



FREE TEXAS

Libertarians elect three in Texas

In a historic milestone for the young Libertarian Party, three Libertarians were elected November 3 to public office in Texas. **CRUCIAL** in their campaign for **VICTORY**.

By Michael Grossberg

Harris County School Board, prominent Houston LP activists Honey Lanham, Jeff Calvert, and Bill Fraser join the ranks of elected Libertarians in Alaska, Wisconsin, Montana, Arizona, South Carolina, and Washington, D.C.

Libertarians won a majority of the contested school board races, since only five seats of the 7-member board were up in 1981. The three winners had run with four other Libertarians as part of a "Taxpayers for Responsible Education" slate in the nonpartisan election. Their campaign focused on a three-stage platform of rolling back a recent 41% tax hike, eliminating duplicate services, and petitioning the State Legislature to "sunset" the agency during its next session in 1983.

LEADING the successful slate was LP of Texas Chair Honey Lanham, who received 11,888 votes for at-large Position 7, winning 65% of the vote in her three-way race against an incumbent. In a two-way race for Position 1, Jeff Calvert was elected with 7,871 votes, securing 51.7%. In a close five-way race for Position 6, Bill Fraser was elected with a narrow plurality of 30%.

Three Libertarians had entered the Position 6 race in the hope of one of them winning a favorable first ballot position. When the incumbent drew first place,

veteran LP activists Don Stockwell and Allan Vogel threw their support to Bill Fraser. All three Libertarians together pulled a total of 20,952 votes for 61.4%. Fraser's 10,266 votes edged out the incumbent by 561 votes. Only a plurality was required to win.

ALSO running on the Libertarian slate were Laura Yaussy and Tom Glass. Yaussy received 32,376 votes or 26% for at-large Position 5, losing to an incumbent in a two-way race. Glass received 8,275 votes or 35% in another two-way race, losing to the incumbent in Position 2.



LP of Texas Chair Honey Lanham is the first libertarian woman elected to office in Texas, winning a seat on the Harris County School Board with the highest vote of any elected Libertarian official in the country. (Photo by Bob Sablatrera)

"The Libertarians had hoped to gain a majority in order to abolish both the board and the Harris County Department of Education, which it oversees," noted the *Houston Chronicle*. "But Michael Angwin, vice chairman of the Harris County Libertarian Party, called the vote a victory, saying it was the first time any Libertarians had been elected in Texas. 'This is groundbreaking,' he said. 'We didn't get the four seats we wanted, but this is a start. It will put us in a good position in two years when two more seats are vacant.'"

A major factor in their success was the Libertarians' well-organized campaign effort, which included door-to-door distribution of 70,000 slate cards, a mailing of 20,000 letters to likely voters, and publicity generated by 11 television commercials in the final week of the race. On election day, poll workers concentrated on grassroots face-to-face contact in over 20 targeted precincts (mainly in Fraser's district), while signs endorsing the slate were posted in at least 200 polling places. Only \$5,500 was spent by the Libertarian slate - less than one fourth the money spent in just one day of Houston Mayor Jim McConn's (unsuccessful) re-election bid.

Another underlying factor in the Libertarian victory was the increasing unpopularity of the Harris County School Board, an obscure agency that flashed into the headlines earlier this year after raising local property taxes 40.6% - due to higher property values, literally a 57% hike in tax revenues! To push through higher taxes, the school board even went to court after the county commissioners refused to certify the

increase, forcing them to accept the massive tax hike.

THE Harris County Department of Education, operated by the school board as a service agency for the 22 school districts in Harris County, has a budget of \$4.7 million and 150 employees, though it administers no schools and has no pupils.

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-SPECIAL NOTICE-

During 1982, **FREE TEXAS** hopes to expand to a monthly news format. Subscription prices are also expected to increase. If you have not yet subscribed to **FREE TEXAS** (see page 3 for information) or joined the **INDEPENDENCE PLEDGE** (see page 5 for information), this special "limited" time offer may be the last opportunity to do so.

-By order of the LP of Texas National Committee, November 13

LP10 generates national attention

"There's something refreshing about the Libertarians," reported the *Rocky Mountain News* in its day-by-day coverage of the Libertarian Party's Tenth Anniversary Convention (LP10) held in

By David Hess

Denver, Colorado August 26th-30th.

"**LIBERTARIANS** have come a long way since the party was organized by five Coloradans meeting in a Denver living room 10 years ago," stated the newspaper in a lead editorial, "This party, which now

revise the party's governing documents, the *Denver Post* acknowledged, "The Libertarian Party has progressed from a tax revolt promotion in 1976 featuring Lady Godiva in a body stocking riding a horse, to the kind of respectable political party status that could put a member in Congress in 1984."

IN FACT, LP10 - which featured appearances by 1980 LP Presidential candidate Ed Clark, Libertarian state representative Dick Randolph, Texas Congressman Ron Paul, anti-FTC crusader Joseph Sugarman, Murray Rothbard, Karl

candidacy for governor and newspapers in the state say he has a chance of winning."

LP10's most suspenseful event was the election of LP officers. Alica Garcia Clark, a Mexican-born businesswoman, was elected National Chair, after an unprecedented three ballots in an exciting three-way race with John Mason and Kent Guida. Clark, who campaigned in 32 states during her husband's presidential effort in 1980, pledged to travel and work virtually full time throughout her two-year term, concentrating on her twin priorities of internal education and grassroots organizing.

THE LP's new Vice Chair is veteran activist Sheldon Richman, who served as Chair of LP10's Platform Committee. Richman was elected in another three-way race with Craig Franklin and Dallas Cooley. Elected without opposition were Frances Eddy, the LP's new Secretary, and Vivian Baures, the LP's new Treasurer.

In Constitution, Bylaws, and Rules debate, delegates recodified the party's governing documents, redistricted Libertarian National Committee regions, and abolished cumulative voting for at-large NatCom officers. Expressing concern for the massive debt incurred by Clark for President campaign managers, delegates amended party bylaws to prevent the LP from borrowing over \$10,000 without a 2/3 vote of the NatCom.

A Bylaws Committee plan to impose ideological campaign controls on future

(Continued on page 8)

boasts 25,000 members, is a party of principle if ever there was one. The principle, in this case, is liberty, and the way to achieve it, the Libertarians believe, is to pulverize government: to pummel it and hack it and jump up and down on it and destroy it."

Responding favorably to the nearly 1,000 Libertarian activists who gathered in Denver to elect new national officers and

Hess, David Friedman, and many others - generated nationwide media attention for the Libertarian Party. One syndicated UPI news story noted, "The Libertarian Party, whose presidential candidate received nearly a million votes last fall, is moving strongly into local organizing preparing for the 1982 elections... Most recently, Dick Randolph, a Libertarian member of the Alaska state legislature, announced his

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Libertarians make nationwide gains in races

Libertarians made impressive gains in local races across the country in the November elections.

REFLECTING an apparent upsurge in popular sympathy for Libertarian ideas

By David Nelson

after the breakthrough 1980 LP campaigns, the number of victories and close elections as a percentage of total 1981 Libertarian races is encouragingly high. In addition to the successful Libertarian school board races in Texas, Libertarians were elected - or narrowly missed election - in South Carolina, Pennsylvania, Montana, New Jersey, Minnesota, Colorado, and Texas.

In South Carolina, Libertarian Mike Carruth was elected to the Landrum City Council. Carruth is the second Libertarian to be elected to office in that state this year, joining Marshall Danenberg, who sits on the Elgin City Council.

IN Pennsylvania, Jay Zane was elected to the County Government Study Commission in Schuylkill County, finishing second in a field of twenty-three running for seven seats. Also elected was Libertarian Rod Bowman to the position of Tax Assessor in East Buffalo Township.

In Montana, Mike Tanchek won reelection to his city council seat in the town of Troy.

In New Jersey, Dick Siano tied for first in a partisan three-way race for a Township Committee seat in Kingwood Township. A run-off election is slated for December.

IN Minnesota, Don Salyards, who had run first in a City Council primary in Winona, forcing the incumbent into a run-off, narrowly lost the election, 52% to 48%. Salyards had been favored, but a late smear campaign focused on libertarian support for repeal of victimless "crime" laws apparently tipped the scales. A similar attack against Libertarian state legislator Dick Randolph in Alaska last year was counterproductive; after a few more years of growing and burdensome city government, Minnesota voters should also know better.

In Colorado, Larimer County LP Chair Keane Richardson lost by only 35 votes in a Loveland City Council race, receiving 48% of the vote. Four other Libertarian sympathizers were elected to the 9-member council. One of them, Larry Desjardin, who refers to himself as a "small-L libertarian",

campaigning on a libertarian platform of never voting for a tax increase, refusing to accept his salary, and relying on Robert Poole's suggestions in *Cutting Back City Hall* on how to dismantle local government. From reports, Desjardin has a good chance to be selected by the Council as Mayor. According to *Update*, Richardson's sources at Loveland City Hall have heard some

speculative nature, such as the proposed convention center."

BARNETT also stressed a uniquely libertarian argument against such a government-funded project, stating "While I personally support the arts and the construction of cultural facilities, I also support the traditional American method of funding such community endeavors

minute.

Elalloway campaigned vigorously nevertheless, appearing daily at numerous candidate's forums - sometimes speaking to two or three groups a night - in order to present the Libertarian approach to such important local issues as crime, high taxes, mass transit, cable TV monopolies, and emergency medical service.

AS a registered Emergency Medical Technician who has worked for a private ambulance service, Elalloway used his professional background to speak out with credibility on the local health care issue "The Houston Fire Department monopoly on such vital emergency medical service has proven insufficient," observed Elalloway in his hard-hitting campaign brochure. "Once again, political power is hurting our lives; we have paramedics diagnosing cases over the telephone but the city cannot diagnose by do so. City politics allows dispatchers to Houstonians more than just money."

Off

Elalloway "details, not doubletalk", survey noted, "In a recent nationwide survey of emergency medical technicians, over 84% responded that their service was hampered by local politics. The solution, already working well in cities like San Diego, California and Scottsdale, Arizona, is to allow private companies to provide this service, increasing its availability."

Past FREE TEXAS Editor Jeff Daiell, one of Elalloway's campaign managers, summed up the significance of Elalloway's race. "It seems clear that, once the LP is capable of funding campaigns adequately while still maintaining ongoing party operations, libertarian candidates will become major factors in local elections,"



The Libertarian Party has come a long way in the past 10 years, partly as a result of the Hospers-Nathan presidential campaign in 1972, the Macbride-Bergland campaign of 1976 and the Clark-Koch campaign of 1980. (Photo by Michael Grossberg)

complaints that "those damn libertarians are taking over."

IN TEXAS, Joe Barnett narrowly missed election to the Arlington City Council, winning 46% of the vote against a big-spending incumbent. Barnett lost by only 160 votes after forcing the incumbent into a run-off following a three-way race in November. Barnett had served briefly as LP of Texas Vice Chair before working for Texas Congressman Ron Paul for several years in Washington, D.C.

During his campaign, Barnett spoke out against the trend "toward higher taxes and more regulation," specifically opposing a City Council proposal for a \$9.8 million convention center and hotel. "Arlington now has the sixth largest indebtedness of any city in Texas," pointed out Barnett in the *University of Texas at Arlington* newspaper, "I do not believe we should increase that burden for projects of a

through voluntary giving. I believe that we should maintain a separation between culture and the state, just as we've seen separated church and state. Art reflects not only our personal tastes, but also, like religion, our moral values. I think it is bad to make such questions political issues."

"Once again, political power is hurting our lives. We have paramedics diagnosing cases over the telephone. Doctors cannot diagnose by phone but the city allows dispatchers to do so. City politics have cost some Houstonians more than just money."

-Houston City Council candidate Peter Elalloway

Barnett, who spent \$3-\$4,000 against the incumbent's \$10,000, is considering another City Council effort next year. "More and more voters are disenchanted with high taxes, debt and pro-development policies. It's going to change - it is changing," Barnett told the *Arlington Daily News*, promising that Arlington's political future would see trends away from "establishment dominated" politics.

IN HOUSTON, Peter Elalloway received 3.2% of the vote in a five-way race for City Council, losing any chance of making a major impact when a prominent Houston politico with enormous name recognition from a previous Mayor's race entered Elalloway's District C free-for-all at the last

Daiell said, adding "Once we grow enough in numbers to staff multiple campaign efforts on his behalf when they became candidates for Harris County School Board, our vote totals and percentages will be far more impressive."

ONE final sign of the growing impact of the Libertarian Party in Texas is the appointment of Libertarian Charles Fuller as a Precinct Judge in Harris County. This office is a "political plum" usually awarded to the precinct chair of the party in power. Appointed by County Commissioner Tom Bass on the recommendation of school board member Bill Fraser, Fuller is the Libertarians' first precinct judge in Texas

Volunteer to be an LP candidate

With the Libertarian Party approaching its 1982 campaigns, now is the time for Texas Libertarians to consider stepping forward as LP candidates.

IF the recent election of three Libertarians in Texas is any indication, 1982 will be a great year to run some all-out campaigns to win. But there's a wide range of options. Even a "token" campaign - your name on the Libertarian ballot line, an appearance at a candidates' night, a news release - gives voters a choice, and supports other candidates on the Libertarian ticket. Many Libertarians with severe time constraints have run this kind of campaign and really helped their party. There's also a wide choice of races in which to run.

Running for office gives you an opportunity to let people know where you stand. It's much more rewarding than fuming over the latest government atrocity as you read your daily newspaper. As a candidate, you'll develop new skills in communicating and dealing with people. You'll become a better planner, a more effective speaker. You'll grow in self-confidence.

LIBERTARIANS are fond of talking about the need to build the party at the grassroots. Well, that's you and me! There's nothing more effective for building a local organization than a campaign. And there's

no better way to develop knowledge and skills for future campaigns than to run one now.

Just by virtue of being a Libertarian, you are more qualified to hold public office than any non-Libertarian. The most important credentials any candidate can have are an understanding of the importance of political liberty and a willingness to explore and promote ways to "free up the system."

OUR ideas don't exist in a vacuum; they need advocates. As a candidate, you can offer Libertarian ideas in a very visible, credible way. You're involved in the public debate. You become an opinion leader, and help define the issues people think and talk about.

As a member of the "Libertarian team" you'll be part of a nationwide network of candidates, and you'll benefit from a nationwide program of support, including sample brochures, a candidates' network with its own newsletter, "how-to" materials on campaign planning, fundraising, and publicity, and regional workshops to train candidates and their staffs.

IF you are interested in becoming a candidate in Texas, please contact one of the LP of Texas candidate recruiters: David Hutzelman (12415 Woodthorpe Lane, Houston, Tx 77024. (713) 464-6603), Martin Gibson or John McDivitt (See Activist Directory).

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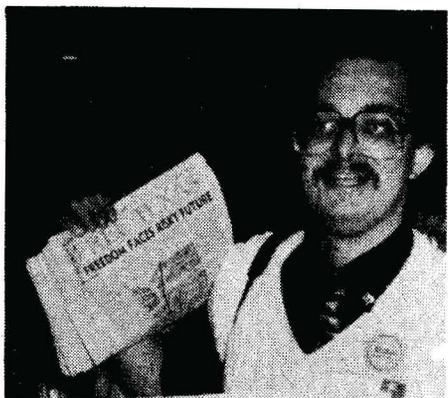
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FREE TEXAS STAFF

Executive Editor Michael Grossberg
 Contributing Editors Scott Bieser, Laurel Freeman, Robert Hamilton, Honey Lanham
 News Correspondents ... Gene Berkman (Austin), Peter Elalloway (Houston), Roger Gary (San Antonio), David Jones (Fort Worth), Mary Kelly (Dallas), John McDivitt (El Paso), J.D. Webster (Midland), Brent DeMerville (San Angelo)
 Cartoonists Scott Bieser, Michael Fry, David Helber
 Photographers Marsha Correia, Michael Grossberg, Gary Johnson
 Layout Michael Grossberg
 Circulation Anna Mitchell, Bill Mitchell
 Mailout Gene Berkman, Wayne Clark, Ken Crawford, Laurel Freeman, Jane Henson, Gary Johnson



FREE TEXAS Editor Michael Grossberg distributed hundreds of copies of the newspaper's latest issue at LP10. (Photo by Gary Johnson)

LP of Texas leaders set future goals

Winning permanent ballot status is the primary 1982 goal chosen by LP of Texas leaders during an informal brainstorming session held in Houston November 13-15.

BETWEEN 20 and 30 prominent Texas

By Lee Rosen

activists, including a majority of LPT Execom members, had been invited by LP of Texas Chair Honey Lanham for a special, never-before-attempted weekend of creative brainstorming, planning, and goal-setting, in order to give the state party a head start on its upcoming ballot drive and campaign.

Led by facilitator Tom Groggell, a Dal-

las LP activist, the select group of party activists first developed a basic statement of the LP's ultimate mission in Texas: "to increase the individual liberty of Texans through political activity".

The rest of the weekend was then spent on targetting goals and objectives which will help the LP achieve its mission. First priority was given to the goal of getting on—and staying on—the ballot in Texas, followed by the goals of electing LP candidates to public office and encouraging county parties to elect Libertarians to non-partisan public office. Also ranked were the goals of building an effective state party organization, increasing party membership, and establishing an effective organization in every Texas county.

GOALS which failed to make the priority ranked list include the promotion of Libertarian ideas, educating the public as to the desirability of Libertarian policies, developing and compiling concrete Libertarian solutions to existing problems, maintaining public visibility, and creating a public perception of the LP as an organized state-wide party.

During the goals discussion, some disagreement developed over the role of edu-

a proposal to make FREE TEXAS self-sustaining by expanding the newspaper to a monthly "news" format, which would concentrate on investigative reporting of state and local issues related to the LPT's 1982 campaigns.

OTHER disagreements during the Execom meeting arose over the cost and feasibility of the 1982 ballot drive. Several people proposed budgets suggesting that, with greater advance planning and volunteer efforts, a \$30,000 ballot drive could be successful. According to LPT Ballot Drive Coordinator Bill Fraser's calculations, \$40,000 might be sufficient to give the LPT a probability of success in 1982, based on the Texas party's successful 1980 drive.

