

FREEDOM FACES RISKY FUTURE

By Murray Rothbard

In America today the cause of liberty is surely at a crossroads.

ON THE ONE HAND, President Reagan and the Republican Senate were swept in on a tide of quasi-libertarian anti-Big Government sentiment, by a public fed up with inflation, deficits, and high taxes, angry with the public school system, and distrustful of all politicians. This sentiment led also to over 900,000 votes for the Libertarian Presidential campaign, and to greatly increased interest in the Libertarian Party.

All this is a positive sign for the future of liberty. But there are many negative signs too. For the same conservative movement that swept in to power also reflects mass sentiment for a Moral Majoritarian imposition of a Christian theocracy, including the outlawry of abortion, pornography, and homosexuality. It reflects too an all-out interventionist sentiment that will at the very least, bring us mammoth increases in military spending, continual interventions abroad, and a quest for all-out confrontations with the Soviet Union which may well lead to nuclear annihilation.

THE FACT that anti-Big Government and free market sentiment is totally contradictory to militarism and compulsory morality has not yet been absorbed by either conservatives or the American public. Even if we can escape World War

III, libertarians have a bigger educational job to do than many of us had previously realized. And, what is more, it looks very much as if the militarists will succeed in bringing back the draft.

To top it all, Reagan's alleged "massive" tax and budget cuts are a total phony. The budget has not been "cut"; it is going up; and so are taxes. The only thing Reagan has

succeeded in doing is reducing the rate of growth of spending and taxes. Note that we can't even hail him for moving "too slowly in the right direction." For what he is doing is moving a bit more slowly in the wrong direction.

There is a grave strategic danger to the Libertarian Party in this flimflam. For when the Reagan program fails to halt

inflation - as it is bound to - the public may well turn against not only the Reagan administration, but also the "free market" "hard money" "anti-government" philosophy that Reagan has been allegedly following. There is a real danger that libertarianism will go down the tubes along with Reaganism in two to four years.

SEVERAL YEARS AGO I originated "The Case for Optimism" about the eventual triumph of liberty. Recently, some libertarians have become confused about whether I am now optimistic or pessimistic about the future of liberty. I submit that the confusion is inherent in the current political situation, which, as I have explained briefly, is sending up mixed signals. Changing situations require changing

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LP10 Convention focuses on controversies

By Michael Grossberg

Amid heated controversy about the Libertarian Party's future, the LP is celebrating its tenth anniversary at LP10, the Libertarian National Convention.

CRUCIAL decisions about party strategy, party ideology, and party leadership face the 1200 to 1500 libertarians who are expected to attend LP10 this month at the Denver Hilton in Colorado, the party's birthplace.

Delegates will debate the party platform, elect new national officers, and revise the LP's governing documents in order to try to reach a consensus on the many important political questions facing Libertarians.

HERE is just a sample of the questions libertarians must answer at LP10: Should future presidential campaigns be placed under the direct control of the National Committee? Should the structure or membership of the National Committee be changed? Should the number of delegates to the next presidential nominating convention be expanded? Should the presidential convention be held in the late summer of 1983 (leaving more time for ballot drives) or in the spring of 1984 (when the primary season focuses more attention on presidential politicking)?

Also of consequence are matters of ideology. Should the LP Platform endorse unilateral nuclear disarmament? Should the Platform strengthen its planks on children's rights, land reform, and abortion? Should Libertarians call for repudiation of the government's debt?

IN ADDITION to the controversies raised by the convention's official business,

convention-goers will have the rare opportunity to hear Libertarian state representative Dick Randolph, Texas Congressman Ron Paul, "Mr. Libertarian" Murray Rothbard, anti-FTC crusader and marketing genius Joseph Sugarman, free market economist David Friedman, science fiction writer Robert Anton Wilson, humanist philosopher Paul Kurtz, foreign policy analyst Earl Ravenal, former Soviet scientist Edward Lozanski, former Goldwater speechwriter and current anarchist Karl Hess, conspiracy theorist Howard Katz, and past LP presidential candidates

involvement in the movement, followed later that night by Society for Individual Liberty's traditional cocktail party as well as - something new! - a Lone Star Beer Bust, sponsored by the LP of Texas.

Highlights of the rest of the weekend include a Past Presidential Candidates Reception, a panel discussion on The Future of the LP, a trip to an Old West gold mining town, and a gala 10th Birthday Banquet, which will feature filmed and taped flashbacks to great moments in the party's first ten years, champagne, live music humor and surprises.

John Hospers, Roger MacBride, and Ed Clark.

Other popular speakers are Tonie Nathan, Robert Poole, Joan Kennedy Taylor, David Bergland, Alicia Clark, David Henderson, Sharon Presley, Jeffrey Rogers Hummel, M.L. Hanson, Roy Childs, Christine Dorffi, Bill Evers, Ann Perier, David Nolan, Bonnie Kaplan, Jeff Riggenbach, Honey Lanham, Sheldon Richman, and Don Ernsberger.

KICKING off LP10 is an informal Wednesday evening gathering with Murray Rothbard, who will entertain LP'ers with anecdotes and musings on his longtime

POSSIBLY the most challenging and thought-provoking event - in the opinion of LP10 organizer David Nolan - will be the Foreign Policy Debate between Congressman Paul and Earl Ravenal, which will be moderated by Texas libertarian and revisionist historian Jeffrey Rogers Hummel.

Special emphasis will be given to activist workshops at LP10. These panels will provide the kind of "nuts-and-bolts" knowledge and political skills that are essential to the growth and success of the Libertarian Party. Workshops will cover

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Houston Libertarian runs for City Council

In its short ten year history, the Libertarian Party has already begun to elect state representatives, mayors, local commissioners and city council members throughout the country, from California to Washington, D.C., from Wisconsin to South Carolina, and from Arizona to Alaska.

Now, in Texas, Libertarians are gearing up for what should be their most successful campaign so far. Peter Elloway, a member of the national LP since 1974, has announced his candidacy for Houston City Council in the fall elections.

ELLOWAY intends to run in District C, the city's most populous - and probably most diverse - district. Several of its 46 precincts - which include southwest Houston, the Texas Medical Center, and Rice University - have been particularly good precincts for Libertarian candidates in previous elections.

In many ways, Elloway is the perfect candidate for his district. A graduate of Rice University, he has lived in District C for the past nine years. As a campus coordinator for Students for a Libertarian Society at both Rice University and the University of Houston, Elloway developed a talent for communicating sophisticated libertarian ideas in a straightforward way to students and young professionals. As a professional social worker, with an emphasis on community health services, Elloway is working to bring free market solutions to an area where they are sorely needed, but rarely heard.

In his City Council race Elloway plans to focus on such major local issues as crime, mass transit, high taxes, and cable TV monopolies. His strategy will be to emphasize the positive alternative approach which *Reason* editor and FREE TEXAS columnist Robert Poole uses in his new book, *Cutting Back City Hall*.

MASSIVE increases in violent crime have made Houston one of the most dangerous cities in which to live. Elloway will demand a crackdown on real crimes against persons and property, while arguing for repeal of victimless "crime" laws. His campaign will show that crime will never be controlled until the law respects the civil



Houston City Council candidate Peter Elloway plans to run an active campaign this fall.

THE NEW MATH IN WASHINGTON

During the last two decades, while the nation's population rose 23%, the federal budget soared by more than 500%. It took some 185 years for the U.S. government to reach \$100 billion in federal spending in 1962. It took only nine years to raise outlays by the second \$100 billion; only four years to add another \$100 billion; and only two years to pile up still another \$100 billion. While the federal budget is approaching \$700 billion in 1982 - even after Reagan's vaunted tax and budget "cut" - the federal debt is approaching \$1 trillion.

liberties of every individual.

Houston's Metropolitan Transit Authority has proven to be a \$100-million-a-year disaster. Elloway's campaign will point toward the solution of opening up the transportation marketplace by abolishing restrictive ordinances which monopolize local transit.

Increasingly, local government boondoggles such as the proposed Convention Center subsidy pose a danger to the Houston taxpayer. Elloway will be supporting the tax limitation measures for which local libertarians petitioned in 1978 and which are scheduled to be on the ballot in November.

HOUSTON residents pay more for cable TV - when they get it at all (See investigative report in Spring 1981 FREE TEXAS on "Houston Cable TV Monopolies Reflect Politics of Privilege") - while franchise holders anointed by the City

Council get rich. Elloway will demonstrate how the free market can provide better service for less money.

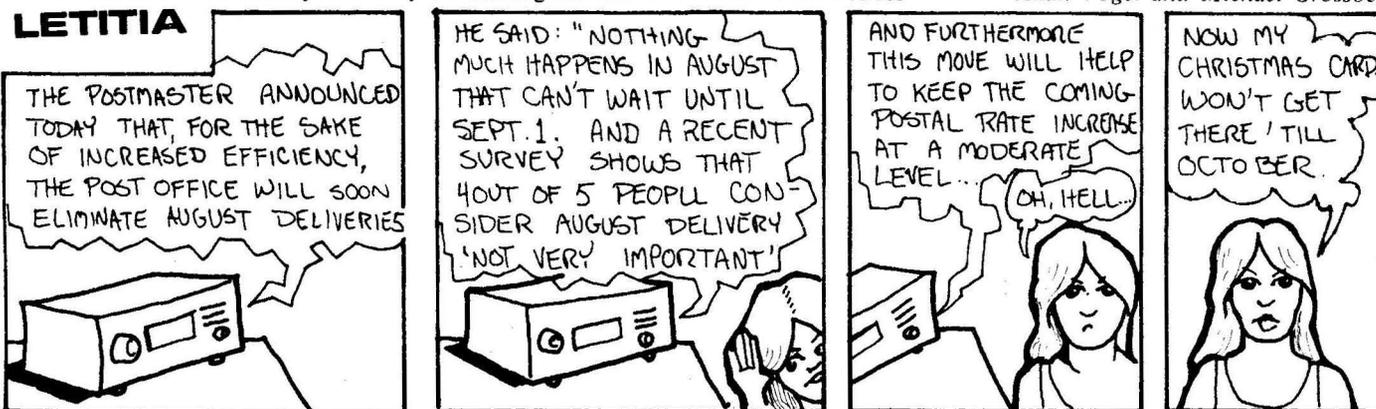
If previous efforts by Houston libertarians are any guide, Elloway should do quite well in his campaign. When four Libertarians entered the race for Houston City Council for the first time in 1979, they did exceptionally well under the circumstances, actually winning some precincts by a majority or plurality. For example, Janice Juckett polled 18,347 votes in her race for at-large City Council position 5, receiving 12.6% of the vote in a four-way race. By comparison, the second and third place candidates in District C received only some 10% apiece, or about 3200 votes each - less than 70 votes per precinct on average! And Lance Lalor, the single-term District C incumbent, is expected to announce soon his candidacy for City Controller, thus making the 1981 District C race a "free-for-

all" - an excellent opportunity for a serious, well-organized Libertarian campaign.

A SERIOUS, well-organized effort is, in fact, exactly what the Harris County LP is planning, as more and more Houston Libertarians join forces behind Peter Elloway's principled, hard-hitting campaign. Local activists Barbara and Jack McReynolds will head up Elloway's volunteer campaign. Already, they are selecting precinct chairs, organizing neighborhood door-to-door literature distribution, and coordinating the many details of Elloway's grass roots campaign.

Elloway's candidacy gives the LP of Texas the chance to continue to develop its political abilities during an electoral "off" year. His campaign should enhance the grass roots development the Libertarian Party needs to build for the partisan races in 1982 and beyond.

-Allan Vogel and Michael Grossberg



LP10 (continued from page 1)

such topics as organizing a campaign, developing precinct organizations, dealing with the media, public speaking, advertising, and fundraising.

BECAUSE of the increasing success of the LP of Texas, Texas Libertarians will be featured prominently on Saturday's general Activist's Panel. LP of Texas Chair Honey Lanham will share her expertise on building the grassroots and organizing volunteers, LP of Texas Fundraising Chair Matt Monroe will speak on state and local fundraising, based on his work with the most successful state fundraising effort in the country, and FREE TEXAS Editor Michael Grossberg will discuss publication of LP newsletters.

Besides the many Texans giving speeches at the convention, Texas Libertarians will take an active role in convention debates, with three Texans on the 20-member Platform Committee and two Texans on the Credentials Committee. At-large Platform Committee members Michael Grossberg and Jeffrey Rogers Hummel will be joined by Texas representative Bill Mitchell, while at-large Credentials Committee member Ann Perier will be joined by Texas representative Bill Ware.

IN FACT, the LP of Texas - one of the 13 original founding state parties at the first LP convention in Denver ten years ago - is one of

LPT SPEAKERS BUREAU

Does your neighborhood group, Rotary Club, or high school civics class need a stimulating and informative speaker? Would your supper club, local LP chapter, or community organization enjoy hearing the libertarian viewpoint on inflation, nuclear power, or the tax revolt?

The LP of Texas has developed a Speaker's Bureau of knowledgeable, sophisticated, libertarians to fill this growing need. Most speakers are willing to travel throughout Texas without charge, except for expenses. Almost all speakers will lecture without charge in their own city and region. Arrangements must be made with each individual. LP spokespersons can be contacted through the LP officers in their city.

the largest state delegations at LP10. As the second largest state party in national membership, Texas is sending 33 delegates - almost 100 delegates, alternates, and observers in all - to Denver.

Texas delegates include Mike Angwin, Liz Barthlow, Jeff Brown, Jeff Calvert, Wayne Clark, Jeff Daiell, Peter Elloway, Bill Fraser, Laurel Freeman, Susan Frenslay,

vice chair.

ALTERNATES include Debbie Angwin, Gene Berkman, Barbara Briggs, Steve Briggs, Greg Clark, Ken Crawford, Garry Farmer, Martin Gibson, Jane Henson, Bill Howell, Alma Kucymbala, and Karen Webster.

Texas LP'ers are particularly proud of the fact that two of the original delegates to the

"Historic decisions will be made by LP10 delegates - decisions which will determine the party's future, and with it, the future of liberty in America itself."

Roger Gary, Michael Grossberg, Susan Hervey, Mike Holmes, Jeffrey Rogers Hummel, David Hutzelman, Gary Johnson, Honey Lanham, John McDivitt, J.P. Miller, Bill Mitchell, Matt Monroe, AnnMarie Perier, Bob Sablatura, David Scott, Janet Tlapak, Keith Vanderlee, Allan Vogel, Bill Ware, J.D. Webster, Laura Yaussy, and Robert Yaussy. Delegation chair is Keith Vanderlee, with Allan Vogel assisting him as

first LP convention in 1971 - Mike Holmes and Gene Berkman - remain active in the state party and will be a part of the Texas delegation to LP10.

Historic decisions will be made by this year's delegates, decisions which will determine the LP's future, and with it, possibly the future of liberty in America itself. A full report on LP10 will appear in the next issue of FREE TEXAS.

FREE TEXAS

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Delegates face difficult choices for party leadership

Convention delegates face some difficult election choices at LP10, as a growing number of serious candidates campaign vigorously for the Libertarian Party's top leadership posts.

LP Treasurer Dallas Cooley and LP NatCom representative Craig Franklin have entered the race for Vice Chair of the national party, while Alicia Clark, Kent Guida, and John Mason continue to battle it out for LP National Chair—making this year's LP elections the most hotly contested race in the party's ten year history.

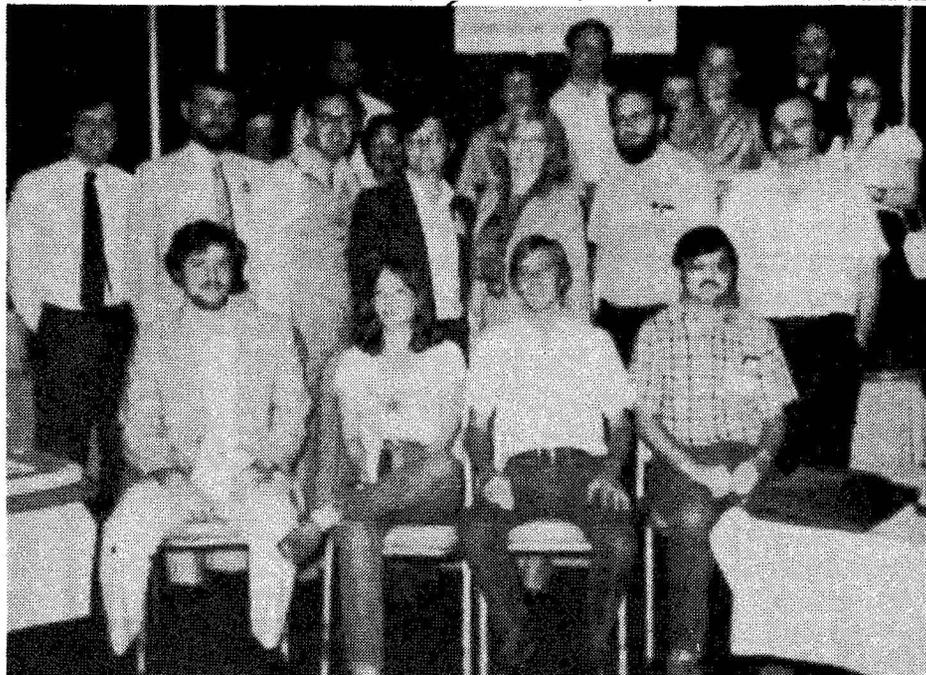
BY late August, just a week before the national convention, delegates from across the country seem to be almost equally divided in their endorsements—with many delegates remaining uncommitted. No candidate appears to have won a majority of delegate support.

"If the Party is to grow in size and influence, we must mature, improve our skills, and develop the image of a serious credible political party," states Dallas Cooley, a physician practicing in the Washington, D.C. area. Cooley, who was forced to drop out of the Chair's race in April after suffering a minor heart attack, decided, upon recovering, to run for vice chair out of his desire to work at strengthening the state parties and raising funds from larger contributors.

THE OTHER announced candidate for Vice Chair is Craig Franklin, a systems analyst working with computer software and hardware in his own consulting business in North Carolina. Franklin recently installed a new, expanded computer system at national LP headquarters—a system that he personally raised the capital for. As a NatCom regional representative, Franklin was also responsible for passage of a 1979 NatCom resolution which bans closed meetings and secret documents in the LP.

For months now, the three LP National Chair candidates have been travelling across the country in their spirited attempt to win the hearts and minds of party members. In one of their first joint appearances at a state convention, Clark, Guida, and Mason visited the LP of Texas' Politics of Principle Conference and spoke before 190 Texas libertarians.

IN her speech, Alicia Clark, who campaigned actively with her husband Ed Clark during his 1980 Presidential effort, emphasized the themes of party unity and grassroots organization. She stressed the need for "genuine respect for fellow libertarians with whom we may differ on some point of tactics or ideology," explaining "I don't believe anyone can seriously challenge the dedication to the LP and its philosophy of Kent Guida, John Mason, or myself. We can debate which of us is the most competent to be a spokesperson and an adminis-



A few of Texas' 33 delegates to LP10 get together to pose for a picture while attending the Politics of Principle Conference.

trator, and have different opinions. Where I believe I can do more for the LP as National Chair is in handling the problem of internal dissension."

Clark noted, "We are too strong to be beaten by subsidies to other parties, or by new ballot laws, or by Reagan's phony rhetoric, but we may be beaten by each other . . . (LP members) have many different ideas about what they want to do and how to do it—and most of our arguments seem to be about *how*. We must learn that a

coalition of individuals planning political action will always contain different answers to the same problem. We must stop questioning the morality of people with whom some of us have honest disagreements. We must learn to respect our own diversity."

KENT GUIDA, current LP National Membership Chair, first became acquainted with libertarianism when he attended the weekly seminars of Austrian school economist Ludwig von Mises as an undergraduate at Columbia University in 1966-1967. In his view, "the period between now and the

stands in stark contrast to the explicit interventionism of the Reagan administration."

Regarding economics, Guida observes "the rhetoric of the Reagan administration sounds pro-free market. This presents a multiple challenge to the LP. First, we must distinguish ourselves from being perceived as a slightly more refined version of economic conservatives, and we can do this by highlighting the differences between Reagan's rhetoric and reality. On the other hand, we shouldn't issue mindless broadsides against those programs which genuinely move in a libertarian direction, but with faint praise, we should call for such programs to move further and faster. In particular, we should couple our economic programs with those pertaining to foreign policy and individual rights, thus fashioning a unique, coherent Libertarian worldview."

COLORADO NatCom representative John Mason has campaigned for National Chair on the theme of preserving the LP as the Party of Principle and on his longstanding record as a party activist. "Our ideals are what make our Party unique", explains Mason. "I am confident that when they are well presented our ideals will once again inspire the American people, as they did at the time of the American Revolution."

"If we are to be believed and succeed, it must be as the Party of Principle," contends Mason. "Our Party's candidates and leaders must realize that only when we state our principles straightforwardly and up-front can we effectively discuss interim steps and transitional measures . . . We have a bright future if we proclaim as our goal freedom in our lifetimes, and proclaim it widely and proudly."

MASON declared in an *Update* interview that "just in terms of marketability, it's critical that we keep these principles in front of us and before the public. It's just as critical internally. If we think there is an eventual possibility of being compromised, it makes it even more important to make our principles a very critical and important element of our campaign, one that we be proud of and not try to push to one side when it seems appropriate."

So far, the only candidates running unopposed for party office are Vivian Baures and Frances Eddy, who have announced for LP Treasurer and Secretary, respectively. Baures, currently Oregon NatCom representative, is a practicing CPA in Oregon and recently completed an independent, nonpaid audit of the LP books. Eddy, who owns a secretarial service in Maryland, is also a NatCom representative and works as an administrative assistant at LP headquarters in Washington. —M.G.

His campaign for Chair has emphasized the importance of professional competence by party leaders and the need for the LP Chair to be an articulate spokesperson for Libertarian ideology against the corrupt policies of the major parties. "Libertarians have a golden opportunity to lead the way in articulating a clear alternative to Republicans and Democrats", points out Guida. "The Libertarian policy of non-intervention

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HEY, WAKE UP! WE'RE TRYING TO HAVE A PARTY!



Politics of Principle Conference makes big impact!

By David Nelson

The Libertarian Party's recent Politics of Principle Conference in Austin was an unprecedented educational, social, financial, and political success.

The June conference offered a broad variety of debates, parties, speeches, films, and panel discussions to the nearly 200 people who attended it, generating major television and radio coverage and statewide publicity for the cause of individual liberty and human rights in Texas.

