



FREE TEXAS

CRISIS IN THE CITIES

By Don Ernsberger

Throughout the nation, urban decay has focused attention on the crisis in our cities

SINCE the New Deal, government intervention into the free market has been expanded to include aid to workers and unions, suburbanites, farmers and welfare recipients. But at what price?

The price has been the growth of slums. True, slums existed before the New Deal, but they were then stepping stones to acculturation. Now they have become a way of life for millions.

SLUM dwellers are people who have been excluded from the market as a result of government intervention. Slums themselves are created by decline of jobs in cities, poor housing due to government interference in the market, and by harmful tax policies. In addition, general social-cultural problems resulting from policies of the Welfare State and economic recession - destruction of the family, deterioration in health care, the decline of individual initiative, increasing illiteracy and illegitimacy - lead to the creation of slums.

Nobel Prize-winning economist Milton Friedman has stated, "Of all the laws on the statute books of this country, I believe the minimum wage laws probably do blacks the most harm. It is not intended to be an anti-black law but in fact it is."

WHY? . . . because the minimum wage prices unskilled, untrained people out of the wage market, particularly in the big cities. This elimination of jobs perpetuates the cycle of poor education, poor environment, and guarantees the existence of slum conditions. Every increase in the minimum wage prices more and more unskilled and young workers out of the market because their productivity is lower

than the minimum wage.

Further, the economics of the Keynesian Era has guaranteed a base unemployment rate of 4-7% in our economy due to what is called "structural unemployment." In layman's terms, the interference in the market has raised the wages of most workers above the free market level at the price of fixing unemployment at a marginal rate.

It takes little investigation to see who is priced out of jobs: not the affluent middle class, but the poor, the young, the black and the uneducated - precisely the group which can least afford such hardship.

WHILE humanitarian and unselfish motives were (perhaps) the reason for instituting the minimum wage, the result has been the precise opposite: no jobs for the unskilled, skyrocketing welfare costs,

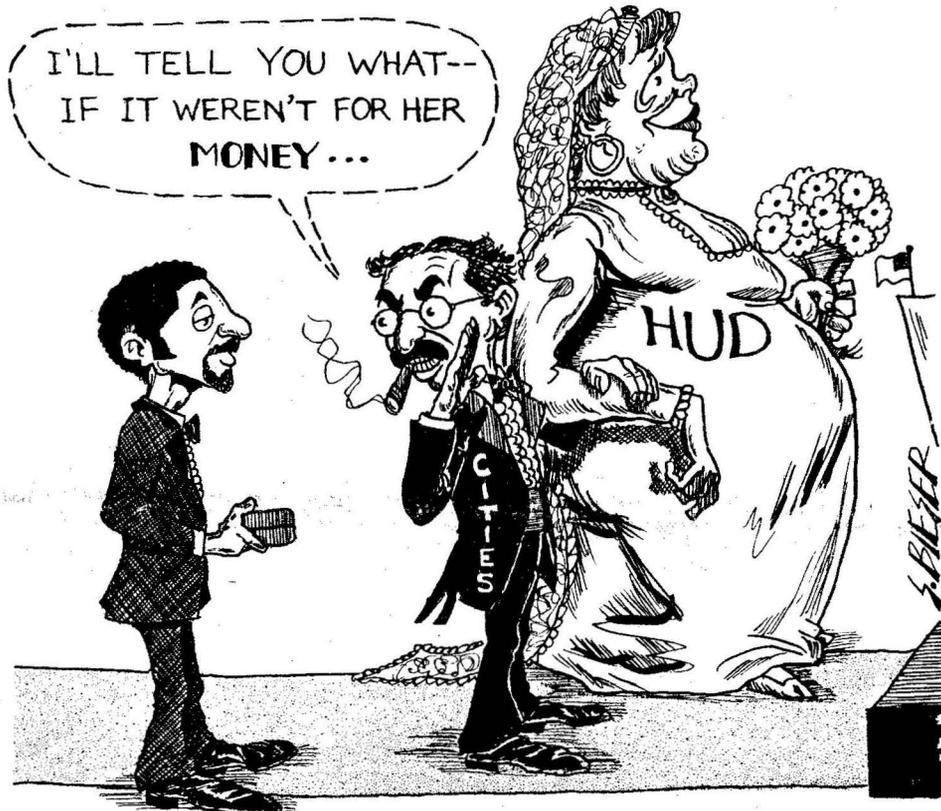
the perpetuation of slums, hopelessness and despair.

In addition, the minimum wage drives industry and useful jobs in general out of the city because they make it impossible to find workers at an employable price even while contributing to rising business costs by fostering crime among the now unemployable.

It is all well and good to declare that "everyone should be paid" at least the minimum wage, but the reality is that no one can afford to pay more than the market value of a person's labor and stay in business. The major effect of minimum wage is thus not higher paying jobs, but simply fewer jobs.