Because of the many legal barriers the Republicans and Democrats have erected to maintain their monopoly position in American politics, Texas is one of the most difficult states to get on the ballot. In a ten week period beginning in early May, Libertarians must collect 23,698 valid signatures—in effect, about 55,000 bulk signatures. Texas is one of only two states in the country prohibiting voters from signing the LP petition if they previously voted in the Republican or Democratic prima-

Free Press Association founded by Texas activist

For years Libertarians have had their own professional organizations for lawyers, doctors, nurses, architects, environmentalists, capitalists, and scholars.

Joining the ranks of the Libertarian Lawyers Association, Health Freedom Alliance, Association for Rational Environmental Alternatives, Council for a Competitive Economy, and Institute for Humane Studies is a new professional organization for libertarian journalists: the Free Press Association.

GOALS of the Free Press Association include defense of a free press, recognition of outstanding libertarian journalism, and creation of an internal communications network among libertarian writers, editors, reporters, publishers, and broadcast journalists.

The Free Press Association will publicize to mainstream journalists the subtle interlocking relationship between a free press and the free market mechanisms of a fully free society, serving as a watchdog against growing threats to the freedom of both the print media and the electronic media. *Free Press Network*, the organization's quarterly internal newsletter, will be devoted to a discussion of common professional interests among libertarian journalists.

F.P.A. members will also have the opportunity to nominate and vote on yearly awards honoring excellence in libertarian journalism. Named after the great

American — and great Libertarian — journalist Henry Louis Mencken, the Mencken Awards will be given in the categories of Best News Story or Investigative Report, Best Editorial, Best Essay or Review, Best Political Book, and Best Cartoon. Awards for work published in 1981 will be announced in a special presentation in late 1982.

Other services to be offered to members include professional press "I.D." cards, a jobs clearinghouse, and a voluntary newsletter exchange program. Future projects of the Free Press Association include a major conference on journalism and the First Amendment, a career guidance program for libertarian student journalists, and creation of a syndicated libertarian news service.

FOUNDED by FREE TEXAS Editor Michael Grossberg, the F.P.A. has a Board of Directors consisting of *Caliber* editor Less Antman, *Frontlines* reporter Patrick Cox, freelance journalist Christine Dorffi, *Individual Liberty* editor Don Ernsberger, *Sabre Journalism Fund* Director Mark Frazier, *Inquiry magazine* editor Glen Garvin, *Freedom Newspapers'* New York group publisher K.E. Grubbs, *Reason magazine* editor Robert Poole, *Competition* editor Sheldon Richman, and *Byline* radio series producer Jeff Rigenbach.

Charter membership in the Free Press Association is \$20/year. For information about how to join, write F.P.A., Box 14248, Austin, Tx 78761-4248. — David Nelson



LPT Execom member Roger Gary (L) confers with LPT Chair Honey Lanham (C) and veteran activist Allan Vogel (R) on the convention floor. (Photo by Scott Bieser)

tion in LP activities. Some activists expressed a desire to redirect all the party's limited resources to the overriding goal of permanent ballot status—even if that meant the sacrifice of the LPT's current educational outreach program, including FREE TEXAS. Other activists expressed a desire to continue the party's educational programs and publications while working for permanent ballot status, in the belief that the party's proven successes could be invaluable assets in its 1982 ballot drive and campaign.

Because of lack of time, this significant internal party debate was left unresolved until the LPT Execom's next meeting, when officers will work out the LP of Texas' 1982 budget. But the Executive Committee did approve a motion to test the "market demand" of FREE TEXAS by ending all complimentary subscriptions to the party newspaper with its Winter issue. At the formal Execom meeting, held at the end of the weekend's brainstorming session, FREE TEXAS Editor Michael Grossberg presented his research on the feasibility of

ries. Texas is also the only state requiring every petition signature to have its own voter registration number in order to be valid. In 1980, Libertarians spent between \$60,000 and \$75,000 on their successful Texas ballot drive, gathering approximately 65,000 bulk signatures to obtain about 35,000 valid signatures.

Once the LP gets on the ballot through the petition process, permanent ballot status can be achieved if the party's gubernatorial candidate wins at least 2% of the vote in the November election. In 1980, the LP of Texas' only statewide candidate—Railroad Commission candidate David Hutzelman—won over 2%.

FINAL decisions about the state party's educational and political projects will be made at the next Executive Committee meeting in Dallas January 15-17. Before the formal meeting starts, there will be a Friday night party hosted by Tom and Gwynn Groggell at 3728 Princess Lane. For information about the party, call (214) 350-7318. For information about the Execom meeting itself, call (713) 682-1113.

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One of the best ways you can help the cause of freedom is by subscribing to FREE TEXAS and joining the Libertarian Party of Texas. What's in it for you? In the long run, more liberty. In the short run, you'll have the satisfaction of knowing you've helped build the movement for a free Texas and a free America. What better investment is there? You'll also have the satisfaction of reading the best libertarian newspaper in the country, with the latest news, the most amusing cartoons, the most insightful commentaries, and regular columns by some of America's leading libertarian thinkers and activists.

Look through this issue, and you'll see why people are talking about FREE TEXAS and the LIBERTARIAN PARTY. To join us, or subscribe, just mail in the coupon below.

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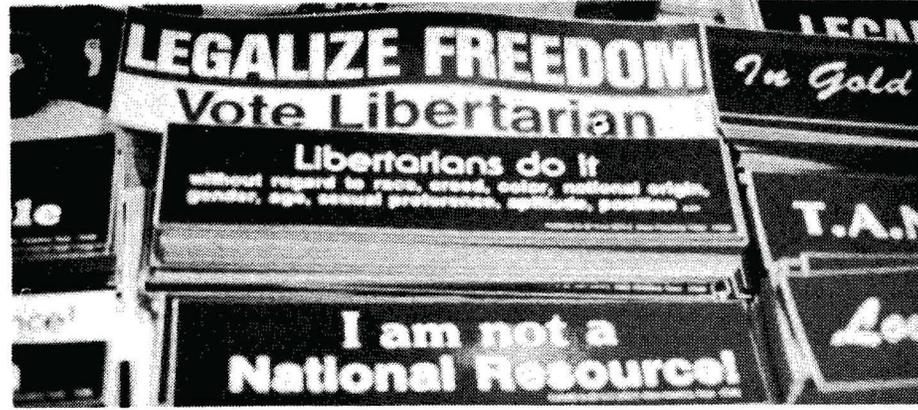
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NEWS NOTES

LIBERTARIANS ATTRACT ATTENTION: "In just eight years, the Libertarians have made amazing strides," acknowledged *Dallas Morning News* columnist **Mike Kingston** recently. He was responding to the growing visibility of the Libertarian alternative in Texas. Both Libertarian legislator **Dick Randolph** and LP 1980 presidential candidate **Ed Clark** attracted some publicity when they passed through Texas this fall. Randolph visited Houston and Dallas in early October, while Clark visited those two cities in early November, both using their trip for fundraising and as an opportunity to speak out about the politics of liberty. Randolph's swing through Texas and many of the other "lower 48" states prompted a highly favorable page 2 story in the *Washington Post*, which quoted Randolph's likely opponent for Alaska Governor as saying "One could say the Libertarian Party is the best organized party in Alaska." Clark stopped off in Dallas to be the featured speaker at the Arco Civic Action Program Noon Forum. While there, he helped the Dallas LP raise funds at both a dinner and breakfast. In Houston, Clark attended an LP reception, inspiring the following day in the *Houston Chronicle* a four-column wide news photo showing Clark complimenting recently elected Texas libertarians **Honey Lanham** and **Bill Fraser**. **FREE TEXAS; VOTE LIBERTARIAN** proclaims the latest LP of Texas bumpersticker, just printed and now available for \$1 each from the LP of Texas headquarters. Designed to look like the flag of Texas, the 15" long bumpersticker has a white "Texas", instead of a white star, outlined on an attractive red, white, and blue background. **FOND FAREWELL** to two longtime LP activists, **AnnMarie Perier** and **Margaret**



Bumperstickers were a popular item at the LP of Texas booth during LP10. (Photo by Michael Grossberg)

Bosse - both winners of the Texas Libertarian of the Year Award - who have just moved from Texas. Perier, who recently served as the Texas representative on the LP NatCom, will be living in Colorado Springs, Colorado. Bosse, who has served for two years on the LPT Executive Committee, will be living in Boston. Both women have contributed a great deal over the years to the growth of the Texas LP, and will be sorely missed by many local activists. **BALLOT DRIVES:** Libertarians in **Indiana** have just completed a successful drive to put the LP on the ballot there for the 1982 elections, collecting 16,000 signatures to meet a 7,000 valid signatures requirement. The **Utah** LP has almost completed their ballot drive, while the **Nebraska** LP is just beginning theirs. Currently underway are ballot drives in **Ohb, Montana, and Oklahoma**. The Oklahoma

LP ballot drive, which is a 90-day project to collect 57,000 valid signatures by late December, is in serious trouble and seems headed for failure. Although Oklahoma libertarians were unable to generate enough money or volunteers at the start of their extremely difficult ballot drive, the Oklahoma LP Executive Committee, in a close 5-4 vote, decided to go ahead with it. *Update* reports that "the ballot drive has caused considerable internal tension within the Oklahoma LP", prompting at least one LPO Execom member to resign. Many other state LP groups will begin their own ballot drives in early 1982. Volunteer petitioning and funding are needed in many of these states. If you can help, please contact LP National Headquarters (2300 Wisconsin Ave. NW, Wash. D.C. 20007, (202) 333-8209). **INTERNAL EDUCATION** is an important project of the LP, which both **Alicia Clark** and **Sheldon Richman**, newly elected LP officers, have made a top priority. Now the **Society for Individual Liberty** has unveiled its own internal education program. Designed to be a tool for introducing people to the politics of liberty as well as a way of helping new libertarians to increase their grasp of libertarian philosophy, SIL's "Principles of Liberty" package contains a discussion leader handbook, study guides, and participant reading selections for each of the six or eight sessions. The educational program is available for \$5 from SIL (P.O. Box 1147, Warminster, PA 18974).

SIL's PHOENIX AWARD will be announced in January. Final nominees for the award, voted on by SIL members, include survivalist **Karl Hess**, LP 1980 vice presidential candidate **David Koch**, *Reason* editor **Robert Poole**, legislator **Dick Randolph**, and bestselling author **Robert Ringer**, who wrote *Restoring the American Dream*. **SURVIVAL TOMORROW** is the name of Karl Hess's new survival newsletter, which takes a libertarian approach to survival as a "creative and self-reliant human being's" goal based on "skills, inner strengths, and attitudes". Hess, one of the most popular speakers at LP10 in Denver, says he is more involved with libertarianism "as a social movement than as a political party." But, Hess told the *Denver Post*, Libertarian Party activists are "the most American gang I can think of. The other two parties are European in nature, monarchical, based on caste and class system." In his LP convention speech, Hess argued that libertarianism offers both political and personal insights on how to live a healthy, happy life, observing "People who are free to make their own choices do better work, are happier, don't divorce every five minutes, their families are stronger." Survival Tomorrow is published by Kephart Communications (P.O. Box 951, Farmingdale, NY 11735). **NATHANIEL BRANDEN** will be visiting Texas next spring to give an Intensive in Dallas March 19-21 on "Self-Esteem and Romantic Relationships". The libertarian psychologist recently published the bestselling *Psychology of Romantic Love* and will have his *The Romantic Love Question and Answer Book*, coauthored with his wife, psychologist **Devers Branden**, published in January. Branden's romantic love workshop, being offered in Texas for the first time, follows two successful Texas workshops on self-esteem. For information, contact Murray Productions (2211 Blue Star Lane, Dallas, TX 75235 (214) 351-0391). **BLUE LAWS**, which Libertarians oppose as a violation of free trade, have been declared unconstitutional in Texas. District Judge **Dee Brown Walker** declared the blue laws, which prohibit the sale of 42 specific items on consecutive Saturdays and Sundays in Texas, to be unconstitutional as a result of a suit filed earlier this year by **Herbert Gibson Jr.** of the Gibson Discount Centers against a host of Dallas area drug and grocery stores. Until the Texas Supreme Court decides the issue, however, Texans will not have the freedom to walk into stores on Sundays and make purchases of prohibited items. The appeals process could take years to complete. **CONGRESSMAN RON PAUL**, a libertarian sympathizer in Congress who regularly wins the National Taxpayers Union's highest political ratings for his anti-tax pro-free market voting record, is facing his greatest political battle yet in his upcoming campaign for reelection in 1982. After beating back a proposed redistricting plan which would have effectively gutted Ron's 22nd district in Texas - **Congressman Paul** was the only Republican Congressman to have his home district threatened in a redistricting plan hailed by Republicans as a unilateral Republican victory (See "State legislators erode rights of Texans" in Summer FREE TEXAS) - the third-term Congressman now faces the threat of the corporate Republican establishment in his own primary. "The story all began in January 1979, just after I was elected to my first full term," explains Paul in a letter to his constituents. "I was immediately approached, in typical Washington fashion, by a giant multi-national company. This firm's executives wanted me to devote my time - not to cutting government spending and taxes, not to ending inflation, not to fighting for limited government - they wanted me to get their company a juicy federal contract for a wasteful and unconstitutional boondoggle. Needless to say, I would not do it. I had not fought all that way to

Libertarian National Committee organizes for 1982 campaign

In recent meetings, the Libertarian National Committee has confronted some important ideological, strategic, and organizational issues.

HIGHLIGHT of the NatCom meeting held immediately before the start of LP10 August 26 was a lengthy and controversial discussion concerning the Clark Campaign's use of the Federal Communications Commission to gain broadcasting time. Bill Evers introduced a resolution condemning the action, which he termed "a secret attempt by Clark campaign managers to use a government regulatory agency to obtain special privileges for the campaign" by filing a complaint with the FCC to get it to force NBC to sell the campaign more prime time advertising spots than the network was offering.

After much debate, the NatCom approved a resolution affirming that the Clark Committee's complaint against NBC filed with the FCC was inconsistent with an explicit 1972 LP policy directive ruling out such use by the FCC. Also passed was Sara Baase's motion requiring future campaign committees to inform the NatCom of any suits filed by or against the committee within one week of such filing. Shortly thereafter the NatCom rescinded the original 1972 resolution forbidding such use of the FCC.

FOLLOWING LP10, newly-elected NatCom members gathered for a brief meeting, which approved a resolution on Libertarian Draft Resistance. Recognizing that the draft is the ultimate form of government control, enslaving young people in the name of defending freedom, the NatCom resolution supports the right of all draft eligible youth to resist registration and the draft, particularly expressing solidarity with Libertarian draft resister Paul Jacob, who has been singled out by the Selective Service System for prosecution.

Also passed was an important procedural motion to allow roll call votes at the request of only three NatCom members, giving rank-and-file Libertarians a greater opportunity to judge the performance of NatCom members according to their individual voting records. Several NatCom members who strongly believe in open meetings and personal accountability have promised to regularly request roll call votes on important NatCom decisions in the future.

A great many more roll call votes were plainly evident at the NatCom's first full meeting November 7-8 in Bethesda, Maryland, which considered such important matters as the 1982 LP budget, 1982 LP goals, and creation of several important subcommittees.

Clearly the most comprehensive financial plan in the party's history, the 1982 budget sets out detailed spending proposals for three possible annual income levels - \$363,700, \$593,030, and \$811,680. Expected 1981 income was \$396,000. The NatCom also approved additional 1982 funding of \$75,000 to \$142,000 for ballot drives.

GOALS targeted for 1982 include achievement of permanent ballot status in 25 states, development of 50 strong state parties, and working toward a total of 10 million votes for LP candidates. The LP total in 1980 was 4.3 million votes.

An important Internal Education Committee was created "to educate our own members in developing their libertarian commitments and in

applying libertarian principles to real world problems". Proposed by new LP National Chair Alicia Clark, the committee, chaired by John Mason, will provide educational materials, programs, advice and encouragement to state local parties to help educate all members in the principles, policies and goals of the Libertarian Party. Also created was an Outreach Committee, chaired by Sheldon Richman, to influence "people, media, voters, and opinion molders." Richman announced that members of his Strategy Subcommittee include Ed Clark, David Nolan, Kent Guida, Craig Armstrong, and Jeff Hummel, while members of his Advertising and Publications Subcommittee include Chris Hocker, Andrea Rich, Murray Rothbard, and Christine Dorff.

NEW NatCom resolutions were passed calling for a halt in the nuclear arms race and opposing any AWACS military transfer to the Middle East. The arms race resolution endorsed the Campaign for a Nuclear-Weapon Freeze, in the knowledge that nuclear war is the greatest single threat to the existence of the human race and that development of the MX missile, B-1 bomber, and neutron bomb have heightened the risk of a nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union. The AWACS resolution calls upon President Reagan to make a positive move toward Mideast stability and world peace by withdrawing all American troops from the region, removing an important tripwire toward American involvement in foreign war.

Hotly debated were two motions by the "Sunshine" faction of the NatCom to require roll call votes on all major motions and to publish all NatCom minutes in the *LP News*, so that Libertarians across the country will be more familiar with NatCom deliberations. The roll call vote narrowly failed 11-14-2, while the motion on



LP of Texas Finance Chair Matt Monroe was elected at LP10 to be Texas' new Regional Representative on the Libertarian National Committee. (Photo by Scott Bieser)

publishing NatCom minutes, after some discussion, was changed to a resolution that the *LP News* will advertise the availability of NatCom minutes to any party member who wishes to pay for them. A subscription to the LP NatCom minutes - quite a revealing internal party document - is available for \$2 per year from national LP headquarters (2300 Wisconsin Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007).