HIGHLIGHTS of the popular conference include Murray Rothbard's keynote banquet address on "The Prospects for Liberty Under Reagan", David Friedman's and George Smith's debate on "The Proper Foundation for Libertarianism: Economics or Ethics?", and a thought-provoking panel discussion on "The Future of the Libertarian Party". Judging from the intellectual fireworks set off by the discussions and debates, the Politics of Principle Conference succeeded in living up to its advance billing as "possibly the most exciting libertarian conference of the year."

Other popular speakers were Wendy McElroy, Jeffrey Rogers Hummel, Peter Breggin, Honey Lanham, Sheldon Richman, Allan Vogel, Matt Monroe, Catherine and John McDivitt, and the three candidates for LP National Chair: Alicia Clark, Kent Guida, and John Mason.

CONTROVERSY was a primary focus of the gathering. Speakers discussed such

controversial issues as "Reaganomics", foreign policy, children's rights, anarchism, abortion, feminism, the crisis in Poland and in El Salvador, problems with libertarianism, and the prospects for liberty in our time.

Yet internal differences of ideology and strategy did not prevent Texas libertarians from accomplishing a great deal during the conference weekend. National delegates to

statewide coverage of the conference, "particularly as reflected in the Reagan administration's statements favoring free enterprise and individual liberty. But as Michael Grossberg, director of the conference, told those assembled, the difference between libertarians and conservatives is the formers' 'maniacal, ruthless consistency with which libertarians pursue those principles to their logical

should be 'careful and reasoned' and not as shrill as Rothbard and others have been."

DEBATING the problem of Libertarian Party strategy in the 1980s, LP10 Platform Committee Chair Sheldon Richman urged libertarians not to water down their positions in order to be more popular. "Reporters know deep down there is no honesty or principle in government," he said. "When we present a pure, hard-core case we will catch the attention of these reporters who are watching all this gray. Let them know we love liberty and hate the State because liberty and the State are incompatible."

Richman's strategic view may have some validity, judging from the highly sympathetic media coverage generated by the Politics of Principle Conference. Responding positively to the principled approach to politics taken by Libertarians at the conference, the *Daily Texan* newspaper had this to say in its lead editorial: "History has proven time and time again that the most radical thoughts are often the most wise . . . One school of radical social, political and economic thought which deserves careful attention is libertarianism. Libertarianism offers an alternative to those who are disillusioned with the political left's socialistic view of economics and the political right's oppressive views of civil liberty."

"**LIBERTARIANS** hold that no group of people, including the government, has any rights that individuals do not have," explained *Daily Texan* Assistant Editor Lisa Beyer. "Thus, the justness of government actions should be evaluated using the same criteria used to evaluate the behavior of individuals. Libertarians argue that just as no one has the right to take your money against your will, the government has no right to do the same through taxation. And just as no individual has the right to take your life, neither does the

"History has proven time and time again that the most radical thoughts are often the most wise. One school of radical political thought which deserves careful attention is libertarianism. It offers an alternative to those who are disillusioned with the left's socialistic view of economics and the right's oppressive views of civil liberty. Any move in the libertarian direction is surely a move toward the advancement of humankind."

-Daily Texan editorial

LP10 were elected, the Independence Pledge made significant progress towards its goal, and strategy was mapped by the LP of Texas executive committee for the coming 1982 ballot drive and campaign.

DURING the action-packed weekend, libertarians confronted the difficult strategic question of how to deal with the Republican resurgence, Reagan, and the New Right. "Libertarian rhetoric has become rather fashionable," observed the *Texas Farm and Ranch Journal* in its

ends. This consistency has led some libertarians to harshly criticize Reagan's policies, despite the President's statements favoring less government taxing, spending, and regulating."

"The strongest criticism came from Dr. Murray Rothbard," stated the *Journal*. "Rothbard pronounced Reagan's taxing and spending policies 'a gigantic hoax'. He said the Reagan budget does not cut spending at all when compared to 1981 spending. Such a comparison shows spending going up by about 6%."

"But," the *Journal* added, "David Friedman said if inflation is taken into account, the Reagan budget does have a 3 or 4% reduction from 1981 spending. The fact that the Reagan 1982 budget is usually compared with former President Carter's proposed 1982 budget should be criticized," Friedman added. He said he just believes criticism of the Reagan administration

noteworthy contribution to the LP of Texas within the preceding year.

OTHER Texas libertarians who have received the award include Mike Holmes, one of the founders of the LP of Texas; Margaret Bosse, who successfully lobbied the state legislature to reduce unjust barriers to LPT ballot status; Ann Perier, who won 33% of the vote in a 3-way race for Garland City Council; Allan Vogel, an LPT candidate for Houston mayor and Texas governor who headed the LPT's first successful ballot drive; and Jeffrey Rogers Hummel, a scholar and lecturer who has been a prominent anti-draft and anti-war activist. Significantly, each of these previous winners remains active in the LP of Texas today.

Before revealing the winner of the award, Lanham acknowledged the outstanding contributions of several hard-working Texas libertarians to the growth of the LP of Texas in the past year. Strong contenders for this year's award were Clark campaign coordinator Bill Fraser, 1980 Railroad Commission candidate David Hutzelman, LPT Secretary Bill Mitchell, and Independence Pledge organizer Matt Monroe. Also recognized for their efforts were Bill Ware, Susan Hervey, David Scott, Catherine and John McDivitt, J.D. Webster, and Keith Vanderlee. As Lanham pointed out, "The difficulty in selecting the Texas Libertarian of the Year is in not recognizing everyone who has been a part of our success, and seeming to forget or not to appreciate their work. But I will stop here and say thanks to all of you who spent your time, energy, and money for freedom in Texas."

IN HIS acceptance speech, Grossberg stressed the importance of volunteers to the cause of liberty and the work of the Libertarian Party. "Volunteers are the backbone of a political party, and particularly the Libertarian Party, whose very principles are based on voluntarism," stated Grossberg, expressing his desire to share the award with all the volunteers who have worked so hard to build the LP of Texas into one of the best state parties.

-Vernon Ward

FREE TEXAS editor wins Libertarian of the Year award

One of the most suspenseful moments during the Politics of Principle Conference was the annual presentation of the Texas Libertarian of the Year award.

LP OF TEXAS Chair Honey Lanham conferred that honor on FREE TEXAS editor and past state chair Michael Grossberg. "Mike has been the most active person in the state party on a daily basis," observed Lanham at the conference banquet, "always available, always open and informative, always positive. He played an important part in the success of our 1980



LP of Texas Chair Honey Lanham presided over banquet festivities at the Texas conference, discussing the enormous growth of the state party and announcing the Libertarian of the Year award.

ballot drive, but his most successful venture was reorganizing our state newsletter, transforming FREE TEXAS into the best newspaper in the movement. As a volunteer, he has put together the greatest libertarian show in Texas history: the Politics of Principle Conference."

First originated by former state chair Guy Story Brown in 1973, the Libertarian of the Year Award is given to the libertarian who has been a consistent activist for many years, but who has made a particularly

"The Politics of Principle"

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government by declaring war and instituting the draft. It is from these tenets that the libertarian slogans "Taxation is Theft, War is Murder, Conscription is Slavery" evolved . . . Libertarianism, very simply, upholds the rights of individuals to do whatever it is they want to do so long as they do not tread on the rights of others to do the same. Any move in that direction is surely a move toward the advancement of humankind."

One more sign of the conference's positive impact was the experience of the conference's guest speakers. Jeffrey Rogers Hummel thought it was a "fantastic conference", while Murray Rothbard commented to several people that it was the best convention sponsored by a state party he had ever attended. Wendy McElroy and Sheldon Richman were particularly impressed with the high caliber of Texas libertarians at the conference, with McElroy, a California libertarian, admitting "it was the brightest, most responsive crowd I have ever spoken before", and Richman, a Virginia activist, acknowledging "I was very impressed with the Texas group of libertarians, and with the harmony that seems to prevail there."

YET POSSIBLY the best indication of the conference's success was the reaction of Texas libertarians themselves. Here is a representative sample of the feedback received from conference participants:

- "I have never felt so wonderful about the Libertarian Party in all my life as I did that banquet night. The excellent food, the program, Rothbard's great speech, and the reality of the LP making a real move for permanent ballot status in Texas left me with such a wonderful feeling of euphoria. Such a positive feeling, a sense that we are accomplishing something, moving toward

our goal of freedom."

- "OVERALL I had a hell of a good time and I'm glad I came. My only real criticism was the lack of political skills workshops. Congratulations on a well-planned, well-run conference!"

- "I liked the informality and the freedom with which people discussed any subject at all at the midnight hospitality suite party. I also enjoyed the way the featured speakers were easily approachable to discuss issues."

- "My favorite speaker was Peter Breggin, because in his psychology workshop he injected more humanism and warmth into the sometimes cold rationality of libertarian philosophy. The exchange of ideas was stimulating and educational."

- "WENDY McELROY was superb and enlightening."

- "Hurrah for the candor of George Smith; let's keep him around!"

- "It was a really class affair."

- "We need to do this more often."



One of the highpoints of the Texas conference was the Friday night debate between David Friedman (L) and George Smith (R).

Independence Pledge becomes a success!

By Mike Holmes

As a result of the recent highly successful Politics of Principle Conference, the Independence Pledge campaign to provide funding for the Libertarian Party of Texas' 1981 budget is approaching its goal.

OF THE \$33,000 required to sustain the Libertarian Party's outreach program in Texas this year - organization of new county parties, maintenance of statewide ballot status, publication of FREE TEXAS, development of position papers, training of candidates, education of the

public, etc. - over \$28,000 has now been raised, with over \$4200 in pledges and one-time contributions generated during the conference.

"We are pleased with the response we obtained in Austin," stated LP of Texas Finance Committee Chair Matt Monroe, "especially the fine job Allan Vogel did at the Conference's Saturday evening banquet, proving himself to be quite an accomplished fundraiser." Dr. Monroe added, "The Finance Committee is also impressed with the number of Inde-

pendence Pledge participants who increased their pledges while at the Politics of Principle Conference. This tells us the Libertarian Party is on the right track here in Texas." Participants in the Independence Pledge contribute \$5 per month or more and receive regular news briefings about the progress of the LP in Texas, along with monthly statements and postage-paid return reply envelopes.

AT A RECENT Independence Pledge meeting held at a Houston restaurant, Finance Committee member Sue Bjornseth reported the addition of eleven new members to the Finance Committee's Advisory Board and Consulting Members. "These latest additions to the special Finance Committee groups demonstrate that there are still committed libertarians here in Texas who are willing to put their money where their principles are, by financially supporting the Libertarian Party in a regular, systematic manner," observed Bjornseth.

New Advisory Board members - libertarians who contribute \$50 per month or more - include Michael and Debra Angwin, Larry and Bonnie Fiala, Martin and Sherry Gibson and Larry D. and Reba Henderson. New Consulting Members - libertarians who contribute \$25 per month or more - include William Jowell, Keith Vanderlee, Richard Sansing, Mary Kelly, Robert Pritchett, Frank Roberts, Pat Weis, and Brad Harrison.

HOUSTONIAN Bill Ware, the Finance Committee member who has shouldered most of the Independence Pledge's administrative chores, reveals that the pledge effort has achieved a 90% collection rate - considered to be outstanding for pledge fundraising efforts. "We're aiming for 100% collection," Ware indicated, "and I'm confident those who are behind will eventually make good on their pledges."

The newest member of the hard-working fundraising team is Houstonian David Scott, who has been a reliable activist in the Harris County party organization for quite a while, among other responsibilities being office manager at the HCLP's Houston headquarters. Bill Ware noted, "Our Independence Pledge administrative efforts will be strengthened with the addition of one of the real 'endangered species' of the libertarian movement - a dedicated activist whose sense of responsibility matches his concern for libertarian ideals."

LIBERTARIANS who would like to join this grass roots effort to spread the politics of freedom in Texas can contact the Independence Pledge, care of the Libertarian Party of Texas, P.O. Box 56426, Houston, TX 77027.

(Mike Holmes is one of the original founders of the Libertarian Party in Texas, and published the first article, in Reason magazine, advocating the creation of a Libertarian Party a decade ago.)

the INDEPENDENCE pledge

Libertarian Party of Texas
State Finance Committee
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Houston, Texas 77027

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Platform debate raises vital questions

By Michael Grossberg

Several years ago I wrote about the vital importance of the Libertarian Party Platform to our movement.

In *Frontlines*, I argued that "the only thing that can preserve the Party of Principle is its principles. To be effective, they must be consciously identified, explicitly ratified, and consistently upheld."

THAT, in my opinion, is the crucial function of the LP Platform. When Libertarians occasionally lose sight of our ultimate goal of a fully free society—understandably becoming overwhelmed with the often thankless task of day-to-day political activism—the LP Platform serves as a reminder of our true purpose. It is both our motivation and our inspiration.

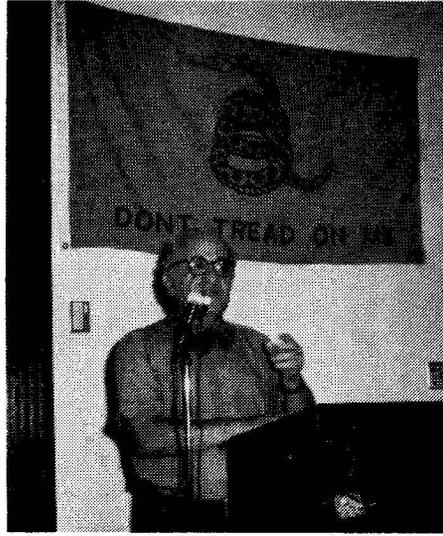
More recently, Murray Rothbard reminds us in the *LP News*, "For other parties, the platform is an inchoate grab bag of whatever goodies can be extracted from the hapless taxpayer and used to pay off whatever pressure group can get a political foothold. Our platform, to the extent that we honor it, is our pronouncement to the world that we are not just another set of would-be political hacks, that we are in politics to apply a consistent set of principles to all the political issues of the day."

SOME party members have expressed concern that although our Platform remains a gem of conciseness compared to other party platforms, it has grown too long. In reality, its growth has been a blessing: our Platform's increasing size has gone hand in hand with our increasing sophistication as libertarian political activists.

Over the years, the Platform debates at each succeeding LP national convention have been a major means by which Libertarian principles are transformed into libertarian policies. To be effective in future campaigns, Libertarians will need both ideology and policy, theory and practice.

THIS year, the issues which LP10 delegates are expected to confront include abortion, campaign laws, children's rights, education El Salvador, foreign policy, government debt, health care, the international arms race, Japanese auto import limits, land reform, national identification cards, nuclear disarmament, pollution, re-industrialization, SALT II, space exploration, and taxation.

Of these, the most lively controversies are most likely to arise over the complex issues of abortion, children's rights, government debt, and nuclear disarmament. What follows is a brief preview of this year's "Great Platform Debates", a small



Keynote speaker Murray Rothbard discusses the future of freedom at the Politics of Principle Conference banquet.

sample of the many controversies Libertarians will be debating and discussing at the national convention in Denver.

ABORTION is an issue which Libertarians, like most of the rest of the American public, have been debating for years. Though many libertarians are satisfied with the present LP position on abortion, some hope to strengthen it this year, while others wish to delete it from the platform altogether.

The LP's stand on abortion supports the repeal of all laws restricting voluntary birth control or the right of the woman to make a personal moral choice regarding the termination of pregnancy. Some party members, led by Libertarians for Life director Doris Gordon, believe that abortion violates the libertarian prescription against murder. They want the Platform to remain silent on this issue, recognizing that most LP'ers oppose government intervention into the lives of women, but also wanting the LP to recognize the significant minority of party members who disagree strongly with the current LP position.

OTHER party members, led by Murray Rothbard, Scott Olmstead, and Association of Libertarian Feminists coordinator Sharon Presley, are convinced that the present abortion stand doesn't go far enough in an era of a resurgent New Right and a renewed threat of a "Human Life Amendment" to the Constitution. These libertarians hope the delegates will endorse an expanded and entirely separate Abortion or Women's Rights plank. (A full report on the LP10 abortion debate, as well as a

detailed examination of the abortion issue by Wendy McElroy, will be featured in the next *FREE TEXAS*.)

An even more explosive issue in Denver could be children's rights. Few libertarians are satisfied with the present Children's Rights plank, which was hastily adopted at the 1977 LP Convention—after years of unresolved discussion by the Platform Committee—as a last-minute amendment from the convention floor. The controversial two-sentence plank reads simply: "We believe that 'children' are human beings and, as such, have the same rights as any other human beings. Any reference in this Platform to the rights of human beings includes children."

WHILE all libertarians agree that children have rights, few libertarians agree on what such rights might entail. So far, several attempts to revise the Children's Rights plank have been made, in an effort to expand the detail of—and thus delimit—the LP's position on this far-reaching issue. In 1979, the Platform Committee endorsed my proposed plank, which defined children's rights in detail, including, for example, the right of children "to find and contract for their own guardians or foster parents." Unfortunately, because of lack of time during the 1979 Presidential Convention in Los Angeles, my plank, along with quite a few other planks, never had a chance to be considered by the delegates.

Since then, several other libertarians have come up with proposals for new Children's

port their children just as an individual would be held responsible for supporting any person whom he or she had caused to become disabled.

ANOTHER 1979 Platform Committee plank which was not considered by the delegates was Jeffrey Rogers Hummel's plank calling for repudiation of all government debt. His plank observes that "investors holding government securities constitute a privileged group who profit from virtually risk-free interest at the expense of exploited taxpayers." The plank also hails the drive for a constitutional amendment to balance the federal budget. California's LP tabloid *Caliber* has just published Hummel's article explaining why debt repudiation is both morally and practically preferable to any other possible alternative.

The Government Debt plank could face some opposition at LP10 from those who fear that debt repudiation might cause unnecessary suffering and economic hardship. Both *Reason* editor Robert Poole and LP co-founder David Nolan have expressed several reservations about the plank.

UNQUESTIONABLY, the most controversial issue in Platform debates this year will be nuclear disarmament. LP Platform Committee Chair Sheldon Richman has argued for unilateral nuclear disarmament in an article in *Liberty*, while Hummel presents the case for disarmament in a just-published Students for a Libertarian Society pamphlet on the arms race.

"With more than 16,000 'strategic' nu-

"While all libertarians agree that children have rights, few libertarians agree on what such rights might entail. This complicated subject is in many ways a 'gray' area of libertarian theory."

Rights planks. Dean Ahmad, a 1981 Platform Committee member, notes that the present plank implies that "libertarians have no conception of the fact that children are *immature* human beings with limited ability to administer their rights." He suggests a new plank which acknowledges that "Children are entitled to all the rights of human beings, but due to their immaturity, require a guardian to administer those rights."

YET another approach to this complicated subject—which in many ways is a "gray" area of libertarian theory—is taken by Roger Bissell and Michael Emerling, based on Bissell's article "How (and How Not) to Argue for Pro-Choice" in the September *Reason*. They argue for a "disablement" model of children's rights, in which parents have an obligation to sup-

clear warheads between them, the governments of the U.S. and the Soviet Union make a terrorist with a nervous trigger-finger look like a Cub Scout," declares Richman. "Nothing and no one is able to inflict more suffering on the world than these two states . . . Since the U.S. government started the arms race (indeed, it ran alone for several years) . . . it can do something to end it: renounce these weapons of indiscriminate destruction and cease being a menace to mankind."

RICHMAN concedes, "This would, of course, be a radical step: the U.S. has never even renounced first use of nuclear weapons . . . Since 1955, when the Soviets offered radical disarmament terms, the U.S. government has refused to discuss the matter seriously." Although nuclear disarma-

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LP Platform Committee Chair Sheldon Richman and at-large Committee member Jeffrey Rogers Hummel participated in a panel discussion on Foreign Policy at the Politics of Principle Conference in Texas.

ment involves risks, Richman notes that "It is a choice between small risks for peace and great risks for war . . . the risks of nonintervention and disarmament have to be gauged against the current hair-raising risks of launch-on-warning, counterforce, and plain accident."

worst possible outcome from a policy of disarmament."

HUMMEL also tries to show that "the worst possible outcomes from deterrence are more probable than the worst possible outcomes from disarmament; conversely, the best possible outcomes from disarmament are more probable than the best possible outcomes from deterrence; and that over time, a policy of deterrence sets in motion forces that make conditions deteriorate, while a policy of disarmament sets in motion forces that make conditions improve."

Both Richman and Hummel stress the moral argument against nuclear weapons as well. Because nuclear weapons are instruments of indiscriminate slaughter, their employment would kill and injure untold numbers of innocent people—a clear violation of libertarian principles, in their view, since any recourse to coercion or the threat of coercion against non-aggressors is immoral.

ONE reason Hummel's Nuclear Weapons plank faces significant opposition at LP10 is because nuclear disarmament is a relatively new issue for libertarians, still on the frontiers of libertarian thought, and only recently being written about and debated within the Libertarian Party. Also,

"The most controversial Platform issue this year will unquestionably be nuclear disarmament. With more than 16,000 'strategic' nuclear warheads between them, the U.S. and Soviet governments make a terrorist with a nervous trigger-finger look like a Cub Scout. Although disarmament involves risks, such risks have to be gauged against the current hair-raising risks of launch-on-warning, counterforce, and plain accident."

Such a comparison of risks is exactly what Hummel undertakes in exhaustive detail in his arms race pamphlet. He attempts to demonstrate that unilateral nuclear disarmament is a strategy practically superior to the current government policy of nuclear deterrence, because "the worst possible outcome from a policy of deterrence costs more in terms of lives and liberty than the

many libertarians believe disarmament to be dangerously impractical, as can be seen, for example, in this very issue of FREE TEXAS, in which Michael Dunn debates Hummel on precisely this subject.

So there we have it—enough food for thought, and debate, not only for this year's LP Convention, but for the next several LP Conventions as well!

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 following letter was published in the July 6th Austin Daily Texan. Its author, Scott Bieser, wins a half year extension of his subscription to FREE TEXAS.

