISTER TO VOTE
- (2) DON'T VOTE ON MAY 3 OR JUNE 7.
- (3) LET US KNOW WHAT YOU CAN DO TO HELP.

Here's some examples of what you can do right now: (1) Pledge 100 signatures. (Or more!) (2) Pledge \$100 to the LP ballot

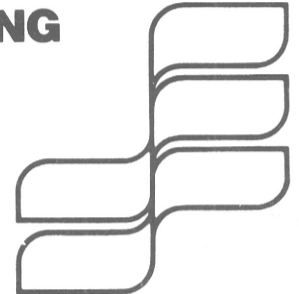
drive campaign. (3) Run for office. (4) Provide (or locate) office space, telephones, discounts on stationery or printing, or other services. (5) Pledge your time as a county co-ordinator, petition crew leader, fund-raising telephoner, or whatever you do well.

Let us know what you can do and what you want to do. Write Libertarian Party 1980 Ballot Drive Campaign, P.O. Box 25043, Houston, TX 77005. Or call (713) 961-5083. Do it now!

Your help is vital. As Thomas Paine, that inspiring libertarian of the American Revolution, once said, "He who would enjoy the blessings of liberty must undergo the fatigue of supporting it."

1979 LIBERTARIAN PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING

Convention Recordings



THESE CASSETTES ARE AVAILABLE:

- 1. DICK RANDOLPH—Libertarian member of Alaska's House of Representatives discusses the Alaska LP
- 2. ROY CHILDS—The convention opener, he got things going with a great start!
- 3. RON KOVIC—Famous Viet Vet leader and author puts "THE DRAFT" into perspective with other issues
- * 4. "THE TAX REVOLT" Panel—James Tobin, chair, with Paul Gann, Armin Moths, Jim Davidson and Trevor Grimm on using the tax revolt to promote libertarianism
- 5. DR. THOMAS SZASZ—This witty and internationally respected author, teacher and psychiatrist turns his formal topic "Mental Health Under Carter" into an analysis, "PSYCODRAMA IN THE WHITE HOUSE"
- 6. NICHOLAS VON HOFFMAN—Syndicated columnist and popular speaker addresses a favorite topic of libertarians: "POLITICS: WHY IT AIN'T CREAM THAT RISES TO THE TOP"
- 7. JOHN LOFTON, JR.—An editor and syndicated columnist eloquently states the case against "BUREAUCRACY"
- 8. "FIGHTING THE DRAFT" Panel—Tom Palmer, chair, with Ron Kovic and Milton Mueller discussing strategies to fight the draft, why it is an issue and how to use it
- 9. JAMES DALE DAVIDSON—Author, scholar, journalist and leader of the National Taxpayers Union is introduced by Murray Rothbard to speak on the "BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT"
- 11. NATHANIEL BRANDEN—This was THE BEST SELLER of the convention—"THE COMING CHALLENGE TO LIBERTARIANISM"
- 12. Manny Klausner moderates "NUCLEAR ENERGY DEBATE" between JOHN GOFMAN (father of the anti-nuclear movement) and DR. SAGAN: "IS NUCLEAR POWER COMPATIBLE WITH LIBERTARIAN SOCIETY?"
- 13. "LIBERTARIAN PUBLICATIONS" Panel—Bob Poole of REASON MAGAZINE and Vince Miller of the MERCURY give information on starting your own periodical
- 14. GORDON BROWNELL of NORML puts "MARIJUANA" issue into historical and political perspective
- * 15. MICHAEL EMERLING—More on the "ART OF POLITICAL PERSUASION" from this political consultant
- * 16. Society for Individual Liberty's TENTH ANNIVERSARY BANQUET—over three hours of reminiscing, speaking, laughing and live music with Nathaniel Branden, Robert LeFevre, Murray Rothbard, Roy Childs, Don Ernsberger, Dave Walton and many, many others (\$9.00)
- 17. ED CLARK—Convention campaign speech to stir support for his nomination
- 20. DR. RALPH RAICO—Senior Editor of INQUIRY humorously rebuts the NATIONAL REVIEW attacks on libertarians entitled "CONSERVATIVES AND OTHER ANTI-SOCIAL ELEMENTS"
- 21. HOW EUGENE MCCARTHY—Former Senator and Presidential Candidate criticizes the "TWO PARTY MONOPOLY"
- 22. "LOCAL PROBLEMS, LIBERTARIAN SOLUTIONS"—Bill Burt moderates the panel of Dick Bjornseth and Mark Frazier for libertarian candidates for local office
- 23. ALAN BARON—Editor and political advisor gives a pro's view of "POLITICAL TRENDS IN AMERICA" toward libertarianism
- 24. "THE ENERGY CRISIS" Panel—Four economists, Dom Armentano, chair, Jim Johnston, David Henderson and H. Bruce Johnson analyze the energy issue
- 25. DAVID F. NOLAN—The founder of the LP gives guidance on promoting the LP in "A MARKETING AND PROMOTIONAL STRATEGY FOR THE 1980'S"
- 26. DR. WALTER WILLIAMS, author and professor of economics explains how government has caused unemployment in his talk "GOVERNMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT"
- 27. "CURRENT FEMINIST ISSUES: SOME LIBERTARIAN PERSPECTIVES" Panel—Christine Dorfi, Sharon Presley, Janice Allen, Lynn Kinsky
- 28. MORTON HALPERIN—An enlightening exposé of the "FBI AFTER HOOVER"
- 29. "GUN CONTROL" Panel with Alan Gottlieb, Richard Gardner, Donald Kates, and Merle Jacobs provides a wealth of information on Constitutional, regulatory and legislative situations
- 30. DR. EARL RAVENAL—Professor and expert on foreign affairs is introduced by Roy Childs to speak on "THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY" and defend non-interventionism
- * 31. "FUTURISM AND THE FREE SOCIETY" Panel—Moderated by Bob Poole with Mark Frazier, Gary Hudson, Joseph Martino, Carl Helmers and Robert Anton Wilson. This illustrious panel discusses the many likely scientific advances and libertarian awareness
- 32. ROGER MACBRIDE—The 1976 Libertarian Presidential Candidate gives personal insights and "THE PROSPECTS FOR THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY"
- 33. BILL HUNSCHER—Convention campaign speech to stir support for his nomination
- 34. "QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS"—Presidential candidates Clark, Hunscher and Larson face the delegates
- 40. PAUL GANN—co-author of Proposition 13 speaks on "AMERICA'S TAX REVOLT"
- 41. MURRAY ROTHBARD—"THE FUTURE OF LIBERTY" is a classic example of Murray's undying optimism
- 42. DR. JOHN HOSPERS—1972 Libertarian Presidential Candidate speaking on "HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA"
- 43. "CAMPAIGN MANAGEMENT" Panel—David Boaz, chair, with Bob Baures and Gary Greenberg, is a must for any LP candidate or serious worker
- 44. ERNEST FITZGERALD—Fired from the Air Force for his C-5A revelations and reinstated, he speaks on "BUREAUCRACY" from the point of view of an insider
- 46. DAVID FRIEDMAN—This popular economist details many issues in "LIBERTARIAN UNDERCURRENTS IN ECONOMICS"
- 47. DR. THOMAS G. MOORE—LP expert on "TRANSPORTATION DEREGULATION"
- 48. "INFORMATION POLICY" Panel—Mike Anziz and M. L. Hanson discuss privacy in computer and financial transactions
- * 49. PRESIDENTIAL BANQUET with ROBERT RINGER, author of current best seller *Restoring the American Dream*. ED CLARK addresses the gathering and ORSON BEAN, TV personality, is master of ceremonies
- 51. ROLL CALL VOTE for LP Presidential Nominees from the convention floor
- 52. ED CLARK—Acceptance Speech for the Presidential Nomination
- 53. DAVID KOCH—Acceptance speech for the Vice Presidential Nomination and presentation of Prometheus Award to F. Paul Wilson
- 54. NOMINATING SPEECHES for Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates from the convention floor
- 55. LIBERTARIAN WIT: Tape ONE—The funniest and sharpest comments and stories extracted from speeches, panels and floor proceedings recorded at the convention
- 56. LIBERTARIAN WIT: Tape TWO—Another hour of anecdotes and humor from the convention recordings
- 57. LIBERTARIAN WISDOM: Tape ONE—One hour of profound statements, eternal truths and thought provokers distilled from the best libertarian minds in the world speaking at the convention
- 58. LIBERTARIAN WISDOM: Tape TWO—More nuggets of clear thought, reason and rationality gleaned from the convention tapes
- 60. RON PAUL—Physician and U.S. Congressman from Texas dissects the "KENNEDY AND CARTER HEALTH PLANS"
- 61. LEONARD LIGGIO—Editor and historian expounds on "IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL PARTIES"
- 62. "NON-GOVERNMENT EDUCATION" Panel—John Bailey, Jim Clarkson, George Smith and John Hospers discuss the practical aspects of private education and problems with state education
- 63. STEVE CHAPMAN—Journalist analyzes the campaign of "JOHN CONNALLY AND THE POLITICS OF POWER"
- 65. GEORGE SMITH—An author effectively presents the "CASE AGAINST STATE EDUCATION"
- 66. PETER BREGGIN—This Psychiatrist analyzes the psychology of Liberals in his talk "COMMUNICATING WITH LIBERALS"
- 67. JEFF RIGGENBACH—Executive Editor of LIBERTARIAN REVIEW traces cultural changes and finds the 60's counter-culture revolution is still on and basically libertarian in "WHAT THE SIXTIES PROMISE FOR THE EIGHTIES"
- 68. ALAN CRAWFORD—The political analyst and writer discusses the ominous aspects of "THE NEW RIGHT"