Houston, Texas is the site of the next NatCom meeting March 27-28.

play the Washington games that are destroying our country. But from then on, their goal has been to see me out of office. This gigantic corporation is now pulling out all the stops: its head lobbyist is running against me in the primary." Paul's corporate opponent is rumored to have a half million dollars to fight Paul, an incredible sum for a primary. Congressman Paul has become more of a thorn in the side of the Washington establishment since he has been speaking out in favor of sound money against the "paper aristocracy" of Federal Reserve bankers and bureaucrats. "If you have the power to create money, you have the power to steal," says Paul, part of a vocal minority on the U.S. **Gold Commission**. "Inflation is a form of legalized theft." For information on contributing to Congressman Paul's heroic fight against Big Government, call his Houston office at (713) 237-1550. **STUDENT ACTIVISM** was one of the most important underlying factors in the Libertarian movement's growth in its first decade. Recent indications of a recession in libertarian activity on the nation's campuses, paralleling the broad decline in political activism of any sort among students, imply a serious weakening of the adult Libertarian movement just a few years down the road. An encouraging sign of efforts to reverse this trend is a new **Campus Services Division** of SIL, directed by **Jorge Amador**, a former activist at St. Joseph's University in Philadelphia. Citing a need for practical assistance to campus libertarian activists, SIL Directors **Dave Walter** and **Don Ernsberger** decided to take SIL back "where we began in 1969" at colleges and universities, in order to "serve specifically the wants of student activists who wish to promote peace and freedom among their fellow students." The SIL Campus Services Division will supply information on organizing public forums, literature distribution efforts and sales, protest techniques, and publishing local newsletters. CSD Director Amador is publishing a bimonthly "practical advice" student newsletter as well as occasional issue analyses on current affairs. For more information, contact SIL (P.O. Box 1147, Warminster, PA 18974). **LIBERTY VERSUS AUTHORITY** was the dramatic focus of a historic confrontation between **Timothy Leary** and **G. Gordon Liddy** in an unusual joint speaking appearance October 30th at Austin's Municipal Auditorium. Leary, famous as the guru of LSD in the 1960's and more recently an advocate of space industrialization and decentralization, debated America's future with Liddy, a rightwing ex-government agent famous as one of Nixon's Watergate "plumbers" in the 1970's. "Liddy is the classic staterman for the centralized government position of whoever is in charge, usually the military, is the person to be obeyed - the subservience to higher authority idea," charged Leary, who was described in local newspapers as a member "of the Libertarian left." On the other hand, Liddy described Leary as one who "has never been associated with those who plant bombs, but rather the recreational use of drugs and probably with taking, what is in my point of view, the extreme view of liberties of the individual." Their debate was advertised as a classic Jeffersonian versus Hamiltonian argument "between the forces representing uncompromising allegiance and unrestrained freedom from this century's greatest 'outlaws'." The evening's polemics lived up to its advance billing, with Leary upholding the value of self-reliance, self-expression, and personal autonomy against Liddy's "duty, honor, country". According to the *Daily Texan*, Leary stated, "I have a central libertarian point-of-view; I think we need to have government - military, laws, and police. But government cannot solve our problems. Big government produces big problems. We need to cut its budget down the line and lower the military budget. Ronald Reagan is a hypocritical liar. He doesn't want to get the government off your backs - just off the backs of big oil and big business." In a radio talk show interview to publicize his Austin appearance, Leary acknowledged his belief in the libertarian philosophy of "the less government the better", adding that he was "fed up with Democrats" because they're "well-meaning but dumb" and disliked the Republicans because they're "too mean". Leary said that he had enjoyed speaking at LP conventions in the past few years because "libertarians have the intelligence and the youthful spirit on their side and the Libertarian Party will grow accordingly". The Austin debate was sponsored by Futretrends, a project of libertarian sympathizer **Phil Sansone**, who owns Grok Books. **AUSTIN** libertarians generated additional favorable publicity last fall when **Jane Henson** and **Gary Johnson** appeared on a television talk show, "The Joyce and Mel Show" to discuss the Libertarian Party platform. Gary Johnson also appeared with **Gene Berkman** on KUT Access radio and on 1410 AM radio's "Straight Talk" call-in show in October. The **Travis County Libertarian Alliance** made its presence known in the November elections in a local nuclear power referendum. The TCLA distributed 5,000 copies of the LP (and SIL) nuclear power pamphlet, which explained libertarian opposition to municipal government participation in the South Texas Nuclear Project. For the first time in an apparently endless series of nuclear power referendums, the voters approved withdrawal from the STNP. **PACIFIC SUNRISE TRADING COMPANY**, Texas' only libertarian bookstore, has begun spreading the libertarian message in regular advertising in *Texas Monthly*, *New Texas*, *The Texas Observer*, and *Holistic Health News* in order to promote mail-order sales of books and magazines, including *FREE TEXAS*. Owner **Gene Berkman** has sponsored regular libertarian meetings at his bookstore, discussing health care in Texas on September 24, foreign policy on October 22, and "Free Trade and Alternative Culture - the attack on Small Business" on November 19. Berkman is looking for a volunteer statewide coordinator to develop Society for Individual Liberty activities in Texas beginning in January. Austin activist **Jeffrey Rogers Hummel** has been hired by *Caliber* editor **Less Antman** to work as research director for the California LP's 1982 races. He will be moving to California in January and will no longer serve as *FREE* (Continued on page 19)

Legislator Dick Randolph discusses the LP's future

EDITOR'S NOTE: Libertarian legislator Dick Randolph visited Texas recently to generate support for his 1982 gubernatorial race in Alaska. Pausing briefly in Dallas and Houston during a well-organized campaign swing through the "lower 48" states last October, Randolph succeeded in generating not only significant funds for his gubernatorial race at several well-attended cocktail parties and fundraising dinners, but also significant publicity for the Libertarian cause.

"Alaska is known for many things. Beautiful scenery. Abundant wild game. Oil. Snow. Eskimos. But the reputation as a hotbed of

political revolution has not been among its assets," observed editorial columnist Mike Kingston in the *Dallas Morning News*. "Not until now, anyway. Dick Randolph wants to make the state just that...Randolph was in Dallas last week, spreading the Libertarian gospel. He's a personable fellow with ideas about how government should - or, more particularly, should not - be run. Alaska offers an unusually fertile soil for the Libertarian philosophy of keeping the government out of individuals' lives... Randolph, who led the campaign for an initiative to drastically lower the state personal income tax... also is leading the so-called Tundra

Rebellion (similar to the Sagebrush Rebellion in the Western states) to get large chunks of federal land in Alaska returned to state ownership and, he hopes, eventually to private ownership."

In 1978, Randolph became the first Libertarian legislator in the country. In 1980, he was re-elected with more votes than any other legislative candidate in Alaska, and he was joined in the Legislature by Libertarian Ken Fanning. Now, preparing for 1982, Randolph has already raised \$150,000 towards his goal of \$500,000 for what he hopes will be the Libertarian Party's first successful gubernatorial campaign.

It takes a special combination of pro-civil-liberties, pro-free-market politics to bring together in one room Kathy Whitmire, a liberal recently elected as Houston's first woman mayor, and Ron Paul, a Texas Congressman hailed by many as a "conservative". Yet that's what Dick Randolph's unique brand of Libertarian politics succeeded in accomplishing when Randolph was guest of honor at a Houston cocktail party at the home of Libertarian National Committee member Matt Monroe - a cocktail party which attracted Whitmire and Paul and over 100 prominent Texans and Libertarian activists, while raising \$4,650 for Randolph's campaign.

FREE TEXAS: Why do you believe that the Libertarian Party will be any more successful than any other third party effort in American history?

RANDOLPH: We're the first group since the Republicans prior to the Civil War to attempt to form a real third party. Other efforts have been based on narrow one-issue platforms.

FREE TEXAS: What kind of impact has the Libertarian Party had in Alaska?

RANDOLPH: In Alaska we have truly become a third major party. Not only are there two Libertarians serving in the State Legislature and several elected local officials, but there are literally thousands of Alaskans who consider themselves libertarians. Ken Fanning and I are having an effect on the Alaska Legislature and the Public far in excess of what our numbers would indicate. Issue after issue we produce and support the only alternative to the sameness of the Republicans and the Democrats. The news media constantly refers to the Libertarian minority, giving us

at least equal coverage to the 16 Republicans.

FREE TEXAS: One issue which has really put the Libertarian Party on the map in Alaska is taxation. You led a major 18-month effort to repeal the state income tax in Alaska. After the Legislature refused to pass your measure to repeal the tax, you led

government without taxation. Realistically, we face the more critical problem of how to survive a government whose power to tax has removed its constraints and left it unlimited. The power to tax is the power to violate human rights, and it must be opposed on moral grounds by all concerned for human liberty. Taxation is actually a

A FREE TEXAS INTERVIEW

a successful petition drive to place the issue on the ballot. When legislators finally got the message and passed a law repealing the tax as the 1980 election approached, your successful tax repeal campaign catapulted you into the position of being one of the best known and most popular political leaders in Alaska. How do you approach the issue of taxation today?

RANDOLPH: The immediate question which Alaskans face is *not* how to support a

confiscation of property, an act which is considered a crime when committed by an individual. How is it that government escapes moral condemnation for such forcible seizure of property when individuals do not? What process of reasoning can justify acts of government which are not justifiable for people?

FREE TEXAS: Have you been able to generate as much political mileage from civil liberties issues as you have from the

tax revolt?

RANDOLPH: I think everyone in Alaska understands my position on victimless "crime" issues, on the draft, on narcotics, and on gambling. I think they also understand what I refer to as my non-socialistic leanings. Libertarianism, certainly in Alaska, appeals to non-socialistic liberals and non-socialistic conservatives. Most conservatives don't consider themselves to be socialistic at all, but of course we know that a lot of them are.

FREE TEXAS: Is the Libertarian Party attracting people more from the Left or the Right in Alaska?

RANDOLPH: We're starting to draw them from both ends of the spectrum, Republicans and Democrats, liberals and conservatives. Because of my basic political image as a conservative Republican prior to my becoming a Libertarian, I think we probably have attracted more ex-conservatives than ex-liberals, but there are certainly more liberals coming on board than there was before.

FREE TEXAS: Beginning as a Republican legislator, how did you become a Libertarian?

RANDOLPH: In a legislature controlled by a coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats, the state budget increased 27 percent that year. I found out that conservatives are bigger hypocrites than liberals. Conservatives profess one thing and do another.

FREE TEXAS: Now that you are a Libertarian legislator, how have you been accepted by your colleagues in the House?

RANDOLPH: The first two years - certainly the first year - I was viewed as an oddity. They tended to ignore me as much as possible, but they found out that I wasn't about to be ignored. Also, the press didn't ignore me at all.

FREE TEXAS: Are the Republicans and Democrats tending to take over some of your ideas that they once considered radical?

RANDOLPH: They're starting to articulate them, but frankly, I don't believe the Republican or Democratic parties can exist if they implement very many of our programs. They exist on the tax structure, on massive regulation, on government control of enterprise - to implement our programs would put them out of business.

FREE TEXAS: If elected Governor next year, what do you hope to accomplish?

RANDOLPH: The governorship of Alaska is constitutionally a very powerful office. That, combined with Alaska's vast resource potential and a strong Libertarian governor, could launch Alaska into the leadership of the Western States disputes with the federal government. This in turn would elevate public awareness of Libertarianism far beyond where we are today, and I believe have a major impact on the 1984 elections nationally.

FREE TEXAS: Is there any special advice you have for Libertarian candidates in 1982?

RANDOLPH: I think Libertarians forget something when they preach freedom and liberty - we must advocate personal responsibility. We do not necessarily endorse the behavior that the elimination of victimless "crime" laws will no longer make illegal. Remember: freedom is the prize, responsibility the price.

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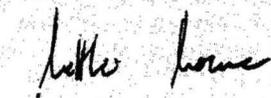
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Legislature preserves medical monopoly in Texas

Health care is a major industry in a state boasting the largest and most advanced complex of medical facilities in the U.S. — the Texas Medical Center, a collection of 24 hospitals packed onto a 200-acre site in

By Michael Grossberg

Houston with a \$552 million annual operating budget, a \$632 million physical plant, 23,000 employees, 4,127 hospital beds, 10,000 visitors a day, and 1.5 million patients a year. Health care is also a major political issue in Texas, if the recent special session of the Texas Legislature is an indication.

DURING the session, a powerful coalition of organized doctors and entrenched bureaucrats lobbied successfully to pass the Medical Practices Act, a bill which extends — and expands — the State Board of Medical Examiners' power to license, examine, and govern the Texas medical profession. The bill increases the penalty for practicing medicine without a license from a misdemeanor to a felony — punishable by a maximum fine of \$5,000 and 2 years imprisonment — and expands the grounds on which a doctor's license may be restricted.

If the bill had not passed, the medical board would have officially ceased to exist on September 1 under the Texas Sunset Act, thus halting the licensing of physicians in Texas. Lobbying against the Medical Practices Act was a new coalition of Texas consumers, alternative health care practitioners, and civil libertarians—led by the Health Freedom Council—who support freedom of choice in health care.

OVER the objections of the Texas

Medical Association (TMA), a government-privileged lobby of 20,000 doctors whose political action committee distributed more than \$800,000 in political contributions last year, three minor amendments were made to the act which slightly loosens the grip of organized medicine over health care in Texas.

One amendment, favored by powerful House Speaker Bill Clayton, permits optometrists to use diagnostic drugs. If

"The American Medical Association lobbied for government licensing of the medical profession, not to 'protect the public', but to reduce the supply of doctors and thus raise the incomes of practicing physicians."

optometrists obtain a standing delegation order from a physician, they can now administer diagnostic eyedrops to patients.

Another amendment — worked out in negotiations between the TMA, the Texas Osteopathic Medical Association, and the Texas Hospital Association — directs staff admissions boards of public hospitals to stop discrimination against osteopaths.

A final amendment allows lay members to be added to the Board of Medical Examiners for the first time. The Board's composition was changed from 12 physicians to 9 medical doctors, 3 doctors of osteopathy, and 3 public members.

SEVERAL amendments which would have increased competition in health care failed to be included in the final version of the bill. Responding to testimony from the Health Freedom Council, a few legislators tried unsuccessfully to amend the act to narrow the definition of medical practice in

order to protect alternative health care providers from prosecution. The Council had argued that the bill would, in effect, place a "loaded gun" in the hands of the Board, which could then use it to eliminate all health care practices which are not under the direct control of physicians. HFC members feared that the new definition of the practice of medicine was so all-inclusive that the bill would put non-medical health practitioners "in jeopardy of being arrested

and jailed."

Two other amendments which would have given patients access to their medical records and granted nurses more opportunity to practice their skills were introduced unsuccessfully by Lloyd Doggett, the only State Senator to vote against final passage of the Medical Practices Act. The TMA opposed a standing orders provision for nursing practitioners, according to Doggett, "since competition from the nurses would result in a loss of profits for the doctors."

Through the months of debate over the controversial health care issue, Doggett — famous for his filibusters against the Act — publicly accused the powerful medical association of fighting any attempts to make health care in Texas more competitive. He charged that the failure of his amendments and the final passage of the bill demonstrate "the tremendous political strength of the TMA."

DOGGETT suggested that spiraling health care costs can be reduced by "injecting more competition into the system". According to the *Daily Texan*, Doggett noted, "Texans are being denied health care today in many parts of the state. In many other parts they're paying more for health care because of the fear of competition of the TMA from the nursing profession."

His charges were echoed by Health Freedom Council President Gene Mitchell, who pointed out that existing state laws already give doctors a "medical monopoly". He warned that the new bill turns that monopoly into a "medical dictatorship", threatening all forms of alternative health care in Texas, including vitamin therapy, biofeedback, acupuncture, massage, nutrition counseling, lay midwifery, iridology, reflexology, and herbal medicine.

"There are individuals who think we are trying to put them in jail, trying to keep them from selling vitamins, trying to take away their livelihood," argued Dr. Gary Williamson, Chairman of the TMA's Council on Legislation, "But that's not it at all. We're not trying to create a medical monopoly." In a certain sense, Williamson was correct. The TMA is not trying to create a medical monopoly; with the passage of the Medical Practices Act, the TMA has perpetuated a medical monopoly which has existed for decades in America, thanks to government grants of special privilege to the medical profession.

EVER since its founding in 1847, the American Medical Association has taken advantage of the government's power to restrict entry into the medical profession through state licensing laws. The AMA, and its state affiliates such as the TMA, lobbied for government licensing of the medical profession, not to "protect the public", but to reduce the supply of doctors and thus raise the incomes of practicing physicians.

By 1900, almost every state had passed and was enforcing licensure requirements, in most cases granting licenses only to those with a diploma from an AMA-approved school. Using political power, organized

medicine gained virtually complete control over entry into the practice of medicine, becoming one of the nation's largest and most successful government-protected guilds.

GOVERNMENT restrictions do little to protect the public, but have done a great deal to keep the public from receiving treatment by the medical profession's competitors. Doctors, once licensed, can legally perform any kind of health service, including open-heart surgery and brain surgery, even if they've never received the proper training — remarkable for legislation allegedly designed to assure the public of adequately trained physicians. Once a doctor wins a license to practice, it is almost never revoked, even if he is judged to be senile or "mentally ill" and sometimes even if he is convicted of law-breaking. Clearly, medical-practice statutes were never really intended to protect the public from quacks, but instead raise medical costs, limit consumer choice, and violate the rights of



'None of this stuff works, but it sure sells'

individuals to freely trade medical services.

Ivan Illich could have been discussing the consequences of the Medical Practices Act when he observed in *Medical Nemesis* that "during the last generations the medical monopoly over health care has expanded without checks and has encroached on our liberty with regard to our own bodies...the malignant spread of (institutionalized) medicine turns mutual care and self-medication into misdemeanors or felonies." Contrary to Dr. Williamson, under the previous version of the Medical Practices Act, alternative health care practitioners have been threatened with jail and taken to court, entrapped by Board of Medical Examiner employees posing as alternative health care clients.

EVEN a former faculty member of the University of Texas Medical School at Galveston, Dr. Ted Norris (Md., Ph.D.), concedes that the new Act was passed to "bolster an authoritarian type of health monopoly that has little broad public support based on trust and credibility. The more physicians try to use the force of law to maintain that control, the less credibility they have with an increasingly informed public." Addressing the health care issue in *New Texas*, Dr. Norris stated, "I believe that consumer groups and civil libertarians will no longer take abuse by the medical monopoly."

Undeterred by the failure of their first major lobbying effort in Texas, the emerging broad-based alliance of health freedom advocates is preparing for a new onslaught on the government-privileged state medical monopoly. Some alternative health care practitioners are considering litigation against the Act; Libertarians are planning to make health care a major issue of their 1982 campaigns.

Health Freedom Alliance works for deregulation

One organization working for health care deregulation is the Health Freedom Alliance. The HFA is an alliance of doctors, nurses, and other health care professionals and paraprofessionals, as well

By Michael Grossberg

as patients and producers of health care-related products and services, who share the ultimate goal of a true free market in health care and the more immediate goal of reducing government intervention.