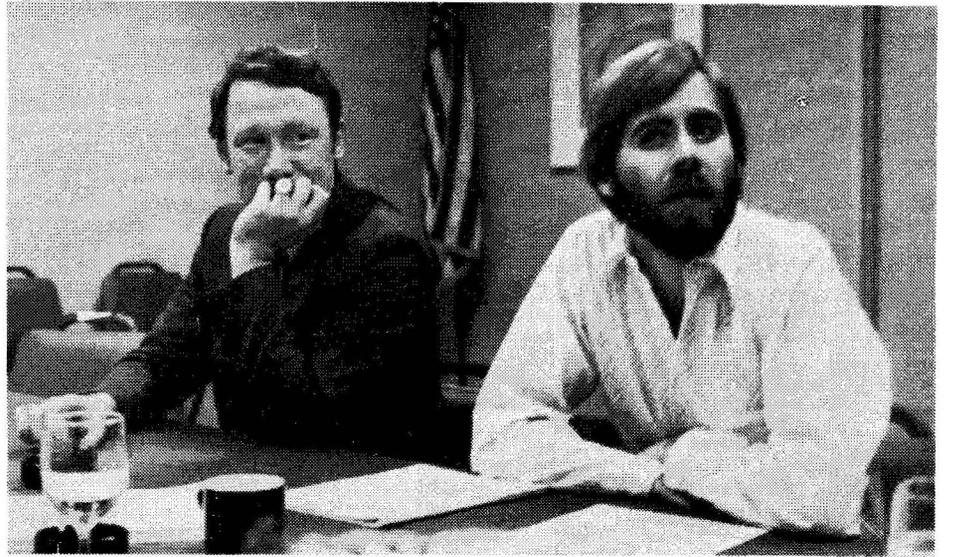
WOMEN AND THE DRAFT

As bad as the recent Supreme Court decision supporting the male-only draft is, I find the reaction of some liberals—including Texan editor Don Puffer—downright chilling. That response is, if women are excluded from a draft, then they miss a chance to "earn" their rights as citizens. This notion that a person should have to earn his or her rights by enslaving him/herself to

the government for a period of time is one of the most evil doctrines to come down the pike in a long time.

According to the natural rights theorists who influenced the founding fathers, a person owns his rights unconditionally. Whether they are granted by a "creator" or accrue to a person due to his basic nature as a human being, the source of human rights is the individual human, not the government. Governments are created at least ideally to defend these natural rights, not to be a source of them. The danger of the idea put forth by Puffer and others becomes apparent when you realize that if the government has the power to grant rights, then it naturally follows that the government has the legitimate power to revoke them whenever expedient. The only duty or obligation involved in the citizen-government relationship is the government's duty to defend individual rights. Individuals have no obligation other than to respect the rights of other citizens.

Yes, the Supreme Court ruling is a blow for women's liberation, but not because they have been denied equal slavery. The problem is that as long as the government assumes it has a right to inflict involuntary servitude on anyone, the rights of everyone, including women, are jeopardized.



LPT Execom members Roger Gary, "the only announced non-candidate" at LP10, and Keith Vanderlee, LP10 Texas delegation chair, consider party business at a recent statewide executive committee meeting.

LFL Reports:

Newsletter of Libertarians For Life

Libertarians believe, along with the Founding Fathers, that every individual has inalienable rights, among which are the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Neither the State, nor any other person, can violate those rights without committing an injustice. But, just as important as the power claimed by the State to decide *what* rights we have, is the power to decide *which* of us has rights.

Today, we are seeing a piecemeal destruction of individual freedom. And in abortion, the statist has found a most effective method of obliterating freedom: obliterating the individual. Abortion on demand is the ultimate State tyranny; the State simply declares that certain classes of human beings are not persons, and therefore not entitled to the protection of the law. The State protects the "right" of some people to kill others, just as the courts protected the "property rights" of slave masters in their slaves.

We must promote a consistent vision of liberty because freedom is whole and cannot be alienated, although it can be abridged by the unjust action of the State or those who are powerful enough to obtain their own demands. Our lives, also, are a whole from the beginning at fertilization until death. To deny any part of liberty, or to deny liberty to any particular class of individuals, diminishes the freedom of all. For libertarians to support such an abridgement of the right to live free is unconscionable.

I encourage all pro-life libertarians to become involved in debating the issues and educating the public; whether or not freedom is defended across the board, or is allowed to be further eroded without *consistent* defenders, may depend on them.

Congressman Ron Paul

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LP of Texas makes progress toward liberty

REGIONAL REPORT By AnnMarie Perier

Since this is my last column as Regional Representative from Texas I would like to take this opportunity to make some general comments.

I am extremely proud of our organization and to have represented all of you at the Libertarian National Committee. The Libertarian Party of Texas has grown so much in the past two years that it is hard to believe! Our activities have tripled, the number of organized counties has doubled, the enthusiasm is phenomenal.

WE HAVE GROWN into a real political party - one that will be heard, and increasingly effective in the years to come.

In order to maintain our high level of growth, we need to work even harder than before. We must continue to educate ourselves, and others, about the politics of individual freedom. We must debate and decide the best strategies to achieve liberty in our lifetime.

To this end I am urging everyone to attend LP10, the 1981 Libertarian National



Convention. LP10 will be the libertarian happening of the decade. The decisions libertarians will face at LP10 are crucial to the future course of the party.

IF YOU are not a delegate, be sure to attend the many interesting panels, debates, workshops, speeches, and of course, the parties. If you are a delegate, be sure to read the current Platform and Constitution and Bylaws, so that you will be prepared for the

proposed changes, and meet the candidates for national office, asking them where they stand on the important strategic and ideological issues facing libertarians at LP10. Whether you're a delegate or not, take this opportunity to get to know thousands of libertarians from across the country - and above all, have a good time!

I would also like to acknowledge the contributions of a number of libertarians from around the state, who I think have been largely responsible for the growth we've seen: Michael Grossberg, for the fantastic FREE TEXAS, the best libertarian publication in the U.S.; Matt Monroe, Mike Holmes, Bill Ware, and the other member of the LPT's Independence Pledge for raising the money to keep us going; Catherine McDivitt, David Hutzelman, Steve Briggs, and all the other LP of Texas candidates who went out and spread the word; every Libertarian in Texas who handed out a brochure, gave money, got a petition signature, helped in the office, talked about Ed Clark or a local LP candidate to a friend or co-worker, or did anything to promote our efforts; and lastly,

our incredible state chair Honey Lanham - the person that I believe is the spark behind our success.

BEING your LP National Committee Rep has been an education and a good experience. I want to thank those responsible for my election and to wish the



next NatCom representative from Texas the best of luck. See ya'll in Denver!

(Ann Marie Perier, who received the Texas Libertarian of the Year Award in 1978 for her hard work as an activist - winning 33% of the vote in a 3 way race for Garland City Council that year - was Texas' LP NatCom Rep from 1979 to 1981.)

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NEWSNOTES

(continued from page 9)

purchase of a 1973 Toyota station wagon which will be used to continue distribution of thousands of copies of FREE TEXAS and other libertarian literature throughout Austin . . . **AYN RAND**, the famous novelist-philosopher and recent recluse who authored *The Fountainhead* and *Atlas Shrugged*, has decided to make a rare appearance at the upcoming investment conference in New Orleans November 18-22, sponsored by the **National Committee for Monetary Reform**, a libertarian hard money group. The subject of her talk will be "The Sanction of the Victim". Also appearing at the conference are **Douglas Casey, Paul Erdman, Adam Smith, George Gilder, and 45 others**. For information, contact NCMR (4425 W. Napoleon, Metairie, Louisiana 70001) . . . **NATHANIEL BRANDEN**, once Rand's close associate, meanwhile visited Texas in July, speaking before an enthusiastic crowd of Dallas libertarians on the subject "Self-Esteem and Libertarianism" before going on to give his first psychological workshop in Dallas on "Self-Esteem and the Art of Being" the weekend of July 19-21. Due to the success of Branden's first "Intensive" in Dallas, a second workshop on "Self Esteem and Romantic Relationships" is being planned in February 1982 near Valentine's



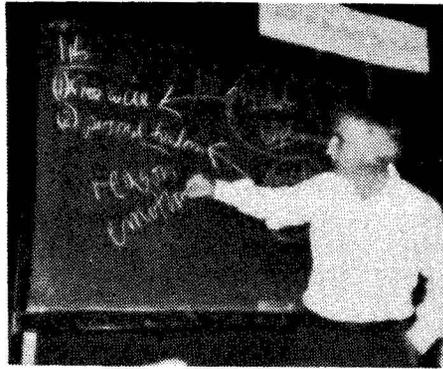
Libertarian psychologists Nathaniel Branden and his wife Devers visit Dallas to speak to local libertarians and present an Intensive workshop.

Day. For more information contact **Murray Productions** (Box 1488, Dallas, TX 75221) or call Martin Murray at (214)341-1268 . . . **COUNCIL FOR A COMPETITIVE ECONOMY** Director **Richard Wilcke** spoke on the relationship between the free market and the business community to the Pasadena Chamber of Commerce and the Pasadena Independent School District business teacher's program in Houston on August 19 . . . **GENE BERKMAN**, Travis County LP Chair, spoke about the Libertarian Party on an Austin radio talk show in August. Appearing on KNOW's "Straight Talk" hosted by Pat Ryan, Berkman discussed libertarian viewpoints on current issues like taxes, the draft, drug laws, gay rights and affirmative action, and foreign policy. "Straight Talk" is heard every night from 8-10PM, with an open phone line after 8:30PM. Pat Ryan has invited FREE TEXAS readers to call in to express their viewpoints . . . **FRED EBNER**, who testified during the spring legislative session against efforts to outlaw scalping (See FREE



Dallas activist Martin Murray took responsibility for organizing Branden's trip to Texas and recently volunteered as LP of Texas Treasurer.

TEXAS, Vol.10,No.3), was recently in the news again, commenting on Governor Clements' veto of an anti-scalping House bill. Ebner said he "was not happy about the technical grounds, rather than the broad sweeping moral principles" which Clements gave as his reason for the veto. According to the *Daily Texas* newspaper, Ebner said the bill infringes on individual rights, and "is another nail in the coffin of free enterprise." He said passage of the bill, which attempted to ban the practice of scalping tickets for sports and entertainment events would be "adding one more victimless crime to the books. It would clutter up the penal code - it will take the time of police, prosecutors, and the courts which should be spent on real crimes against people and property." . . . **STUDENTS FOR A LIBERTARIAN SOCIETY** held its second annual convention in New York in mid-August. Students listened to such speakers as **Karl Hess, Peter Breggin, Milton Mueller, and Bill Evers**, debated and amended the SLS Constitution, and made plans to organize student groups on many



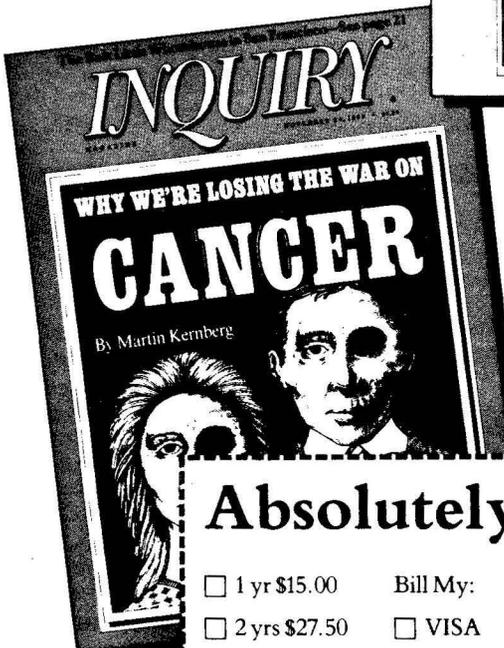
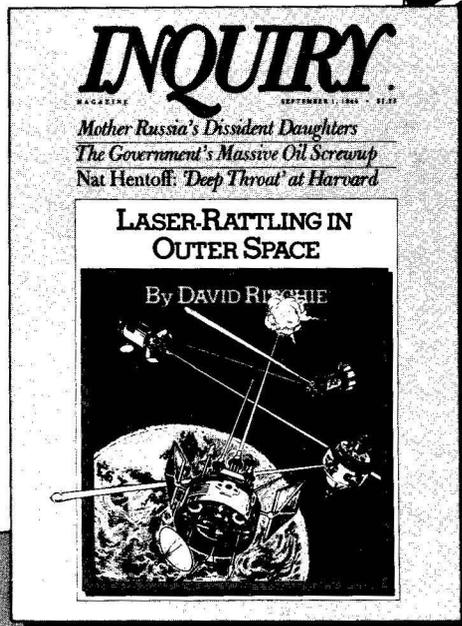
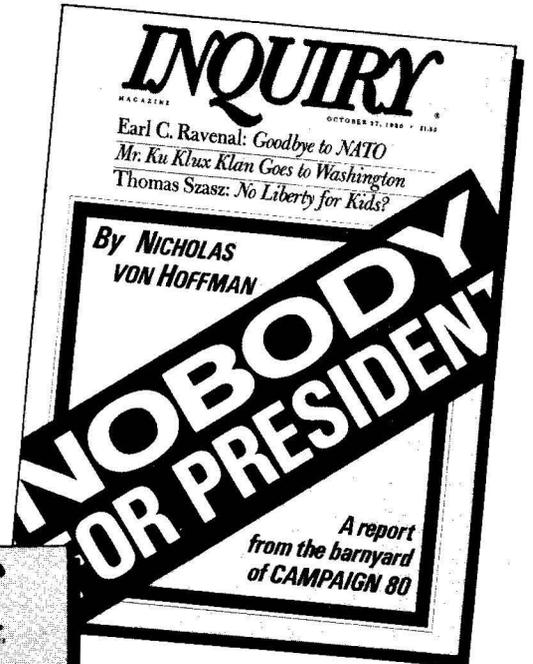
Libertarian psychologist Peter Breggin explains his concepts of self-oppression and self-liberation to Texans at the Politics of Principle Conference.

campuses across the country this fall . . . **STUDENTS** in Texas will have the knowledge and experience of libertarian student activist **Tom Glass** to rely on for help in organizing

libertarian groups on Texas campuses. Glass has been appointed the new **Campus Coordinator** for the LP of Texas. If you would like to organize your own high school or college, contact Tom at (713)681-1276 . . . **NORTH TEXAS STATE UNIVERSITY LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE** has already made plans for a full fall schedule, including faculty debates, group discussions, and a showing of the film "Karl Hess: Towards Liberty". Denton activist **David Disney** is organizing an outreach program to distribute FREE TEXAS during NTSU registration this fall . . . **DENTON LIBERTARIANS** met at the home of **Dr. Jim Miller** for a social evening and a swim. **David and Barbara Disney, Paul and Mike LeGalley, Tom Pitrowski, Steve Pruitt, Michael Hardcastle, and Alma Kucymbala** discussed politics and plans for future activism . . . **FREE TEXAS** is distributing a new **Reader's Poll** to interested readers in order to get suggestions for improvements in the LP of Texas newspaper. (Also needed is feedback (Continued on page 19)

This magazine is too left to be right, and too right to be left.

You think we're kidding? Well, the *New Republic* called us "the best of the right wing rags." But William Safire says we're "a lively, lefty magazine." Maybe George Higgins of the *Boston Globe* got at the real truth. "INQUIRY magazine may be addictive," he warned his readers. "Those guys will flog anybody." We're a young magazine with new ideas, and they don't always sit well with people whose thinking has fallen into a rut.



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RISKY FUTURE

(continued from page 1)

assessments. I am simply clueing in on a clear-cut change in the public mood on militarism and civil liberties, as well as noting the dangers of libertarianism being tied to Reaganomics in the public mind.

So much for the national scene. What of the Libertarian Party? Today it also stands at a crossroads. As the LP celebrates its tenth anniversary at the Libertarian National Convention in Denver, the inevitable debates and discussions will not be mere differences over personalities; they are, far more deeply, differences over where the party should be going, what its basic nature and direction should be.

NOW THAT the 1980 campaign is over, we are facing a choice between two very different and contrasting conceptions of what the Libertarian Party should be doing in the years ahead.

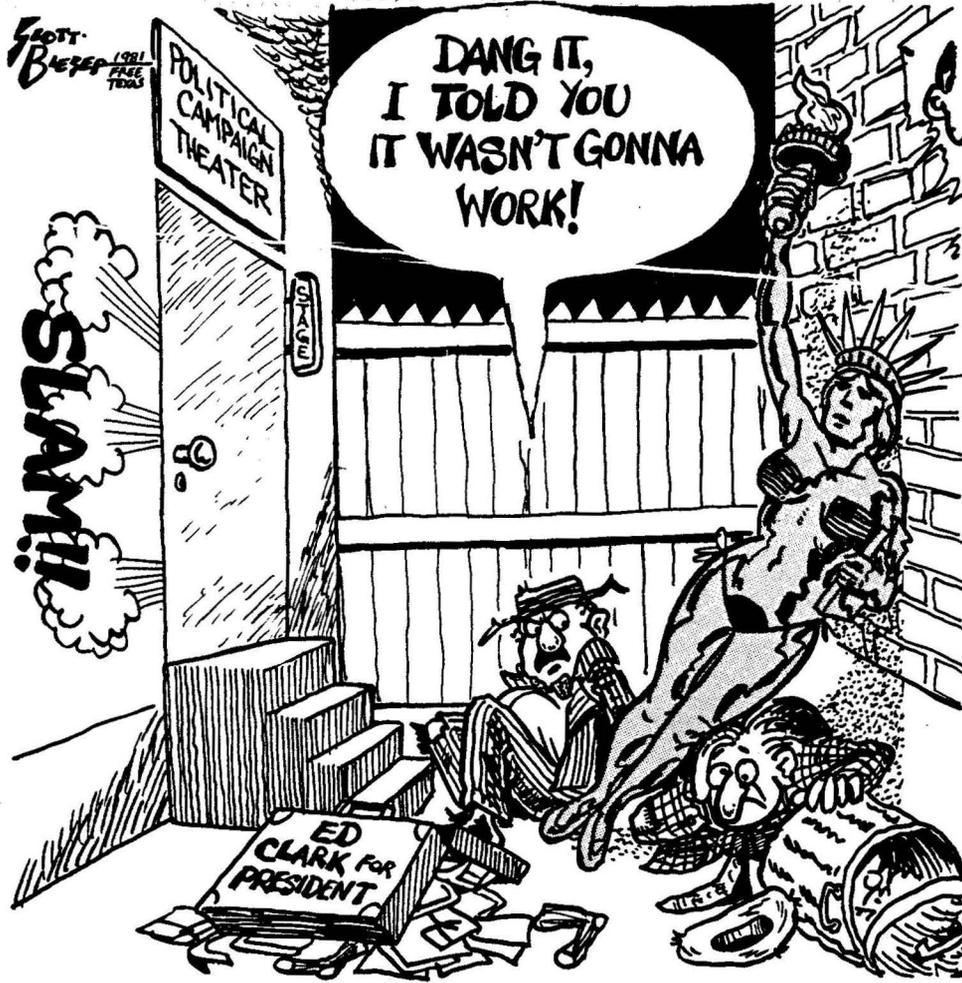
One view of the Libertarian Party's future is that the object of the Party is not to maximize votes, but to get the largest degree of votes *within* the matrix of adherence to libertarian principle.

This original view - which the LP had adhered to strictly until last year - puts Principle First. It believes that the function of the LP is to hold high the banner of libertarian principle, and to apply those principles consistently to the burning political issues of the day. Party platforms, discussions, and campaigns are designed to educate the public in these principles and applications, and this can only be done if the Libertarian position is kept distinctive and is not watered down.

IF THE Libertarian Party pursues its original vision, then we will know that any votes we get, and any new members we acquire, will be *meaningful*: because they will be votes and members for liberty, for a set of positions that has been set forth without cowardice or equivocation.

This strategic vision, which I will load the dice enough to call the Principled View, has several important implications for the LP. It means patience. It means that we think about the long-range future of the party. It means that we settle down to building the party throughout the country and for the long pull.

IT MEANS that we don't glitter and glamor by throwing all our resources of money and energy into the Presidential campaign or into a very few allegedly "winnable" campaigns. It means that we don't neglect the vital buildup of state and local parties in a vain quest for quick victory on the Presidential level. It means that we take a long hard look at ourselves and realize that we can't achieve victory with a few TV spots and a narrow financial base. It means that we advocate steady measured activism and try to avoid the



problem of activists' "burnout". It means that there is no Santa Claus. It means there are no short cuts to freedom.

This Principled View has prevailed, year in and year out, in the LP Platform. It did not do so well in the last presidential campaign, which was dominated by a different view.

THOSE who managed the Clark campaign decided that a principled program wouldn't go over well with the liberal media. As a result, Clark's campaign

media respectability and therefore votes, the LP and its candidates are supposed to sound only a few centimeters more libertarian than Reagan, Carter, or Anderson.

IN SHORT, this Quick Victory View of the Libertarian Party's future is to elevate gradualism to a virtue, threaten no established special interest, be soft-core; only vaguely libertarian - "low-tax liberal" or "low-tax conservative" or whatever the fashion happens to be at the moment.

"Behind the hoopla, and the fun, and the maneuvers, and the personalities at LP10, there is a serious strategic issue. The Libertarian Party can take one of two paths in the coming years: continue our original purpose as the Party of Principle or embark on a deluded quest for Quick Victory."

managers concluded that libertarian principle should be buried in favor of a one-year plan that protected the liberals' favorite sacred cows. They were all too anxious to prove that big strides toward victory - measured in the big numbers - are achieved quickly by media hype, TV spots, and direct mail.

The Clark campaign cared little or nothing for grass roots building up of the party. To them the LP was useful only for getting on the ballot and for making supplementary donations. In order to gain

Soft-core gradualism makes a certain amount of sense for a libertarian who wants to spend his or her time penetrating the Republican or Democratic parties. In fact, there are some gradualist quasi-libertarians right now in the Reagan White House. They are trying to turn the country around gradually by working from within. I am sure their strategy is not going to work, but at least it is a coherent plan and is not particularly immoral, since they are performing their maneuvers under the Republican rather than the Libertarian

thinks that we can protect ourselves from the Soviet State only by resorting to the countervailing power of the U.S. State and by violating the rights of innocent bystanders. I, on the other hand, contend that the very same measures which will roll back the power of the U.S. government provide the most promising defense against *any* foreign nation-state.

Because Dunn believes that brute force rules the world, his automatic response to any perceived foreign threat upon liberty is military power. Like liberals who can conceive of no better solution to poverty than direct government action, Dunn ignores the unintended deleterious consequences of his "solution" and remains blind to the more subtle and complex underlying determinants of the problem.

IDEAS, not brute force, govern the world. If you change people's ideas, you change the direction in which they point their weapons. Dunn is the one who is imprudently optimistic,

quixotically assuming that if only the State (or some future private protection agency) has sufficient nuclear weapons and military power, it can save our liberty from the evil Commies. I am willing to accept the hard reality that military force is not some magical talisman with which we can bend the world to our wills. The only effective protection for liberty is in the realm of people's minds.