The following numbers were not used: 10-18-19-35-36-37-38-39-45-49-59-64-69

* Denotes two cassettes are used. These cost \$7.00 per pair. Notice #16 costs \$9.00 and is three cassettes

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OR CHOOSE FROM THESE SPECIAL PACKAGES

- A** BEST SELLERS—These tapes were those which sold the most copies during the convention (\$71.00 value) \$59.00 package #1-2-5-11-16-26-31-41-42-46-52-65-66
- B** For Inspiration and Motivation—These were the dynamite at a high-charged convention (\$34.00 value) \$29.00 #1-2-11-16-41-52-54
- C** Issues and Answers—Here are the experts discussing most of the important issues facing Libertarians in the 1980's (\$70.00 value) \$59.00 #4-8-9-12-14-24-26-27-29-30-46-47-60-62
- D** Wit and Wisdom—These four tapes were not available at the convention but were compiled from the listed recordings and the floor debate. They will make you laugh and think. (\$20.00 value) \$18.00 #55-56-57-58
- E** For Theorists and Thinkers—Chosen for their ability to provoke thought and give insight (\$37.00 value) \$32.00 #11-23-31-66-67-68
- F** Campaign Aids—Candidates and campaign workers need these tapes (\$32.00 value) \$24.00 #1-13-15-22-23-43
- G** ENTIRE SET—All the recordings listed on the left except the Wit and Wisdom tapes! (#55-58) \$198.00—\$270.00 value! The BEST deal!—26% discount

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 City, State, Zip _____
 Master Charge /VISA Card # _____
 Bank No. _____ Expiration Date _____
 Authorization Signature _____

LP CAMPAIGNING

Results

Last fall, four Libertarians entered the race for Houston City Council, for the first time in the LP's history. The four pioneers — Janice Juckett, Don Stockwell, Jeff Daiell, and Bill Fraser — did exceptionally well under the circumstances, actually *winning* some precincts by a majority or plurality.

Janice Juckett is the new LP of Texas champion vote-getter, polling 18,347 votes in her race for Houston at-large City Council position 5. She received 12.6% of the vote in a four-way race. Don Stockwell received over 14,000 votes, or 9.9% in his four-way race for at-large position 3. Jeff Daiell gained 10,903 votes, while Bill Fraser gained over 11,000 votes in his race.

The Libertarian candidates — facing the inevitable shoestring budget — were outspent by the other candidates hundreds to one. Yet on a cost-per-vote basis, the Libertarians *won*, indicating that the only problem Libertarian Party candidates face is lack of money, lack of help, and lack of organization. Professional, financially competitive campaigns are the only thing Libertarians need to sell their ideology.

More important than the quantity of votes won, however, was the *quality* of the Libertarian campaign. Though the Houston City Council is a nonpartisan office, the four libertarians were repeatedly listed in their campaign materials, public forums, and the League of Women Voters Guide as Libertarian Party members.

With the advice of Robert Bakhaus, the candidates identified the five main issues of the campaign well in advance. The Libertarians were the first candidates to call for (1) drastic cuts in property taxes; (2) repeal of victimless "crime" laws; (3) privatization of city services, especially mass transit; (4) deannexation of Clear Lake (a neighborhood near NASA south of Houston), which had been forcibly annexed against the express wishes of the vast majority of Clear Lake citizens; and (5) creation of more single-member districts, which would increase voter representation, including libertarian representation. Later in the campaign, other candidates began picking up on these issues, and the libertarian positions.

The Libertarian campaign strategy was

to focus on those groups of people particularly oppressed by Big Government. Three communities were targeted for the libertarian message: Clear Lake (the deannexation issue), Montrose (a gay neighborhood receptive to the libertarian support of civil liberties), and Northwest Houston (home of the property tax revolt).

The results of this strategy were impressive. Daiell — in a historic first — carried one Clear Lake precinct by an absolute majority (50.9%), and carried three other Clear Lake precincts by a plurality, as well as one precinct in the Montrose area. Stockwell also carried those four Clear Lake precincts, while Juckett carried two precincts elsewhere in the city. These major breakthroughs for libertarianism and the LP can be credited to the endorsement of Daiell and Stockwell by the Clear Lake Citizens Forum, and Daiell's endorsement by Houston's Gay Political Caucus. Interestingly, the Forum is considered a conservative group, while the GPC is considered a liberal organization. The only disappointment was Northwest Houston which, despite their tax revolt, voted heavily for the incumbent — a tragic case of self-inflicted masochism.

Daiell ran the most active campaign, speaking at a multitude of "Candidates' Nights", printing posters, filling out special interest group questionnaires, distributing over 14,000 cards, and mailing out 8,000 postcards (often singlehandedly). Daiell and the other candidates made several TV appearances, and received good media coverage.

Daiell, reviewing the Libertarians' City Council race, believes that "Money is crucial." But Daiell found that "For getting ideas across, nothing is more important than an active campaign . . . Start early . . . Know your issues . . . Know which of those people who agree with you on a particular issue will be willing to translate that agreement into a vote. If we follow these guidelines in other municipal elections around Texas, we should do well. As the LP gains in size, financial heft, and expertise, we will soon be in a position to *win* such nonpartisan races. This will be a *major* step toward a libertarian Texas."

—M. G.

WHO TO CONTACT

Get involved in the Libertarian Party of Texas. Find out what's going on, and how you can participate. Contact the LP representative in your city. For information on libertarian activities in other counties, contact: LP of Texas, P.O. Box 14181, Austin, TX 78761

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& Reflections

By Bill Howell

A disturbing tendency is on the rise in the Libertarian Party. More and more of our candidates for public office are downplaying the more "radical" Libertarian positions on issues and not even mentioning what our ultimate goals are. Instead, they come up with a few transitional or interim measures and concentrate their campaign on them.

Consider both Ed Clark and Bill Hunscher. During their quest for the Party's Presidential nomination, neither candidate, in their brochures, called for abolishing taxes — they denounced high or heavy taxes and called for cutting them. Neither called for abolishing public schools — they only called for tax credits for "alternative schools".

Much the same has happened with our local candidates in Texas. The strongest anti-tax statements made by our City Council candidates in Houston, Austin, Fort Worth, and Garland called for "lowering" or "reducing drastically" all taxes.