THE Health Freedom Alliance publishes a monthly newsletter, "Vital Signs", publishes position papers, holds annual conferences, maintains a speakers bureau, lobbies in Congress, and acts as a clearinghouse for a growing network of libertarians in the health care field. Among the HFA's advisors are psychologist Peter Breggin, Congressman Ron Paul (Texas),

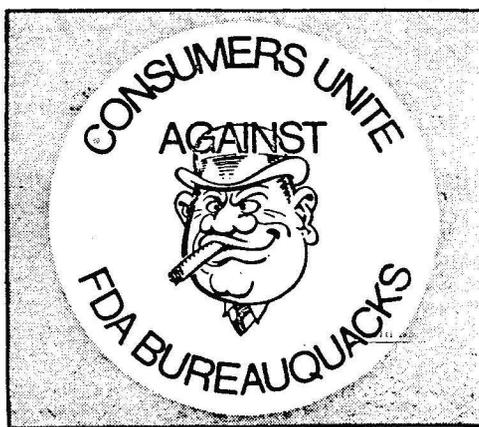
the issue and the founders of America came down firmly on the side of separation of church and state."

"TODAY, the issue is health care freedom and we of the HFA come down firmly on the side of separation of health care and state. With most politicians and professional organizations advocating some form of the 'therapeutic state,' a new organization was needed which would fight for the kind of freedom of choice in health care that Americans enjoy in religion," he said.

One of the HFA's major objectives is to phase out government financing of health care in order to allow phasing in of private philanthropy and donated treatment for the indigent. The group opposes any official government stamp of approval on any particular alternative of treatment or health care practice. The HFA recommends an unhampered free market in substances and products used in health care, with each person being responsible for his own products and actions, arguing that this will stimulate research and development of improved medications, increase competition, reduce prices, and discourage black markets.

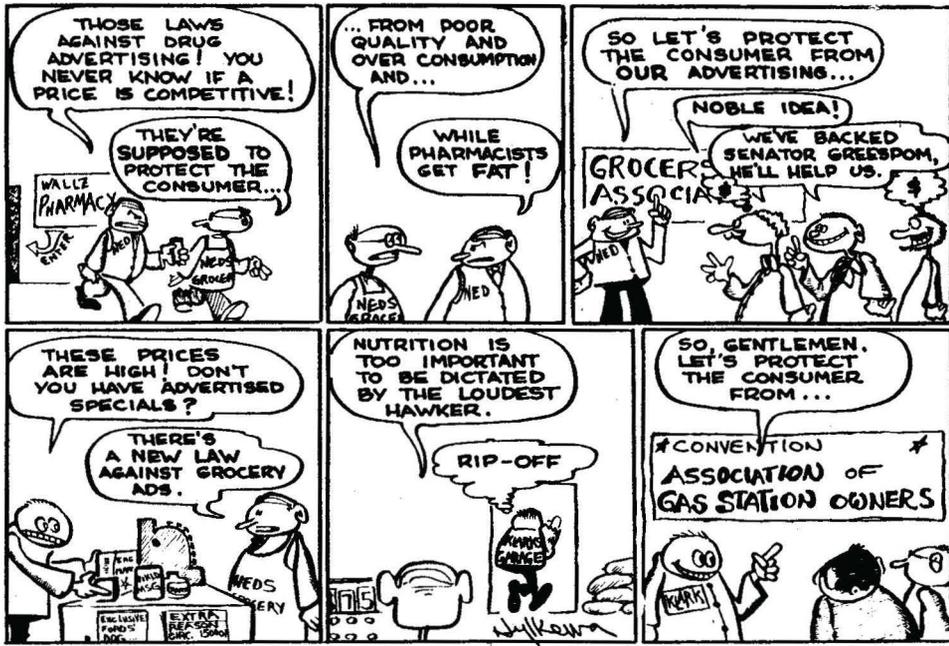
Although an enemy of National Health Insurance, the Health Freedom Alliance is no friend to the state-sanctioned privileges of the American Medical Association. According to an HFA brochure, "The monopoly evils of government licensing must be replaced by optional certification by private organizations formed for the purpose of maintaining high standards of competence and care." The HFA suggests that the growing malpractice suit crisis can be alleviated through the use of voluntary contracts for binding, private arbitration of disputes arising out of health care transactions.

For more information about the HFA's activities and goals, write Health Freedom Alliance, 2351 China Gulch Road, Jacksonville, OR 97530.



and past National LP Treasurer Dallas Cooley, M.D.

Robert Baures, the HFA Executive Director, explained why the Health Freedom Alliance was founded: "We have joined the battle for health care freedom. Freedom is an ongoing battle which has been fought on other fields in other times. In the 18th Century, religious freedom was



FREE TEXAS CLASSIFIEDS

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STATE ELECTIONS

(Continued from page 1)

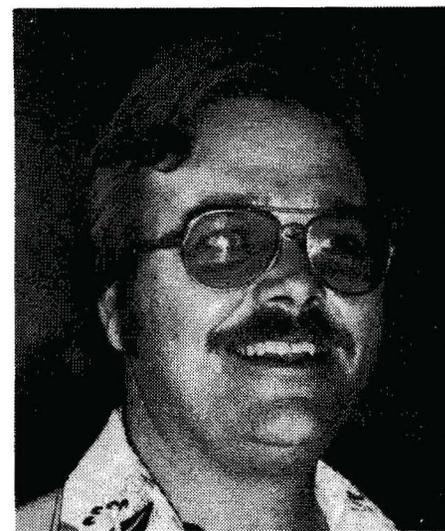
The State Legislature abolished all other county departments of education in 1977, but the Harris County and Dallas County Departments — located in the regional stronghold of the powerful state teachers lobby — remain the exception. Because of special legislation passed in the 1930's, these two county agencies continue to exercise

"I am opposed to public education per se. I object to the state educating my children, because I am responsible for them. Education should be governed by the free market."

-Harris County School Board member Jeff Calvert

their unique privilege of levying property taxes.

"Half of the Harris County Department of Education's budget is spent on administrative expenses and overhead," charged Bill Fraser in the *Houston Chronicle*. "What makes me nauseous was a statement of the current board president that he was proud of two things, of having the largest staff in history and that they had



Jeff Calvert, a veteran Libertarian activist, was elected to the Harris County School Board in the Southeast district of Houston, where Calvert owns and operates several Western wear stores. (Photo by Roy Radleck)

completed a parking lot for their staff."

"I'm a former school teacher," Honey Lanham told the *Chronicle*. "I think that most public schools are more concerned with attendance than education, since attendance equals money. This particular organization doesn't even have any students. They are really interested in money. Maybe the whole board is not needed. Only two counties still have this board. I'm not convinced we do need it, although I would not do anything (to abolish it) without first looking into it."

Jeff Calvert, who spent five years teaching high school in Texas and Ohio, pointed out, "I am opposed to public education per se. I object to the state educating my children, I am responsible for them. Education should be governed by the free market." Touching upon points developed in greater detail by LP presidential candidate Ed Clark in his critique of public education (See special Summer issue of *FREE TEXAS* on Education), Calvert explained to the *Chronicle*, "Parents don't really have any control over the schools anymore. Schools see their job as socialization, not education. Schools are retarding the children, actually lowering our literacy rate. The learning aptitude of students is better at the beginning of their school years than at the end."

IF the Harris County School Board had not called attention to itself by precipitously hiking taxes and arousing the interest of the Libertarian Party, the school board probably would have been able to operate indefinitely with an attitude of politics-as-usual. But the election of the Libertarians seems to have permanently changed things. Calvert told *FREE TEXAS* that the existing school board trustees "must have

been running pretty scared," because they held an emergency meeting a few days before the election to borrow \$500,000, to be paid back out of the tax increase "we were pledged to roll back if we won a majority."

Now officially sworn in, the three elected Libertarians will concentrate their efforts on fighting the school board's current activities. According to the *Pasadena Citizen*, a southeast Harris County daily in Calvert's district, although the Libertarians

"campaigned on a platform of ultimately eliminating the school district itself," they remain a minority without the power to implement their plan. "We're looking at a bunch of 4-3 votes," Calvert admitted, "but we don't want this to be an exercise in futility. We'll learn what the board is and how it works and how to go about eliminating it. At budget time is when we'll get down to real nitty-gritty. In the meantime, we don't want to be seen as radicals who say 'no' every time they say 'yes'. We'll do our job well so when the time comes to limit taxes we're going to make them justify it." Calvert added, "And if we develop a good track record maybe by the election next year we can convince the voters."

THE Libertarian victory generated statewide publicity and a nationwide syndicated news story about the LP. The *Dallas Morning News* observed, "The fledgling Texas Libertarian Party is predicting great things for itself after electing three members to an obscure, unsalaried school board with no students or schools under its jurisdiction...The three winning Libertarians plan to ask the state Legislature to abolish the agency. Meanwhile, they will try to convince one other board member to vote with them when they propose that the tax rate of 4½¢ for each \$100 of assessed value be reduced to zero. 'This is definitely a springboard,' state LP Chairwoman Honey Lanham said about the first victorious campaign in the state party's nine-year history. 'But first we have to get rid of the board'."

Bill Fraser said the three Libertarians still might attempt to abolish the board. He said



Bill Fraser ran a well-organized grassroots campaign for Harris County School Board, edging out the first-ballot-ranked incumbent.

they would go to the State Legislature and ask it to rescind the board's taxing powers. "There is nothing to stop three member from going to the Legislature and asking," he said. "And in the meantime, we can keep the public informed as to what is going on that board."

CHANCES of making school board abolition an issue in the 1983 legislative session are good, judging from the support the Libertarians received from the Houston political establishment during their

(Continued on page 18)

LP10 (Continued from page 1)

Libertarian candidates failed to win the delegates' support. Also rejected was the Committee's proposal to expand the number of delegates to the next LP Presidential Convention (which is scheduled for New York City in the fall of 1983) and a bylaws amendment that would have required new party members to sign a statement affirming their agreement with the LP Statement of Principles.

But the greatest disagreement between the Bylaws Committee and LP10 delegates arose over plans to restructure the National Committee. In a grassroots effort to reduce factionalism by moving towards a one-state one-vote system, delegates almost succeeded - despite Bylaws Committee opposition - in eliminating at-large representation on the National Committee.

OVER further objections of the Bylaws Committee, delegates endorsed another plan to restructure NatCom by permitting regions to select alternates to their own NatCom representatives. Under the plan, introduced by LP of Texas Chair Honey Lanham, alternates will attend and vote at NatCom meetings if their regional representatives cannot attend. Helping the delegates in their lobbying efforts was the State Chairs Caucus, a potentially significant group newly organized at LP10, which will hold its first annual meeting next

January 29-31 in Houston, Texas.

Criticism of the Bylaws Committee, virtually all of whom were self-elected NatCom members, led to an additional rules change preventing more than five NatCom members from serving on that important committee in the future.

BY CONTRAST, during Platform debate, delegates approved almost all of the Platform Committee's recommendations which had time to be considered. Among the 19 planks passed were new planks on *Women's Rights, Balanced Budgets, Space Exploration, Agriculture, Juries, and International Travel and Foreign Investment.*

Possibly the most controversial of the newly approved planks was *Women's Rights*, which confronts the emotional issues of abortion (See abortion debate in this issue) and discrimination (See ERA debate in Fall FREE TEXAS). The new plank strengthens the LP's prochoice position while calling for repeal of all discriminatory laws, such as marriage, divorce and "protective" labor laws.

THE *Balanced Budgets* plank hails the drive for a constitutional amendment requiring the national government to balance its budget, while demanding that the budget be balanced by cutting spending, not raising taxes. The *Space Exploration* plank opposes all government restrictions upon voluntary peaceful use of outer space, while calling for abolition of NASA and repudiation of the U.N. Moon Treaty. The



Agriculture plank condemns government meddling with farming, including embargoes on exports, while calling for the immediate abolition of all price supports, subsidies, regulations, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

The *Juries* plank opposes forced jury service - a form of involuntary servitude -

and favors all-volunteer juries. Challenging the legitimacy of unjust laws, such as victimless "crime" laws, the plank supports the common-law right of juries to judge not only the facts of cases, but also the justice of criminal law.

THE *International Travel and Foreign Investment* plank condemns the violations of American citizens' rights by foreign governments, while calling for the U.S. government to respect the "principle that all U.S. citizens travel, live and own property abroad at their own risk". It opposes - as an unjust, tax-supported subsidy - any protection of the foreign investments of U.S. citizens or businesses, and calls for abolition of U.S. passports, looking forward to a world of free and open borders.

Other amendments to the Libertarian Platform - which already contains over 50 planks spelling out in detail the LP's support for full civil liberties, a free market economy, and a noninterventionist foreign policy - include statements applauding the trend toward private protection services and voluntary crime control, condemning the stationing of American military troops in the Mideast as a tripwire that could easily set off a new world war, demanding an end to all FCC regulation of political coverage and advertising, opposing women being added to the draft pool, and calling for return of lands taken from Japanese-Americans during World War II.

ALSO endorsed were amendments applauding the private adjudication of disputes by mutually acceptable judges, condemning U.S. participation in the Law of the Sea treaty negotiations, demanding the repeal of all laws regulating pornography, opposing federal funding and contracting of ads produced by the National Ad Council "so that no individuals be forced to pay to support issues or ideas to which they would not voluntarily contribute", and calling for a global triumph of liberty by supporting both political and revolutionary actions against governments that violate rights.

Since Platform debate was permitted less than half the time given to Bylaws debate, only 60 percent of the Platform Committee's recommendations had a chance to be



Keith Vanderlee worked hard at LP10 as Texas delegation chair. (Photo by Gary Johnson)

considered by the delegates. Even planks left over from the 1979 LP Convention, which addressed such important issues as children's rights, pollution, health care, and government debt, failed to be debated at LP10 for lack of time. And unilateral nuclear disarmament, the most hotly discussed issue of all at LP10 - so controversial that it was the only plank with a Platform Committee minority report (calling for negotiated disarmament) - was never voted on.

BECAUSE of their concern that the Libertarian Party continue to play its crucial role in publicizing libertarian approaches to urgent contemporary issues, many LP10 delegates have asked that at future LP Conventions they be given the time they deserve to adequately debate and revise the party's platform.

Some delegates are calling for an expansion of the Platform revision process into a full-fledged grassroots debate, in which the Platform Committee would meet months before each Convention to make its

Texas delegation active at LP10

The 1981 National Convention of the Libertarian Party marked our 10th Anniversary. Each day began with a Speaker's Breakfast followed by more activities than anyone could possibly attend

FROM THE CHAIR

By Honey Lanham

- including workshops, speeches, floor debate, luncheons, dinners, meetings, and parties.

THE Texas Tea Party Wednesday night was widely acknowledged as LP10's best unofficial party. Honoring Independence Pledge members, host Matt Monroe welcomed conventioners to his suite to meet the Texas delegation. Over 600 drinks were served by Laura Yaussy, Bill Fraser, David Scott, Janet Tlapek, and Steve

Briggs. We couldn't count the guests.

A Clark Campaign Luncheon honored Ed Clark and the other Heroes of the Revolution. Kris Cooper of Dallas and Liz Barthlow of Houston received special awards as the best media schedulers of the campaign.

HIGHLIGHT of the convention floor activity was the election of National Chair. After days and nights of campaigning, Alicia Clark was elected after three ballots on Sunday. The first ballot from Texas gave her 23 votes, with 25 on the second ballot and 27 on the final ballot from a total of 33 delegates. John Mason received 4 Texas votes on all three ballots. Kent Guida received 2 votes on the first ballot and 3 on the second. Sheldon Richman won the position of vice-chair after 2 ballots although he only received 6 votes from Texas each time.

At-large Representatives elected include Dick Randolph, Kent Guida, Andrea Rich, Murray Rothbard, Chris Hocker, Michael Emerling, and M.L. Hanson. None of the Above got the second highest number of votes from Texas after M.L. Hanson.

RULES change began with a total reordering of the format into Bylaws and Convention Rules. Your state chair had submitted three rules changes to the Bylaws Committee prior to LP10. The changes



failed to get out of committee after being presented by Ed Clark. However, two of these changes were presented from the floor in the most controversial activity of the day.

A major rules change to elect alternate regional representatives to the National Committee, presented by your state chair and seconded by Ed Clark, passed on a voice vote. A rules change to eliminate at-large NatCom Representatives was then proposed from the floor and supported by Texas Representatives 21 to 2 as well as the State Chairs Caucus. It failed 144 to 186 after parliamentary maneuvering - which included a quorum call, a walkout of over

80 delegates, a quorum count which passed, a quick return of those who had walked out, and a roll call vote.

MANY other conventioners commented on the LP of Texas' organization and were quite complimentary about our delegation. Keith Vanderlee served as our delegation chair, after John McDivitt was unable to attend LP10, while Allan Vogel served as vice-chair. Vogel provided pre-printed ballots which enabled the Texas delegation to be one of the best organized at the convention. Keith and Allan handled a difficult task admirably. Many Texans also worked hard at the popular Texas Booth just outside the convention floor entrance, including David Kelley, Keith Holden, J.D. Webster, Ken Crawford, Janet Tlapek, Michael Grossberg, and more. I was especially proud of being a member of the Texas delegation.

AnnMarie Perier and Bill Ware were members of the Credentials Committee, while Bill Mitchell, Michael Grossberg, and Jeffrey Rogers Hummel served on the Platform Committee. Michael authored the newly approved planks on *Women's Rights, Space Exploration, Population, and Unowned Resources*, and Jeff wrote the new planks on *Human Rights, Balanced Budgets, and International Travel and Foreign Investment.*

LP10 HONOR ROLL

DELEGATES: Mike Angwin, Jeff Calvert, Wayne Clark, Jeff Daiell, Peter Elloway, Bill Fraser, Susan Frenley, Roger Gary, Michael Grossberg, Susan Hervey, Mike Holmes, Jeffrey Rogers Hummel, David Hutzelman, Becky Hutzelman, Gary Edward Johnson, Honey Lanham, J.P. Miller, Bill Mitchell, Matt Monroe, AnnMarie Perier, David Scott, Janet Tlapek, Keith Vanderlee, Allan Vogel, Bill Ware, J.D. Webster, Laura Yaussy, Robert Yaussy, Tom Glass. ALTERNATES: Debbie Angwin, Gene Berkman, Steve Briggs, Barbara Briggs, Greg Clark, Ken Crawford, Garry Farmer, Martin Gibson, Jane Henson, Bill Howell, Karen Webster. OBSERVERS: Janey Armstrong, Tom Bernhardt, Scott Bieser, Celine Briggs, Donald Burger, Emmie Crawford, John Ford, Sherry Gibson, Keith Holden, David Kelley, Charles Key, Alma Kucymbala, Reed Shahan, Maria Trevino, Kathie Youngblood.