The urban housing crisis offers further evidence that government intervention lies at the root of the problem. Decent housing is an economic problem which in part stems from slum dwellers' low income. But even greater is the need for a free market in housing.

GOVERNMENT interference in the (Continued on page 6)



Libertarian runs for mayor of Austin

By Lisa Beyer

Inspired by the Libertarian Party's success in electing two mayors in 1980 - (Stan Thompson in Alaska's Kenai Borough and Mary Shell in Bakersfield, California) - Libertarian Gary Edward Johnson has launched his own energetic race for mayor of Austin, Texas

JOHNSON, a private investor and lifelong resident of Austin, has focused his campaign on his unique commitment to both fiscal responsibility and civil liberties.



Consistently offering himself as the Libertarian candidate in the non-partisan April 4th elections, Johnson has emphasized his opposition to city growth management, the South Texas Nuclear Project, cable television monopolies, and victimless "crime" laws.

Johnson offers a unique stance on the issue of growth because he supports neither the promotion nor the restriction of growth by the city government. "I am against growth management by the city government," Johnson told the *Austin Citizen*. "The growth that needs to be controlled is the growth in the size, cost and power of the growth management bureaucracy."

According to the *Daily Texan*, Johnson would not "restrict or encourage" city growth, asserting "We can reduce the size of city government in spite of the city

IN HIS CAMPAIGN brochure, Johnson argues the city should stop practices which promote unwanted growth, such as developer subsidies. Developers must bear the full cost of extending utilities to new subdivisions, he contends, although the city council must not restrict growth or interfere with the individual's right to property. "I feel land owners should be permitted to use their property as they see fit, as long as they don't infringe on other people's rights," explained Johnson in the *Daily Texan*.

Because pollution is a clear example of

"Capable. Honest. Innovative. And a lifelong resident of Austin. Gary Edward Johnson is the Libertarian candidate for Mayor. Other candidates promise more. Johnson wants less - less taxation, less red tape, less interference in your personal life."

—Johnson for Mayor radio commercial

growing." Referring to the recent Census report that Austin has become one of the 20 fastest-growing metropolitan areas in the country, Johnson stated, "Whether Austin grows, shrinks or stays the same is inevitable. What is important is that city government must not interfere with or disrupt this change."

the violation of human rights - including property rights - Johnson approves of restrictions like the Barton Creek Watershed Ordinance, which is aimed at preserving underground water purity. "I agree that underground water supplies need to be protected. But in other areas

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Houston libertarian fights "watered-down" bond issue

UH Students try to evict campus politicos

Opposition to a local water and sewage bond has motivated Houston-area Libertarian Mike Angwin to enter the race for District Water Board in Crosby, Texas.

CAMPAIGNING in this Northeast Harris County suburban town are two slates of three candidates in the April 4th election. The "establishment" slate originally set the proposed bond cost at \$12 million, but slashed their proposal by more than half after Angwin's slate noted repeatedly that since the bond would cover only 345 households in Crosby — not including additional interest payments — it would bring about an absurdly expensive \$34,000 debt per household.

Angwin's slate opposed the \$12 million (now \$5.5 million) bond as a wasteful and unnecessary extravagance. Yet, over Angwin's objections, his slate supports a reduced bond expenditure of \$1.4 million.

AS A LIBERTARIAN, Angwin has publicized his view that even a government-financed bond of \$1.4 million is too much. He has argued that water and sewage



Led by UH Libertarian Alliance Chair James Williams (Right), students Bill Traweek, Randy Davidson, Steve Paul, Manuel Roca, Craig Haynie, and Kevin Lacobie campaigned to abolish the student government.



the University of Houston campus paper, Williams observed, "Through the Student Association, money is going to particular political or social activities. This is forcing students to indirectly support ideologies which aren't theirs. Nor do I believe that the S.A. or the administration should have the power to recognize various organizations."

IN ITS campaign flyer distributed on campus, VESA noted, "The Student Association is a great training ground for our future bureaucrats. However, why should they train with your money?" According to the UH *Daily Cougar*, VESA's position is that the UH Student Association "should be a totally voluntary organization, and proposes the repeal of stipends for paid positions in the S.A."

Although only in his freshman year, Williams received 21 percent of the vote in



Libertarian students rally to Smash the State!

an election in which less than 1,500 out of 28,000 students voted. Running on the VESA slate with Williams were UH libertarians Bill Traweek, Randy Davidson, Steve Paul, Manuel Roca, Trebor Kutya, Craig Haynie, and Kevin Lacobie.

HOUSTON libertarians will be gearing up for additional elections this fall. Already

zation of private wells and septic tanks as a first step in that direction. The District Water Board, once elected, will have the power to approve or reject the \$5.5 million bond — or consider other alternatives, such as Angwin's libertarian solutions.