Until we win the ideological battle, even libertarians armed with privately-owned nuclear weapons will never attain complete liberty in this country. Similarly, the liberty of Americans generally could never be secure in a world implacably hostile to liberty, regardless of the comparative military capabilities of the Soviet and U.S. governments. A simplistic reliance upon military force not only sacrifices to the U.S. government the very liberty it is supposed to defend, but reinforces the ideological strength of liberty's opponents throughout the world.

banner.

WHILE it makes a certain amount of sense for soft-core gradualists to join and penetrate the major parties, it makes no sense whatever for them to apply their strategy to a third party like the Libertarians. The Democrats and Republicans have built-in finances, votes, and media support. Although all libertarians are welcome in the Libertarian Party surely those who seek quick victory would be happier in the major parties.

Following their mistaken Quick Victory approach, Clark's managers watered down our principles, achieved respectability, and got less than a million votes instead of the several million we were promised. It is true that we got 920,000 votes in 1980, by far the largest we had ever achieved. But it is also true that we poured over \$3 million into this effort, so that the results were puny indeed by dollar/vote standards. The Clark campaign failed to differentiate its product enough from the major parties to give many voters a good reason for voting Libertarian.

Behind the hoopla, and the fun, and the maneuvers, and the personalities, there is, then, a serious strategic issue that must be confronted at LP10 in Denver and probably the next LP presidential convention as well.

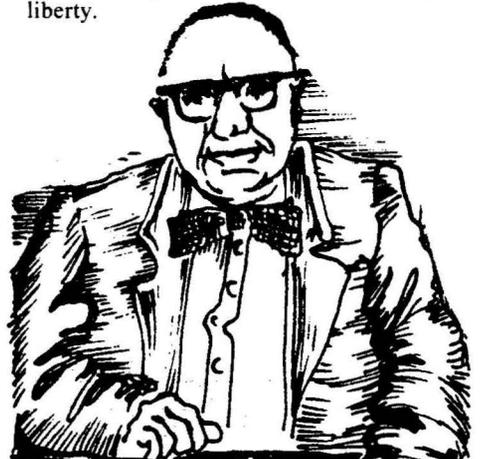
THE LIBERTARIAN Party is at the crossroads because libertarians can take one of two paths in the coming years: continue our original purpose as the Party of Principle or embark on a deluded quest for Quick Victory.

On the one hand, we can decide to adhere to principles, stick to our platform, and insist that our candidates do the same. We can work to achieve true and balanced growth on grassroots activism in the states and localities throughout the country. We can try systematically to cultivate *many* large money sources of funding. We can engage in a permanent, steady lifelong commitment to the achievement of liberty.

OR, we can sell our principles and our souls for a mess of non-existent pottage. We can strive for a myth of quick victory by neglecting the grassroots party for national TV hype and a couple of supposedly "winnable" candidates. We can dream that we have a goose that will continue to lay golden eggs, or we can show good sense and respect for those who have helped our party thus far by expanding our financial base. We can try so hard to make our ideas respectable that they fade blandly into the woodwork.

At LP10 and future LP conventions, libertarians will decide the future of the Libertarian Party. Free and open discussion about the LP's future is a necessity, for refusal to engage in open discussion of our ideas leads directly to a petty factionalism based on personalities. And such factionalism can only needlessly divide our party when we have serious issues to resolve.

I AM confident that in such a civilized forum of free and open discussion, in which different ideas of the party's future can be evaluated on their merits, Libertarians will support the path of Principle. For principle is the only possible path to the victory of liberty.



(Murray Rothbard, a prolific historian, economist, and political philosopher, is the author of *For a New Liberty: The Libertarian Manifesto*.)

Hummel vs. Dunn (continued from page 17)

NO DOUBT, both the Soviet and the U.S. are improving the accuracy of their missiles, but in both cases, it does not matter. Many other degrading factors, such as missile reliability, accuracy bias, and unforeseen operational difficulties make a first strike equally unfeasible for both super-powers. I discuss some of these factors in my article on the MX in the July-August 1981 issue of *Libertarian Party News*. In addition, the vulnerability of U.S. land-based missiles is irrelevant because of the deterrent still residing on U.S. submarine-launched missiles. Dunn's fear of a Soviet first strike is little better than a theological faith which he wraps in the deceptive garb of mathematical precision.

In the final analysis, the really important differences between Dunn and myself are not over technical minutiae. Nor do we disagree about the obvious fact that the Soviet State is oppressive and threatens liberty. Our fundamental disagreement is theoretical. Dunn

Libertarian feminists debate t

EDITOR'S NOTE: The Equal Rights Amendment has just entered its final year of public consideration. If it is to take effect as a Constitutional Amendment, the ERA must be ratified by three fourths of state legislatures by June 30, 1982.

Since its first introduction in Congress in 1923 and its final passage by both houses of Congress in 1972, the ERA has been ratified by 35 states, three short of the number needed to make it the 27th Amendment to the Constitution. Whether or not the ERA is finally passed, the controversy it has aroused spotlights some important issues for libertarians, issues that will have to be faced no matter the ERA's ultimate victory or defeat.

The Libertarian Party - which has been called "a champion of women's rights and a

feminist party" for its unyielding commitment to human rights for all - upholds in its Platform the noble principle that "No individual rights should be denied or abridged by the laws of the United States or any state or locality on account of sex, race, color, creed, age, national origin, or sexual preference."

Yet the LP Platform takes no stand on the ERA itself. As this special FREE TEXAS debate between Joan Kennedy Taylor and Wendy McElroy makes clear, libertarians are divided on this issue. Their reasons for disagreement reveal unique and important aspects of libertarian thinking, not only about the ERA, but about such wider issues as feminism, egalitarianism, libertarian strategy, and the application of political theory to legal philosophy.

By Joan Kennedy Taylor

The Equal Rights Amendment is an issue broad enough to be the springboard for an entire political philosophy - our political philosophy, libertarianism.

An examination of the congressional hearings on the ERA makes it clear that Congress and everyone else expects the amendment only to curtail government action - mainly by making protective labor legislation for women invalid. Still, conservatives gain support by claiming that

Fourteenth Amendment no law may properly single out a racial group for special treatment "reasonable" different legal treatment of the sexes is constitutional.

If the ERA is not ratified, the present status of women's rights will have been confirmed as what the electorate wants. The Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women lists fifteen categories in which "laws and official practices treat men and women differently." They include discrimination against married working

the ERA will be used in some way to increase government power.

AS A LIBERTARIAN, I do not trust the good intentions of governments, and I have a concern about the possible future misuse of even the clearest of constitutional guarantees. But I feel this concern about all constitutional guarantees: I don't single out the issue of government discrimination.

Had I been a member of Congress after the Civil War, even if I could have foreseen the compulsory busing of school children, I would not have voted against the Fourteenth Amendment, which granted full legal protection to the rights of black men. In the Dred Scott decision of 1857, the Supreme Court ruled that not even a free Negro descended from a Negro who was free at the date of Constitutional ratification could be a citizen, since "the basic document did not contemplate the possibility of Negro citizenship." It also ruled that the Missouri Compromise, forbidding slavery in certain territories of the United States, was unconstitutional because it was an action by government to deprive citizens of their property (slaves) without due process. No action of our government short of a Constitutional amendment, therefore, could end slavery, or give "equal protection of the laws" to blacks.

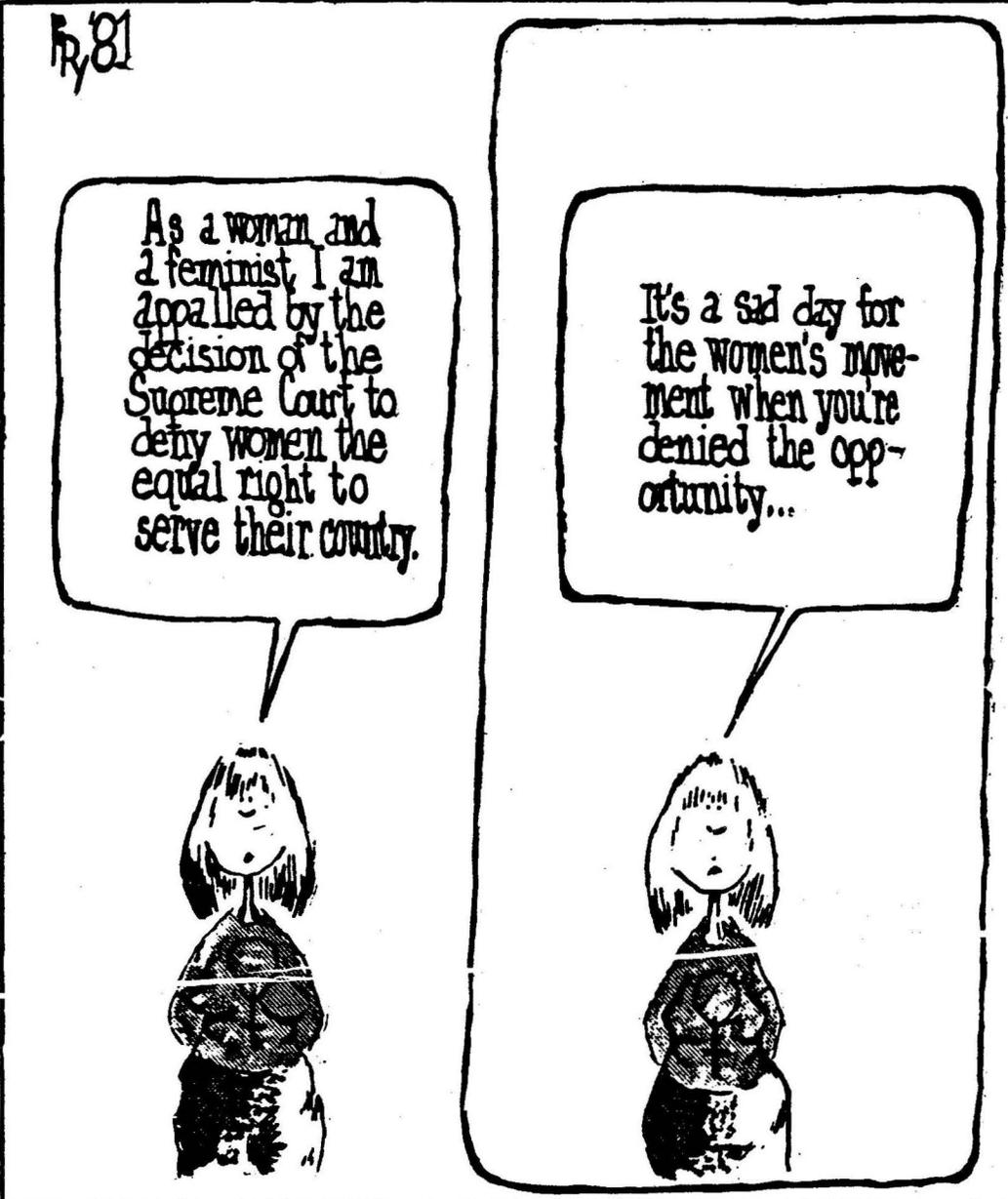
SIMILARLY, an inferior status for women was built into the common law. This unequal status was invoked by the framers of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments when they declined to include women as equals under the law or to grant women the right to vote. The present Supreme Court, recognizing this intention, has ruled that although under the

women by Social Security, several different categories of labor legislation that apply only to women, and various limitations on the rights of married women still lingering from the common law of England; as well as laws mandating longer prison sentences for women than for men convicted of the same crimes.

IN SOME STATES, a woman convicted of public drunkenness can go to jail for three years, and a man for a maximum of 30 days. A girl of fifteen in many states can be sent to reform school for having an affair with a boy of the same age - who is considered to be normal, not delinquent. In a few states, a married woman who buys a house may find that her husband has complete control of it and can rent or sell it to others without her permission.

And in many states the domicile of a married woman automatically follows that of her husband - if he moves, and she doesn't want to follow, he can divorce her for desertion; but if he has deserted her, that can sometimes affect her right to vote, to run for public offices, to serve on juries, or even to open a business if she lives in one of the states that requires her to get her husband's permission. It is a grave burden for women affected by such laws to have to hire lawyers and try to have the laws declared unconstitutional - if they can.

I do not think that we should go on record as supporting such legally enforced inequality by refusing to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment. The government needs no additional constitutional sanction to interfere with our private lives and businesses in any conceivable way. It is already interfering with private discrimination in every area of employment, pay,



credit, and education; it sets the terms on which it will permit people to marry, divorce, and bring up children. These powers will not be added to or subtracted from by the ERA. It is only governmental discrimination that is still legal, but that will cease to be so if the ERA is ratified.

WILL SUPPORT for the ERA take us even further down the Big Government path, by seeming to sanction a governmentally enforced, numerically distributed equality?

My argument is that the opposite is true. The ERA is one of the best tools that we have for promoting a valid view of individual rights to a general audience.

Why? Because there are two traditions of equality which are today coming into

conducive to liberty, and the only equality which we can secure without destroying liberty. Not only has liberty nothing to do with any other sort of equality, but it is bound to produce inequality in many respects." We can either insist that people are treated equally by the law, he reasons, in which case they will (because of the inherent differences among them) end up being materially unequal; or we can use the law to try to make people materially equal, which we can only do by treating them differently.

And in reading congressional hearings on the ERA, we find that this very argument was advanced against the ERA. Mrs. Myra Wolfgang, vice president of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders

conflict. Busing and affirmative action represent an attempt to implement one tradition. The Equal Rights Amendment exemplifies the other.

F.A. HAYEK in *The Constitution of Liberty* explains that egalitarianism and equality before the law are mutually antagonistic concepts. He writes, "Equality of the general rules of law and conduct, however, is the only kind of equality

International Union, told Senator Sam Ervin's committee that one of the purposes of government is "to give equality by its laws and rules and regulations" to those who would otherwise be unequal. She continued, "Now, if one of the major and fundamental roles of government is this equalizing one, then the adoption of the so-called Equal Rights Amendment will negate this same equalizing function under the

The Equal Rights Amendment



By Wendy McElroy

As a libertarian, I am opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment on both moral and strategic grounds.

THE EQUAL RIGHTS Amendment reads, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article. This Amendment shall take effect two years after the date of

ratification."

Its purpose is to solve the social injustice of sex-discrimination by means of a constitutional amendment. Morally, the problem with this reasonable-sounding amendment is that equality under the law cannot be advocated without reference to — and examination of — which laws would be enforced and what is meant by the word "equality".

Libertarianism is the political philosophy which declares each man to be a self-owner — by which is meant that every person has moral jurisdiction over his or her own body. Under this system of natural law, equality is not only desirable but actually a necessary condition. Regardless of sex, race or age, one becomes a self-owner simply by being born.

EQUALITY under natural law means equal protection of one's self-ownership. But this is not the context of the word as used in the ERA. Equality under government law means equality under laws that are overwhelmingly unjust in content and totally indefensible as to their means of enforcement — i.e., taxation. In such a political context, equality means that one hundred percent, rather than fifty percent, of the people would be subject to unjust laws and procedures. It is — to use a popular phrase — equal slavery. Without question, the libertarian position must be that no one should be subject to any unjust law, not just that unjust laws should be applied equally!

The current concept of equality in America runs counter to this goal. When this word was used by Jefferson and by Paine, it clearly meant political equality, or equality of rights. But with the rise of socialism — and the predominant philosophy of feminism is socialist — the word has come to mean social and economic equality. Even the National Organization of Women (NOW), hardly considered a radical socialist group, spells out the need for legally enforced economic equality — equal pay for equal work.

EVEN IF it were possible to ignore that it is largely socio-economic equality that is being advocated, it must be emphatically stated that libertarianism is not for a blankcheck equality under the law, but champions the equal protection of individual rights. These are not necessarily identical positions. To the extent that current laws violate individual rights, these positions are antagonistic. Individualist anarchafeminist Rosalie Nichols, in commenting on the unlibertarian nature of socio-economic equality, wrote: "As long as there were equal numbers of female and

male overseers supervising the female and male slaves dragging their blocks side by side up the escalating Great Pyramid of Statism, then all would be right with 'feminists' in the glorious 'feminist' world according to the socio-economic-equality definition."

Without resolving these moral objections to the Equal Rights Amendment, a discussion of strategy is superfluous. But because strategic discussion is often considered the most persuasive, I will assume — for the sake of argument — that

these moral objections do not exist. Even so, I would still oppose the ERA on strategic grounds.

CONSIDER HOW passage of the ERA might affect the important libertarian issue of military conscription. A major contention of pro-ERA libertarians is that the ERA will not extend the draft to women. Yet the *Yale Law Journal* reports, "As now formulated, the [Equal Rights] Amendment permits no exemptions for the military . . . Under the ERA the draft law will not be invalidated. Recognizing the concern of Congress with maintaining the Armed Forces, courts would construe the Amendment to erase the word 'male' from the two main sections of the Act, dealing with registration and induction, thereby subjecting all citizens to these duties." In other words, the ERA would remove from Congress the discretion which has, thus far, allowed fifty-one percent of the population to escape involuntary servitude.

At best, the ERA is superfluous. At

worst, it will subject women to whatever military slavery is imposed upon men. One reason for believing the worst would prevail is not only that the State inevitably seeks to extend its power, but also that many feminists and ERA proponents have been eager to have conscription of various forms imposed upon women. Feminists were outraged by the Supreme Court decision in *Hoyt v. Florida* — later expressly overruled in *Taylor v. Louisiana* — which exempted women from another form of conscription: jury duty.

Still, is it not possible that the ERA would eliminate the hated draft — since the State would not be able to induct both men and women as the Amendment would require? Although the answer must remain speculation, it is instructive to note that there is no instance in history of a State abandoning military conscription because women might be drafted. On the other hand, several historical examples (such as Israel) demonstrate the State's willingness to draft all citizens.

PRO-ERA LIBERTARIANS also argue

LIBERTARIAN FEMINISM

A suggested reading list

- The Life of Voltairine de Cleyre*
by Paul Avrich
- Concerning Women*
By Suzanne LaFollette
- Give Me Liberty*
By Rose Wilder Lane
- Women Against the State*
Edited by Wendy McElroy
- The God of the Machine*
By Isabel Paterson
- The Right to Abortion*
By Sharon Presley & Robert Cooke
- Atlas Shrugged*
By Ayn Rand
- Egalitarianism as a Revolt Against Nature*
By Murray Rothbard
- Does Socialism Liberate Women?*
By Hilda Scott
- The Sex Radicals*
By Hal Sears
- Essays on Sex Equality*
By Harriet Taylor & John Stuart Mill
- Free and Unequal*
By Roger Williams
- A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*
By Mary Wollstonecraft

that the Amendment would be a deathblow to alimony. But Senator Birch Bayh declared, "Custody, child support, alimony — strike them down? Ridiculous. This [the ERA] would require not that we have to eliminate child custody or alimony, but that any judge would have to consider the case on its merits." And the *Yale Law Journal* affirms, "The ERA would not require that alimony be abolished but only that it be available equally to husbands and wives." A strong case can be built showing that the ERA would extend rather than limit the scope of family law.

Whether the Amendment would extend protective labor laws is also a point of contention. "Such restrictive discriminatory labor laws as those which bar women entirely from certain occupations will be invalid," claimed the Senate Judiciary

Committee in its 1972 majority report on the ERA. "But those laws which confer a special benefit, which offer real protection, will, it is expected, be extended to protect both men and women. Examples of laws which may be expanded include laws providing for rest periods or minimum wage benefits or health and safety protections." And Senator Bayh added, "We are not trying to strike down the laws which try to protect working women; we are trying to expand the laws to the whole of the work force."

THE MAIN REASON that pro-ERA libertarians believe the ERA would not extend the government further into private enterprise seems to be its wording which outlaws only discriminatory "state action." Judicial interpretation, however, has traditionally treated many private-sector activities as governmental. A private-sector activity may have the same legal status as a governmental activity whenever it is connected with government through a subsidy or state procedure — such as all

guise of broadening it. The ERA will invalidate all the legislation, hundreds of pieces of it, which has been adopted over the last hundred years to permit a semblance of equality which has been denied women down through the ages."

So let's take seriously the protestations of legal scholars and legislators who say that the ERA applies only to the actions of government. The Senate Judiciary Committee report on the ERA states, "The amendment would restrict only governmental action, and would not apply to purely private action." And Ruth Bader Ginsburg, professor at Columbia University Law School, also emphasizes that the ERA restricts government action, explaining, "Constitutional guarantees of even-handed treatment do not control conduct in the private sector."

THE CONSTITUTION as originally written protected the rights of white men. Women and black men were not intended to be included. Laws discriminating against blacks are no longer accepted as a matter of course. Now it's time for us to say that laws discriminating against women are not a matter of human nature either — women are born with natural rights, too. Let's support a move to strike down these restrictive laws because we stand for maximum freedom for everyone.

In the essay "On Reclaiming America's Unique Political Tradition" in *The Libertarian Alternative*, Tibor Machan asks the very important question: "How do we reinstate individualism as the guiding

(continued on page 14)

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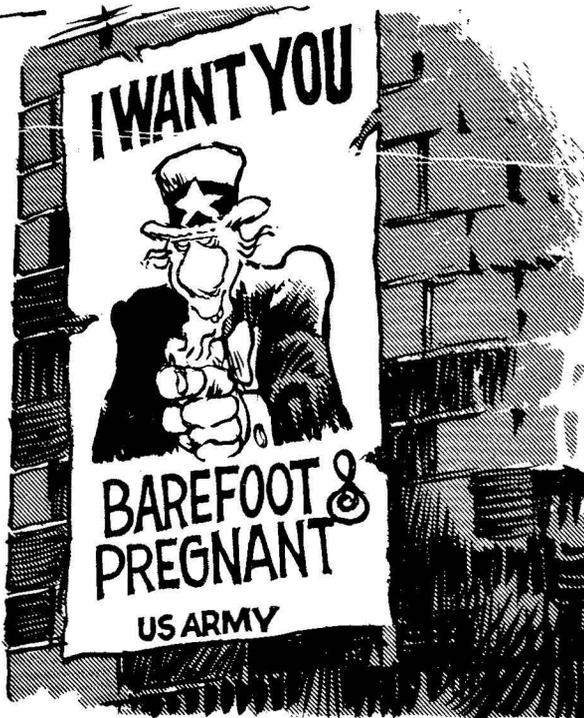
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political theory within our society? Or, how do we reclaim the American political tradition?"