IN our Regional Caucus to elect our NatCom Representative from Region XIII (Texas), Matt Monroe was elected without opposition. Honey Lanham was elected alternate, defeating J.D. Webster. We also held a state executive committee meeting, where Roger Gary presented your state chair with a gavel from the Bexar County Party. Matt Monroe presented our delegates with commemorative notebooks.

The informative Activist Workshops were attended by Martin Gibson, who praised them highly. The complete set of Liberty Audio workshop tapes is available from Bill Fraser, who is still enjoying them.

A Cartoonist's -Eye View of LP10



report. Long before each Convention, the Platform Committee's report would be mailed to delegates, who would have the opportunity - never before granted - to fully familiarize themselves with the proposed planks, offer revisions and testimony of their own, and discuss controversial planks in local LP meetings and LP newsletters across the country. During the next NatCom meeting March 26-28 in Houston, Platform Committee member Michael Grossberg will submit a detailed proposal to open up Platform debate to the grassroots for NatCom approval.

ALTHOUGH delegates determined quite a few matters of party leadership, party procedures, and party ideology at LP10, the fundamental issue of the LP's future role in

American politics remains unresolved. Even the news media noticed that Libertarians continue to disagree about strategy. "The growing pains for the 10-year-old party aren't over", commented the *Denver Post*, adding "As the convention neared its end, the LP appeared to be no closer to complete political harmony than the two major parties get in their national conventions."

In his keynote address, outgoing LP Chair David Bergland "referred pointedly to two factions of the party - one that would hold the party and its candidates firmly to Libertarian principle at whatever cost and one that would put aside principle for short-run political advantage," according to the *Rocky Mountain News*. "Bergland labeled the two factions the

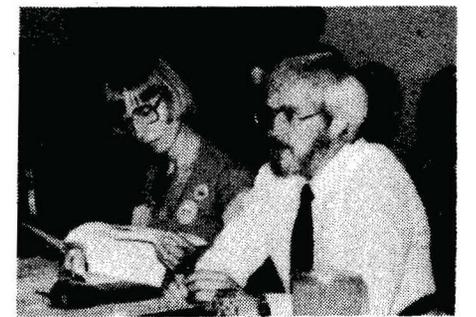
'purity squad' and the 'opportunistic compromisers', drawing laughter and applause. The rigidity of the first group discourages party-building generally, he suggested, and the looseness of the second group discourages the building of a party of principle."

REACTION to the Convention from across the country reveals significant differences among Libertarians, not only about party strategy, but about the significance of LP10 as an indication of the Libertarian Party's future direction. Two contrasting views of LP10 were illustrated in the *Washington Libertarian* and *Massachusetts Liberty*.

Washington activist Rod Colver contends, "At the 1979 Convention, I noticed a large number of delegates who were new to libertarianism and who did not really understand our basic principles and how they applied to specific issues. At the 1981 Convention, this segment of new people came to a near majority, sometimes creating a circus atmosphere and defeating numerous needed changes...I am convinced that the party can build a solid libertarian cadre, educate its members, and at the same time elect candidates through radical, principled campaigns. Obviously what is needed is major internal educational efforts. Without grassroots organizing and massive internal education, the LP will soon - very soon - be turned into another mushy, middle-of-the-road party. Should the party's direction not remain principled, the hardcore activists will quit in droves."

A more optimistic view was expressed by Massachusetts activist Lee Webber: "The 1981 Convention may well have been the most important one since 1974. What we saw was the ascendancy of a new generation of grassroots activists. The most visible effect of this 'new breed' was the election of Alicia Clark, bringing us to the end of the LP's 'nationalist' era...(whose) cen-

tralization inhibited local political activity and strategic thinking...The other effect of this 'new breed' influence is much subtler. As the LP becomes more respectable, people who are drawn to it tend to be less radical and more conventional in their way of thinking. I suspect that those of us in the LP today will be as surprised at what it looks like in 1990 as the founders are at today's party."



Outgoing national LP officers Sylvia Sanders and David Bergland participate in a Libertarian National Committee meeting. (Photo by Scott Bieser)

TEXAS' own veteran activist Bill Howell probably offered the most balanced opinion about the Tenth Anniversary Libertarian Convention. "With factions bitterly denouncing each other, most of the delegates wound up deciding Rules, Platform and party office votes on a case-by-case basis, often with a 'plague on all your houses' attitude," explained Howell in the Dallas LP newsletter. "So who won? In general, the non-factional bulk of the Party did. They elected the candidate for Chair least involved in the internal feuding, and a Vice-Chair who can give her strong support...Whether this moderate course will prove to be best for the party in the long run, only time will tell. Maybe this will provide enough breathing space for the factions to concentrate on fighting the government instead of each other. That prospect looks promising indeed."

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LP of Texas, P.O. Box 35432, Dallas, TX 75235

DO WE HAVE A "RIGHT"

Warning: Government can b

Does everyone have a right to health care? Such a "right" is inherent in programs such as Medicare, Medicaid, and National Health Insurance.

AT first glance a "right" to health care

By Ted Harrison and Jarret Wollstein

may seem logical and desirable. Yet health care does not exist as some sort of natural resource, but rather can only be provided by doctors and other health care professionals. There neither is nor can be any such thing as truly "free" medical care—medical care provided without human effort and cost. Given this obvious fact, what does a "right to health care" really mean?

"Compulsory government health care schemes amount to nothing less than legalized theft, with taxpayers as the victims and bureaucrats as the beneficiaries."

If you have a right to health care it means that you have a right to a doctor's services, which you can compel him to provide, regardless of whether you pay him, regardless of the doctor's wishes. Thus your "right" to health care would imply a right to control a doctor's life and expropriate his skills to satisfy your needs. This means simply that doctors are slaves to the needs of society, and have no right to their own lives.

THE contradictions of a "right to health care" stem from the general concept upon which that "right" is based: the concept of a "right to a livelihood" — which is entirely different from and opposite to the concept of the right to life. A "right to a livelihood"

implies that people have a right to material services and objects simply because people exist and need things. This concept ignores the fact that before goods and services can be consumed, they must first be produced by someone's thought and effort. Such a "right" necessarily violates the rights of those who produce goods and services. Such a "right" implies that "some people are more equal than others", which means that a privileged social class (such as members of Congress, the poor, the Communist Party, etc.) has the right to redistribute the wealth of everyone else, effectively enslaving them.

Logically there can be no such thing as a "right" to violate the rights of everyone else. To the extent that some men are allowed to redistribute the property of others, the

incentive for production is undermined, power is concentrated in the hands of the redistributors, a rift is created between the victims, and beneficiaries of theft, social peace and stability are undermined, and violence is institutionalized in society through the expansion of authoritarian government.

NATIONAL Health Insurance and other compulsory public health schemes amount to nothing less than legalized theft, with taxpayers as the victims and the bureaucrats who administer the programs as the beneficiaries. Programs like National Health Insurance would not simply aid the poor, who would constitute a tiny fraction of their participants, but would compel



everyone in society to participate, whether they choose to or not.

Compulsory government health care programs not only violate the rights of Americans and place a new burden upon already beleaguered taxpayers. Such programs also threaten the destruction of quality health care in the United States itself.

FAR from controlling medical costs, as proponents of these programs claim, government health care results in a tremendous increase in medical costs. By breaking the link between the medical services a person consumed and what he had to pay for (when you go to a hospital under government health care, everyone pays for it), the incentive for individuals to limit their visits to the doctor and hospital are eliminated, resulting in a tremendous upsurge in demand for health care, and attendant increased costs.

In addition, the mammoth new government bureaucracies created to administer such programs greatly increase the real cost of health care. Americans have to pay taxes to maintain the new bureaucracy. Hospitals and doctors have to fill out a whole new set of forms adding to their costs. Increased government control of medicine eliminates competition and a lot of the incentive for health care professionals to reduce costs. Already under Medicaid and Medicare the predictable mentality has emerged "if the government's paying for it, let's charge as much as we can."

GOVERNMENT control of health care also inevitably means "cook-book" medicine in which individual needs and treatment are secondary to compliance with bureaucratic standards. Instead of meeting the needs of patients, doctors must be concerned with complying with the edicts of government.

National Health Insurance would mean that doctor's offices and hospitals will be crowded with people who aren't really sick but who have minor ailments that they would—in the absence of "free" government health care—take care of themselves. This is not conjecture but history. Under England's system of socialized medicine, over 700,000 people are now on hospital waiting lists and you can wait up to two years for corrective

cataract surgery, even if you are legally blind.

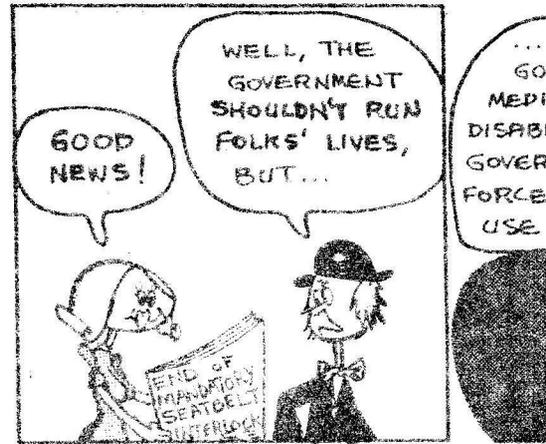
CLEARLY, more public health care means more taxes, more bureaucracy, and more suffering. The best way to improve the quality and lower the cost of health care in America is by reducing—not increasing—government control of health care. In particular, the American Medical Association's near monopoly control of medical schools and physician licensing ought to be abolished, along with drug efficacy requirements of the Food and Drug Administration, which drastically limit the introduction of new drugs into the United States while raising the cost of all drugs.

Because there is no right to health care,

"When medical care becomes a political marketplace for the bureaucrats find that they have money to save lives and cure political marketplace for the distortion in spending priorities"

because there is no such thing as free medical services, the only moral and practical way to insure quality health care in American is for government to leave doctors and hospitals and you and me alone. Let's allow health care to develop in freedom.

(This essay has been reprinted, in abridged form from a SIL pamphlet, Membership in the Society for Individual Liberty (PO Box 1147, Warminster, PA 18974) is \$5 per year.)



HEALTH

(EDITOR'S NOTE: This Health Care plank was approved by the National Platform Committee of the Libertarian Party at LP10 in Denver. Because of lack of time, the plank did not have a chance to be debated and voted on by the delegates.)

We advocate the complete separation of medicine and State. Recognizing the individual's right to self-medication, we seek the elimination of all government restrictions on the right of individuals to pursue alternative forms of health care. Individuals should be free to contract with practitioners of their choice for all health care services. We oppose government infringements of the practitioner-patient relationship through regulatory agencies such as the Professional Standards Review Organization.

We condemn efforts by governments to impose a medical orthodoxy on society. We specifically oppose the attempt by state and local governments to deny parents the right to choose the option of home births and to discourage the development of privately funded women's health clinics. We call for the repeal of all laws which restrict the practice of lay midwifery or which permit harassment of lay midwives and home birth practitioners. We also call for the repeal of all medical licensing laws, which have raised medical costs while creating a government-imposed monopoly of doctors and hospitals.

We oppose any form of compulsory National Health Insurance. We favor the abolition of Medicare and Medicaid programs. We also oppose any state or federal area planning boards whose stated purpose is to consolidate health services or avoid their duplication. We support the removal of all government barriers to medical advertising, including publication of doctor's fees and drug prices. We further support the elimination of prescription requirements for the dispensing of medicines and other health-related items.

We favor the deregulation of the medical insurance industry. We oppose negligence laws limiting the freedom of contract of patients and health care professionals, and laws regulating the supply of legal aid on a contingency fee basis. We also oppose subsidy of malpractice insurance through public funds. We call for the repeal of all laws enforcing compulsory arbitration of malpractice cases, or denying the rights of individuals to pursue private arbitration. We oppose laws that force health care professionals to render medical services in emergencies or other situations.

We condemn attempts at the federal, state, or local level to cripple the advance of science by governmental restrictions on research. In particular, we oppose governmental attempts to suppress recombinant DNA research. Nevertheless, we oppose any laws which limit liability for injuries arising from recombinant DNA research. We also oppose government subsidies to, or restrictions of, medical education. We call for the repeal of laws compelling individuals to submit to medical experiments, medical testing, medical treatment, or to the administration of drugs or other substances. We condemn compulsory hospitalization, compulsory vaccination, and compulsory fluoridation.

As interim measures, we advocate dollar-for-dollar tax credits to any individual or group providing health care services to the needy, or paying for such services. Tax credits should also be made available for private grants to medical education or medical research.

"T" TO MEDICAL CARE?

...e hazardous to your health!

In every country where health care decisions are made by politicians and bureaucrats, political pressures loom large in the process by which these decisions are made.

By Dr. John Goodman

A recent study of the British National Health Service, for example, found evidence that health care spending is higher in those political districts where the vote is predicted to be close in the next general election. A study of Canadian national health insurance identified a long-run trend toward redistribution of resources away from the poor and toward the middle class. This trend was attributed to the greater political influence of middle-class voters.

In over thirty years of operation, the British National Health Service has failed to make significant progress toward its announced goal of achieving equality of access to health care for all social classes. This failure has also been explained by reference to the political pressures faced by government officials.

ONE of the most fascinating developments in the discipline of economics today is the study of the behavior of government. What we are beginning to discover is that regulated markets have a logic of their own. How does this work in the field of medicine? The studies mentioned above provide some examples. But the most dramatic discovery about the politics of medicine is summarized by the following thesis:

When medical care becomes nationalized, government decision makers find that they have a reduced incentive to spend money to save lives and cure diseases and an increased incentive to spend money in ways which have a marginal effect on health (and perhaps no effect at all), but which make a large number of people more comfortable.

In other words, the substitution of the

**...es nationalized, government
...e a reduced incentive to spend
...diseases. The substitution of the
...conomic marketplace produces a**

political marketplace for the economic marketplace produces a distortion in spending priorities. Medical techniques which can save the lives and cure the diseases of the few tend to take a back seat to services which increase the comfort of the many. Once the health care system becomes nationalized, politicians soon find that there is very little political reward in spending additional money on what has been traditionally considered "health care".

SOME of the most striking examples of this thesis may be found in Britain. Partly because the British National Health Service (NHS) has been in operation for over 30 years, and partly because of the British penchant for collecting data, more is known about the British system than the health care systems of other countries.

Despite the high hopes of its founders that the NHS would encourage preventive treatment when health care was made free

"After 30 years of operation of the British National Health Service, over 750,000 people are now waiting to enter British hospitals. The British press and medical journals are filled with horror stories of patients dying because they were not promptly admitted and treated for their conditions."

at the point of consumption, the level of preventive medical care in Britain is strikingly low by American standards. Within the NHS, the general "checkup" is virtually unknown. Only 8 percent of all eligible women in Britain receive an annual PAP smear. (The U.S. rate is six times that high.) Even the government - sanctioned Merrison Report expressed alarm over vaccination rates for children. Over the last decade, there has been a decline in the vaccination rate for every major childhood disease.

ANOTHER indication of priorities in the hospital sector is the fact that while large numbers of patients with life-threatening conditions cannot gain immediate entrance into British hospitals, many of the beds earmarked for acute care are filled with patients whose presence in the hospital is medically unnecessary. In 1977, there were 40,000 "urgent" patients on hospital waiting lists while 25 percent of all acute beds were occupied by chronic patients who theoretically should not have been there!

Over 750,000 people are now waiting to enter British hospitals. The British press and medical journals are filled with horror stories of patients dying because they were not promptly admitted and treated for their conditions. Moreover, many of the "non-urgent" cases wait for years in constant pain and many others wait at considerable personal risk. In the Liverpool-Wellington area, for example, children in need of hole-in-the-heart operations face a two to three year wait - a wait which doctors believe may jeopardize their chance of survival.

EQUALLY startling is the contrast between the amount of money spent on family practitioner committee services and the amount spent on modern medical technology. In 1975 the NHS spent almost \$9 million subsidizing contraceptives, over \$12 million on sleeping pills, almost \$17.8 million on tranquilizers and sedatives, \$11 million on cough medicine, almost \$4 million on vitamins, and millions more on

bandaids, cotton wool, and items of comparable medical importance. Yet in 1975 and in 1976 up to 8,100 kidney patients may have died because the NHS refused to provide them with renal dialysis.

In the U.S., more heart transplants are performed every nine months at Stanford University Medical Center than have been performed in Britain in the last decade. As far as I can determine, in 1976 there were more CAT scanners in Houston, Texas

(population: about one million) than there were in all of Britain (population: about 54 million) - despite the fact that Britain pioneered scanner technology.

IS Britain's experience with national health insurance unique? Evidence from other countries suggests that it is not. Although the U.S., Canada, West Germany, Norway, and Denmark are very similar in terms of amounts spent on health care - averaging about \$577 per person in 1976 with the differences in per capita spending not exceeding \$65 that year - there are important differences among them in the way their health care systems are organized.

In 1974, for example, 40.5 percent of all health care spending in the U.S. was done by the government. Among the other four countries, however, the fraction of health care spending done by the government averaged 81.7 percent - about twice as high as in the U.S.

THERE are also important differences among these countries in the degree to which they take advantage of modern medical technology. The fraction of physicians engaged in specialized practice is 74 percent higher in the U.S. than it is in the other countries. The number of CAT scanners per capita in the U.S. is three times as high as it is in the other countries. The number of kidney patients being treated by dialysis or by transplant is about 33 percent higher in the U.S. than the average for the other countries. The evidence, then, indicates that the U.S., with a large private medical sector, devotes more of its health care resources to the kinds of equipment and services which are known to have important effects on the health of patients.