It is claimed that to clearly state our radical views will so alienate the public that we will have no chance of being elected. This is a frivolous argument for several reasons.

First, only one of our candidates in Texas so far has had even a reasonable chance of being elected: Ann Hammond for the Garland City Council in 1978. For a candidate who knows they are going to lose, pandering to the conventional wisdom is a complete waste of all the money, time, and energy spent on the campaign.

Second, it won't work. Anyone who really cares about those interim measures will go work for candidates who have a better chance of winning — Democrats and Republicans — unless we can tie everything together by raising a banner of true, consistent principle. Anyway, most people simply won't care about those interim measures. As Murray Rothbard has said, how many

will go to the barricades for a two per cent tax reduction?

Third, if we're really serious about our stands on the issues, as our LP Platform indicates, then to hide them or mislead the public about them is fraudulent. It means our candidates are seeking to obtain a value — support in an election — without the informed consent of those from whom it is sought. This is clearly a violation of the rights of the voters. It would also insure that a Libertarian elected by down-playing his real stands would never be re-elected by the voters, who would rightly feel cheated.

Fourth, it ignores the very purpose of the Libertarian Party. Our goal is *not* electing Libertarians to office — that is only one possible means to our goal, which is a free, voluntary, libertarian society.

The primary reason for founding the LP was the realization that most of the public just doesn't pay attention to political issues except during elections. By running explicitly libertarian candidates we could educate the public that there is an alternative: a benevolent, *voluntary* means of organizing society. Until the voters know that an alternative exists, they will only support the status quo — or even more statism.

We can boil it all down to this: no one else even wants to abolish taxes, public schools, etc. If *we* don't advocate it, *who will?*

I intend to avoid this fallacy in my own campaign for the state legislature this year. I am making a serious race and I will present practical, workable interim libertarian measures — but I will do so only after clearly stating our ultimate goals.

I believe that is the *only* workable strategy for attaining a free society, but, practicality aside, my conscience demands it. If this be radicalism, make the most of it.

"Here I stand; I can do no otherwise."

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REGIONAL REPORT

By Ann Hammond

Good news! As a result of the LP National Committee meeting in Des Moines, Iowa, that Bill Howell and I attended last November, our state will be the proud host of a Regional Libertarian Conference and LP NatCom meeting. It's scheduled for next May 3-4 in Dallas — the perfect kickoff to our 1980 Texas LP ballot drive!

It will be an action-packed weekend. Seminars. Cocktail parties. A gala banquet. Movies: *The Incredible Bread Machine* and *The Inflation File*. Panel discussions: Local Campaigning, Communicating Libertarianism, and the Ballot Drive. And speeches galore! Everything from National Defense to Nonzoning, from Health Care to Libertarian Futurism.

We expect a galaxy of libertarian superstars, first and foremost our own "eminently reasonable radical" and Presidential candidate: Ed Clark. Roy Childs, the brilliant editor of *Libertarian Review*, is currently being confirmed as our headline speaker.

Other luminaries include David Bergland, National LP Chairman; Dick Randolph, the LP state representative from Alaska; David Nolan, founder of the LP; Dallas Cooley, founder of the Libertarian Health Association; Dick Bjornseth, founder of AREA (Association for Rational Environmental Alternatives); Michael Emerling, creator of the Art of Political Persuasion Marathon Workshops; Ed Crane, Chairman of the Cato Institute and publisher of *Inquiry* magazine; M. L. Hansen, National LP Vice-Chair and computer expert; and many, many others, including Texas' own Bill Howell, Allan Vogel, Jeff Hummel, and David Hutzelman.

Several hundred libertarians, from as far away as Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana, West Texas, the Rio Grande Valley, and the Panhandle, are expected to attend this special Texas Libertarian Weekend. I can hardly wait to see all of you there! I'm looking forward to meeting and talking with every one of you.

Other big news from NatCom is the LP's new National Director and new national headquarters. Bill Burt has been appointed to replace Chris Hocker, who's gone to work fulltime for the Clark Campaign. Bill has been working for the National Taxpayer's Union in California and played an important part in the successful Proposi-

tion 13 effort. He's also the author of the highly useful LP handbook, *Local Problems, Libertarian Solutions*. We're fortunate to have him on board. The mailing address of Bill Burt, and the new headquarters is Libertarian Party, 2300 Wisconsin Ave. NW, Suite 201, Washington, D.C. 20007. (202) 333-8209.

The Libertarian Party will celebrate its 10th anniversary in 1981. To commemorate the occasion, the 1981 LP National Convention will be held in Denver, Colorado, the LP's birthplace. It ought to be a grand 10 year reunion! This year, instead of a National Convention, the Clark Campaign Committee will organize 3 or 4 regional rallies around the country, scheduled for late summer or early fall.

To help gear up for the Clark campaign, a new LP committee has been created. David Nolan, Bill Howell, Ed Crane, and Rick White have been chosen for the Advertising/Publications Committee, which has the authority and responsibility to produce "outreach" material for use by the LP at the national, state, and local level. They will be planning radio spots, print ads, and campaign brochures. To insure preservation of libertarian principle, an Advertising/Publications Review Committee has been organized, consisting of David Bergland, Murray Rothbard, a leading free market economist, and Robert Poole, editor of *Reason* magazine. Anyone with ideas, outlines, or best of all, written position papers on particular issues, should submit them to Bill Howell.

Also in the works is a proposal for a new Special Working Platform Committee. If approved, its purpose will be to revise the current LP Platform, develop a Platform Study Guide, and work with the 1981 LP Convention committee to insure optimum consideration of the Platform at the Denver Convention. Anyone who would like to be a member of this committee should send me your resume so I can distribute it to the other NatCom members for consideration at our next February meeting in Phoenix, Arizona.

I'll be keeping you posted in this column on important developments in the LP at both the national and regional level, as they occur. As Texas's regional representative, I'm here to help libertarians around the state organize the LP for what promises to be a landmark campaign.

CALENDAR

JANUARY

- 21-27 HOUSTON, AUSTIN COLLEGE STATION: Students for a Libertarian Society Campus Organizing Tour.
24 AUSTIN: *THE IRAN CRISIS: A PUBLIC FORUM*. University of Texas, Texas Union Ballroom, 7:30 PM.
27 HOUSTON: *AYN RAND DIAMOND JUBILEE*. Speeches. Dinner. Celebration. Formal attire requested. Sponsored by Greater Houston Supper Club. All Supper Club events begin at 6:15 PM in Wyatt's Cafeteria of Sharpstown Mall.
27 AUSTIN: *POTLUCK DINNER*. Hear a tape of Ed Clark's Presidential Nomination Acceptance Speech. Spring planning meeting of Austin libertarians (Travis County LP, UT SLS, TCLA, ALF). 7:30 PM. 501 Park Blvd (Bonnie Austin's house, 1 block from 42nd and Duval, 454-6902).
29 DALLAS: Newsletter meeting of Dallas County LP. For all Dallas meetings, contact DCLP for location, time, and details. Call (214) 651-1784.
30 AUSTIN: KUT-FM (90.7) radio will broadcast Libertarian/Socialist Debate which took place last fall between UT SLS and UT YSA. 4-5 PM.

FEBRUARY

- 2 EARTH: Ayn Rand's birthday.
3 DALLAS: DCLP work meeting. (214) 651-1784.
4 TEXAS: *CANDIDATES DEADLINE*. All LP of Texas candidates must file with LPT Chair before this date.
5 DALLAS: DCLP program.
10 TEXAS: Deadline for news, ads, columns in March/April FREE TEXAS.
12 HOUSTON: Harris County LP meeting. At HCLP headquarters, 3410 Marquart (near Alabama and Edloe). 7:30 PM.
14 DALLAS: DCLP business meeting.
14 HOUSTON: *VALENTINE'S DAY PARTY*. (713) 527-8498.
17 DALLAS: DCLP work meeting.
20 AUSTIN: *INFLATION: A DEBATE*. Libertarians vs. Democrats vs. Republicans vs. Socialists. Sponsored by UT Students for a Libertarian Society. UT. Welch Hall 2.224. 7:30 PM. (512) 451-1145.
20 DALLAS: DCLP Supper Club.
24 HOUSTON: Greater Houston Supper Club. The case for nuclear power. A speech by a representative from Houston Lighting and Power. The second part of a forum on nuclear power, in which the Mockingbird Alliance made the case against nuclear power.
24 AUSTIN: *LP OF TEXAS EXECOM MEETING*. 12 PM. 1205 E. 52nd St. #201 (near 51st and Cameron exit of I35).
26 DALLAS: DCLP newsletter meeting.
29 DALLAS: *RECEPTION PREVIEW OF MICHAEL EMERLING'S POLITICAL PERSUASION MARATHON WORKSHOP*.