And he answers, "The American political tradition requires an ethical base . . . We must make the difficult, strenuous, patient, and *personal* effort to explain to people that *they* indeed have the right to *their* lives, liberty and the pursuit of happiness - and that no other person has the right to theirs, nor do they have the right to anyone else's. As the prime moral duty, service to society is plainly incompatible with this program. The valuing of oneself is a prerequisite to upholding a political system which values each individual equally in the eyes of the law."

BUT WOMEN all over the country have been making this difficult, strenuous, patient, and personal effort, in small groups. It's called consciousness raising. It is precisely the value of service to others, of thinking of oneself only (as Betty Friedan puts it) as "being Jimmy's mother or John's wife," that is questioned in these groups.

More than that, many women have challenged not only ingrained ethical assumptions but ingrained economic assumptions when they emerged from these consciousness-raising groups to support the Equal Rights Amendment. Women who have rejected the argument that on the free market they will be exploited by greedy employers (an argument that the supposedly free-market Ronald Reagan revived during last year's campaign); women who see that a minimum wage law for women keeps women out of the labor market; women who were willing to join



egalitarianism." Why don't we take the same approach to equal rights for men and women?

THE DISTINCTION between equality before the law and egalitarianism is usually blurred in discussion today. Are libertarians willing to see the first scuttled because some people confuse it with the second? Let us rather seize on the ERA as a weapon with which to articulate this difference.

Sure, there's a risk that the concept of equality before the law could be distorted and misused. There's a risk that the concept of *liberty* might be distorted and misused. The stronger we become politically, the more we can lessen these risks.

debate

(continued from page 13)

schools and any business using government courts to enforce contracts - or when it is responsible for a "public" function, such as a shopping center.

Employment, education, public accommodations, bequest, and social, recreational or fraternal associations would all fall within the definition of "state action", according to the *Yale Law Journal*. Examples of how the ERA might impact on private activities include:

colleges not aid, house or cooperate educationally with single-sex social, recreational, or fraternal associations.

COURT CASES abound in which private activities have been "interpreted" as state actions. The notion that the ERA would not affect private-sector functions is sheer unsupportable fantasy.

Much of the ERA's popularity with libertarians comes from its wording, which sounds good. Equality of rights under just law is almost a description of libertarianism. But such words do not exist in a vacuum; they have a political context, and it is in this context that dictates their meaning. During slavery debates in the United States over a century ago, Southern pro-slavery advocates were fond of denouncing the North for interfering with a Southerner's right to use and dispose of his own property. But in context, the property referred to was other human beings, slaves! Clearly, we must look beyond the surface of the libertarian-sounding phrase "equal rights" in order to understand its actual meaning and legal consequence within the context of today's political scene.

MANY libertarians see the ERA as a sincere attempt to correct injustice. Even if this were undeniably the case, we must separate ends from means. Libertarians may well share some of the goals of modern feminists.

But approving of a goal says nothing about proper strategy. Two men may have the same goal of obtaining money - one digs ditches while the other burglarizes cars. In some sense, the difference is merely a matter of using alternate strategies to achieve the same goal. Libertarians, it is hoped, see beyond this surface difference and realize that *how* one achieves a goal - one's strategy - is an ethical issue in and of itself.

SINCE the Levellers of the 16th century,

"Sure, there's a risk that the concept of equality before the law could be distorted and misused. There's a risk that the concept of liberty might be distorted and misused. The stronger we become politically, the more we can lessen these risks."

"Women are human beings, and consequently have all the natural rights that any human beings can have. They have just as good a right to make laws as men have, and no better; and this is just no right at all."
-Lysander Spooner

with employers to support the lifting of the ban on women's working hours in California.

THIS is not to imply that feminists are all individualists - they are not. There is a great deal of automatic reliance on government in the women's movement, just as there is in the culture at large. In every area of life, the libertarian has to explain carefully to the American people that the issue is government power. That we support moves to reduce government regulation and control, and oppose moves to increase it.

Libertarians have had to become highly skilled at drawing distinctions between legal-political moves which advocate increasing government power and those which advocate returning some power to the citizens - even though we are always aware of the inert momentum of the bureaucratic power structure, looking for something to enforce.

We don't stop saying "economic freedom" to present-day liberals even though we know that they may respond, "Of course. Enforce the antitrust laws." We say instead, "Let us explain to you that economic freedom doesn't mean economic

WHO SAID CONSERVATIVES OPPOSE BIG GOVERNMENT?

No one, but no one, is more conservative than the Texas Farm Bureau. At the TFB's annual convention in San Antonio, farmers and ranchers passed resolutions in favor of cutting back welfare spending, repealing the windfall profits tax, requiring voters to be able to read and write English, prohibiting unionization of public employees, and opposing one-man one-vote apportionment of the Texas Senate. So naturally when a resolution came along that called for the government to get out of farming and ranching, including an end to agricultural price supports, they were all for it, right? Er, uh, well, that's as unAmerican as low beef prices.

-Texas Monthly

If libertarians enter into the fight to ratify the ERA and talk about the principle of equality before the law which this Amendment stands for, we may actually find a majority of the people in this country listening to the argument. And then we can fight in the future any move to expand the interpretation of this Amendment - and of the rest of the Constitution - in ways that interfere with individual freedom.

(Joan Kennedy Taylor is Senior Editor of Libertarian Review and Vice President of the Association of Libertarian Feminists. Membership in the ALF is available for \$7/year from ALF, 225 Lafayette Street, Room 1212, New York, N.Y. 10012. © Copyright Joan Kennedy Taylor 1981.)

- (a) *Insurance companies*: They would not be able to give lower insurance premiums to women based on their greater life expectancy, observes Paul Freund in the *Harvard Law Review*;
- (b) *Private schools*: At the Missouri Senate Committee ERA hearing, the attorney representing the ERA agreed that it would remove tax-exempt status from single-sex private schools;
- (c) *Religious institutions*: Churches requiring separation of the sexes (Catholic nuns or Jesuit monks) would be unconstitutional; *SAYS YARE OR IT'S WAD?*
- (d) *Fraternal associations*: HEW rules interpreting Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 required that

libertarianism has had a rich tradition of opposing the statist "solution" to social problems. The time-honored strategies of education, civil disobedience, and the repeal of unjust laws have been its mainstay.

When Lysander Spooner wrote his article "Against Woman Suffrage" in the nineteenth century newspaper *Liberty*, he declared: "Women are human beings, and consequently have all the natural rights that any human being can have. They have just as good a right to make laws as men have, and no better; and that is just no right at all."

SPOONER instructed women to go to the State House and throw the statute books on the fire. If women, on a state-by-state or city-by-city level organized to systematically disobey and/or repeal unjust laws, freedom would be substantially increased.

Individual rights *cannot* be increased through a government's amendment to a Constitution which, in the words of the libertarian Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, is "an agreement with death and a covenant with hell."



Wendy McElroy visited Texas recently to discuss "Why Libertarian Feminists View Socialist Feminists as Reactionaries" at the Politics of Principle Conference.

NEXT ISSUE

Coming in the Winter **FREE TEXAS:**
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George Bush reveals more than he knows

A
FREE TEXAS
Exclusive!

EDITOR'S NOTE: As this special Controversies issue of FREE TEXAS makes clear, "everybody in this movement is in disagreement!" - to paraphrase the editorial slogan of *New Libertarian* magazine. While libertarians debate our own strategic and ideological differences - here in FREE TEXAS and in the Platform/Bylaw disputes and faction fights of this year's Libertarian National Convention - we should not lose sight of who the real enemy is: not other Libertarians, but statism, and its Republicrat apologists.

To help LP10 delegates recover such a perspective, FREE TEXAS is proud to present an exclusive, never-before-published interview with the Vice President of the United States.

Few politicians are as adept at apologizing for statism as George Bush, who just may have revealed more than he imagined, when he consented to be interviewed by FREE TEXAS Contributing Editor Robert Hamilton while campaigning in Texas last year. In his remarks, Bush reveals a profound contempt for human rights, as he

hypocritically pays lip service to human rights abroad, while ignoring the human rights of young Americans on the crucial issue of domestic slavery: the involuntary servitude of the military draft. Bush also reveals a naked lust for power - rather than abolishing the Department of Energy, he wants to take it over for his own bureaucratic purposes! Typically, like so many Republicrats, Bush exhibits a real desire, not to *repeal* Big Government, but to *reform* the existing apparatus of the State to his own political ends. Finally, the

Vice President demonstrates an appalling ignorance on such vital issues as economic theory and nuclear power - particularly appalling for a politician who, sooner than we might expect, could well become the next President of the United States.

That's not such an unlikely prospect, either, especially when one considers Bush's rise to power. Except for a short stint as a Houston Congressman, Bush has managed, in his long career, to avoid the democratic route to electoral success altogether. After losing two bids to become Senator from

Texas, Bush - whose contribution to the literature of political autobiography should have been "The Official Preppy Handbook" - resorted to his Ivy League

"old boy" network of Eastern Establishment power brokers to win the political "successes" he has long craved. First, Bush won appointment as UN ambassador, then Republican National Committee Chair, then chief U.S. liaison to China, then Director of the Central Intelligence Agency - finally achieving his near apotheosis when Reagan picked him to round out last year's Republican ticket.

Last month Bush returned to Texas, this time not to campaign for himself, but to campaign for Reagan's economic program. His message had not changed: Bush's Republican rhetoric about tax "cuts" and "deregulation" is becoming an increasingly transparent mask for the same old statist status quo.



FREE TEXAS: In 1976, there was a man - Harold Hughes of Iowa - who withdrew from the presidential race because, he said, his religious convictions would prevent him from pushing the button to launch a nuclear attack. Could you do it? Could you drop the bombs?

BUSH: I can do whatever is necessary to defend the oath I take under the Constitution. Anything that's necessary.

FREE TEXAS: As past director of the CIA, you're on record as opposing further attempts to limit the activities of intelligence agencies. Do you believe covert and paramilitary operations can be an effective force in American foreign policy?

BUSH: I am one who helped draft an executive order to be sure that abuses in the past not be repeated and that the rights of Americans be respected. I am one who testified openly and over and over again before Congress. And then I stood up and said, "It's time to stop kicking around the CIA and the FBI, and it's time to strengthen these institutions." Everybody always thinks it's something evil, [but] covert and paramilitary [operations] can be strong support for friends.

FREE TEXAS: Republicans and Democrats are always saying that the security of "American interests" is the most important feature of U.S. foreign policy. Just what is meant by the term "American interests", and to what lengths would you go to defend which "interests"?

BUSH: I won't go into what I'd do in any specific trouble spot in the world; it's too broad a question to give you a good answer to, because you have a changing world. We are the only credible deterrent to a very aggressive Soviet Union and we've got to act that way. We're acting impotent, and so the best thing we can do is keep commitments, restructure our strategic alliances, be able to project force, and offer a compassion and a respect for human rights that will continue to give us the respect that we deserve. Remember that I speak not as a Republican rubber-pea circuit orator, but one who prepared the national intelligence estimates for this country for one fascinating year. I think that it's all trending in the wrong direction.

FREE TEXAS: Do you endorse compulsory draft registration and the return of military conscription?

BUSH: I have not made up my mind whether we need a draft, but if we did, my concept would be a fair draft - drafting everybody, not being able to get your Ph.D. while some ghetto kid grabbed a rifle. But I do know that registration is needed now.

FREE TEXAS: Republicans are calling for hefty increases in the military budget, while at the same time scoring campaign

points against Big Government, bureaucracy, and the federal budget in general. What is your position on the military budget?

BUSH: The military budget - we have got to turn around the trend that has taken place. I would look for fat and waste and excess in the military, but I would not give you a percentage figure at this point. The

FREE TEXAS: Several prominent Americans - including a couple of your Republican opponents - have called for the abolition of the Department of Energy. Would a Bush administration submit the necessary legislation to abolish the department?

BUSH: I don't believe that you're going to abolish it - it's like unscrambling an omelet.

A FREE TEXAS INTERVIEW

numbers I've given you would increase defense spending between \$5 and \$8 billion a year . . . and I don't believe - I don't agree with the doomsayers who say this makes a new arms race. Why? Because they're already in one.

FREE TEXAS: Federal spending has now grown to over \$600 billion. How would you deal with the problem of skyrocketing federal budgets?

BUSH: Much of the growth is built into the budget itself. What a president can do is hold the line on it.

What I would do is limit its growth, and try to be sure that it did, you know, did the things I wanted it to do.

FREE TEXAS: President Nixon once said, "We're all Keynesians now."

BUSH: I'm not a Keynesian. Keynesian economics is discredited and what we need is a return to the fundamentals of economics.

FREE TEXAS: A return to classical or monetarist economics?

BUSH: Why don't I - I'll tell you what I'll do: I'll give you a copy of my speech to the

National Press Club, and that'll tell you the kind of economics I favor. Then I will not be getting into answering on labels that I don't fully understand. See, what I've learned in economics is different labels mean different things to different people.

FREE TEXAS: With inflation the way it is and with the economy's problems, can any one man as President actually do anything?

BUSH: Yeah. I'm an optimist. We've not tried the fundamentals. The fundamentals haven't failed us; we've not tried them in economics. I support an economic program that restricts the growth of spending to a figure of about 6.8%, cuts through the regulation excesses, and stimulates real investment in productivity by a small tax cut.

FREE TEXAS: The federal government midwived the nuclear industry thirty years ago and has nurtured it since. Recently, some people have called for the repeal of the Price-Anderson Act. What do you think about that?

BUSH: Tell me what it does.

FREE TEXAS: The Price-Anderson Act limits liability in the event of a nuclear accident.

BUSH: Limits it to who?

FREE TEXAS: Limits the amount of damages a company might be liable for, with the taxpayers picking up the rest of it.

BUSH: Well, why should it be limited. I mean, I don't understand. I just don't know anything about the Price-Anderson Act . . . Price-Anderson? You mean, you mean it's in effect now?

FREE TEXAS: Yes.

BUSH: I have no position on the Price-Anderson Act.

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Can elected officials be consistent libertarians?

By Jeffrey Rogers Hummel

The ultimate goal of the Libertarian Party, most activists would agree, is to spread libertarian ideas through education and persuasion. An important, although not generally acknowledged, logical implication of this goal is that LP candidates should intentionally avoid winning election to office.

VERY FEW VOTERS are consistent libertarians yet, and no one should reasonably expect to convert them *en masse* overnight. Under these circumstances, an LP candidate can only gain the support of a majority of voters by focusing exclusively upon issues where the voters already agree or, even worse, by not focusing on issues at all. If on the other hand, the candidate's goal is education and persuasion, the campaign must necessarily focus on some issues where the voters disagree, even though doing so will insure defeat at the polls.

There are plenty of libertarian positions that most voters find objectionable. The ideological constraint of making all libertarian campaigns educational and persuasive does not require that LP candidates devote all their attention to these positions. It does require, however, that LP candidates take hard-core, consistent stands on all issues, always tying them in with libertarian principles, and never ducking hard questions, even those about issues which may not be the main focus of the campaign.

Furthermore, any LP candidate who gains increasing voter support and faces a serious prospect of winning should alter the campaign's emphasis, giving greater attention to some of the more controversial libertarian positions in order to bring the libertarian vote total down to a respectable minority percentage. Let the other parties implement the policies that libertarians have already popularized. In this way, the LP can remain on the educational cutting edge of a radical libertarian revolution.

IN OTHER WORDS, if all LP candidates fulfill the party's ideological long-term goals, the question of whether an elected libertarian can remain consistent will never arise in practice. Unfortunately, in the real world, not all LP candidates will adhere to such an ideologically exacting standard. Even those who sincerely try might find themselves - either through miscalculation or some other quirk of fate - inadvertently elected. Thus, while the danger posed by electoral victory to an LP candidate's consistency will hopefully remain rare, it cannot be avoided altogether.

One easy way that an elected libertarian can escape any possible inconsistency is to resign. If libertarians could be absolutely certain that the office would remain vacant, this course of action would have a lot to recommend it strategically. Even when the vacancy will be filled, the elected libertarian should never completely rule out this option.



"Power corrupts . . . I can feel it."

IF THE ELECTED libertarian chooses to serve, he or she will face three potential threats to ideological consistency: (1) taking the oath of office, (2) accepting a tax-supported salary, and (3) participating in the State's coercive actions. Those libertarians dubious about the value of the LP have, at one time or another, pointed to each of these three as totally precluding the

in good faith make. Refusing to take the oath would probably bar the libertarian from office and be tantamount to resigning. The elected libertarian could, of course, lie when taking the oath, and since lying is not a form of aggression - especially lying to the State - that would solve the problem.

BUT WHILE solving the problem of consistency, lying would raise the issue of

"If the elected libertarian chooses to serve, he or she will face three potential threats to ideological consistency: (1) taking the oath of office, (2) accepting a tax-supported salary, and (3) participating in the State's coercive actions."

possibility of a consistent libertarian in office. Let us examine each problem to determine what danger, if any, it poses to consistency and what might be done about it.

Every public office requires an oath in which the new official promises to uphold the laws and fulfill the duties of the office. Since the laws and duties in question are often quite unlibertarian, such a promise is one that any consistent libertarian cannot

honesty. How can we trust an LP candidate who is willing to lie to gain office? If the elected libertarian ran a consistent campaign, in which he or she obviously tried to avoid winning at the polls, then the matter of lying when taking the oath of office becomes, I believe, rather trivial.

Nevertheless, a much more satisfactory solution to this problem would be for every elected LP candidate to add a caveat to the end of the oath, stating the he or she will

uphold the laws and fulfill the duties "only to the extent that doing so will not violate individual rights," or words to that effect. This would simultaneously eliminate the need to lie and generate some fruitful publicity. Anyone attempting to bar a libertarian from holding office for adding such a qualification would be put in the position of explicitly advocating the violation of individual rights.

THE PROBLEM of tax-supported salaries is a bit more difficult, because a strong case can be made that accepting stolen tax money *ipso facto* makes the elected libertarian an accomplice to aggression. In a recent issue of *Caliber*, Less Antman offers some interesting arguments to refute this case, but the question remains controversial in libertarian circles. Libertarians seem unable even to agree on the moral propriety of accepting welfare money. Clearly, some uses of State resources, such as driving on public roads and mailing letters at the post office, are innocent, but Antman's arguments would defend the rectitude not only of accepting government salaries but also of accepting federal matching campaign funds.

Drawing the dividing line between those uses of State resources which are legitimate and those which are not is a thorny theoretical problem. It hinges upon defining precisely what actions make an individual an accomplice to aggression. Most libertarians intuitively feel that the driver of the getaway car, even if not present in the bank during the robbery, is an accomplice to the crime. On the other hand, if the bank robbers escape in a taxi, the cab driver is innocent even if he or she happens to get paid as much of the stolen loot as the getaway car driver. Yet the principle upon which this moral distinction rests remains unarticulated. If the cab driver's innocence is contingent *solely* upon ignorance of the crime, then *all* employees of the State stand indicted, because they all know that taxation is the source of their income.

THE FACT that one does not necessarily have to be an accomplice in order to come into the possession of stolen goods that ought to be returned to the just owner complicates the issue further. Libertarian land reform, for instance, requires the restitution of stolen land even by parties who voluntarily acquired the land without knowing that it was stolen. Until libertarian theoreticians give us a good definition for accomplice that we can apply to the State apparatus, and until they work out in greater detail the principles of just restitution, the moral status of receiving a tax-supported salary will remain in some doubt.

Even if libertarians eventually agree that accepting a government salary involves no moral problems, accepting the salary still probably foregoes a valuable strategic opportunity. If all elected libertarians regularly refused their salaries, it would effectively drive home the libertarian view

A special message to LP10 delegates from

ROGER GARY

LP of TEXAS Execom Member

"The Only Announced Non-Candidate"



of taxation.

UNFORTUNATELY, during the immediate future, this course seems confined to elected libertarians with an independent means of financial support. Any attempt by an elected libertarian to survive on voluntary contributions would run into numerous legal obstacles. Libertarians, therefore, should give a high priority to changing the laws that prevent elected officials from receiving voluntary gifts. Until they are repealed, these laws also give elected libertarians a chance to engage in some educational civil disobedience, especially if libertarians are completely above board about their actions.

A second alternative would be for elected libertarians to offer to all taxpayers within the electoral district their prorated share of the official's salary. The process for reclaiming the stolen tax money could be made very simple, and the elected libertarian could view those taxpayers who declined to exercise their option as having made voluntary contributions. Again, the publicity generated would help compensate for the campaign's educational failure demonstrated by the election victory.

Therefore, any legislator who votes for an unjust law is not simply an accomplice to aggression but is in fact *one of the actual aggressors!* Fortunately, any libertarian legislator can easily avoid this kind of criminal behavior simply by voting against all unjust laws or by not voting at all. This means that the libertarian legislator must never vote in favor of a tax, a regulation, or an increase in state power. No compromise or equivocation is possible.

FOR A LIBERTARIAN elected to executive office, the problem is more complex. Very few elected executive offices - sheriff being one of the few exceptions - involve the direct exercise of coercion. Those State agents who employ force directly - such as police officers, IRS agents, and army personnel - are generally appointed rather than elected.

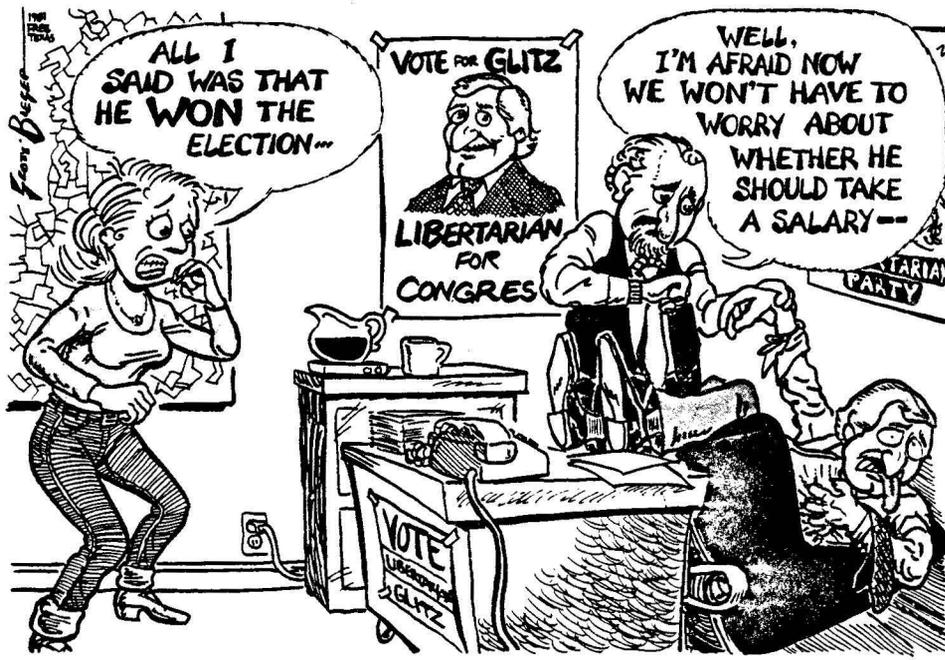
To what extent, if any, the rest of the members of the executive branch are guilty of aggression depends, as in the case of government salaries, on a precise definition of the concept of accomplice. Most libertarians, however, would consider guilty the person who plans and organizes a bank robbery, even if that person does not physically participate in the robbery.