The relationship between national health insurance and the quality of medical care received by patients is not a perfect one. Nonetheless, across a broad range of indicators, there is a strong and persistent tendency for the quality of health care to be lower in those countries where government

LIBERTY AND HEALTH

A suggested reading list

- The Psychology of Self-Esteem*
By Nathaniel Branden
- The Psychology of Freedom*
By Peter Breggin
- Electroshock: Its Brain-disabling Effects*
By Peter Breggin
- Medical Malpractice: The Case for Contract*
By Richard Epstein
- The Aquarian Conspiracy*
By Marilyn Ferguson
- The Regulation of Medical Care*
By John Goodman
- Nature Heals: Psychological Essays*
By Paul Goodman
- Medical Nemesis*
By Ivan Illich
- The Pseudo-Science of B.F. Skinner*
By Tibor Machan
- Regulation of Pharmaceutical Innovation*
By Sam Peltzman
- The Myth of the Hyperactive Child*
By Peter Schrag and Diane Divoky
- The Theology of Medicine*
By Thomas Szasz
- Biochemical Individuality*
By Roger Williams

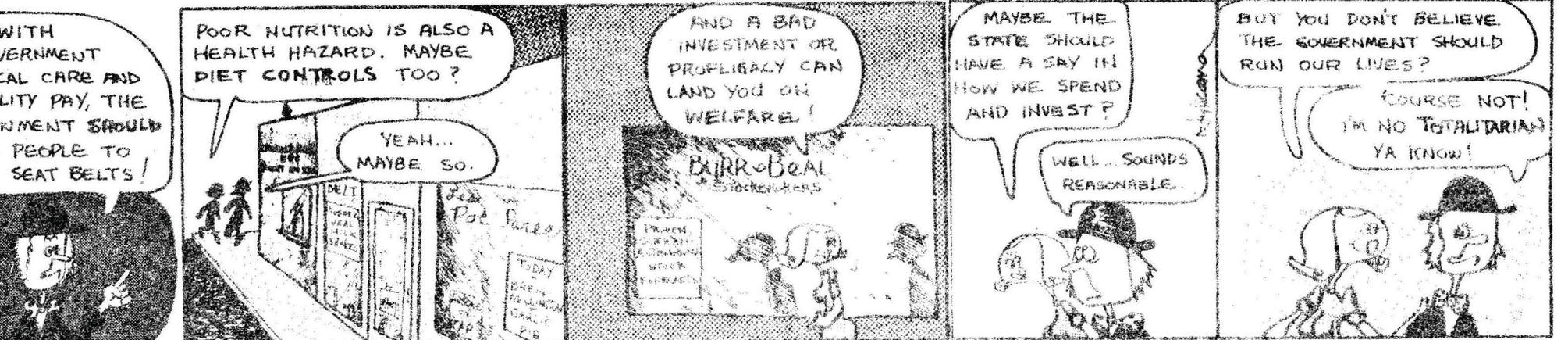
intervention is much greater than in our own country.

WHY does this tendency prevail? A general explanation is that politicians allocate resources very differently than the free market does. In the marketplace, there is a tendency (which is sometimes far from perfect) to allocate resources on the basis of *economic costs* and *economic benefits*. Politicians, on the other hand, tend to make decisions on the basis of *political costs* and *political benefits*. They do so not because they prefer it, but because competition for political office forces them to do so.

In weighing the decision to spend additional money on CAT scanners or whether to spend the same money on General Practitioner house calls, the marketplace reflects the subjective valuation of literally millions of consumers. What counts in the market is not the number of people preferring a particular service but the price they are willing to pay. In the political sector, however, what counts is sheer numbers, not the true economic value of the services involved.

SPACE does not permit a complete analysis of this principle, which I have elaborated on in my book, *National Health Care in Great Britain*. Nonetheless, all of the evidence I have seen so far confirms its general application. There is every reason to believe that if the U.S. continues down the road to greater government involvement in health care, it is the health of the patients that will suffer.

(Dr. John Goodman is assistant professor of economics and Director of the Center for Health Policy Research at the University of Dallas. He is the author of *Cato Institute Public Policy Study, "The Regulation of Medical Care: Is the Price Too High?"* This article has been reprinted, in abridged form, from *Policy Review*.)



"Mental health" programs threaten our liberties

It is no longer possible to open a magazine or newspaper, see television or a moving picture, contact social institutions such as the police, public schools, hospitals and social agencies, without at some point

By Martin Capell

encountering some so-called mental health professional passing judgement on what is "mental health" and what is "mental illness".

INSOFAR as such contact is voluntary and supported by individual action, or by groups derived from voluntary association, it is not of concern to Libertarians. The world of ideas and beliefs is--or ought to be--a free market place and a private affair. Thus, if you wish to purchase a popular psychiatric text instead of the Bible, consult a psychotherapist instead of a clergyman, or strive for "mental health" instead of for virtue, such choices are of no political concern to a free society.

What is of political concern are the methods by which the government enforces and supports "the psychiatric way of life." Government grants to psychiatrists the power to authorize the imprisonment of persons in mental hospitals and their coercion into "psychiatric treatment." This power is contained in so-called mental health laws which exist in every state, including Texas, and which rely on a psychiatric finding that a person is "mentally ill." Since it is reliably estimated that more than one million citizens are "on the books" of US public mental hospitals and therefore are subject to various sorts of psychiatric coercion, this is an enormous problem.

THE power to authorize involuntary mental commitment is unique in our society. It runs directly counter to the Rule of Law by which social relations are otherwise regulated. Ordinarily, a citizen is expected to plan his or her affairs with the law in mind--law which must be clearly stated, specific as to prohibited acts, or otherwise not abridging of constitutional guarantees. This makes governmental reaction to the behavior of the individual predictable, and enables the citizen to be held responsible for his or her actions. The idea of self-determination is destroyed insofar as the caprice of authority is permitted.

Dr. Thomas Szasz, the noted psychiatrist, has been laboring for more than 20 years to have involuntary psychiatry abolished. He has pointed out that whether or not a person is actually ill is beside the political point. In a free society, dangerous or otherwise objectionable medical treatment is performed because the patient wants it, not because it helps the sick person recover from illness.

INVOLUNTARY medical treatment is all the more unjust because psychiatrists

and other mental health personnel lack the scientific expertise which the courts accord them. Studies have consistently demonstrated that psychiatrists cannot agree among themselves either on the "diagnosis" or on the "treatment". They cannot predict with even minimal accuracy how individuals will behave in the future: this does not prevent some 50,000 persons a year from being detained on the grounds of being "dangerous" and "mentally ill."

In recent years a new doctrine has taken hold in some courts--the so-called Right to Treatment. As applied to persons involuntarily confined in state mental hospitals, this doctrine argues that the person either must be given "adequate psychiatric treatment" or be released.

applaud Norman Carlson, Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, who has publicly advocated that the medical model of criminality should be abandoned and that lawbreakers should no longer be diagnosed as victims of mental disease.

VAST amounts of government funds are spent to support "mental health" campaigns, "community mental health" centers and programs, research on "mental illness" and its "treatment", etc. The Libertarian view of such government-supported psychiatric intervention is this: in effect, the government is sponsoring a State religion whose Church is the National Institute of Mental Health. It pays its psychiatric personnel in the same way that the Church used to support its clergy--

requires human behavior to observe; and it is exactly those persons who are most socially helpless to resist personal intrusion--mental patients, public school children, prisoners--who become the objects of examination and manipulation.

EXAMPLES of the government's medical authoritarianism include so-called behavior modification experiments on inmates of state prisons, with administration of painful electric shock to genitalia so as to "condition" desired sexual responses... psychosurgery (mutilating brain surgery for the purpose of altering behavior) on inmates of state mental hospitals... between 500,000 and one million public school children currently being drugged with amphetamines, largely at the insistence of their teachers, a part of the frightening growth over the past five years of an ideology which sees almost all nonconformity as an illness and imposes "treatment" of it.

The modern amalgamation of medicine and the State poses a significant threat to individual liberty, just as State religions did in the days of our forefathers. Because the value of "health" has come to be supreme in the minds of many persons today, we tend to forget that a free society must value human liberty above all else or perish.

THE possibility of true freedom--the freedom of the individual to pursue his or her own life in the way that seems best to him or her, so long as the freedom of others is not invaded--will be destroyed if differences among us can be redefined as psychiatric illness by government. If nothing else, intimidation of the individual in "doing your own thing" is ever-present when mental commitment is possible. If involuntary psychiatry and governmental involvement in psychiatry were abolished, creative diversity could flourish, enriching all of us.

If involuntary psychiatry continues to grow, the end of liberty in an Orwellian State is inevitable. The choice is ours.

(Martin Capell, Ph.D. is a practicing psychologist and the editor of *The Abolitionist*, the newsletter for the American Association for the Abolition of Involuntary Mental Hospitalization. This essay was reprinted, in abridged form, from a Libertarian Party position paper.)



LIBERTARIANS must oppose such an argument. In the first place, we object to the idea that one person can justly lay claim to the service of another in the absence of a contract between them. Since a contract rests on a voluntary association, it is clearly invalid when one of the parties is being involuntarily confined by the other. Secondly, the argument distracts from the fundamental injustice which inheres in the involuntary mental hospitalization itself. Asserting a "right to treatment" is like asserting that slaves have a right to adequate sustenance, housing, education, etc, instead of an absolute right to freedom.

You may ask: what do we do about persons said to be mentally ill and dangerous? The Libertarian response is: if someone violates the rights of others, he or she is a criminal and should be dealt with accordingly. If persons do not break the law, leave them alone. Criminal acts are a legal problem, not a medical one. We

through taxes on the people. It promotes the ideology of "mental health" (however and by whomever that might be defined) in the same way that a State religion propagandizes its citizenry with official dogma. It funds its research programs in a manner similar to religious sponsorship of projects to determine the most efficient methods for converting heretics.

Let us be clear: if psychiatrists or anyone else wish to pursue investigations of methods of helping people, the Libertarian Party would have no objection--provided that such activity is sponsored and supported by individuals or by voluntary associations and is carried out on a contractual basis by all of the participants. The fact is that almost all psychiatric and psychological research is carried out under governmental auspices and in tax-supported settings. The reasons? On the one hand, the usual research questions are either so trivial or so morally objectionable that only governmental authority could enable it. On the other hand, such research

"We have no national religion. Neither do the Russians. But both the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. (and many other modern nations) have national, or state-recognized and state-supported, medicine. This corrupts medicine in the same way as religion had formerly been corrupted by its alliance with the state. Although the existence of this corruption is widely recognized, its cause is usually attributed to too little, rather than too much, control by the state. To return medicine to the service of the individual nothing less will suffice than an extension of the protections of the First Amendment to the healing arts, guaranteeing that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of medicine, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof..."

-Thomas Szasz, *The Second Sin*



Celebrating at a Society for Individual Liberty cocktail party at LP10 are Platform Committee member Dean Ahmad (Left), SIL Director Don Ernsberger (Center), and Sheldon Richman (Right), the LP's new Vice Chair. (Photo by Michael Grossberg)

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How loss of liberty affects our personal health and happiness

Libertarian philosophy is based upon the conviction that liberty is the highest moral value and the context within which human beings thrive. I have been able to carry out libertarian principles in my own life and in

By Peter Breggin, M.D.

my psychotherapy practice and know from direct experience that these principles encourage a maximally productive and happy life for the individual and for those who depend upon the individual.

THE purpose of my book, *The Psychology of Freedom: Liberty and Love As a Way of Life*, is to show the feasibility of living by these ethics and to demonstrate that they can maximize self-fulfillment in the life of the individual.

The personal and the political are inextricably intertwined. If the government of the United States suddenly began to reaffirm the principles of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness", sending Big Brother into retreat, many of our citizens would find themselves hopelessly mired in personal helplessness. Before long, we would be moving again toward big paternalistic government and the erosion of our liberties.

A libertarian society obviously cannot rest upon force; it must rest upon the desire of a sufficient number of individuals to live within a voluntary system. America's meandering toward increasing totalitarianism can be explained in terms of the inherent tendency of any government to aggrandize power; but it can also be understood in terms of the individual citizen's willingness to surrender the ethics of autonomy and individualism for the ethics of helplessness and dependency.

So self-oppressed are most of our citizens that they would seek a return to oppression as their only "safe" way of life. In the psychology of self-determination, self-

oppression is the concept which explains personal failure, including so-called personal problems - in living, inner conflicts, and craziness. It is the self-imposed crippling of the individual by himself or herself in an attempt to live with and to accommodate real or imagined oppression.

SELF-OPPRESSION is ultimately caused by the individual, not by threats made against him or her. Afraid of the price of self-determination, the person compromises by subduing himself or herself. To become a self-oppressor, the individual must not only change his or her conduct or actions but also change basic attitudes toward himself or herself. There are many occasions in which an individual must

choice-making entity in order to facilitate subjugation to the feared oppressor. Closely related to this in importance is the self-denial of rationality or reason, the human's most important technique in the pursuit of self-interest. Few people go all the way in self-denial to the point of exterminating their awareness of themselves as living beings with some degree of free will and rationality; but in the anguish of growing up, all people deny many of their most painful childhood experiences, along with the reasons they developed in childhood for betraying themselves and the principles of self-determination, liberty, and love. Self-oppression is at the heart of every personal failure and every negative personal emotion, such as self-hate, guilt,

the few; males have suppressed females; and in every class and in every age, adults of both sexes have taken out their frustrations on their children, mistreating them far more miserably and far more consistently than any other underprivileged or minority group.

IN some eras, oppression has seemed more rife than in others. Whole societies have turned themselves morally inside out, destroying or castrating entire classes, such as their religious minorities, their slaves, their lower classes, their women, or their children. Entire societies have turned upon each other in wars of annihilation and enslavement. But even in times of relative peace, oppression has ground down the average, ordinary citizen with relentless regularity and monotonous repetition. Even in the most free of nations, such as the United States of America, the average citizen is burdened from childhood on by a host of suppressive agencies, starting with his family, his schools, and his religion, and culminating in his too-powerful government.

Loss of liberty hurts. Because humans require freedom for the exercise of their faculties, imprisonment is even more demoralizing to most persons than to most animals; and human zoos, such as prisons, mental hospitals, and compulsory public schools, are more desperate places than animal zoos.

THE human desire for freedom is proved by the extreme measures that must be taken in mental hospitals, prisons, and schools to make sure that the inmates do not attempt to escape. Massive indoctrination programs, as well as great threats and grave punishments, are required to force an individual to continue submitting. Authorities must rely on inculcating self-oppression, or else police controls by themselves will fail. Prisons, mental hospitals, and schools attempt to make their inmates stupid, guilt-ridden, ashamed, and anxious, all to counteract their aspirations for freedom.

By now, it must be obvious that I have a seldom expressed view of authority - I don't believe in it. I say "seldom expressed" because I believe that, deep within every individual, a libertarian heart beats to its own rhythm and resents the imposition of any arbitrary, irrational authority. I am not advocating continuous open rebellion against all the authorities on earth. This would be foolhardy and self-destructive. I am encouraging each of us as individuals to see with clear eyes the reality of the oppressive institutions that surround us and, whenever possible, to act on our own behalf to avoid the worst influences of these institutions. I am speaking out for *reason* and *individual conscience* instead of blind compliance.

OPPRESSION must be simultaneously attacked within both personal and the political arenas. We must develop a renewed commitment to political freedom, and at the same time, we must develop a better understanding of personal sovereignty and personal freedom.

(Peter Breggin is a psychiatrist in private practice in the Washington, D.C. area. He is the author of five books, including *The Psychology of Freedom* and two novels. *The Psychology of Freedom* is available for \$12.95 from Prometheus Books, 700 E. Amherst Street, Buffalo, New York 14215. Excerpts from *The Psychology of Freedom* reprinted with permission of Prometheus Books.)

"Freedom of religion means freedom from religious domination and persecution. Similarly, freedom of medicine means freedom from medical domination and persecution. As the one has required a separation of church and state, so the other requires a separation of medicine and the state. If we truly value medical healing and refuse to confuse it with therapeutic oppression - as the Founding Fathers truly valued religious faith and refused to confuse it with theological oppression - then we ought to let each man seek his own medical salvation and erect an invisible but impenetrable wall separating medicine and the state." -Thomas Szasz, *The Second Sin*

"Liberty is the the context within which human beings thrive. Loss of liberty hurts. Because humans require freedom for the exercise of their faculties, oppression must be simultaneously attacked within both the personal and the political arenas."

sacrifice personal freedom in the interest of survival, and he or she can do this without becoming a self-oppressor. A man victimized by a gunman may hand over his money rather than risk getting shot. A young woman bullied by an oppressive parent may do what she is told rather than endure a brutal beating. The victim of political totalitarianism may keep his or her rebellious thoughts hidden rather than go to the firing squad. These compromises become self-oppressive only to the degree that the victim enlarges his or her unconsciousness by sacrificing self-knowledge or self-awareness or by denying that he or she longs for justice and freedom.

The most catastrophic form of self-oppression or self-betrayal is the denial of the existence of free will and choice. The person negates himself or herself as a

shame, and anxiety.

TO understand self-oppression, we must begin with oppression itself. Since the beginning of recorded history, human beings have oppressed each other. Most obviously they have beaten, assaulted, raped, and murdered each other. They have taught each other evil, self-destructive philosophies with which to distort rational thinking and to turn individuals against their own best interests. They have threatened physical violence and imposed emotional violence at every turn.

Humanity's crimes have become especially atrocious as people, typically males, have gained imbalances of power in relation to each other. Large bands of men have abused smaller bands of men; masters have abused slaves; the rich have taken advantage of poor; the many have bullied

The Psychology of Freedom Liberty and Love as a Way of Life

by Peter R. Breggin, M.D.

● On love for self and others

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Freedom versus love?
The fear of loving
Pursuing your self-interest

● On self-determination

Self-oppression - the key concept
Feelings of helplessness & fear
Supremacy of reason over emotion
Making insight work in your life
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Homebirth movement offers women the right to self-care

The home birth movement is a crucial contemporary battleground in the ongoing power struggle between those who believe that "doctor - and Big Brother - knows best" and those who believe in what Ivan

By Laurel Freeman

Illich calls "the civil liberty to live and to heal".

IN order to preserve its government-granted privileges against the threat of competition from alternative health care practitioners, the American Medical Association is seeking to control both the place of birth and the type of attendant. Organized medicine has impeded efforts to establish midwifery training programs, refused emergency care at some hospitals to home birth couples, and exerted pressure through medical licensing boards, legislatures, and courts to prevent the establishment of independent birth centers.

On the other side of the struggle are those who support freedom of choice in health care, sharing the outlook of Jane Joyce in a recent issue of *Better Life Journal* that "one owns one's own body and the government has no right to interfere with my care, feeding (or even destruction) of it, as long as there is no force or fraud involved and I am not violating the personal liberty or property rights of another...Birth should occur smoothly and safely when the mother is in a 'safe place'. If a woman feels safest in a hospital, then she should have her baby there. At the other extreme, if a woman feels best at home, alone, quietly laboring and knowledgeably delivering her own child, then that's where she should be - unhassled."