MARCH

- 1-2 DALLAS: *MICHAEL EMERLING'S ART OF POLITICAL PERSUASION MARATHON WORKSHOP*. North Park Inn. \$29 per person. Profits go to LPT ballot drive.
4 DALLAS: DCLP program.
9 SAN ANTONIO: *SPRING ORGANIZING MEETING*. Hear Ed Clark's Presidential Nomination Acceptance Speech. 5410 Rollingwood. 7:30 PM. (512) 691-2857.
9 DALLAS: DCLP work meeting.
11 HOUSTON: HCLP meeting. Headquarters. 7:30 PM.
13 DALLAS: DCLP business meeting.
19 DALLAS: DCLP Supper Club.
20 AUSTIN: *THE COMING CHALLENGE TO LIBERTARIANS*, a taped speech by Nathaniel Branden. Plans for tax protest and census resistance. UT campus, Texas Union 4.224. 7:30 PM.
23 DALLAS: DCLP work meeting. Census resistance.
25 DALLAS: DCLP newsletter meeting.
24-25 AUSTIN: *MURRAY ROTHBARD VISITS TEXAS!* Tentative schedule. Sponsored by Institute for Humane Studies and UT Economics Dept. (512) 454-1522.
30 HOUSTON: Greater Houston Supper Club. Tax revolt.

APRIL

- 1 TEXAS: *CENSUS RESISTANCE DAY*.
1 DALLAS: DCLP program.
6 DALLAS: DCLP work meeting.
10 TEXAS: Deadline for May/June FREE TEXAS.
13 EARTH: Thomas Jefferson's birthday.
15 TEXAS: *TAX PROTEST DAY*.

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LIBERTARIANS VIEW

By Jeff Hummel

Libertarians share the concern of people around this country about the Americans held hostage in Iran. As advocates of inviolable human rights and liberties, we call for the immediate and unconditional release of all the American hostages.

Unfortunately, the justifiable moral outrage at the holding of hostages is being expressed in three unjustifiable ways.

First, many Americans are forgetting that the Shah's government in Iran was indeed barbaric. The Nobel Peace Prize-winning Amnesty International once described the Shah as having the worst human rights record of any ruler in the world. Yet the U.S. government continued to support the Shah with massive military subventions, paid for by funds stolen from American taxpayers.

Thus the revolution in Iran that ousted the Shah and replaced him with the Ayatollah Khomeini was, at least in part, a very real consequence of the U.S. government's bankrupt and corrupt interventionist foreign policy.

This crucial fact must not be obscured by the growing realization that the Iranian people have only exchanged their version of Adolf Hitler for an Iranian version of Idi Amin. We hope that the overthrow of the Shah will shine as a beacon, leading the Iranian people by its example to take the same action not only against the Ayatollah but also against any other aspiring tyrant who wants to follow in the Shah's or the Ayatollah's footsteps.

Even if Khomeini is as tyrannical as the Shah, at least the Iranian revolution deprived one ruthless despot of his power. While the Ayatollah cannot be brought immediately to justice for his crimes, the Shah can. It is not the goal of the Iranians — retaliation against the Shah — that is wrong, but their means. The Americans in Iran are innocent bystanders. To retaliate against the innocent because the guilty are unavailable does not serve justice; rather it is a gross injustice.

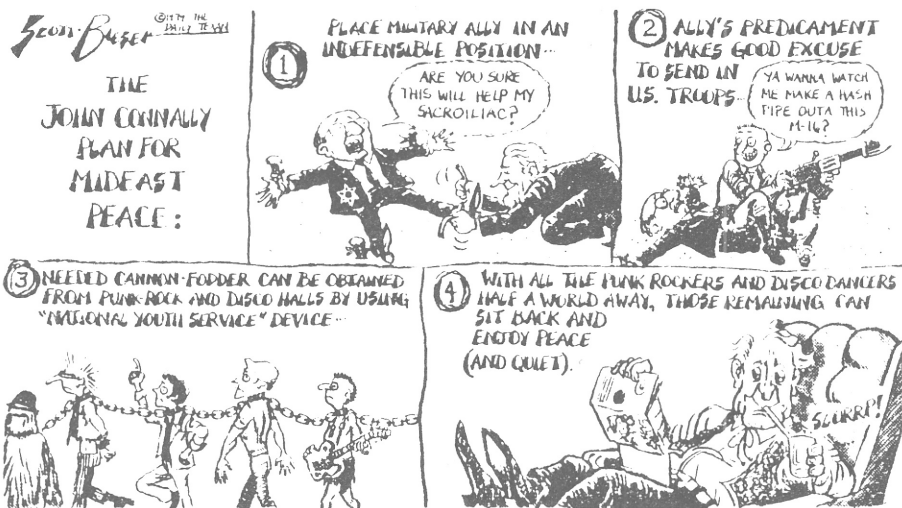
Second, many are clamoring for military intervention as a response to the capture of the hostages. War, however, would inevitably involve indiscriminate violence directed not only at the guilty who seized the Americans but against all the people of Iran.

Just as the American people are not responsible for the actions of the U.S. government or the Shah, so the Iranian people are not collectively responsible for the actions of the Iranian government or the Iranian youths who took the hostages. Those who desire military intervention against Iran are suggesting that the U.S. make hostages out of the entire Iranian nation!

If the prospect of maiming and killing innocent Iranians does not move those who call for war, perhaps a little reflection upon the oppression of Americans that such a military intervention would necessarily entail will change the minds of American war hawks.

If they think taxes are high now, that is nothing compared with the bone-crushing taxes that will be required to wage war in Iran. If they are hurt by double-digit inflation, they should consider the impact of the government's increased reliance upon the Federal Reserve printing press to finance burgeoning military expenditures. If they are bothered by hostages, they should think about the American hostages who will be kidnapped through the draft into the U.S. armed services to risk their lives on the front lines.

Third, many Americans have called for retaliation against Iranian students through deportation. Libertarians, on the contrary, believe that rights apply universally to all people, whether Americans or foreigners. A full implementation of this policy would require totally free and unrestricted immigration. At a minimum, foreigners in this country should be accorded the same protection of their rights, including the right to free speech, that American citizens enjoy.



There is an underlying fallacy that unites the Iranians who support the taking of hostages and the Americans who demand war against Iran or deportation of Iranian students. That fallacy is the principle of collective guilt.

Both sides are at least initially motivated by a passionate concern for justice — justice for the victims of the Shah in one case and justice for American hostages in the other. Both sides, however, are unable to get their hands on the truly guilty parties. Both sides, in their frustration, have lashed out at innocent bystanders.

In short, both sides have used their seeming passionate concern for justice to rationalize monstrous injustices. Libertarians, in contrast, realize that a passion for justice must be coupled with a rational understanding of precisely what constitutes justice.

(Abridged versions of this article appeared in the Dec. 20 Houston Chronicle and Austin American Statesman. Jeff Hummel is the organizer of the statewide Coalition against Racism and Intervention in the Middle East.)

CONTEST!

The battle for freedom will not be won if libertarians remain silent. One of the least-cost methods of bringing libertarian ideas to people is via letters to the editor. If each FREE TEXAS reader wrote just one libertarian letter every two months to a Texas newspaper, magazine, or professional journal, the impact on Texas politics could be substantial.