Angwin charges that even the reduced \$5.5 million bond would still spend millions of taxpayer's dollars to subsidize politically influential out-of-town developers. "They

ONE prominent local group, the Special Committee for Acceptable Taxation (SCAT), has endorsed Angwin's slate. Angwin was invited to join SCAT, but has declined, explaining that he would join only if the group changed its name to the Special Committee *Against* Taxation. Angwin welcomes the group's endorsement, but makes clear in the local suburban weekly *Community News* his Libertarian view that taxation is theft.

Researching the arcane financial and legal details of the proposed bonds, Angwin has discovered that of the proposed \$5.5 million, only \$1.62 million will actually be used for local construction costs. The bulk of the remaining millions will simply be presented "in a check to the developer" — who happens to be an influential member of the Texas financial establishment with strong political ties to Houston's mayor.

ANGWIN has personally telephoned each of the 345 households in Crosby to argue against this new government boondoggle. Before moving to Crosby, Angwin was an active Houston LP member. During the Clark Campaign, he set up volunteer precinct organizations in 55 Houston precincts in his capacity as Harris County LP Volunteer Coordinator.

Other Houston libertarians have also waged active campaigns recently. At the

"Water and sewage improvements could be accomplished through competitive private enterprise, if local and state governments eliminated the many barriers to private water and sewage treatment."

improvements could be accomplished through competitive private enterprise, if local and state governments eliminated the many legal barriers to private water and sewage treatment. Angwin supports legal-

think that by increasing their tax base, they can reduce their overall costs, but a glance at other larger Texas cities shows what's wrong with that assumption," Angwin told **FREE TEXAS**.

El Paso libertarians hope to revise city charter

Four elected Libertarian officeholders in just one Texas city?

IT COULD HAPPEN April 4th if El Paso voters endorse all the Libertarians seeking election to the proposed city charter commission.

If the commission is approved, commission members will have a two-year mandate to completely revise the El Paso City Charter. The four Libertarians running for the commission are LP county chairman John McDivitt, LP county secretary-treasurer Brad Harrison, former LP county chair John Hendley, and Todd Darby. "This relatively minor race is viewed

as important by El Paso Libertarians," explained McDivitt, "because potentially all four candidates are considering partisan races in the 1982 elections. Should they be elected, their 1982 campaign brochures will be able to reflect the fact that they are elected officeholders!"

LIBERTARIANS in the nation's largest border city have also geared up for an active letter-writing and press release campaign aimed at passing a property tax limitation initiative similar to one in Dallas earlier this year. Local libertarians have articulated the theme of property tax relief and fiscal accountability for city government in letters to the editor of El Paso's two leading newspapers, the *Times* and the *Herald Post*. —**Robert Hamilton**

"At the University of Houston, eight students ran for Student Association led by UH Libertarian Alliance Chair James Williams. According to the *Daily Cougar*, Williams position is that the Student Association 'should be a totally voluntary organization'."

University of Houston, eight libertarian students ran for UH Student Association in a February 26th election.

Led by UH Libertarian Alliance Chair James Williams, the students campaigned together on a "Vote to Evict the Student Association" (VESA) slate. Interviewed in

Peter Elloway has announced plans to run for City Council this November. His campaign will focus on libertarian solutions to such local problems as cable TV and mass transit monopolies, coercive annexation, and compulsory fluoridation.

—**Michael Grossberg**

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CLOSET LIBERTARIAN
Columnist exposes self, reveals all

Well, it's about time that someone in government asked me what I think about things . . . Should we decrease taxes first or balance the federal budget? There can be no argument here. The federal budget is most likely nothing more than a myth, a hoax which all the politicians have agreed to carry out so they will have something to run against. Neither you nor I has ever seen the federal budget and I doubt that it exists. On the other hand, there is nothing more real and present than taxes. Eliminate them all, I say. In the unlikely event that there is a federal budget, doing away with taxes would do away with the budget, too, which would be all for the good.

—**Columnist Mike Kelley**
Austin American Statesman

FREE TEXAS

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Texas Libertarians plan large delegation to LPIO

Texas Libertarians attending the Libertarian Party National Convention will be part of one of the very largest state LP delegations.

Due to its extremely successful membership drive, the LP of Texas increased the number of its national members by 82 percent, making Texas the third largest state party in the country. Thirty-two Texans will be able to participate as delegates in National Platform debates, Constitution and By-Laws debates, and elections of National LP officers during the Tenth Anniversary LP Convention scheduled for August 26-30 in Denver, Colorado.