BECAUSE of the questionable legality - or outright criminality - of home birth in many states, statistics on the home birth phenomenon, which has been gathering steam since the late 1960's, are hard to find. Even though Texas is one of the few states where lay midwifery is not yet illegal, one

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.

Winner of this issue's contest is Phillip Busby, Jr., who published the following letter in the September 18th Dallas Morning News. Runner-up in the contest were Greg Ripps of San Antonio and Dick Bjornseth of Houston.

REPEAL GUN CONTROL

I disagree with Charles Adler's opinion that the Violent Crime Task Force's recommendations will help stop crime. Stopping the importation of inexpensive handgun parts would turn honest merchants into criminals, and is particularly unjust to the poor, whose only affordable, effective means of self-defense would be denied them.

Objectively, the mere possession of one form of property cannot be considered a crime. These new gun laws will not "make America safe again". They will make government bureaucrats safe again from citizens who are being strangled with confiscatory taxes and coercive regulations. A mandatory wait before buying a gun means citizens could not legally purchase guns in time to defend themselves. Requiring mandatory sentencing for using a gun to commit a crime would include the "crime" of resisting government intrusions. Requiring reporting of lost or stolen guns means that if you do not produce the gun registered to you on demand, then you are a criminal for not reporting it missing.

Rather than a deterrent to aggression, these gun control proposals are a blueprint for totalitarianism. The National Gun Control Act should be repealed. I stand with the Libertarian Party in defense of our individual right to keep and bear arms.

1979 study in Austin estimated that up to half the intentional home births each year continue to go unreported.

Nevertheless, home births are clearly becoming more popular. Today most babies born around the world are born at home. According to published statistics, in America so far only a few percent of all babies are delivered at home, but the number is growing. More women are taking responsibility for deciding where and how to give birth because they have taken to heart the insight - publicized during the 1970's by both the feminist and Libertarian movements - that control over one's body plays a key role in personal health.

WOMEN are choosing to give birth at home in order to control their experience.

"More women are taking responsibility for deciding where and how to give birth because they have taken to heart the insight of both the feminist and Libertarian movements that control over one's body plays a key role in personal health."

At home, women are able to select who will be present at birth, able to move about during labor, and are unrestricted in movements during delivery - all of which is difficult, if not prohibited, in a regulated, institutionalized hospital setting. Home births offers a psychological advantage for the family in that bonding between mother and child takes place more easily when the mother is relaxed and among chosen relatives and friends.

Home birth avoids the pathological environment of hospitals - in many ways, "sickness" centers - for an environment more appropriate to what many women experience as a natural, healthy, even "peak" experience of giving birth. It allows women the opportunity to give birth in their own time, avoiding the widespread hospital practice of being force-fed powerful drugs to accelerate or impede labor, which sacrifices the mother's rhythms and needs for the arbitrary convenience of the hospital staff.

PRENATAL operating procedures have become so rife with bureaucracy that women have been subtly convinced that pregnancy is somehow a 'disease'. One glaring symptom of organized medicine's increasing tendency toward arbitrary intervention is the soaring Caesarean birth rate. From 1 percent in 1930 and 5.5 percent in 1970, the Caesarean procedure now represents an estimated 18 percent of all births nationally, and over 25 percent in some hospitals - although there is nothing except the paternalism of organized medicine to justify so radical a shift in the methods and philosophy of childbirth.

Of course, a small percentage of woman

have always been unable to give birth without some medical help. For this reason, in the 17th century forceps were introduced, and in the 19th century, ergot was first used to induce contractions. When anesthesia was developed in the 1840's, it was soon used by those women who would rather not suffer through the pangs of labor.

GRADUALLY, the idea that women should not have to suffer at all during labor gained acceptance. From being a rite of passage into motherhood, childbirth was transformed into the task of the doctor - whose job became merely the "killing of pain", rather than the assisting of an autonomous healthy woman through a natural biological process - with the mother becoming merely a passive observer, a

often suctioned out, wrapped up and left alone to face overwhelming feelings of anxiety as their first experience of life.

A normal biological process, pregnancy and childbirth, has been redefined as pathological. Yet the notion that birth is a crisis situation requiring paternalistic direction and medical intervention by the A.M.A. is a recent one, which has accompanied the government's expanded role in health care and the A.M.A.'s government-franchised medical monopoly.

TODAY'S mothers, made dependent by our modern institutionalized medical bureaucracy, tend to forget what earlier American mothers understood as part of traditional folk wisdom: that children need to be born naturally, breast-fed, held, touched, hugged, played with, stimulated, respected, talked to, listened to, made safe, allowed to cry and to life, allowed to run free, to be appreciated and just to be. When America first gained its independence, almost all births occurred at home, with women usually attended by other women, some helping as midwives. New mothers would hold their newborn close to them, naturally warming them, gazing into their eyes and bonding with them, forming the attachment that would last a lifetime - a home birth practice which anticipated the modern Leboyer natural childbirth method.

With the rise of the modern home birth movement, American women are re-discovering the intimate relationship between personal health and personal autonomy. Women are taking responsibility for their own health, recognizing with Illich that "healthy people need minimal bureaucratic interference to mate, give birth, share the human condition, and die...success in this personal task is in large part the result of the self-awareness, self-discipline and inner resources by which each person regulates his own daily rhythm and actions."

OUR potential for self-healing and self-determination can be fully developed only if the home birth movement succeeds in challenging both the medical monopoly's government-granted privilege as well as the source of that privilege: government power itself.

For the home birth movement to succeed in its quest for freedom of choice in childbirth, home birth advocates should adopt - and take to heart - the insight embedded in the popular libertarian slogan, WARNING: GOVERNMENT CAN BE HAZARDOUS TO YOUR HEALTH.

(Laurel Freeman is an alternative health care practitioner who will finish her B.S. degree in nursing at the University of Texas at Austin and become a registered nurse in May, 1982. She ran as a Libertarian Party candidate in 1980, winning the highest percentage of the vote of any candidate in Texas.)



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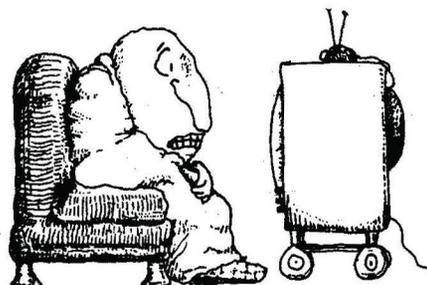


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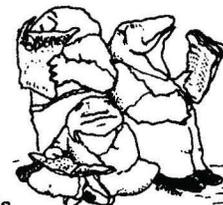


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Rights to abortion based on self-ownership

EDITOR'S NOTE: Possibly the most controversial issue in health care today is abortion. Of the issues which the delegates had the opportunity to vote on at the Libertarian Party's Tenth Anniversary Convention in Denver last fall, the most hotly debated Platform plank was *Women's Rights*, which strengthened the LP's longstanding prochoice stand. The new plank states:

"We hold that individual rights should not be denied or abridged on the basis of sex. We call for repeal of all laws discriminating against women, such as 'protective' labor laws and marriage or divorce laws which deny the full rights of men and women. We oppose all laws likely to impose restrictions on free choice and private property or to widen tyranny through reverse discrimination.

Recognizing that each person must be the sole and absolute owner of his or her own body, we

support the right of women to make a personal choice regarding the termination of pregnancy. We oppose the undermining of that right via laws requiring consent of the mother's parents, consent of the father, waiting periods, or compulsory provision of indoctrination on medical risks or fetal development. However, we also oppose all tax funding for abortions. It is particularly harsh to force someone who believes that abortion is murder to pay for another's abortion. We also condemn state-mandated

abortions."

Although the new Women's Rights plank was approved by the vast majority of libertarians at LP10, not all libertarians endorse the prochoice view. A critique of the libertarian "prolife" argument is offered here by Association of Libertarian Feminist activist Wendy McElroy, followed by Libertarians for Life activist John Walker's dissenting opinion.

Until recently, abortion generally was assumed to be a resolved issue within libertarianism: the pregnant woman had an unquestioned right to her own body, which right included expelling the fetus if she so

By Wendy McElroy

desired.

THIS right has been subjected to critical scrutiny by anti-abortionists in the movement who claim that the fetus is a human being with individual rights which are violated by abortion. In their view, abortion is, in fact, premeditated murder. The aborting woman is a murderer on the same level as someone who shoots an innocent bystander. The fact that the woman may not recognize the fetus as a human being is irrelevant. A racist may sincerely believe blacks to be animals, but if he kills a black he is still guilty of murder to the same extent as if he believed them to be human beings. Regardless of a woman's state of knowledge, she has committed murder.

This argument is quite weak and open to attack from several directions. Before proceeding with such a critique, however, it is important to state some of the less vocalized implications of the anti-abortionist position.

ONE implication is its disastrous consequences. The anti-abortionist position is not simply wrong; it is disastrously wrong. If the fetus is accorded individual rights, then the aborting woman and, presumably, those who assist her are murderers who logically must be subject to whatever penalty society metes out to such a crime, up to and including capital punishment.

MOREOVER, the woman could be prosecuted not only for killing the fetus, but also for injuring it. If the pregnant woman has a "positive obligation" to maintain the life of the fetus, she must be responsible for its health and well-being. If she ingests a substance which harms the fetus, this is a violation of its rights in the same manner as strapping down a child and injecting it with drugs is a violation of its rights. Exercise, diet and other forms of personal behaviour could open a pregnant woman to criminal prosecution for such behaviour could be aggressively harmful to the fetus. Only by making the woman a virtual slave of the fetus could she be prevented from intentionally or inadvertently violating its rights. And if these rights are violated, to whom will she pay restitution? If anti-abortionists do not follow their own argument this far, it is not because it does not lead to these conclusions but rather because they find it uncomfortable to deal with them.

Another uncomfortable implication of the anti-abortionists' position is that they are, in fact, defining the pro-choice advocates out of the libertarian movement. If their reasoning is correct, then abortion is mass murder, and the pro-choice advocates are morally sanctioning and legally encouraging the cold killing of infants. If there is any dividing line in libertarianism over which one cannot cross without losing all claim to the title "libertarian", surely it is the advocacy of mass murder.

TO the anti-abortionist, this debate is a matter of life or death. To the pro-choice advocate, it is a matter of self-ownership or slavery.

A final implication of the anti-abortionists' stand is that, since they are

claiming individual rights for the fetus, the onus of proof is squarely upon them. The onus of proof logically rests upon those asserting a claim rather than those who see no evidence for the assertion. With this caveat, let us proceed with a pro-choice defense of abortion.

THE pro-choice position does not deny that the fetus is in some sense alive, just as the human heart is in some sense alive. Nor does it deny that the fetus is a potential human being. A potential is not an actual, however, as anyone who has attempted to saw up an acorn for lumber can testify. To

their credit, the anti-abortionists within libertarianism do not ascribe individual rights to the fetus on the basis of its potential but on the assumption that it is an actual human being.

The key question becomes, "What does it mean to be an individual?" for only by being an individual can the fetus possess the individual rights which are claimed for it. When defining anything it is necessary to discover the essential characteristic(s) of that thing - that which makes it what it is rather than something else. Thus, the essential characteristic of man is not his

humor, hair color or height; it is his rational faculty. An essential characteristic - almost a prerequisite - of considering something to be individual is that it be a discreet entity, a thing in and of itself. Until the moment of birth, however, the fetus is not a separate entity: it is a biological aspect of the pregnant woman which possesses the capacity to become discreet. At the moment of birth, the fetus becomes a thing in and of itself rather than a part of the woman's biological functioning. At the point of autonomy, it becomes logically possible to

(Continued on page 17)

Abortion: a libertarian dissents

I am prolife and antiabortion. Yet many of the Libertarian Party's opinion molders are prochoice. The LP depends crucially on ideas and principles. If, with an issue as important as abortion, libertarians are

By John Walker

relying on internally inconsistent arguments, that is potentially dangerous for the entire party.

IN principle, the debate over the person is the most important point for abortion. In practice, the problem with most prochoice arguments is well known: for each prochoicer who says the fetus becomes a person at any given point, there are others who hold to earlier or later points.

Logically, this dispute arises because most prochoicers define the person in terms that can be put on a degree scale: viability, brain development, even socialization, among others. The problem is that most prochoicers have no reasoned or principled response to their own allies who find the person at a higher or lower point on the scale.

FROM the prolife perspective, this is because life is a continuum from conception to death. As Libertarians for Life founder Doris Gordon has asked, "If a person comes out of the womb at birth, isn't it reasonable to assume one was there before?"

What if, though, prochoicers concede for discussion's sake that the preborn are

persons? Libertarian proliferers insist on the importance of the person: if the preborn were not persons, there would be no victims, therefore no libertarian objection to abortion.

PROCHOICERS, though, have a fallback position: the "eviction theory" held by Murray Rothbard and Walter Block, among others. This position holds that parents have the right to abandon their children; so, the fetus may be removed, even if a person dies. Deaths resulting from either case may be regrettable but are not unjust, the argument holds, any more than if anyone dies through not receiving charity.

Proliferers are quick to point out that parents cause their children to come into being in a state of dependence, while it is

the "evictionist" position is that its proponents apparently wish us to believe they have said something about *abortion*, as it actually takes place. But the aborted do not die from lack of sustenance upon removal. They are put to death by mechanisms of destruction. The first can be called eviction. The second cannot. Libertarians usually insist on the distinction between dying and being killed. That distinction gets buried here.

A different defense of abortion is presented by Sharon Presley and Robert Cooke in an Association of Libertarian Feminists discussion paper, "The Right to Abortion". There, they contend that the woman has more than just the right to be rid of a burden. They insist she has the right to seek the death of the fetus.

"The aborted do not die from lack of sustenance upon removal. They are put to death by mechanisms of destruction. The first can be called eviction. The second cannot. Libertarians usually insist on the distinction between dying and being killed. That distinction gets buried here."

not voluntary for the infant. And many libertarian prochoicers recognize incurred obligation elsewhere, such as in the case of negligent drivers causing injuries - here obligations are incurred irrespective of intent or the absence of contract.

HOWEVER, the internal problem with

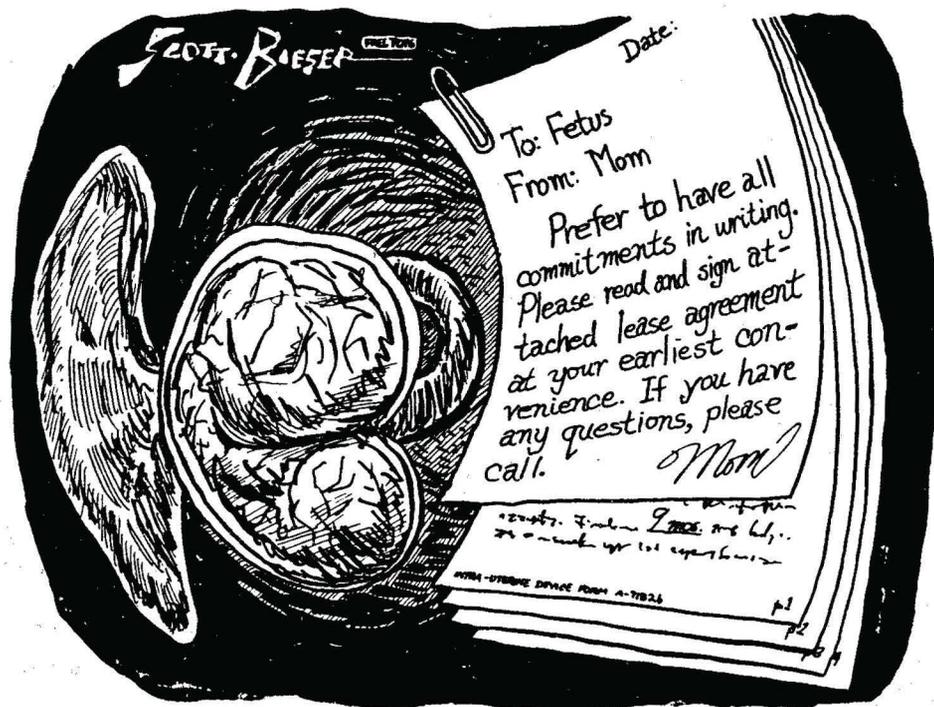
UNFORTUNATELY, they treat the question of when the fetus becomes a person separately from that of when abortion is allowable. Addressing the relationship between the two questions, they say, "Regardless of the (undefinable) point at which a fetus could, if separated from the women, become a person in the sense we have defined it, the second question can be resolved only on ethical and philosophical grounds - not biological ones. We maintain that a woman's right to self-determination logically entails the right to control her pregnancy totally until the point of birth... This includes the right to terminate the life of the fetus."

But what if the preborn are persons? On that issue, they are silent. To be clear, the ALF paper does not as such assert there is a right to kill the preborn even if they are persons. The problem is that it is not denied.

TO most libertarians, being a person implies the right to be free from aggression. Silence on such an issue from prochoice leaders may be one of the abortion debate's most important indicators for the future.

I hope that the abortion debate strengthens libertarianism and the Libertarian Party by emphasizing the basic principles on which we all agree, as well as making clear where we differ.

(John Walker is one of the original members of Libertarians for Life. A Libertarian Party member since 1974, he works as a technical editor for a computer newsletter in Washington, D.C.)



ACTIVIST DIRECTORY

LIBERTARIAN PARTY OF TEXAS
P.O. Box 35432
Dallas, TX 75235-0432

INDEPENDENCE PLEDGE
P.O. Box 27932
Houston, TX 77027

FREE TEXAS
P. O. Box 14181
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OFFICERS

REGION XIII NATCOM REPRESENTATIVE

Matt Monroe
1213 Herman Drive #655
Houston, TX 77004
(713) 524-2919

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414 North Post Oak Lane
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2211 Blue Star Lane
Dallas, TX 75235
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PUBLICATIONS DIRECTOR

Michael Grossberg
1205 E. 52nd St. #201
Austin, TX 78723
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REGION 2 REPRESENTATIVE

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REGION 2 REPRESENTATIVE

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TEXAS A & M UNIVERSITY

Society for Individual Liberty
Imre Karafiath
3900 Old College Rd #12
Bryan, Texas 77801
(713) 846-2549

UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON

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James Williams, Chair
Campus Activities Office
Box 353, 4800 Calhoun
Houston, TX 77004
(713) 526-1599

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Frank Bieser, Chair
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How to raise local LP funds

The problem of raising enough money to cover local Libertarian Party operating expenses is one which confronts every county organization in Texas. The Libertarian Party of Texas' successful

effective local fundraiser." Ware encourages local LP organizations to begin pledge programs, citing the fact that Houston libertarians have raised over \$750 per month from only 48 contributors through the HCLP Grassroots Pledge effort.