FREE TEXAS would like to encourage such an enterprise with a contest. The best letter to the editor published by a libertarian every two months will be reprinted in FREE TEXAS, and its author will receive a half year's extension of his or her FREE TEXAS subscription.

Please include, with your published letter, the name and date of the publication in which the letter appeared. Good luck!

* *

(The following letter to the editor was published in the Austin American-Statesman of December 8, 1979. Its author, Ken Crawford, an LPT member, wins a 6 month subscription to FREE TEXAS.)

Recently I have read reports of more people being busted for using the "wrong" drugs, of others facing severe penalties for promoting the oldest profession in the world and still others facing charges for selling what we call "pornography."

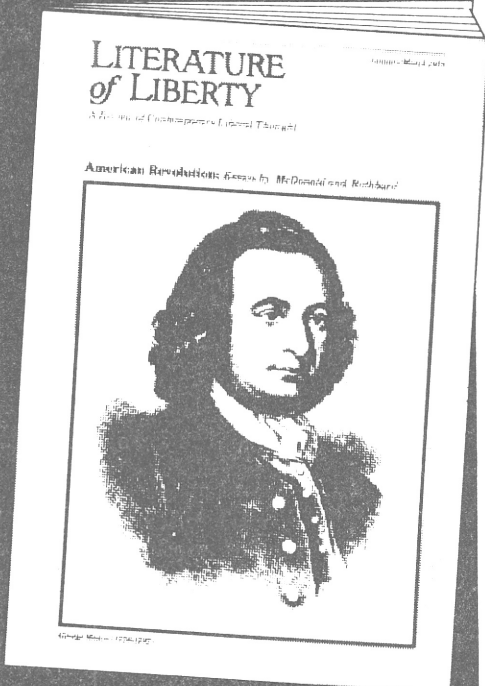
While we all have our own opinions of whether such voluntary activities are healthy or sick, clean and harmless or repugnant and corrupting, such personal moral judgments are really beside the point. The crucial question, for libertarians, is whether in a free America anyone has a right to aggress against the personal property of others.

By enforcing a legal prohibition on these "capitalist acts between consenting adults," the government itself has acted to initiate physical force against innocent people. Meanwhile, in an act of true criminal violence, a UT coed is shot and almost killed, a tragedy which might have been prevented had our local law enforcement authorities not been burdened with enforcing these senseless "victimless" crime laws.

When will the government stop minding the business of peaceful citizens and start minding its own business: the protection of human lives and human rights against real crimes of aggression?

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V MIDEAST CRISIS

By L. Neil Smith

It's one of those elegant ideas which combine a uniquely Libertarian boldness with downright Rotarian sensibility, taking one's intellectual breath away in delighted surprise.

What idea? Nothing much — simply the abolition of all United States diplomatic missions — every embassy and consulate — everywhere.

Look: there are only two ways the people of one nation-state can interact with those of another: through voluntary commercial trade, or through military and political aggression.

Where free trade's concerned, Libertarians are genuine, card-carrying, foaming-at-the-mouth One Worlders, fully as fanatical and weird as anyone who's ever lapped you at an Esperanto convention. The benefits of voluntary international exchange, unfettered by tariffs, import quotas, immigration restrictions, and other red-white-and-blue tape are too enormous to be accurately contemplated. Conquering the globe with Levis and Coca-Cola is a passel easier than trying to be the Cops of the World — and infinitely more profitable.

As for military and political aggression, the Libertarian foreign policy of "non-interventionism" doesn't say it half strongly enough. Any way you slice it, Uncle Sam messing around on other people's turf is unnecessary, dangerous, and expensive — not to mention flatly immoral.

Reflect for a moment on the rare real and imagined incursions other nations have made on us: the impressment of American seamen in 1812; the Zimmerman telegram; Japanese and Arab investments here over the last decade or so. To the extent that they really happened at all, each of those items was positively microscopic, compared with what we've done to others, yet they've often been enough to push us over the brink.

But don't our country's official representatives aboard do a lot of good? Bolster world peace through negotiations and mutual understanding? Serve American citizens in trouble overseas? Provide employment for champagne vintners and tuxedo makers? Don't they serve any purpose at all?

Sure they do. They provide safe bases of operation for the CIA and uncountable other spooks meddling with the internal politics of their hosts, assassinating foreign leaders (some small fraction of which probably didn't even deserve it), poking into the private business of individuals in a manner we'd never allow the Feds to pursue back home.

Better yet, when a politico's star is waning, diplomatic personnel and their establishments overseas can serve as "tripwires" for the precipitation of politically productive excuses for demagoguery and intervention. True, the days are gone when we'd send in the Marines if the Ambassador got

a scratch on his Mercedes, but the current situation in Iran proves that the time-tested principle is still at work. Four months ago, Jimmy Carter was history's most unpopular President, and America was at peace with most of the world. Today the Imperial Presidency has been resurrected in the form of His Peanuttiness, while our nation is only an Angstrom unit away from total war. That's progress?

Admittedly, a stranded tourist may sometimes call upon an embassy for help — unless he's engaging in a little international black market activity or something else of which his government disapproves. In that case, regardless how barbaric the local accommodations may be, he goes to jail for a century or two, and the crowd he's been paying protection to every April 15th pretends it never heard of him.

But the best thing about U.S. diplomatic missions is their educational value. They provide the world with an embarrassingly accurate view of American political reality — pompous ward-healers and fat campaign contributors who don't even bother to learn the language and customs of the countries they've been sent to as a payoff.

In fact, in any reasonably moral context, the U.S. government, as such has no legitimate interests outside its own borders. No Ambassador can rightfully claim to speak for two-hundred-odd million individuals. (I certainly never gave them my permission!) No statist spy has the right to skulk

around on my behalf. No government agency has any business aiding or hindering private companies conducting their affairs overseas.

If embassies and consulates are so bad, what should we replace them with? Since you ask, how about absolutely nothing?

Some countries will insist that Americans carry visas and passports. Well, why not let American Express (or even Karl Malden) issue the damn things? And if governments want to communicate with each other, let's remind them that this is the Electronic Age, and Long Distance Is The Next Best Thing To Being There.

Let's give the United Nations 24 hours to get out of town, and phase down the State Department until it occupies the magnitude of resources and attention it truly deserves: one small and dingy room tucked into the basement of some tiny North Dakota office building.

Free trade is its own best Ambassador, and the interests of peace are best served when individuals realize that it's better to sell something to somebody than to kill him.

But what about all those diplomats? What'll they do for a living? How will they feel about being put out to pasture?

Disconsulate, of course.

(Neil Smith is a Colorado pistolsmith and self-defense expert who served on the LP National Platform Committee in 1977 and 1979. His first novel, *The Probability Broach*, was published in January by Ballantine Books.)

DRAFT DEFEATED

In mid September the House of Representatives voted down the draft registration rider on H.R. 4040, the Military Procurement bill. By a vote of 259-155 the House removed the registration measure from the bill and, in a move designed to placate Congressional hawks, directed President Carter to commission a study on "U.S. war mobilization needs."

While it appears that the draft has been defeated anti-draft activists realize that Congressional action has merely been deferred. When the results of the study are published the clamor for conscription will resume. With the advent of another poor recruiting season and any real or imagined "national emergency" sparked by our overextended military posture, we can expect the fires of conscription to be fueled once again.

The only way to stop the draft and remove the threat posed by draft bills still pending is to take the offensive — by eliminating the machinery needed to implement it, the Selective Service System (SSS).

House Resolution 5134 has been introduced to repeal the President's power to implement mandatory registration and to totally abolish the still functioning remnants of the Selective Service apparatus. Its chief sponsor is Rep. Ron Paul (R-Tex.) and it has received bipartisan support. With your help we can insure with its passage that our young men will never again be conscripted to die on foreign soil.

Never in the history of the Selective Service Act has there been a better chance and a more positive political climate to strike at the very heart of conscription and America's interventionist foreign policy than today.