"Even in office, the Libertarian must still battle the State with ideas. The impact that a few elected Libertarians can have on the actual implementation of State policy is negligible compared with their potential ideological impact, if they dare to remain consistent."

THE ABILITY of an elected libertarian to avoid participating in the State's coercive actions depends partially upon the branch of government. The legislative branch is the threat-making organ of the State. When a law is enacted, it describes the illegal activity and prescribes the coercive penalty. In effect, the act of passing a law is a direct threat against the citizenry. Those who are not intimidated by the legislature's threat as embodied in the law will find themselves physically attacked by the executive and judicial branches.

Similarly, all libertarians must agree that any elected official involved in the coercive chain of command is guilty of aggression.

CONSEQUENTLY, if elected libertarian executives are to remain ideologically consistent, they must never order, authorize, or knowingly permit any coercive action by those serving under their direction. Admittedly, an elected executive will probably find this requirement unattainable without being subject to rapid impeachment. In such a case, the elected libertarian should give resignation



especially serious consideration. Only chief executives, through an extensive use of the power of executive pardon to eviscerate the impact of all unlibertarian laws, have much hope of escaping this dilemma. For instance, if a libertarian President announced that he or she would henceforth unconditionally pardon all tax evaders, government financing would at a single stroke become voluntary. For a libertarian President to do any less would be betrayal.

A libertarian elected to a judicial position, to avoid participating in the State's coercion, must simply decide all cases according to libertarian principles, regardless of what the law says. Not only must a libertarian judge acquit all of those accused of violating unjust laws, but he or she must never acquiesce to the use of the power of arrest or subpoena. For the foreseeable future, libertarian judges, like libertarian executives, face a dim prospect of remaining both consistent and unimpeached.

CAN AN ELECTED libertarian remain

ideologically consistent? The first part of the answer is that, unless the libertarian candidate fails to manage the campaign properly, the question need never be put to the test. If however, through some mistake, the libertarian candidate does win the election, then ideological consistency is theoretically feasible. Turning that theoretical possibility into reality, as we have seen, will require the courage to confront hard problems in an imaginative way.

Many LP activists will object to my solutions as dooming elected Libertarians to impotence. They fail to realize that even in office, the libertarian must still primarily battle the State with ideas. The impact that a few elected Libertarians can have on the actual implementation of State policy is negligible compared with their potential ideological impact, if they dare to remain consistent.

(Jeffrey Rogers Hummel was the LP candidate for State Representative, District 37-D, in the 1980 elections, winning 5.1% of the vote.)

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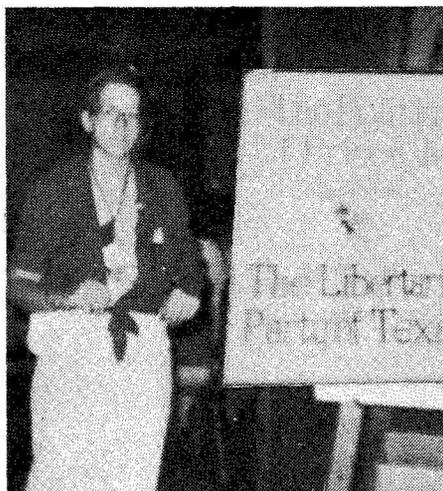
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Austin activist Jane Henson worked hard during the Politics of Principle Conference managing the registration table and directing the staff.

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By David Henderson

Usually when I write for libertarian audiences, I offer economic arguments against government intervention into our lives.

I HAVE NEVER before written on strategies for achieving a free society. I do so now because I think we libertarians are not as self-consciously concerned with strategy as we are with our political positions. We have honed our ideology to a fine point; our LP Platform is a labor of love that develops from convention to convention - but our development of effective strategies has not kept pace.

Yet most of the conflicts between libertarians in the party have been over strategy on some level. Just look at the areas of conflict between libertarians over the last few years - starting with the nuclear power controversy which took place in the fall of 1979.

Although libertarians are united in their support of a free market in energy, recognizing, in the words of the LP Platform, "the great mischief that a host of government interferences have caused in the energy industry", many prominent libertarians spent the fall of 1979 denouncing other libertarians for their position on nuclear power. And yet when the fracas subsided, I felt that there were really no substantive differences over the issue of public policy with respect to nuclear energy. The differences, other than those of personality, were over the proper strategy for presenting the case against government intervention in the nuclear industry (and incidentally, over different guesses about the viability of nuclear power, absent government intervention).

OR TAKE another issue on which there have been differences among libertarians: the Equal Rights Amendment. The pro-ERA side argues that the ERA will give the Supreme Court no more powers against private discrimination that it now holds, but will mandate an end to discrimination by government. The anti-ERA side argues that the ERA will be interpreted by a non-libertarian Supreme Court to enforce laws against private discrimination against women. Again, there has been no substantive difference between the two sides, both of which uphold the principle of individual rights without regard to sex. Clearly, the ERA controversy arises through disagreements of strategy and prediction, not of principle.

Or take a third area of controversy: the Clark campaign. Clark's strongest critics argued that he sold out by failing to be radical enough. Clark's defenders argued that it was necessary to present a moderate libertarian program in order to keep the public - most of whom are not libertarian - tuned in. Again, no necessary difference in principle; rather, a difference of opinion over the most effective strategy of achieving the free society.

I SAY no necessary difference in principle on purpose: I do not wish to deny that strategies must be principled. My point is that one could hold either of these positions on strategy and still stick with libertarian principles.

Because strategy has been at the root of many of the conflicts between libertarians, it is important that libertarians in general become involved in these debates. So far, the chief figures in the debate have been what could roughly be called "professional libertarians". But just as war is too important to be left to the generals, strategy is too important to be left to the professional strategists.

Most of you reading this article are not professional libertarians. In one sense, this puts you at a disadvantage in formulating strategy, since you make your living in areas that have little to do with libertarianism. But in another sense, it gives you a big advantage over "professional libertarians" because, unlike them, you spend a large part of your day in contact with non-libertarians. This keeps you grounded, so to speak, so that you don't

Thinking about Libertarian Strategy

imagine, as some professional libertarians seem to imagine at times, that the debate between libertarians is occurring on a stage with all of America watching.

NOTICE that I did not say that being with non-libertarians makes you aware of who the enemy really is, because I do not mean to imply that non-libertarians are our enemy. In fact, one of my messages is that they are not the enemy - and that thinking in terms of enemies is bound to lead to failure.

Let me ask you the following question: Do you have a friend who is not a libertarian? Now, do you think your friend is a bad person? Do you think that his or her doubts about libertarianism make him or her less worthy than you?

Now probably most of you have talked to your friend about libertarianism. Have you found that you convinced your friend more

Nevertheless, even though the strategy will vary from case to case, we can formulate some basics that work and some basics that don't work. Rather than formulate them directly, let me ask you some questions.

When are you most effective at persuading people? Do you persuade people when you attack them as evil, or when you make clear throughout the discussion that your moral evaluation of them does not depend on their position on the issue under discussion? Do you persuade people when you try to start from a common ground - an area of agreement - and work from there, or when you introduce your ideas independent of their particular context, values or interests - or even choose to start with issues that you know will rub your friend the wrong way? Do you persuade people when you concentrate on attacking non-libertarian

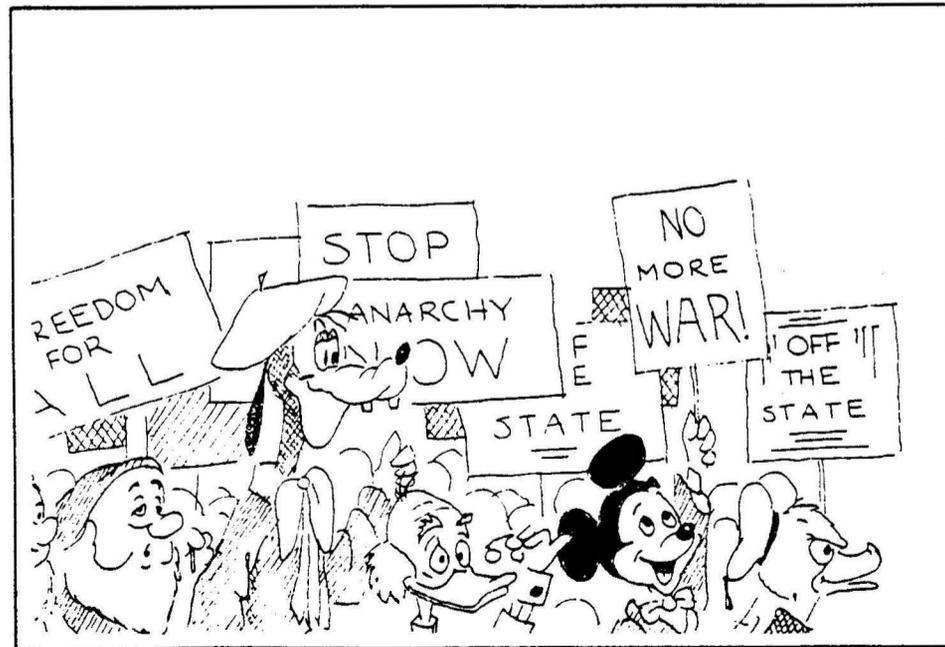
"Most of the conflicts between libertarians in the party have been over strategy. Just as war is too important to be left to the generals, strategy is too important to be left to the professional strategists."

on moral grounds, more on practical grounds, or in some other way? I suspect that if you think back you'll find that the method that worked varied. Some of your friends became convinced just by being around you, while some of your friends' acceptance of libertarian ideas sped up as you laid off - I've noticed the latter particularly within families.

THE FACT that the methods which convince people vary with the people doing the convincing and the people being convinced suggests that there is no one correct strategy for reaching people. Each libertarian must judge each strategy according to how it fits with his own values and inclinations and those of the people he is trying to reach.

political figures or when you present libertarian alternatives to their statist proposals? Do you persuade people when you attack the motives of those whose ideas you disagree with, or when you show how libertarian ideals are consistent with their stated motives? Do you persuade people when you fail to listen to the views of the person you're trying to persuade and refuse to acknowledge their arguments, or when you listen and acknowledge their arguments? Do you persuade people when you admit that you might be wrong or when you deny that possibility?

IN LIGHT of your answers to those questions, consider the pattern of thinking revealed in the following statement:



"Every great Libertarian movement has, so far, been sold out by its own leaders. This is a matter of historical record - and the rise of utilitarianism as a replacement for a natural rights theory of individualism has been documented, and analyzed, by libertarian scholars in the pages of innumerable books and journals. The history of our movement - which unknown to many Libertarians, extends much further back in time than the publication date of Atlas Shrugged - is a history of one betrayal after another, a whole series of watery compromises culminating in the triumph of modern statism."

Examine some of the words used: "sold out", "betrayal", "watery compromises". What possibility does the author not consider? The possibility that the people who "sold out" became aware of intellectual difficulties associated with their libertarian position and followed the truth wherever they thought it led. Are you beginning to see a pattern? In the world of the author, there is no room for disagreement between principled people. Only people with his views are principled. The rest have sold out. And Murray Rothbard, the author of the above quote, is far from the only libertarian who thinks this way.

Let me emphasize that I am not challenging the good intentions of the people who attack those who disagree with them. But whatever their intent, their effect is to lull their listeners or readers into ignoring the two possibilities: (1) that people might disagree with them because they might not have the same context of experience and facts, or because they might not have considered other arguments, and (2) that those people who disagree just might be right.

WE ARE MUCH more likely to get the correct answers with intelligent and honest communication.

Just as many libertarians have made virulent attacks on other libertarians over issues of strategy, many libertarians have attacked fellow travellers in the Reagan administration on differences in strategy. The fellow travellers I have in mind are Reagan administration officials like domestic policy advisor Martin Anderson and Reagan advisors like Milton Friedman, Alan Greenspan, and Thomas Sowell. Such men may differ with most of us on foreign policy. But they are also not involved a whit in foreign policy decisions in the Reagan administration. Instead, they are involved in domestic economic policy and have done a great deal to shift Reagan in the direction of larger budget cuts and deregulation.

Partly in response to their prodding, Reagan has already deregulated the price of oil, repealed the Carter-imposed restrictions on the temperatures to which we can heat our buildings in winter and cool our buildings in summer, abolished the Council on Wage and Price Stability's "guidelines" on wages and prices, and suspended implementation of a number of regulations. These free market-oriented advisers have been involved in the push for reductions in milk support subsidies, public works jobs, foreign aid, veterans' benefits, subsidies to the arts, National Science Foundation subsidies to academics, export subsidies that go to companies like Boeing, and many, many other programs. Some of them also recently criticized Reagan for his actions to limit auto imports from Japan.

ONE MIGHT have expected libertarians to rejoice that such sacred cows are being taken on - because once people see how well these cuts work, they will be more willing to cut further. And many libertarians have rejoiced. But libertarian support has not been unanimous.

A recent issue of the LP Radical Caucus' Vanguard referred to Anderson, Friedman, Greenspan, and Sowell as "intellectual hit men", as "errand boys for Pentagon socialism", as "flunkies who will try to put a human face on Pentagon socialism", and as advisors who provide a free market "cover" for the national security/military bureaucracy.

Apparently, it is inconceivable to the

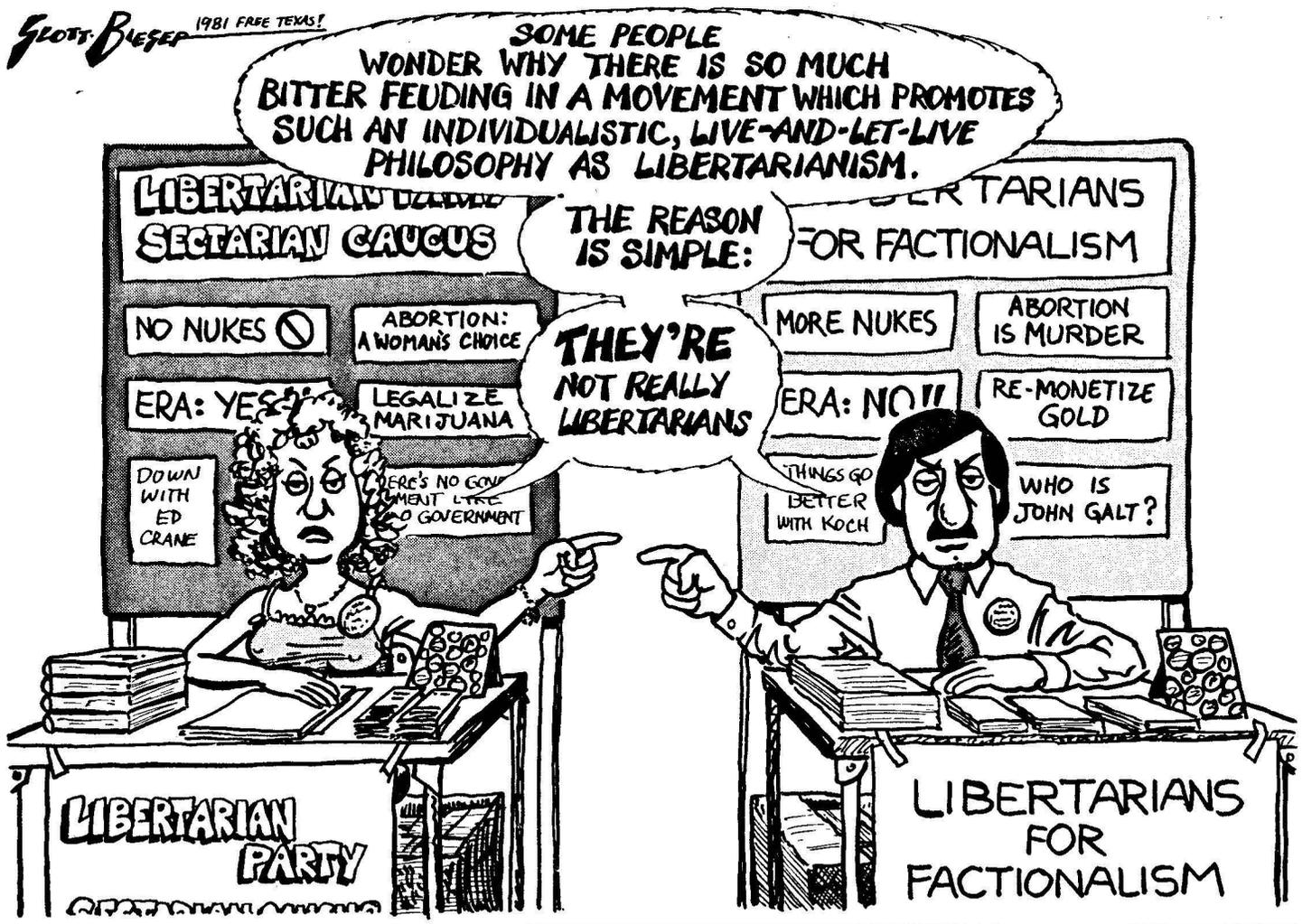
LPRC that Martin Anderson – one of the strongest opponents of military conscription on the American political scene – might think he can persuade Reagan to avoid a draft, and that that is worth being in the Reagan administration for. It's not as if Anderson doesn't have some evidence for his position, either. Anderson first joined the Nixon campaign in 1967, having persuaded Nixon that he should call for abolition of the draft during the 1968 election. Anderson's first memo to Nixon was on the draft and his *primary* argument was that the draft violated individual rights. Anderson joined the first Nixon administration in order to have a role in dealing with the members of the President's Commission on the All-Volunteer Force, which came out unanimously in favor of abolishing the draft. And ultimately, Nixon did abolish the draft. Some flunkey!

Many libertarians claim that Reagan wants only to reduce the *growth* of government but not to cut its *size*. Although federal spending would rise from \$662 billion in fiscal year 1981 to \$696 billion in fiscal year 1982, government spending would fall in real terms. If Reagan had had his original budget approved, the size of the federal government would have decreased by over 30 billion dollars in real terms – or by over 5%, assuming an inflation rate of 11%. This would be the largest decrease in spending in any year since the end of World War II, and the largest percent decrease in any year since the end of the Korean War.

THE TIMES are ripe for acceptance of libertarian ideas. We should be in the forefront of the push for Reagan's cuts and should push for greater cuts. We should take arguments that Reagan and Stockman are articulating, and show people what the implications of those arguments are for other issues that Reagan does not touch.

For instance, when Reagan decided to postpone the compulsory installation of air bags in cars, he stated that the government should not be in the business of protecting people from themselves. We should write letters and articles in local newspapers and popular magazines seconding Reagan's argument and carrying it further than he does: to legalization of gambling, drugs, and prostitution and to abolition of Social Security, the Food and Drug Administration, and OSHA – to mention just a few issues.

WE should also argue for Reagan's budget cuts with libertarian arguments that Reagan does not use. For example, Reagan wants to cut the budget of the Drug Enforcement Agency, the federal agency that subsidized the Mexican government to spray paraquat on Mexican marijuana, and that intercepts drugs coming into the United States. But his only grounds for



cutting the DEA are budgetary. We should take the initiative and give other grounds: the DEA's many violations of human rights and individual freedom, the burglaries and violent crimes that drug prohibition inevitably engenders, and so on.

We have a great opportunity to get maximum libertarian mileage out of the

energy regulation, and then discussed the impact of regulation on airlines, trucking, and other areas. The audience was receptive, and I could tell they thought I was a typical Reaganite. Then I went on to discuss regulation of drugs by the FDA, and from there to the regulation of recreational drugs by the DEA.

makes the price high, people who use heroin can't afford to eat as well; disease – since needles are illegal, people are forced to reuse old unsanitary needles, which cause disease.

AND THEN something amazing happened. The businessmen were looking at me with rapt attention – some of them were nodding their heads in agreement – they were seeing my point. It was so clear that they were changing their minds that I completely lost track of my thoughts.

We can make a difference – by reaching out to people, by accepting the fact that perfectly good people can have non-libertarian ideas, by starting from points of agreement and working from there.

And then, who knows? We might achieve freedom in our time.

(David Henderson is a free market economist and Visiting Assistant Professor of Economics at the University of Santa Clara. He writes frequently for libertarian magazines and economics journals.)

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"We can make a difference – by reaching out to people, by accepting the fact that perfectly good people can have non-libertarian ideas, by starting from points of agreement and working from there."

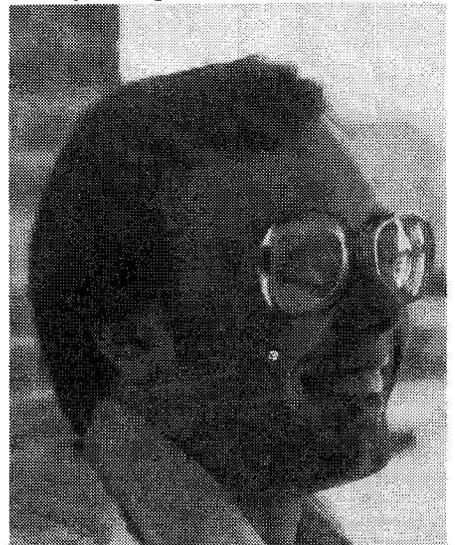
popular support for Reagan's budget cuts. I am constantly meeting people who are in favor of Reagan's cuts and who are receptive to my arguments for further cuts.

RECENTLY, I gave a speech on regulation to a group of businessmen at the University of Santa Clara in California, where I am a Visiting Assistant Professor. I began by pointing out the consequences of

Soon I felt I had softened them up enough to go with the hard one: legalization of heroin. I pointed out that all the problems people associate with heroin are due to its being illegal: crime – because prohibition makes heroin sales risky, the price skyrockets to reflect that risk, and many people must turn to theft to support their habit; malnutrition – since prohibition

(Continued from page 10)

on possible future "theme" issues and ideas for new features. What **FREE TEXAS** theme issues would you most enjoy reading in 1982? To express your opinion, you can request a Reader's Poll by writing **FREE TEXAS**, Box 14181,



David Kelley has been the most professional party treasurer in the history of the LP of Texas.