ACTIVISTS' COLUMN

By Mike Holmes

Independence Pledge program, which in 1981 has raised pledges totaling over \$27,000, offers new insights into pledge fundraising techniques.

THE PLEDGE method is not new, even in libertarian applications. The national LP has used this method for several years to raise money for the national headquarters. Currently, two local Texas LP groups are using the pledge method to raise funds in Harris (Houston) and Dallas counties.

The Harris County LP's "Grassroots Pledge" campaign is a direct "clone" of the state party's Independence Pledge. In addition to monthly pledges, HCLP Finance Committee Chair Bill Ware was responsible for adding some additional refinements, including a quarterly pledge system—which accounts for about half of the HCLP's pledges. Ware, who also works as an LP of Texas Finance Committee member, recently turned over Grassroots Pledge leadership to former Clark campaign activist Tom Glass.

IN DALLAS, the local pledge program relies more on telephoning and personal contact, although LP of Texas Chair Honey Lanham notes that "the Dallas pledge program is in the process of adopting some of the techniques of the Independence Pledge effort." Dallas LP Chair Gwyn Groggel has made this program a high priority for the next few months.

"It is important for a major fundraising effort to have an effective committee which uses the 'division of labor' principle," points out Matt Monroe, Chair of the LP of Texas Finance Committee. "That way one person doesn't have to do too much. Regular meetings, especially in the early stages, also prove valuable provided that they are kept functional and short."

COOPERATION and sharing the work was stressed by Honey Lanham, who observed that "one strength of an effective LP organization is the ability to use the talents of many individuals." Lanham noted that since "no one likes to give money to a 'black hole' where nothing ever comes back", it is crucial for LP fundraisers to "follow up with prompt feedback to contributors".

"Small counties might do better to use phoning to contact activists until mailing lists can be built up," added Bill Ware, since "a 2% mail return is realistic. Also, if the fundraising effort doesn't require mass mailings, even one person can be an

Based on the Independence Pledge success, other important elements in a local fundraising pledge program include:

- a suitable name or title to give the fundraising campaign a 'theme' and continuing identification
- personal contact with potential likely contributors *first* to provide a realistic cash flow for your initial mailing
- **RECOGNITION** to donors, with regular feedback and follow up
- attractive stationery, well-thought-out pledge cards and monthly or quarterly reminders with postage paid envelopes for contributions
- a Post Office box and LP postal permits (Contact the state party for information)
- if possible, a separate Finance Committee in the county party to segregate regular LP leadership responsibilities from fundraising duties
- consideration of which to emphasize: monthly, quarterly, or one-time contributions
- budgeting and targeting goals, pledge results, and cash flow in order to properly plan and anticipate financial requirements
- accurate, detailed records of pledges, payments, and fundraising costs
- detailed financial statements providing accountability to donors at least once a year
- always thank your contributors and let them know they are appreciated!
- LP activists interested in additional fundraising information are encouraged to write the Libertarian Party of Texas Fundraising Committee (Attention: Bill Ware, P.O. Box 56426, Houston, TX 77027).

Harris County School Board

(Continued from page 7)

campaign. The *Houston Chronicle*, which gave the Libertarians favorable publicity, has published an editorial urging abolition of the county school board. County Commissioner Tom Bass, long time school board critic, helped the Libertarians during their campaign and may help them again in their legislative campaign against the school board. And State Representative Paul Colbert, who formally endorsed the Libertarian slate, has promised to work with them in the 1983 legislature to sunset the agency. Since Calvert's term expires in 1984, while Lanham's and Fraser's terms don't expire until 1986, there should be ample opportunity for the Libertarian message of more freedom and less government to be heard in the next few years.



Over 900 Libertarians from across the country met in Denver for the Tenth Anniversary Libertarian Convention. (Photo by Scott Bieser)

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LETTERS

INTELLECTUAL FIREWORKS

I was delighted to read about your Politics of Principle Conference. What an excellent idea! "Intellectual fireworks" are the best source of the parks to - at the risk of sounding trite - light the world. And it's been too damn dark for too damn long! I've been receiving unsolicited copies of FREE TEXAS for over a year. Enclosed is payment for the coming year. Am looking forward to reading about the progress toward liberty in one of the freest states in the country.

- Catherine Dickerson
New York, New York

A LIBERTARIAN BIBLE?

In Jeffrey Rogers Hummel's otherwise excellent article, "Can elected officials be consistent libertarians?" in the Fall FREE TEXAS, he demonstrates a problem characteristic of all libertarians who have not yet become aware of the libertarian bible: the Constitution of the United States. With constant reference to that bible, any true libertarian can hold office with no qualms of conscience, because he/she can fulfill his duties (in Hummel's words) "only to the extent that doing so will not violate individual rights".

When are Libertarians going to take advantage of the most libertarian document ever devised by

the mind of man - a document which guarantees individual liberty while protecting the majority from demagogues?

Stop looking at the Constitution with eyes (and mind) blinded by socialist rhetoric. READ THE WORDS. Note that there are no fatal flaws and that it commands the loyalty of most Americans, thereby giving you a big head start toward implementing a worthwhile arbitration/defense agency system. When I see FREE TEXAS filled with comments on specific ways in which individual rights are protected and guaranteed by the Constitution while the "majority" is allowed to play nonharmful government games, I'll breathe a lot easier and feel a lot better about the future.

- Andrew Melechinsky
Enfield, Connecticut

CONTROVERSIES

The Controversies issue of FREE TEXAS was a delight. Thanks.

- Barry Klein
Houston, Texas

AN OBJECTIVIST OBJECTS

There are too many factions within the Libertarian Party for it to develop a consistent, non-contradictory policy. There is no need for me to "join with you in the fight for greater liberty in America" since I have been a staunch proponent of individual liberty for a long time. Unlike the Libertarian Party, I have a consistent, explicit set of philosophical premises on which to ground my fight for man's natural rights.

The Libertarian Party has no philosophical premises to stand on. Without philosophical premises, the whole fight is pointless, futile, and doomed to failure from the start. The United States is now facing a very grave philosophic crisis resulting in such secondary consequences as the political abridgement of rights. These symptoms cannot be treated without regard for their cause; such is the absurdity of the Libertarian Party.

What is called for now is an intellectual movement. Politics is only a reflection of the people's philosophy. When the LP adopts a clear, explicit, and logically consistent philosophical base - i.e., Ayn Rand's "Objectivism" - is the time when the Libertarian Party will be worthy to join me in my fight for man's natural rights.

- Sami Saydjari
Houston, Texas

EDITOR'S NOTE: The Libertarian Party champions the freedom of the individual because of its commitment to the moral principle of individual rights. Like America's libertarian Founding Fathers, modern Libertarians uphold the inalienable right of every human being to life, liberty, and justly acquired property. Based on this principled political philosophy, libertarians are working to implement a consistent pro-freedom policy of full civil liberties, a free market economy, and a noninterventionist foreign policy.

Just as it is proper for libertarians to enter into a coalition with other groups to fight for limited political goals - such as working with liberals to repeal compulsory draft registration or working with conservatives to pass education tax credits - it is proper for individuals of widely varying philosophical and ethical premises to enter into a coalition to fight for the limited mutual goal of a free society. Clearly, the Libertarian Party is just such a coalition of freedom-lovers, which, by the way, includes within it quite a few individuals who appreciate Ayn Rand's "Objectivism". In fact, many of us discovered libertarianism through Rand's writings - particularly *Atlas Shrugged* - and recognize the necessity of a consistent, explicit set of philosophical premises on which to ground our fight for man's natural rights. As individuals - not as party members - we continue to stand up for the values we believe in, while respecting the rights of other libertarians to stand up for theirs.

NEWSNOTES

(Continued from page 4)

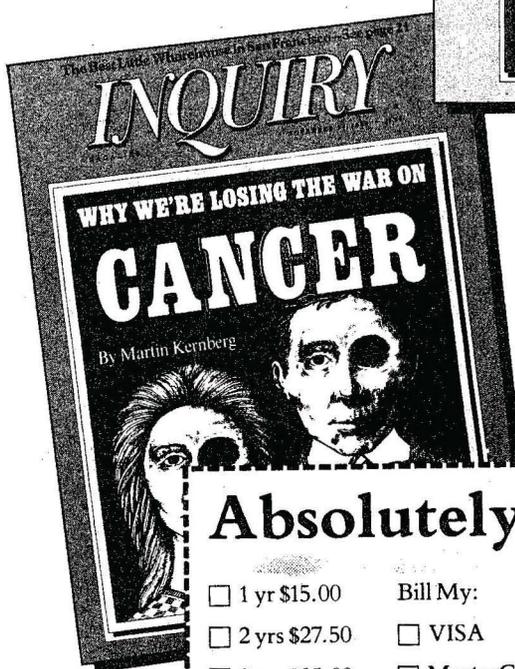
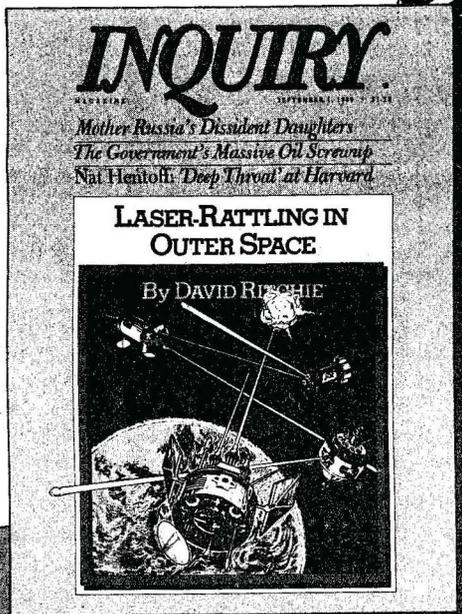
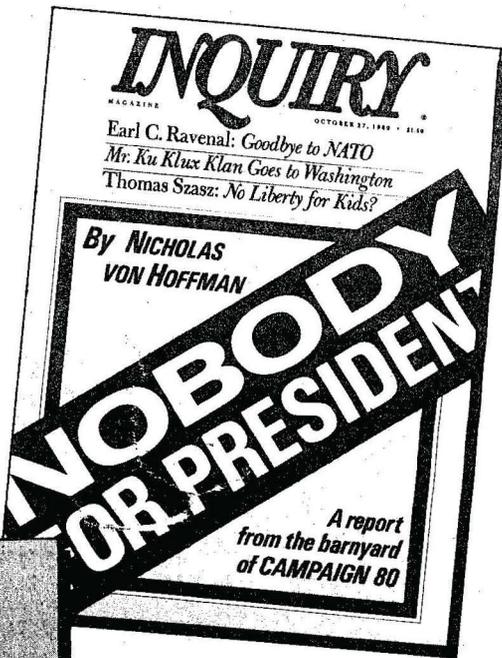
TEXAS Contributing Editor. Over the past two years, Hummel had contributed quite a few path-breaking articles to FREE TEXAS... CALIFORNIA's Libertarian Bookstore in San Francisco was raided by the police October 6, an act of apparent political harassment which has been widely reported by the California media. Nine people were arrested on drug charges, but since then charges against all but two Libertarians, Eric Garris and Doug Tappan, have been dropped. Garris charges that the incident - in which police confiscated LP mailing lists, article files, mail, photographs, and material being used in the latest issue of the LP Radical Caucus' publication *Vanguard* - was a "political action against the Libertarian Party". In 1979, Garris had led a San Francisco LP effort to place on the local ballot an initiative to abolish the vice squad - which won 38% of the vote - and when busted was in the early stages of campaigning for another initiative to replace the police internal affairs division with an elected citizens group. California Libertarians are now attempting to raise money for a civil suit against the City of San Francisco and its Police Department, as well as for Garris' and Tappan's defense...

The WORLD SCIENCE FICTION CONVENTION, held in Denver a week after LP10, was the scene of a great deal of Libertarian outreach activity, with hundreds of copies of the FREE TEXAS Futurism issue distributed, nightly Libertarian hospitality suite parties, and several dozen activists working to make the Libertarian alternative visible to conventioners. At LP10, Texas LP activist Steve Briggs had set up a special ceremony honoring libertarian sf novelist L. Neil Smith for his outstanding first novel *The Probability Broach*, presenting him with several gold coins in appreciation for Smith's skillful synthesis of libertarian politics and science fiction. Smith was one of the prominent libertarians at LP10, speaking to science fiction fans on "Libertarianism and SF" - by now, a regular panel at sf cons - on a panel with libertarian sf writers J. Neil Schulman, Victor Koman, Brad Linaweaver, and Karl Phlock. FREE TEXAS Editor Michael Grossberg, upon meeting and talking with many popular sf novelists, discovered that quite a few famous sf writers are Libertarians or LP sympathizers, including Robert Silverberg (*A Time of Changes*), Jacqueline Lichtenberg (*First Channel*), and Barry Longyear (*Circus World*), who surprisingly was a

(Continued on page 20)

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Why private free market hospitals work best

When Prince Georges County, Maryland officials put their 900-bed hospital system up for lease, they weren't optimistic. Over the past two fiscal years it had lost \$5 million and was over \$10 million in arrears

on debt payments. Yet startled officials received 43 inquiries, which led to seven firm offers from private hospital companies. A final decision is expected shortly.

WHAT happened in Prince Georges County is not unusual. In the past few years dozens of city and county governments have sold or leased costly, inefficient public hospitals to investor-owned, profit-making hospital firms. Of America's 7,000 hospitals, over 1,300 are now owned or operated by such firms. (Another 1,700 are owned by local governments and the remainder are owned by local nonprofit organizations.) The largest of the firms, Hospital Affiliates International (HAI) owns 54 hospitals and manages another 96 under contract. Its nearest competitors, Hospital Corporation of America (HCA) and American Medical International (AMI) each own or operate more than 100 hospitals.

In part the privatization trend reflects the growing professionalization of hospital services. Until recently most hospitals--whether government or nonprofit--were not run as businesses. Instead, the emphasis was strictly on service. After all, people reasoned, "health care isn't a commodity!" The result, all too often, was badly managed hospitals--huge uncollectible bills, wasteful use of personnel, amateurish purchasing practices--all of which needlessly drove up costs.

BUT a hospital is a business--a vitally important business, but a business nonetheless. Therefore, running it like a business can bring important cost savings. In the late 1960s hospital management companies came into being. In exchange for an annual fee they would put the hospital on a businesslike basis--a modern cash management system to get control of collections, professional personnel management, chain-wide volume purchasing of supplies and equipment, sharing of costly equipment. Typically a management firm can save three to five times the cost of its contract fee.

More recently the hospital firms have been buying up money-losing hospitals rather than simply managing them. When Edmond, Oklahoma voters turned down several bond issues, city officials gave up hope of expanding their too-small city hospital. But HCA came to the rescue last year, paying the city \$7.4 million and promising to expand the facility. What had been a money-losing, tax-exempt organization is being transformed into a viable taxpaying member of the community.

NOT everyone is pleased about hospital privatization, however. Some people argue that the only way a firm can turn a profit on hospital care is by jacking up the rates. While it's true that some nonprofit

hospitals have charged below-market rates, in most cases for-profit hospitals end up charging less, because they operate so much more efficiently. Nationwide, the average patient charge for Humana, Inc. hospitals in 1977 was \$1,073--compared with an average of \$1,447 for nonprofit hospitals.

Other critics, such as *New England Journal of Medicine* editor Arnold S. Relman, worry about conflicts of interest--e.g., that for-profit hospitals will be tempted to keep patients longer than necessary in order to make more money. In fact, however, just the opposite seems to be the case. With their emphasis on efficiency, the private hospitals keep patients hospitalized only as long as necessary. The 21-hospital Intermountain Health Care chain in Utah keeps patients an average of 5.1 days, compared with a national average stay of 7.4 days. IHC's average patient charge ends up being 28% less.

ANOTHER worry is that private

hospitals will simply "skim the cream," taking the easy patients but leaving such functions as emergency rooms and maternity wards to city or nonprofit hospitals. Once again, however, the facts indicate otherwise. First of all, 77% of all investor-owned hospitals have emergency rooms. Not as many have maternity wards--but with today's lower birth rates, not as many are needed, either.

Moreover, the past few years have seen the advent of for-profit firms specializing in emergency rooms. For years the ER was the hospital's dumping ground, all too often staffed by the least competent and least experienced doctors. But with the decline of family doctors and house calls, more and more people are relying on ERs for primary care. Hence, the new ER firms. For an annual fee, a firm such as Spectrum or Emergency Physicians will staff and operate a hospital's emergency room on a professional, full-time basis. Some 75 ER

firms are already in operation, the largest of which, Spectrum, has contracts with some 220 hospitals.

IT is precisely because an investor-owned firm seeks to make a profit that it figures out ways of operating more efficiently. It's just that profit motive that led AMI to develop the world's first mobile CAT scanner. Instead of having one of these life-saving \$500,000 machines at every hospital, AMI now serves 65 hospital in three states with 18 scanner-equipped vans. IHC in Utah shares a \$150,000 simulator device between two of its hospitals, a blood bank among three.

Fortunately, a growing number of local government officials are coming to see that there's nothing wrong with profit-making hospitals. In fact, such hospitals frequently mean better care for less money--and relief for local taxpayers.

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(Continued from page 19)

member of Ayn Rand's inner circle under another name a decade ago. Other prominent libertarians at the World SF Convention included *Science Fiction Review* editor Richard Geis and *Diagonal Relationship* editor Arthur Hlavaty, who were nominated for this year's Hugo Awards, the sf community's "Academy Awards". According to *Locus* (the sf *Frontlines*), "There's nothing like politics to spice up a discussion, and the previous weekend's Denver convention--that of the Libertarian Party--had left traces, in the form of a few dozen persons who went to both cons, submitting themselves to a fortnight of partying, and a panel discussion of libertarianism in sf, by now a traditional topic." The happy coincidence of both the LP and sf conventions being held in the same city within the same week led to some valuable mutual "cross-pollination" of ideas between the literature of the future and the politics of the future, libertarianism. - M.G.