Focusing on abolishing the SS pressures Congress away from even considering bringing back the draft later. If there is widespread opposition to compulsory serv-

ice, returning to the draft will not be politically feasible. Should our rulers attempt to involve us in a war mandating the reinstatement of conscription, an active anti-SSS movement would be ready and in place to serve as the resistance.

Homeland defense does not require forced labor to generate needed manpower levels. It is *overseas* troop commitments that justify the preservation of standing draft machinery. All the troop mobilization plans for which the SSS is "necessary" involve NATO and Korea, not the defense of the United States.

Write or send a telegram to your Congressman today urging him to support H.R. 5134. With your assistance we can mobilize against the draft and eliminate the enormous threat it poses to a free society and the American heritage of liberty.

—Mark David Travis



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SLS DEBATES SOCIALISTS

Hummel Wins!

Is socialism the wave of the future?

This question, and many others, were examined in a debate last fall between the Students for a Libertarian Society and the Young Socialist Alliance, at the University of Texas campus in Austin.

The debate attracted over 100 people, who listened to Jeff Hummel defend libertarianism and Mike Rose defend socialism. Hummel and Rose each spoke for 15 minutes, followed by 15 minutes each of rebuttal, and over two hours of questions from the lively audience. KUT-FM, the University of Texas radio station, will rebroadcast the taped debate on January 30th, from 4 to 5PM.

In the opinion of the vast majority of neutral observers, the debate was no contest. The Libertarians trounced the Socialists! Clearly, the apostles of socialism are on the defensive.

Socialism, as an intellectual ideal, is in decline. Further evidence of the decay in

socialist ideology appeared in the *Nation* of December 8th, 1979. In a revealing essay, David Horowitz confesses his disenchantment with socialist radicalism: "For most of my adult and professional life, I regarded myself as a man of the left . . . Not long after the end of the Vietnam War, I found myself unable to maintain any longer the necessary belief in the Marxist promise."

Horowitz, a former editor of *Ramparts*, attacks the Left for its moral and political double standard. "There is protest against murder and repression in Nicaragua, but not Cambodia, Chile but not Tibet, South Africa but not Uganda, Israel but not Libya or Iraq. Political support is mustered for oppressed minorities in Western countries but not in Russia or the People's Republic of China, while a Third World country that declares itself "Marxist" puts itself — by that very act — beyond reproach."

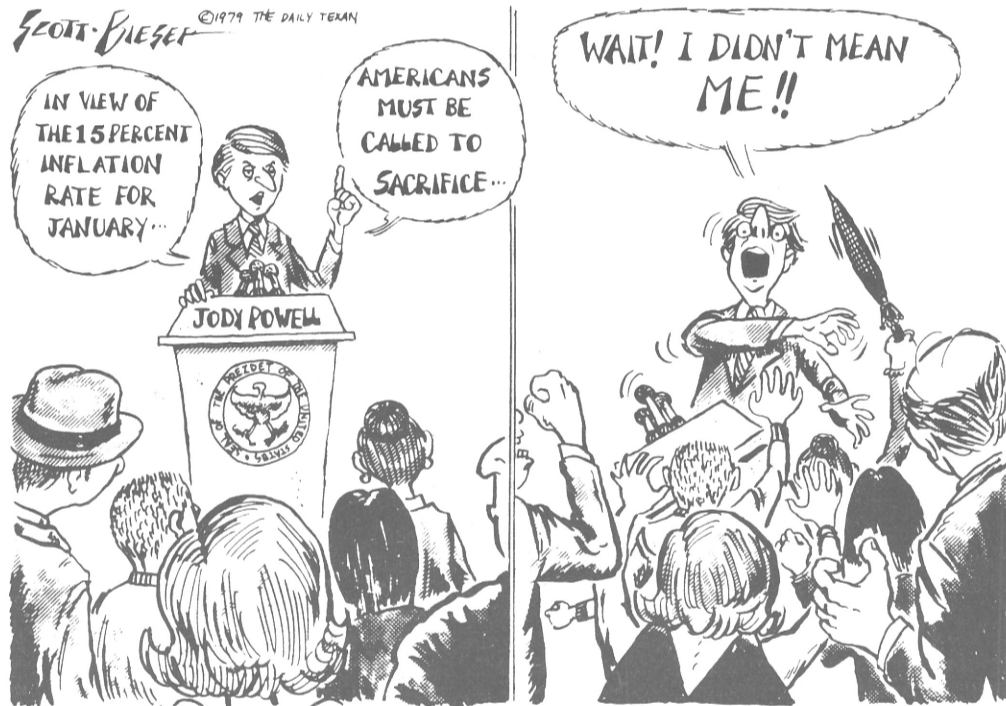
Horowitz condemns socialism's "defi-

ciencies: the failure of its ideals in practice, its moral inconsistency, its inability to formulate — and fight for — reasonable programs," and goes on to urge Leftists to search for an alternative radical ideal.

This is another encouraging sign that socialism, at least in the intellectual world if not yet in the political arena, is on the way out. Socialism has a barbaric past, but no future.

Though Horowitz and other Leftists don't know it yet, the future — if mankind is to have a future — belongs to libertarianism. More and more people are rejecting the ideology of Big Government in all of its forms: socialism, fascism, the liberal Welfare State, the conservative Warfare State. More and more people are beginning to consider the radical alternative of a society based consistently on human rights and human liberties.

Socialism is dead. Long live libertarianism. —MG



ANSWER KEY

LQ TEST

Tally 5 points for each correct answer. If you get a perfect score of 150, you're a hardcore libertarian who's read and understood Ringer, Rothbard, and Rand. If you score 100 or more, you need to re-read Ringer, Rothbard, and Rand. If you score less than 100, you need to read Ringer, Rothbard, and Rand for the first time!

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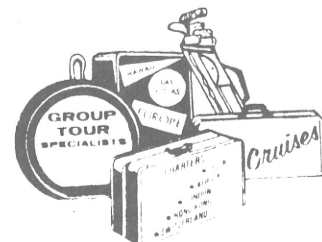
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Freedom Versus Force

By Sheldon Richman

As dissatisfaction with the American political system grows, two ideologies offer alternatives to people fed with up being taxed, harassed and regulated. One is libertarianism; the other is socialism.

The primary principle of libertarianism is **self-ownership**; that is the principle that each person is entitled to sole dominion over his life, that no individual or group (including government) has the right to initiate the use or threat of physical force, and that the only moral way for people to deal with one another is by mutual consent.

A society operating on this principle necessarily is free and peaceful. What emerges from the actions of people living as they see fit is the free market, or, in a wider sense, the "spontaneous order" of which economist and philosopher F. A. Hayek writes.

What of the other alternative? Why do Marxists and other socialists claim to be defenders of freedom and peace? And worse, why are they able to fool so many people with otherwise libertarian leanings? Because they and those they fool evade the meaning of coercion.

A person's rights to his life, liberty and honestly acquired property can be violated only by force or the threat of force. (Fraud is an indirect form of force.) When one forces another to do something, he compels him to act against his judgment — or force would not have been needed.

Each person is born with sole control over his will, mind and consciousness; no one can control them for him. Because human survival depends on the individual's choice to think and remain loyal to his judgment, to force him is to require that he contradict his nature. This cannot be the basis for a free and peaceful society. Only destruction can result.

Only a system of equal liberty is consistent and rational. So, any form of collectivism — communism, socialism, fascism, Nazism, welfare statism or state capitalism — is brutal and reactionary. All use force; they only disagree on the purpose.

Liberty, if thought of at all, is regarded as a luxury. To the socialist or left-liberal, it is what we can't have until everyone is economically equal. To the conservative, it is what we can't have until order is secure or the Soviet Menace is gone.

Only the libertarian regards liberty not as a luxury, but as an urgent **necessity**. It is what makes order and prosperity possible. "His desire for freedom has but one practical object," writes Albert Jay Nock, in *Our Enemy, the State*, "i.e., that men may become as good and decent, as elevated and noble, as they might be and really wish to be. Reason, experience, and observation lead him to the conviction that under absolute and unqualified freedom they can, and rather promptly will, educate themselves to this desirable end; but that so long as they are to the least degree dominated by legalism and authoritarianism, they never can."