Austin, TX 78761 . . . **THE WALL PAPER** is a new publication which may be of interest to **FREE TEXAS** readers. An unusual publication, radical in both form and content, the Wall Paper comes out twice a month in a poster-sized sheet. Editor is libertarian **William Van Doren**, who at one time contributed to *Reason* magazine and more recently edited **Arthur Janov's Primal Therapy Newsletter**. Since it has to be experienced to be understood, **FREE TEXAS** readers can obtain a free sample copy simply by writing **The Wall Paper** (3231 Ocean Park Blvd.#112, Santa Monica, CA 90405). Ask for their recent issue attacking politicians! . . .

SPECIAL THANKS to **David Kelley** for his hard work as LP of Texas treasurer for the past year. David has just accepted an exciting job offer in Colorado, and will be leaving Texas after the LP10 Convention. "Our loss is Colorado's gain," said **Honey Lanham**. "David was our best LP treasurer ever, and he has established a precedent that will be difficult to maintain." In fact, Kelley's painstaking attention to the party's fiscal details was so exceptional that once he received a special note from **Kristina Herbert** at national LP headquarters thanking him for his unique efficiency. Kelley has even volunteered to travel across Texas to train his successor before leaving for his new job. Here's at least some small recognition for an outstanding Texas libertarian. We'll miss you, David! . . . **THE LP OF TEXAS** is experimenting with a new system of



choosing the location of future executive committee meetings. For the past year, the LPT Execom has been making a special effort to meet in many different parts of our large state, picking the location and planning the meeting themselves. But now, local county LP groups will have the opportunity to bid for **Execom meetings** in their area. In return for the local group taking responsibility for the details – choosing a hotel, notifying local libertarians, and publicizing the event to the media – the LP Execom will make an effort to share their expertise with local

libertarian activists, offering to set up workshops for candidates, panel discussions on local campaigning tips, film showings and, if appropriate, banquet speakers. As the LPT's 1982 campaign approaches, it is important that Texas libertarians do not pass up any opportunity – such as an Execom meeting – for local organizing and local outreach. Bids should be sent in writing to the LPT Chair as early as possible, preferably 6 months in advance of the proposed meeting. For more information on this new system, contact **Michael Grossberg**.

–Compiled by M.G.

"Domestic oppression is the primary threat to liberty, not war."

By Michael Dunn

To continue the national defense debate with Jeffrey Rogers Hummel, I will address his rejoinder on a point-by-point basis and reserve my general remarks for conclusion.

I welcome Hummel's clarification of his position regarding pacifism, and I concur with him in the belief that defensive and retaliatory force are legitimate. I also agree that defense agencies - or governments - should not coerce their clients - or citizens - in the process of defending them. (His cavil about the "contradiction" of non-coercive government is a hackneyed misrepresentation of minarchism.)

I disagree, however, with Hummel's contention that a defense agency must be constrained from taking actions that might threaten the innocent persons associated with or held hostage by the aggressors.

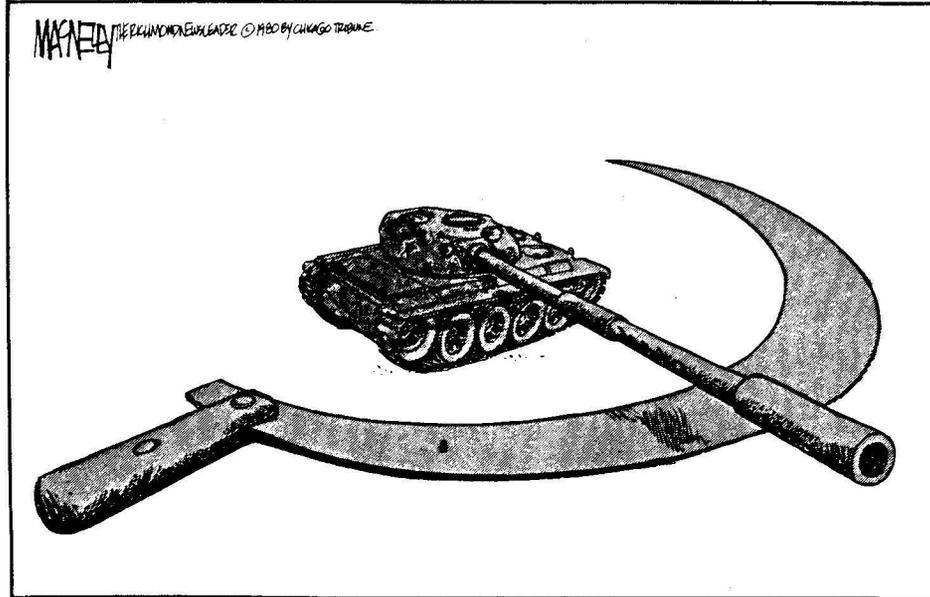
CIVIL LIBERTY is not a birthright; it is the product of a society whose institutions protect and uphold such liberty. Because a defense agency's fundamental obligation is the preservation of the rights of its clientele, it incurs no obligation to protect or preserve the rights of anyone else. However preferable it may be to honor the rights of foreign nationals, this preference should not be allowed to jeopardize a defense agency's fundamental obligation.

War *per se* cannot be purely defensive. Modern weapons make an impregnable defense impossible; a "defensive" war would devolve into a siege, and the aggressor would prevail through attrition of the defenders. The object (and necessity) of retaliation is to destroy the aggressor's power to wage war. Such retaliation may endanger the aggressor's population as the price to be paid for protection of the defense agency's clientele.

BY SAYING this, I do not mean to imply that any justification exists for mass murder as a distinct retaliatory strategy. I am simply pointing out the unpleasant choices imposed on us by the real world. Because an impregnable defense would require an excess of military power and be quite expensive, there is no alternative but to adopt some elements of retaliatory strategy. If we are then faced with the unsavory choice of harming hostage populations, it is arguably *more unacceptable* to refrain from action and thus permit the aggressor to subjugate your own society.

While I would hope that casualties among the aggressor's population could be minimized, I do not think a libertarian society should be paralyzed from protecting *its own rights* out of a misplaced sense of obligation to others.

ON DEFENSE spending, Hummel asserts "almost without exception, the amount that governments spend on making war or preparing for war dwarfs their expenditures on all other



ON THE SUBJECT of how governments act in the world, Hummel takes the view that heads-of-state do not, in fact, wield power. Power can be simply regarded as the ability to cause change in world events. Yet Hummel contends that those who wield power cannot apply it to change the "institutional constraints" that circumscribe their will . . . and thus they do not have "power" to do as they please.

This is a ridiculous thesis. If "institutional constraints" exist as Hummel would like to believe, they are nothing to be hopeful over. Such "constraints" did not stop World War II from being provoked by Hitler, Mussolini, and the Warlords of Japan. They did not stop the Soviet Union from subjugating Eastern Europe, partitioning Germany, invading Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and fomenting revolutionary unrest throughout the Third World. They did not stop Presidents Johnson and Nixon from conducting a blatantly unconstitutional war in Vietnam and Cambodia. Assuredly, they did not pose any hindrance to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. With the immaterial nature of these "constraints" amply evidenced by recent history, one is engaging in self-delusion to think that they will protect us in the future.

TRUE ENOUGH, the Politburo is faced with economic, logistic, and military limitations on their power . . . but this is conditioned by the skill with which they manipulate the power they have. It is ludicrous to invoke the notion of "ideological constraints" on their decisions, considering that the development of the Soviet State has been conspicuously opportunistic in nature. Lenin himself showed that the leadership need not hew to rigid ideological standards. As

"Hummel's argument appears to be self-serving ideological polemicism. He appears to deliberately slant historical data, technical information, and logical analysis to minimize the military power of the Soviet Union."

things combined", and claims this broad generalization is "true from a historical perspective."

Unfortunately for truth and perspective, this assertion simply does not apply to modern existence, and is at least irrelevant, if not false. With David Friedman, I would be curious to know how Hummel could ever substantiate such a sweeping fabrication. I reiterate my observation that non-defense spending by the U.S. government dwarfs defense spending by nearly a factor of three.

Although Hummel addresses the matter of bureaucracy, he does not touch on any pertinent point. The size of a bureaucracy is much less significant than the level of *taxation* required to support it and the degree of *interference* such a bureaucracy inflicts on society. Taken in this light, non-defense bureaucracy (whatever its overall size) is responsible for some 70% of federal taxation and a devastating level of regulation of the domestic economy (via the EPA, FDA, FCC, ICC, FAA, DoE, etc.).

I do not understand why Hummel avoids the obvious conclusion that non-defense government activity is the most profound, pervasive, and immediate threat to our liberties. *Domestic oppression* is the primary threat to liberty, not war.

for the populace, they are the last to be concerned about ideology. Current conditions within the Soviet Union can best be described as a ponderous, haggard apathy. Propaganda falls on deaf ears. As the national morale declines, the Soviet leadership will find it more expedient and necessary to emphasize the "threat" of the West to everything in their society. With internal affairs so precarious, desperation may prompt the Politburo to gamble all on a massive bid for power using the tools at their command: military might, deceit, cunning, and surprise.

I do not believe the Soviets are devils, omnipotent, or without caution . . . but the evidence is overwhelming that they desire the downfall of the West, can muster formidable force, and are utterly ruthless in the attainment of their objectives. Can we conclude that they would not risk a nuclear war, simply because we find it too horrible to contemplate?

I WELCOME Hummel's clarification of his position regarding nuclear weapons, but disagree on the desirability or practicality of nuclear disarmament. It is clear that no defense is proof against nuclear attack, and the outcome of a war of attrition would be too devastating to endure. As regrettable as it may be, nuclear weapons have to be reserved for retaliation against an aggressor's nuclear forces.

Although Hummel superficially treats this subject, he does not evaluate the suitability of either U.S. or Soviet arsenals for such counterforce warfare, but instead dwells on mass-destruction scenarios. (Equivalent megatons of yield are units of *mass-destructive* potential, not a measure of kill potential against military targets.)

Moreover, Hummel goes to some lengths to suggest that the U.S. must bear the responsibility for the existing state of nuclear tension with the Soviet Union. It is worth mentioning that in 1947 the United States proposed the Baruch Plan, in which all nuclear technology was to be surrendered to an international commission that would supervise the peaceful exploitation of atomic power. The Soviet Union refused this plan because they desired nuclear weapons of their own, thus framing the architecture of the world we now inhabit . . . where nuclear war remains a permanent threat.

HUMMEL questions the scenario I offered, illustrating the correlation of forces resulting from a coordinated pre-emptive Soviet strike. Because the numbers I quoted were awkwardly excerpted from a separate source, I will review the arithmetic again.

The U.S. strategic arsenal consists of about 6400 EMT (900 in SLBMs, 1450 in ICBMs, and 4050 in B-52s), of which about 3100 EMT is on alert (450 in SLBMs, 1450 in ICBMs, and 1200 in B-52s). A pre-emptive strike could promptly destroy 90% of ICBMs and B-52s, and about 25% of B-52s would survive Soviet interception. This would result in a force of about 630 EMT (450 in SLBMs, 150 in ICBMs, and 30 in B-52s).

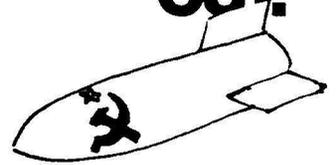
I suggested that Soviet antisubmarine warfare (ASW) activity could perhaps put 50% of the SLBM subs inoperative. Hummel scoffs at this, thinking that it would be impossible for the Soviets to destroy any of our subs. Actually, it is not necessary to *destroy* a sub. If a sub is forced to submerge deeply and run at high speed to elude ASW squadrons, it is unable to communicate with U.S. command authorities or launch missiles - a situation in which it is effectively useless as a deterrent. Considering that the Soviet Navy has placed much emphasis on ASW in recent years, we must not discount this possibility. Moreover, if the Soviets were successful in attacking the radio communications centers that link the U.S. to the subs, they would render the subs as dangerous as cannons without lanyards or fuses. Hummel should not place too much confidence in SLBMs. Without them, the nuclear force dwindles to a paltry 180 EMT.

BUT WHAT good are SLBMs? They have no counterforce capability, and we have already agreed that a mass-destruction policy is unacceptable. They would be useless without a complementary counterforce capability, which we would not have.

Hummel contends that the Minuteman system is not vulnerable to the SS-18, and that we have all the counterforce capability we need. He points out my inadvertent error in computing Minuteman kill probability (Pk) based on this data. I apologize for this embarrassing mistake, but do not surrender my position, which I shall validate.

THE MOST important influence on Pk is accuracy, measured by the circular error probable (CEP) - the radius in which exactly one-half of nuclear warheads are expected to fall

**ONE STRIKE
AND WE'RE
OUT.**



**Defense
debate
enters
round
two**

Hummel is incensed that I should use yield estimates that are (at worst) six months out-of-date, he finds no difficulty in accepting CEP estimates that are 3-4 years out-of-date. With a CEP of 0.10 nautical mile, Pk is easily 90% or greater.

It is futile to haggle over these figures, because precision is not available. The important thing is to acknowledge a potential threat if these estimates are correct. It does not matter whether they are correct now or will be so 3-5 years from now; there is nothing that can be done in the meantime to redress the problem when it emerges. All the strategic modernization programs (Trident II, MX, ALCM, and B-1) would not be ready until the latter part of the decade.

Even if Minuteman were invulnerable, would it be a counterforce weapon? The Minuteman III carries three 350 kT warheads with a CEP of about 0.08 nautical mile. The SS-17, SS-18, and SS-19 silos, however, are reportedly hardened up to 5000 psi. This would give a Pk against Soviet silos of about 70%. In this case, a three-on-one attack would have to be used, enabling us to knock out only a small number of Soviet ICBMs.

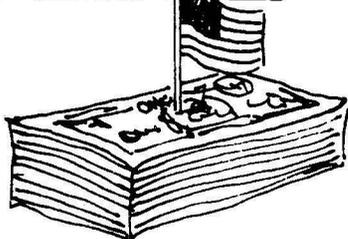
Furthermore, fratricide would pose no issue to the Soviets; once the Pk becomes greater than the missile reliability, a two-on-one attack is desirable to account for the silos that are missed by errant warheads. If fratricide is a problem, it would be a problem for us, as a three-on-one attack requires coordinated multiple attacks.

A DEBATE of this kind invariably bogs down in detail and cannot easily be sustained for a general readership. I hope to have demonstrated that my arguments arise from an honest concern with the facts as I have been able to discern them. I admit to human error, but not to willful misrepresentation.

I regret to say that Hummel's argument appears to be self-serving ideological polemicism. He appears to deliberately slant historical data, technical information, and logical analysis to minimize the military power of the Soviet Union. Whereas one can agree that optimism may be a cheerful frame of mind, to be optimistic about our standing *vis-a-vis* the Soviet Union's nuclear weapons is imprudent in the extreme.

I wish to make it clear that I have no desire to harm the Russian people. I have great admiration for Russian culture and accomplishments and I believe it would be a terrible loss to posterity for a war to obliterate them. Nevertheless, I have no illusions about the nature of the Soviet State, and we would be well advised to develop a healthy fear of *its* accomplishments. Life in contemporary America is infinitely preferable to a sojourn in the Gulag Archipelago.

THE HIGH COST OF EMPIRE.



EDITOR'S NOTE: Foreign policy could be the most controversial issue in LP10 Platform debates. If it isn't, it should be, for with a renewed arms race and the threat of nuclear war hanging over us like the sword of Damocles, foreign policy is inescapably the most important issue of our time.

If we value our lives and our liberties, Libertarians cannot flinch from facing this controversy, no matter how technically subtle or strategically complex the debate. Inevitably, to debate national defense and foreign policy is to be overwhelmed with arcane terms - such as "counterforce strategy" (the ability to neutralize the military capability of an enemy force) - and abbreviations - such as EMT (the equivalent megatonnage of yield of nuclear warheads). But we must try to see through the jargon and the statistics to the larger issue which they represent, and sometimes obscure: the issue of war and peace, of life and death.

What follows is the final stage of a long debate between FREE TEXAS contributing editor Jeffrey Rogers Hummel and Michael Dunn, a libertarian who works in the aerospace industry in Washington. It is an exchange which began with Hummel's article on "War: Greatest Threat to Liberty" in the Summer 1980 FREE TEXAS (Vol.9, No.3) and continued in the Winter 1981 FREE TEXAS (Vol.10, No.1) with the first part of the Hummel-Dunn debate - which, at long last, ends here.

"Ideas, not brute force, govern the world. If you change people's ideas, you change the direction in which they point their weapons."

its contract. The obligation to carry out voluntary agreements is derived from the much more general obligation to respect people's rights. A contractual obligation, therefore, can have no greater moral status.

Moreover, voluntary agreements to commit theft and murder, even if made with organizations calling themselves "defense" agencies or governments, are not worthy of respect. Dunn exactly reverses the proper moral priorities. If fulfilling a contract requires attacking innocent bystanders, then it is the contract that should be violated.

Dunn tries to salvage his position from this theoretical contradiction with an appeal to practical considerations. He claims that any non-invasive defense against a nation-state is impossible in the real world. Libertarians are engaged in efforts to reduce the power of the U.S. government and increase the liberty of all Americans. In other words, they believe that it is possible, in a domestic context, to find non-invasive means of defense against the aggressions of the U.S. government. If they are correct, then the same means will be equally effective in protecting their liberty from a foreign government.

WHETHER a government is formally labelled as foreign or domestic is largely irrelevant to the underlying ideological dynamics that determine the extent of liberty. National defense will cease to be a vexing problem to libertarians once they realize that it is not a special case, but merely a subset of the more general problem of how to limit the power of any State. The fact that Dunn can conceive of no better way of defending liberty than through the traditional method of interstate conflict and mass murder merely shows that he is no more imaginative than those who

of the U.S. government, minus interest, equalled \$5.29 trillion in 1980 dollars. Of that, \$3.21 trillion, or 60 percent, went to defense spending.

GOING BACK in time provides additional proof. During the previous two decades, starting at the end of World War I (in fiscal year 1922) and ending with the close of World War II (in fiscal year 1946), the U.S. government spent \$2.29 trillion in 1980 dollars, of which \$153 billion was interest payments and \$1.61 trillion was for defense. Thus, 75 percent of national spending was allocated to war. If the two periods are combined, covering all U.S. government spending from 1922 forward, then the fraction devoted to defense hovers at 53 percent.

Following David Friedman's suggestion to include the expenditures of state and local governments will admittedly eliminate the preponderance for defense spending. Data for the total expenditures of state and local

damn about "national morale," nor would they find it "expedient or necessary to emphasize the 'threat' of the West."

DUNN AGREES that there is no effective military defense against nuclear attack. He therefore falls back on the seemingly practical strategy of threatening the use of nuclear weapons for deterrence. I find nuclear terrorism no more viable a means for defending the liberty of Americans from the Soviet government than it would be, should libertarians prevail in Texas, for defending the liberty of Texans from the U.S. government. For a fuller presentation of the case for unilateral nuclear disarmament, refer to my pamphlet on the arms race just published by Students for a Libertarian Society.

Dunn recognizes the immorality of a deterrence strategy that targets the Soviet population, and he wishes to substitute "retaliation against an aggressor's nuclear force."

"Continued haggling over the kill probabilities of Soviet missiles is futile. Published figures are mere guesses about U.S. intelligence guesses about Soviet guesses about their own capabilities!"

governments, minus grants from the national government, are incomplete. Extrapolating between benchmark years gives a total for the 1922 to 1980 period of somewhere in the neighborhood of \$9 trillion in 1980 dollars. Adding in this amount reduces defense spending to about 30 percent of the total.

In an effort to deny the importance of ideological constraints upon the exercise of power by rulers and heads of state, Dunn turns to the oft cited example of World War II. Since Dunn has swallowed the devil theory of Soviet leadership, I am not surprised to find that he holds the same simplistic view of Hitler, Mussolini, and the Warlords of Japan. Dunn seems uninformed about revisionist interpretations of World War II, and space does not permit me to document the case that the British, French, and Polish governments share a major portion of the responsibility for the outbreak of war in Europe, while the U.S. government deliberately provoked the Japanese attack in the Pacific.

WE NEED, however, only glance at another of Dunn's alleged counterexamples. If as Dunn asserts, U.S. conduct of the war in Vietnam faced no ideological constraints, how do we explain the eventual U.S. withdrawal? Has Dunn never encountered any of the many disgruntled U.S. military leaders who loudly complain that the U.S. defeat in Vietnam was due to a combination of idiotic restrictions imposed by higher authority and betrayal at home by the anti-war movement? These military leaders are, in effect, complaining about the ideological constraints that prevented U.S. intervention in Vietnam from being as brutal, massive, and unrestrained as they would have liked.

In any case, I was clearly not arguing that ideological constraints prevent all aggressions by nation-states. Ideological constraints merely determine the extent and character of such aggressions. Dunn offers no evidence to refute my claim that the particular ideological constraints facing Soviet leaders make Soviet imperialism essentially defensive and conservative, and thus no threat to the American people.