Most people recognize the evils of force when it's fascist, Nazi or Communist. Idi Amin and Pol Pot are widely recognized as tyrants. But many look at socialism differently, as a noble, if unrealistic, ideal. Yet the only practical difference between fascism and socialism is that socialism is more honest.

Fascism keeps a semblance of private property, though the state completely controls how property is used (meaning how people live). Socialism has the same control, but dispenses with the facade of private ownership.

Except for this minor difference, socialism and fascism travel the same path. All human action — economic and otherwise — is directed by an authority under these systems. Human beings become natural resources, allocated by planners. Does it matter that one is compelled to act for the "good" of the proletariat under one sys-

tem and for the "good" of the race under another?

What happens when an individual disagrees with the authority, tries to live his own way and keep what he has produced or earned in voluntary trade? Are his rights respected? Or is he sent to Dachau or the Gulag; beaten or killed? We know what the socialist chooses.

As long as the socialist believes a majority has the right to persecute a minority, he is like his ideological brother, the fascists. The issue is **not** force for this reason versus force for that reason. The issue is **freedom vs. force**.

That is a sensible ideological spectrum — unlike the current left-right nonsense that pits those who would forbid profits against those who would forbid privacy. More people are realizing that the line is now drawn between those who demand full liberty (peace, privacy and trade) and those who would deny it, whether in the name of "equality" or "national security".

Socialism and all collectivism fails on both moral and practical grounds: advocates of these systems refuse to let people alone and by centralizing decision-making, they hinder people's efforts to improve themselves.

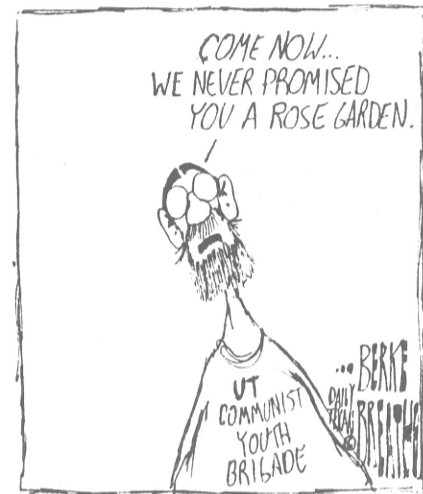
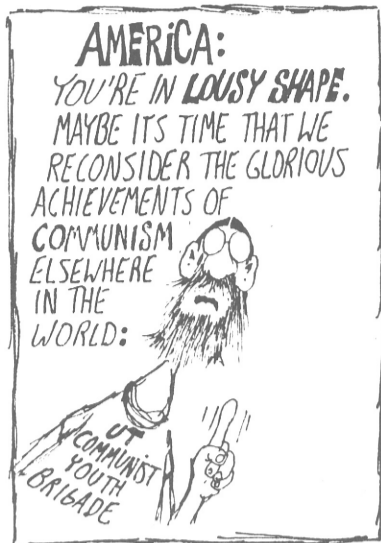
Libertarianism scores on both counts. It enshrines the "live and let live" ethic and decentralizes decision-making, thereby allowing efficient use of the knowledge scattered among billions of people.

Idealistic socialists, who hunger for liberty, are increasingly learning that the alleged evils of the market are actually consequences of State intervention and privilege; that depression and unemployment are the fault of State power, as are war and imperialism; and that without the State's legitimized coercion, they cannot exist. And they are realizing that socialism can-

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not wipe out social evils by placing all property in the iron grip of the State.

Those who want to defend peace and liberty must renounce force (other than in self-defense) and uphold man's rights. They must respect everyone's right to deal in any way they choose with other consenting persons, and their right to abstain from

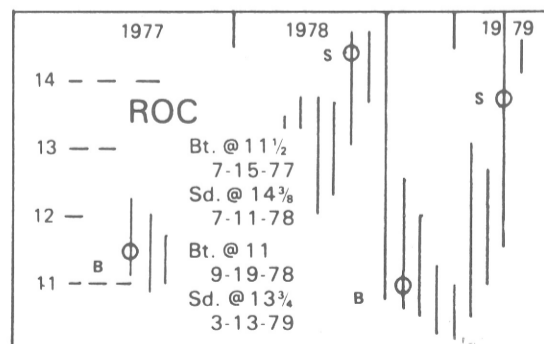
dealing with others if that is what they choose.

They must advocate, in a word, **libertarianism**.

(This essay has been reprinted, in abridged form, from a pamphlet published by Society for Individual Liberty, PO Box 1147, Warminster, PA. Membership in SIL is \$5 per year.)

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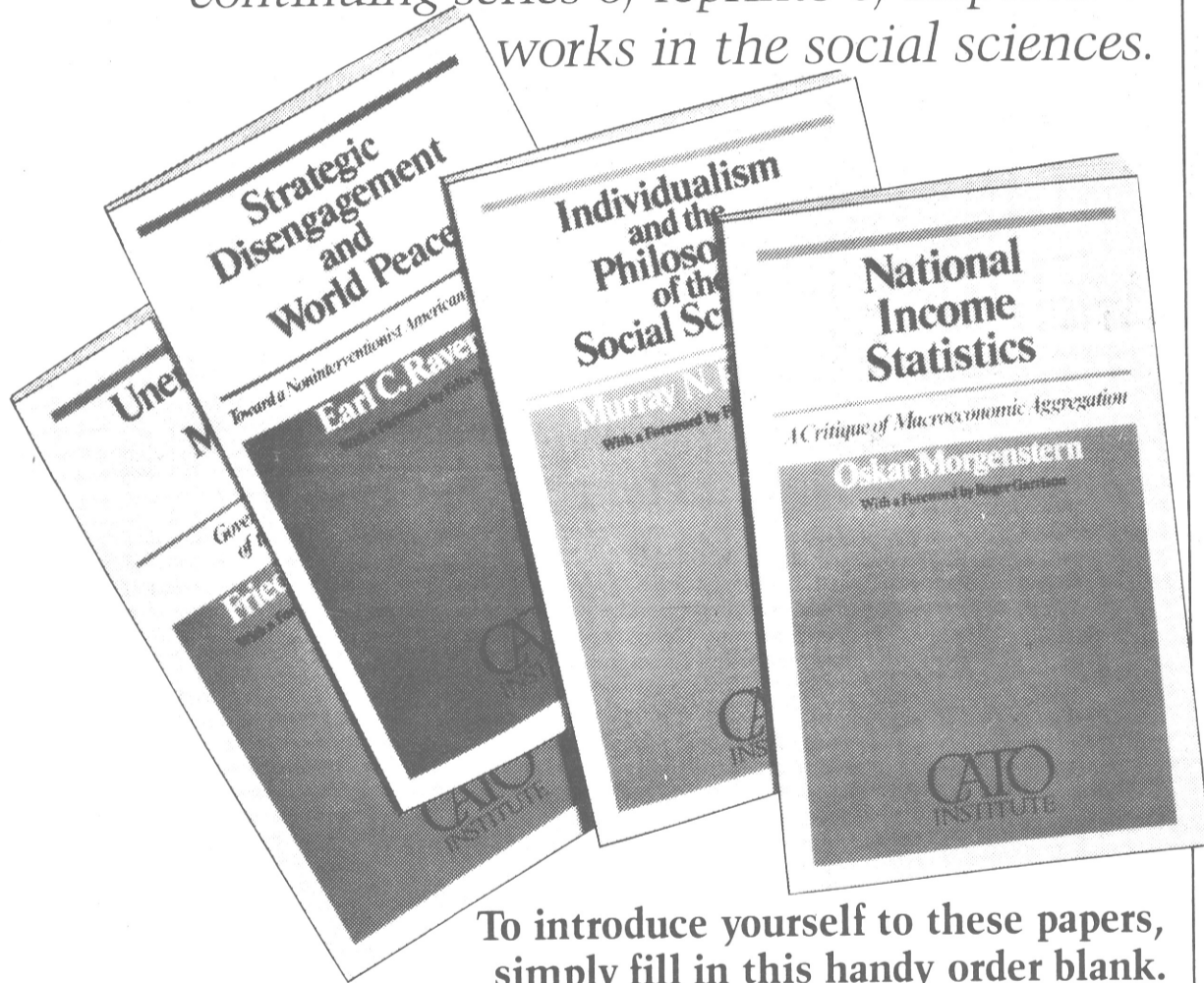
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1980's . . .

CONTINUED

But this libertarian trend — noted by leading critics — was misunderstood and misrepresented by these same critics. Henry Fairlie argued, in *The New Republic*, that "we are being led . . . into the garden of weeds and nettles that Ayn Rand helped to prepare for us . . . (into) a radical libertarianism, as we are asked to consider it, that is really nothing but a self-indulgent permissiveness."

Meanwhile, *The Nation's* Philip Green identified our era by the continual "assault upon our sensibilities of everyone's 'right' to do what they damn well please without giving a fig for anyone else's needs or concerns," and Christopher Lasch, in *The Culture of Narcissism*, polemicized that what was wrong with the 1970's was that it "carried the logic of individualism to the extreme of a war of all against all."

These commentators have failed to understand the paradox of what Tom Wolfe calls the Me Decade. The paradox of the 70's was that individual Americans began taking more responsibility for their own lives, liberties, and happiness; while at the same time the American government started acting more and more irresponsibly.

Uncle Sam has been taxing us to death, invading our privacy, regulating our businesses into bankruptcy, meddling in the affairs of foreign countries, prohibiting "capitalist acts between consenting adults", and destroying the value of the dollar and our savings by inflating the money supply. Ironically, it is these very policies — corporate liberal, big-spending policies ardently supported by *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, and socialists like Lasch — which have promoted the "every man for himself" atmosphere these critics deplore.

In the long run, Big Government can only lead to disaster. Germany's runaway inflation is a classic case, dramatizing with a vengeance the insight of Ludwig von Mises that "Government is the only agency that can take a useful commodity like paper, slap some ink on it, and make it totally worthless."

The social consequences of the German inflation were devastating, leading to the rise of Hitler, National Socialism, and World War II. Its effects on the German spirit were equally harmful, if more subtle. The great German novelist Thomas Mann, recalling his own experience, declared:

"There is neither system nor justice in the expropriation and redistribution of property resulting from inflation. A cynical 'each man for himself' becomes the rule of life . . . The great mass of those who put their trust in the traditional order, the innocent and unworldly, all those who do productive and useful work, but don't know how to manipulate money, the elderly who hoped to live on what they earned in the past — all these are doomed to suffer. An experience of this kind poisons the morale of a nation . . . Inflation is a tragedy that makes a whole people cynical, hard-hearted, and indifferent."

While America has not yet experienced a runaway inflation, already the effects of inflation and other government-manufactured ills have combined to bring about a mood of unprecedented national pessimism. If America is to avoid Germany's fate, then — contrary to Lasch and his ilk — it is the logic of Big Government we must reject.

Only a rebirth in the 1980's of the spirit of individualism and the politics of freedom — a renaissance already well under way — can restore the American Dream of peace, prosperity, and liberty for all.

(By Michael Grossberg, with thanks to Milton Mueller and Jeff Riegenbach.)

MILESTONES

The seventies was a decade of libertarian milestones.

The Nobel Prize was won by two free market economists: **Friedrich Hayek** and **Milton Friedman**, while Harvard philosopher Robert Nozick was awarded the National Book Award for his **Anarchy, State, and Utopia**, a penetrating critique of socialism, egalitarianism, liberalism, and conservatism.

The bestseller lists were filled with popularizations of libertarian philosophy, from Harry Browne's **How I Found Freedom In An Unfree World** to Robert Ringer's **Restoring the American Dream**. The publication of Solzhenitsyn's **Gulag Archipelago** in 1973 at last made it impossible for establishment intellectuals to ignore the repressive nature of socialism.

Ayn Rand's **Atlas Shrugged** and **The Fountainhead** increased their paperback sales year by year, while plans to make a movie of **Atlas Shrugged**, after several fitful starts, are finally going ahead. Science fiction and fantasy took a decidedly libertarian turn, with Heinlein's **Time Enough for Love**, T. H. White's **The Book of Merlyn**, Ira Levin's **This Perfect Day**, Ursula LeGuin's **The Dispossessed**, James Hogan's **The Genesis Machine**, Richard Adams' **Watership Down**, Poul Anderson's **The Avatar** and **Mirkheim**, Robert Silverberg's **A Time of Changes**, and F. Paul Wilson's **Wheels within Wheels**, which won the Prometheus Award for best libertarian sf of 1978.

The Incredible Bread Machine began the decade as a popular book explaining the misunderstood history of free enterprise. It ended the decade as possibly the most popular and effective film documentary of all time.

Academy Award-winning films, notably **One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest**, **Midnight Express**, **Fiddler on the Roof**, **The Deerhunter**, and **Star Wars**, dramatized the perennial conflict between individual freedom and government power.

Other movies, on a more tragic note, illustrated Lord Acton's famous libertarian dictum that "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely" — among them was **The Godfather I and II**, **Seven Beauties**, **The Man Who Would Be King**, and **Apocalypse Now**.

Roots became the most popular television drama in history, a romantic libertarian epic chronicling the long struggle of black people for emancipation and liberty.

Libertarian values and ideals in the popular culture soon began to have a political impact as well.

The tax revolt sparked **Proposition 13**.

Marijuana and laetrile were decriminalized in state after state.

Gold ownership, denied to Americans for over three decades, became legal.

Free market advertising came to the legal pharmaceutical and medical professions.

The draft was abolished in 1973, and in 1979 libertarians across the country made sure it wouldn't return.

The **National Taxpayers Union**, led by libertarian James Davidson, spearheaded the movement, now very close to success, for a balanced budget amendment.

Last, but not least, is the explosive growth of the **Libertarian Party**, founded only in 1972 and now well on its way to becoming America's third major party.

Not bad for ten short years!

—MG

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Middle East Forum

The recent crisis in the Middle East has provoked much heat but little light. In an effort to shed some light on the situation in Iran, and the American response to it, the Coalition against Racism and Intervention in the Middle East (CRIME) will sponsor a public forum in Austin, Texas on Thursday, January 24th at 7:30PM in the Texas Union Ballroom of the University of Texas. Admission is free.

rights of peaceful, Iranian students in America against deportation by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Ken Carpenter, Texas Director of the American Friends Service Committee, will speak on "THE THREAT OF WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST." He will examine the politics behind America's current foreign policy, and why, for our own peace and safety, America needs a noninterventionist foreign policy.

RELATED STORIES PAGE 6

Featured speakers include John Stockwell, a retired CIA agent who will discuss "THE CIA CONNECTION IN IRAN", and Aziza Cox, a professor of Middle Eastern studies at Texas A & M who will examine "THE HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE MIDEAST CRISIS."

CRIME is a new statewide peace and human rights coalition, including the Libertarian Party of Texas, which represents over 5,000 concerned citizens working for a peaceful, rational solution to the Mideast crisis.

Spokespersons for CRIME, in a widely reported press conference, explained the basic point of view of the broad-based coalition: "It is a CRIME for any person in America to be deprived of his or her rights, and it would be a far greater CRIME for the American government to succeed in inciting the American people into a Mideast war, a war which in all likelihood would begin World War III."

John Duncan, Texas Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, will speak on "CIVIL LIBERTIES IN DANGER." He will report on the A.C.L.U.'s successful law suit, being challenged up to the Supreme Court, defending the constitutional

—M.G.

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Camera-ready copy should be mailed to Michael Grossberg, Executive Editor, 1205 E. 52nd St. #201, Austin, TX 78723. Make checks payable to Libertarian Party of Texas. (We will do typesetting and artwork and bill it at our cost plus 20% if requested.) Payment must accompany order.

Deadline for the March/April issue is February 15, 1980.