Dunn does assert without evidence that Soviet leaders are unconcerned about the attitudes of their subject populations, but he then contradicts himself in the very same paragraph when he suggests that Soviet leaders may be driven to attack the West because of declining Soviet "national morale." If Soviet leaders truly faced no ideological constraints, they would not give a

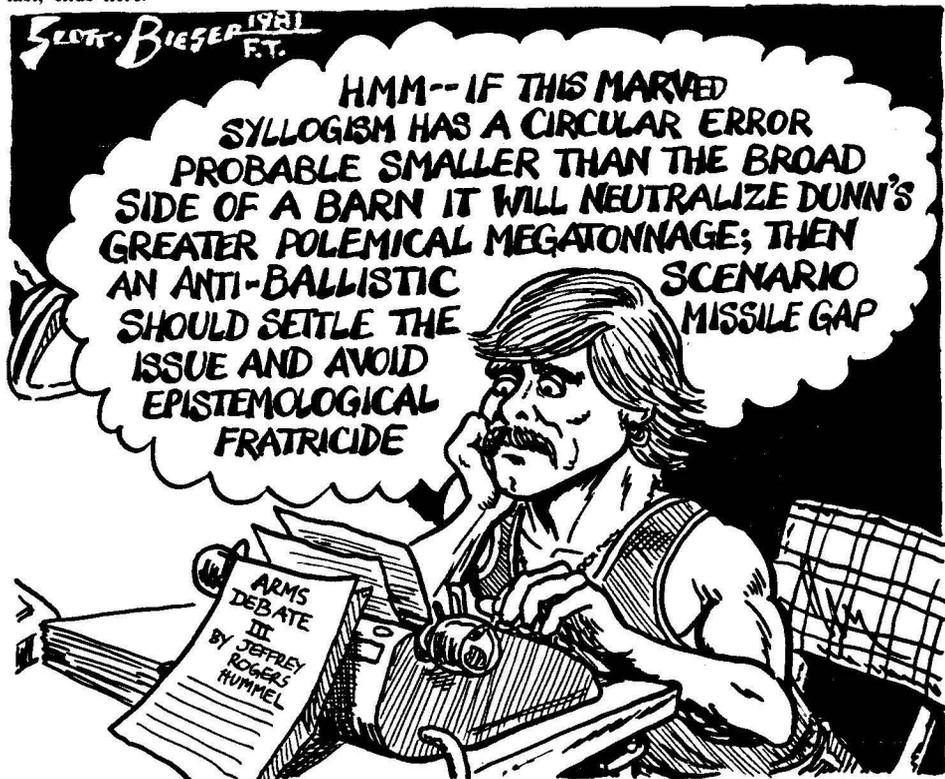
Retaliation, by definition, involves a nuclear counterattack. Even granting that counterforce targeting could significantly reduce the casualties among innocent bystanders, I do not understand how a threatened second strike on empty Soviet silos contributes in any fashion to deterring a Soviet first strike.

Dunn's citing of the Baruch Plan of 1946 (not 1947, as Dunn states) as evidence of Soviet culpability for the arms race again demonstrates Dunn's superficial familiarity with history. The Baruch Plan, rather than a sincere gesture, was a cynical propaganda ploy to enable the U.S. government to pillory the Soviet Union for its rejection of international control over atomic weapons. The U.S. knew in advance that the Soviets would reject the Baruch Plan, because the terms of the plan would have subordinated the Soviets to the U.S. through the auspices of the United Nations.

DUNN repeats his nuclear exchange scenario, again repeating his totally unsubstantiated claim about the efficacy of Soviet anti-submarine warfare. Before the Soviets can either destroy or even chase U.S. missile-carrying submarines, they must first locate them. Since the Soviets have no means for doing so, the U.S. sea-based deterrent is all but invulnerable. Even a successful Soviet attack on the radio communications centers that link the submarines with the U.S. would not render the subs impotent. U.S. missile-carrying submarines have no electronic interlock system preventing their crew from independently arming and launching their nuclear weapons. If a communication failure prevented a U.S. submarine from immediate retaliation, the sub would still pose a potential threat to the Soviet Union months hence.

I must agree with Dunn that our continued haggling over the kill probabilities of Soviet missiles is futile (and boring for the reader). Not only do the Soviets not publicize their missile characteristics, but U.S. intelligence estimates of Soviet capabilities are also classified. Published figures, therefore, are guesses about U.S. intelligence guesses about Soviet guesses about their own capabilities. Provided one is willing to make enough unfavorable assumptions about matters where one has no certain knowledge and where, in many cases, certain knowledge is impossible, one can "prove" that the vulnerability of U.S. land-based missiles is as great as one wishes.

(continued on page 11)



By Jeffrey Rogers Hummel

I am pleased that Dunn concedes my point that war as conducted by nation-states necessarily entails violation of the rights of innocent bystanders. I am surprised, however, that he defends this universal invasive practice with arguments that are so blatantly anti-libertarian and contradictory. I hope most readers of FREE TEXAS will share my shock at Dunn's revelation that "civil liberty is not a birthright." Unlike Dunn, libertarians hold that liberty is the inalienable right of all individuals, regardless of whether they live in "a society whose institutions protect and uphold such liberty."

DUNN tells us that a defense agency's (or government's) obligation to its clientele is superior to any obligation to respect the rights of others. Dunn does not specify the justification for this moral dichotomy, but apparently it derives from the voluntary contractual relationship defense agencies have with their clients. Yet, the reason that violating a contract is wrong is because it is a form of aggression, similar to violating the rights of a total stranger. If, as Dunn believes, attacking innocent bystanders is all right, then there can be nothing reprehensible about a defense agency reneging on

believe that education and welfare must eternally be provided through taxation.

Dunn's statement that "domestic oppression is the primary threat to liberty" was never in question. Our dispute was over which State activities generated more domestic oppression: those relating to war, or those unrelated to war? During the past thirty-five years, the period Dunn wishes to consider, beginning at the close of World War II in fiscal year 1947 and ending in fiscal year 1980, the U.S. government spent a grand total of approximately \$11.17 trillion in constant 1980 dollars. Of that total, \$926 billion went for interest on the national debt. Unfortunately, the government does not amortize its debt so that we can determine how much of the interest should be attributed to war. If we instead drop out this quantity and consider only the remaining \$10.24 trillion in government spending over the last thirty-five years, we discover that a minimum of \$4.94 trillion or 48 percent, has been spent on making war or preparing for war.

Omitting the last decade from these figures confirms my assertion that the edge that non-defense spending has over defense spending is a fairly recent phenomenon. Between fiscal years 1947 and 1969, inclusive, the total expenditures

BLOOM COUNTY

by Berke Breathed



Do the anarchists have a monopoly on principle?

By Larry Fiala

The recent success of The Politics of Principle Conference proved conclusively that libertarians are not without the organizational skills or discipline necessary for coordinated action. Debates, panels, concurrent meetings and films all occurred with a smoothness that was a tribute to the organizers of the conference. Quality was also consistently high.

YET the Politics of Principle Conference revealed a problem with the potential to prevent the Libertarian Party from ever becoming successful in the fight to achieve freedom in our lifetime. I am referring to the tendency to define libertarian objectives as identical to anarchist objectives and to accuse libertarians who are not anarchists of selling out for tactical reasons. The fact that most of the major speakers at the Conference were anarchists might suggest that the rest of us are not principled or are less principled.

Such a mistaken notion may have arisen because far too few minarchist - or "limited government" libertarians - have taken the time to respond to this frequent criticism. As Michael Grossberg has written many times in FREE TEXAS, "The battle for freedom will not be won if libertarians remain silent." My comments here are based on the assumption that this applies to common everyday libertarians as well as those who are the "intellectual elite" of the movement.

A FUNDAMENTAL reason for the accusations of sellout has to do with a widespread failure to understand the definition of the words "libertarian" and "anarchist". A libertarian has the objective of achieving total freedom. An anarchist has the objective of achieving the total destruction of the State. Because libertarians believe that the State is usually a major obstacle to achieving maximum freedom, they typically have much in common with anarchists.

Those libertarians who believe the State always - both in theory and practice - diminishes freedom are also anarchists. For them, as for all libertarians, the end is freedom; the means by which this end is achieved is the complete elimination of the State. This should not be confused with nonlibertarian anarchists, who have as their goal the elimination of the State - regardless of its implications for freedom. The latter type of anarchist cannot be defined as libertarian because if his goal were to conflict with the libertarian goal of freedom, it would not stop him from pursuing total destruction of the State, even if loss of freedom would result.

LIBERTARIANS generally hate the State because it can usually be demonstrated that government laws impede progress toward the libertarians' paramount objective: liberty. If, as unlikely as it is, it could be shown that the greatest achievable liberty can occur only through large government, consistent libertarians would advocate large government. In practice, no libertarians today believe that Big Government leads to greater freedom.

On the other hand, most libertarians do not believe that no government produces maximal freedom. Thus, whether one is guilty of selling out libertarian principles cannot be determined by the degree of



Time For A New Beginning?

advocacy of government intervention, without first knowing whether the accused believes that a specific intervention will contribute to freedom.

Libertarian anarchists have the task of convincing libertarian minarchists that the elimination of government will bring about, not complete freedom, but as close to it as one can reasonably hope to achieve. Some

party problem. Specifically, because third parties will benefit from the defense expenditures of their neighbors, they will contribute less than the optimal amount to defense and will thus become "free riders".

Defense from foreign aggressors is not the only area in which principled libertarians and principled anarchists disagree. Questions of enforcement of

"Room exists for honest and principled libertarians to disagree. The only area in which no disagreement should be expected among libertarians is our common goal of maximizing liberty."

anarchists have attempted to prove this point. In his speech at the Politics of Principle Conference, Jeffrey Rogers Hummel correctly concluded that the perceived impact of individual actions on third parties (sometimes known to economists as "neighborhood effects") have prevented libertarians from flocking to anarchism.

HUMMEL also concluded, again correctly I suspect, that the provision of national defense in an anarchist society is perceived as suffering the most acute third

contracts and protection from domestic aggressors frequently fuel extended debate. Harvard philosopher Robert Nozick in his National Book Award-winning *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* has presented what many people consider to be persuasive arguments that a "minimal state" would be both necessary and would form naturally in an anarchist society.

DE FACTO government would arise because the desire for each individual to

observe a "justice" favorable to himself would provide considerable incentive to subscribe to the most powerful protection agency available. Other individuals would virtually be required to join the most powerful "private" agency lest they be unable to get protection from, or enforce contracts against, customers of that agency. The anarchist argument against Nozick as presented by Hummel, David Friedman, and others at the Politics of Principle Conference is in general that private agencies have a considerable incentive to settle disputes between individuals peacefully. My only comment is that they may or they may not settle.

The issue here is not law, defense, or the size of the State. The issue is liberty - and how to achieve it. I want to suggest that room exists for honest and principled libertarians to disagree. The only area in which no disagreement should be expected among libertarians is that our common goal is maximizing liberty.

Most libertarians want desperately to believe that zero government is viable; it would considerably simplify our prescriptions. The failure of the libertarian anarchists to convince other libertarians that the abolition of government would, in fact, maximize freedom is precisely why most libertarians are not anarchists.

HONESTY, not just strategy, requires that libertarian political candidates do not pretend that they believe zero government will work until they really do. Flippant suggestions that individual family force shields could in the very near future provide a free-riderless means of protection against nuclear attack will give voters a very good reason not to vote for LP candidates.

(Larry Fiala is senior economist for a Houston-based conglomerate and a lecturer in the Department of Economics at the University of Houston.)

FREEDOM IS SLAVERY, WAR IS PEACE, VOLUNTARY IS COMPULSORY, AND ORWELL'S 1984 IS JUST THREE YEARS AWAY!

The word "voluntary" is back on the front pages, and once again it turns out to be strangely synonymous with "compulsory". In its last big shot at media stardom, you will recall, the word was coupled to those wage and price guidelines being sold by the Carterites. The guidelines were proclaimed to be voluntary because business could elect not to obey them, which it was invited to do if it didn't mind losing out on contract awards and enjoyed being kicked around the room by federal regulatory agencies. Diligent research failed to unearth a single large corporation that formally elected not to comply.

The latest sensation is "voluntary" export reductions by Japanese auto manufacturers. And why would our Nipponese friends elect to forego the profits on sales of hundreds of thousands of cars? Because if they don't, they may face congressionally mandated import quotas. The Commerce Secretary has been among those pressing the Administration to seek voluntary limitations, arguing that otherwise Congress will get us into a trade war.

We obviously need another word. Or another policy.

-Fortune magazine

JEFFREY ROGERS HUMMEL

(Historian and formerly an Officer in the U.S. Army)

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LETTERS

HIGH CALIBER

I was very impressed by your last issue, for its excellent content and the rather controversial comments on the National Chair race. I also am pleased by your next issue on "Controversies" which helps make my point about the value of party organs devoting some space to disagreements and debate. I hope you will continue to move in a slightly more risky direction. Your review of the Clark campaign was one of the few honest presentations made.

May the non-initiation of force be with you,

-Less Antman
Editor, California LP *Caliber*
Fountain Valley, California

REPEAL LAWS

The LP of Texas project to send all the state legislators letters urging them to repeal laws instead of pass them sounds like an excellent idea to me, and it obviously paid off for you with some media attention. Congratulations on an imaginative and smart move. I'm thinking of possibly trying to duplicate it here in Alabama.

-Steve Smith
Member, Alabama LP Board of Directors
Birmingham, Alabama

LIBERTARIAN LOBBYING

I was very much interested by your recent news story on Texas Libertarians testifying at the state capitol. I have two basic questions: (1) How were the Libertarians able to speak before the legislators about too much law and (2) How did David Kelley go about organizing Texans for Freedom of Choice in Health Care? And how did he get the opportunity to testify? This fall Nebraska will be having its sunset review. As a Libertarian, I hope to bring up the notion that Nebraskans are restricted in health care, etc.

You have a great newspaper. Keep up the good work!

-Dr. Michael Starkey
Omaha, Nebraska

Editor's Note: The next issue of FREE TEXAS will inaugurate a new Political Activist's Column which will focus on basic techniques of libertarian lobbying, fundraising, organizing, and campaigning. In the meantime, libertarians interested in learning about Texas LP lobbying efforts may contact David Kelley, chair of Texans for Freedom of Choice in Health Care, or LP of Texas Chair Honey Lanham. (See FREE TEXAS Activist Directory.)

LAISSEZ FAIRE

Since I won't have anyone speak for me under the collective of Laissez Faire Bookstore - and the other staff members feel the same way - my views don't necessarily reflect those of Laissez Faire. But the general consensus of the staff here at Laissez Faire Books is not explicitly anti-party. We all hold dear the LP Platform but are disappointed by the way it was neglected in the 1980 campaigns - both national and local campaigns. If Clark and the other LP candidates emphasized education rather than trying to win large vote totals and percentages with their milk-toast libertarianism, I doubt any of us here at Laissez Faire would bitch. Again, I only speak for me - not Laissez Faire collectively.

I'd like to take this opportunity to tell you that I think FREE TEXAS is one of the finest LP publications out there. The new California newsletter, *Caliber*, is also in the same league as FREE TEXAS. Keep up the good work.

-Dyanne Peterson
Laissez Faire Book and Teaching Society
New York, New York

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

I have been very interested in starting a private school for some time now. Since reading the interview with Jim Clarkson in FREE TEXAS, I have been able to enlist the interest of a friend. I need more information on starting a private school here. Please help me all you can with information.

-Ann Braneff
Vidor, Texas

EDUCATION

I read Jim Clarkson's interview in FREE TEXAS with great interest. Can you please send me whatever information you have about Clarkson's free market private school, and how to start one similar to it. I am particularly interested in his "mini-society" operation.

-Gerald Smith
Austin, Texas

Editor's Note: Jim Clarkson can be contacted at 4 Coral Avenue, Rome, Georgia 30161. Other information about alternatives to government control of education can be obtained from the Center for Independent Education (Box 2256, Wichita, Kansas 67201) or Growing Without Schooling newsletter (308 Boylston Street, Boston, MA 02116).

HEALTH FREEDOM

The Health Freedom Alliance - which should have a much broader appeal than its predecessor, the Libertarian Health Association - will have its first get-together during the LP10 Convention at the Denver Hilton on Saturday, August 29th. There will be a business meeting, an HFA "hospitality room", and at 2PM, a panel discussion on the topic: "Towards a Free Market in Health Care". Do drop in if you're so inclined.

Congratulations on the best libertarian newspaper I have seen. Perhaps you should do the LPNews on a consulting basis!

-Robert Baures
Executive Director, HFA
Jacksonville, Oregon

SUCCESS

Thank you for all the effort Texas libertarians put into making the Politics of Principle Conference such a success. It was the brightest, most responsive crowd I have ever spoken before.

-Wendy McElroy
Los Angeles, California

POLITICS OF PRINCIPLE

It was really great to see the Texas LPers and to participate in the Politics of Principle Conference. I was very impressed with the Texas group of libertarians, and with the harmony that seems to prevail there. Also, the Future of the Libertarian Party panel was an excellent chance to explore topics that are fundamental and need discussing within the party. See you in Denver!

-Murray Rothbard
Editor, *Journal of Libertarian Studies*
Palo Alto, California

TEXAS HOSPITALITY

Congratulations on a fine conference - one of the best I've ever attended. I was honored to be asked to participate. The Texas LP is one to be proud of. Never have I met a brighter, more enthusiastic and more pleasant group of libertarians.

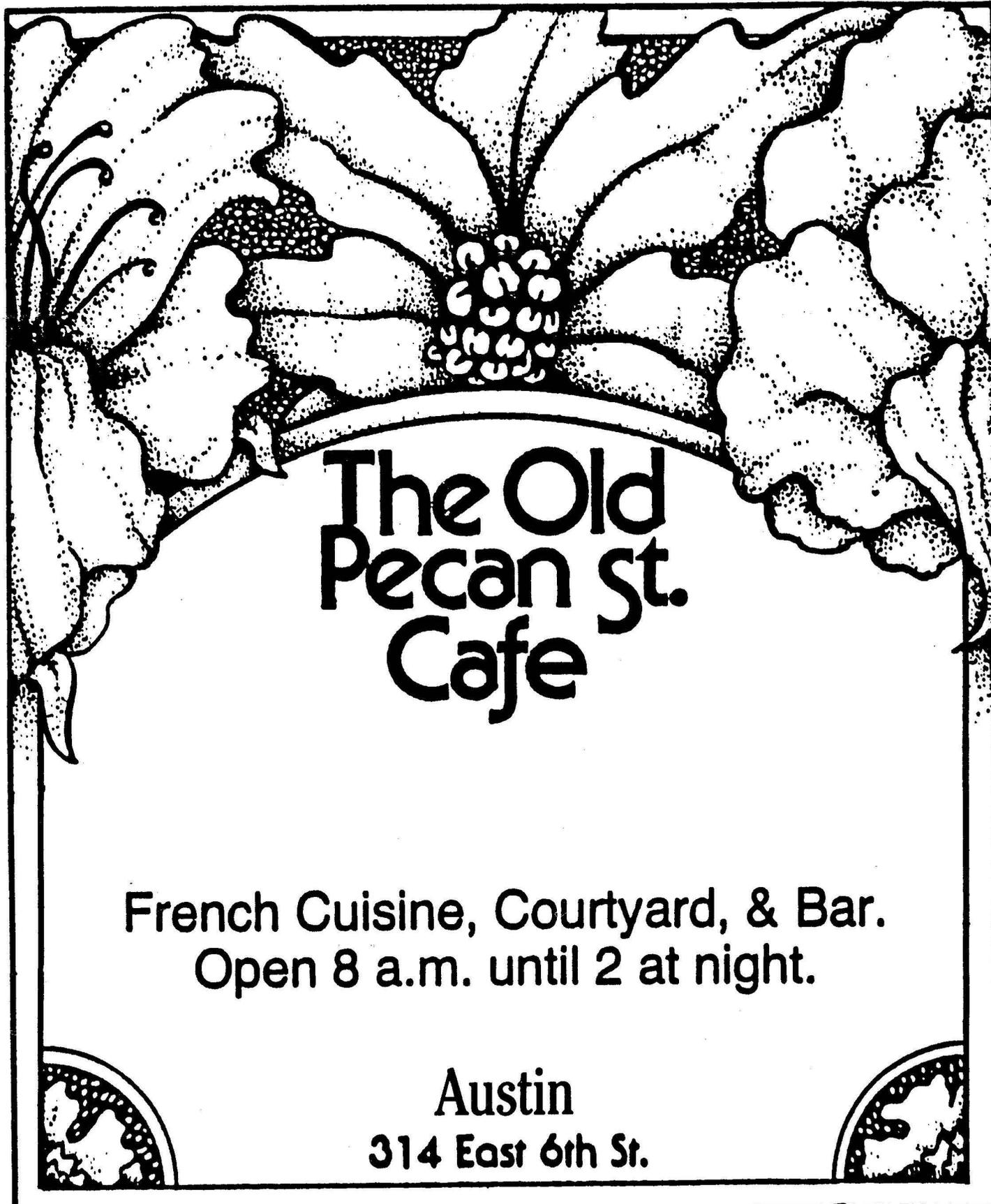
I would like to clear up one misconception in the Education issue of FREE TEXAS. In the editorial response to Arthur Schock's letter, you said advertising was welcome from groups, including the Council for a Competitive Economy, "which, while not 100% libertarian, favor voluntary, persuasive means to further particular libertarian goals." It is true that the Council does not, as an organization, take positions on foreign policy and civil liberties *per se*. But our statement of principle is certainly 100% libertarian: "The Council for a Competitive Economy is a national membership organization of businesses and individuals dedicated to a free, competitive market economy unhampered by regulation, taxation, protection, subsidies or special privilege." I believe that covers all the bases. Best regards and keep up your great efforts in Texas for liberty in our time.

-Sheldon Richman
Editor, *Competition*
Washington, D.C.

A MODEST PROPOSAL

A large amount of what appears in the press is ritual, miming and echoing the innumerable rituals with which governments seek to persuade the populace that something is being done. Every evening of network news should have at least one cabinet member climbing up the steps of a plane at Andrews Air Force Base, purportedly bound on a mission of high purpose. That is, as a general rule, all that is required of him, and in a rational world he would climb straight back down the gangway as soon as the cameras were switched off and go home to bed. This would save energy and the upheavals that inevitably follow an actual visit, such as Haig's in April, to some foreign land.

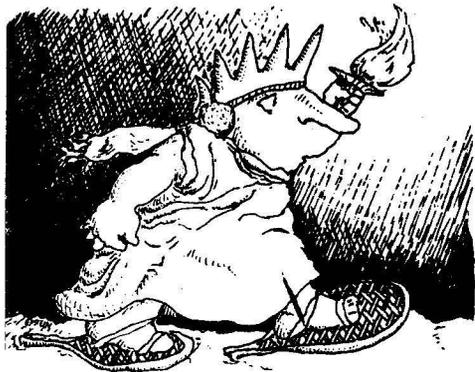
-Alexander Cockburn in *Harper's*



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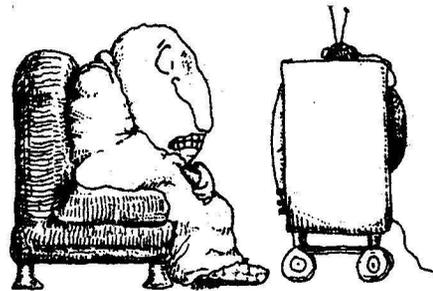


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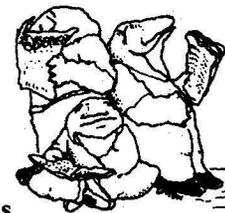
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