THE LARGEST Libertarian state parties are now California, New York, Texas, Illinois, Alaska, Virginia, Ohio, Michigan, Oregon, and Pennsylvania, in declining order of national membership. As a result of the special efforts of Membership Chair Keith Vanderlee, LPT Chair Honey Lanham, LPT Treasurer David Kelley, and LPT Convention Coordinators Janet Tlappek and Richard Squire, who worked so hard to increase our national membership and delegation size, the LP of Texas will have the opportunity, as one of the top ten states, of selecting representatives to both the national Platform Committee and Credentials Committee.

Everyone who would like to attend the National Convention is also encouraged to attend the Politics of Principle Conference in Austin June 19-21. During this LP of Texas statewide conference, the LPT Execom will elect all delegates, alternates, and national committee representatives. "Whether you're planning to be a delegate or alternate or just a participant, I'm urging every Libertarian in Texas to be a part of our delegation," says LP of Texas Chair Honey Lanham. "And encourage your friends and new local members to come with you! There's nothing like an LP National Convention to inspire Libertarians to become more active in their local party organizations."

EVEN IF you're not a delegate, there's going to be more speeches, films, panel discussions, parties, and debates than any one individual could possibly hope to take

in. Highlights of this year's Tenth Anniversary Convention will include a Past Presidential Candidates Party; a Foreign Policy Debate between Texas Congressman Ron Paul and Earl Ravenal; breakfast speeches by Ed Clark, Roger MacBride, and Libertarian State Representative Dick Randolph; an evening with Nathaniel

Other speakers include Friedrich Hayek, Thomas Sowell, Robert Nozick, Tibor Machan, John Hospers, Murray Rothbard, Robert Poole, Howard Katz, Roy Childs, Joan Kennedy Taylor, David Henderson, John Holt, Jim Blanchard, Charles Koch, Tonie Nathan, Alicia Clark, and a special feature appearance by marketing genius and anti-FTC crusader Joseph Sugarman.

Education; and Nuclear Power - plus dozens of other events too numerous to mention.

To help make the trip to the Denver Convention more convenient and affordable to Texas Libertarians, LPT Convention Coordinator Janet Tlappek has announced plans for a group flight to Denver from both Houston and Dallas. The Houston flight will leave August 25 at 7:15 PM and return Sunday, August 30 at 7:00 PM, costing \$206, with checks payable to Continental Airlines. The Dallas flight will leave August 25 at 7:55 PM and return August 30 at 5:50 PM, costing \$170, with checks payable to Texas International.

IF YOU'RE interested in travelling to the Convention with other Texas Libertarians - and saving money in the bargain! - send



LP/10

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PANEL DISCUSSIONS and workshops will discuss Reagan's First Six Months; Gold, Paper Money, and War; Local Problems, Libertarian Solutions; Lessons of 1980; The Future of the LP; Political Ethics; Minority Outreach; Resource Development; the Environment; the Draft;



Convention Coordinator Janet Tlappek encourages all Texas libertarians to attend the LP's National Convention.

your reservations and checks in to Janet Tlappek (9525 Ella Lee #283, Houston, TX 77063, 713-789-1881) as soon as possible. Do it now, because airfares are going up monthly, and reservations are confirmed at this special discount fare only when your check is received. One half of the required number of reservations must be confirmed to the airlines no later than July 3rd, so hurry! If not enough reservations can be made, the group trip will be cancelled and all money refunded. —Vernon Ward

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LIBERTARIAN PARTY OF TEXAS DELEGATE/ALTERNATE APPLICATION TO NATIONAL LP CONVENTION (Denver, Colorado August 26-30, 1981)

- Yes, I want to be a Delegate (or Alternate).
- I would like to be an Alternate only.
- I am enclosing a brief statement of my qualifications and past Libertarian activities.
- I plan to attend all 4 days of the Convention.
- I did not vote in the 1980 Republican or Democratic primaries.
- I am aware of a Delegate's (or Alternate's) responsibilities: to study the Platform and Constitution and By-Laws of the National LP as well as the proposed changes and amendments.

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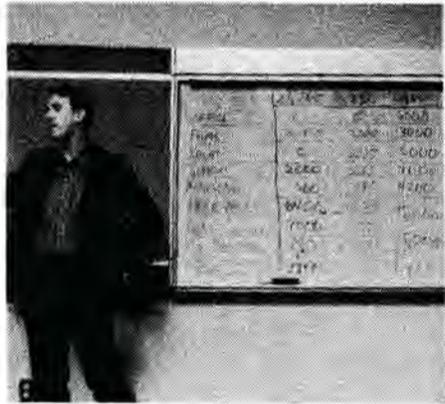
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Deadline for applications is the LP of Texas Executive Committee meeting in Austin, Texas on June 19-21. Applications will be placed in nomination in order of receipt. Send your application as soon as possible to LP of Texas Secretary Bill Mitchell, 11313 Windermere Meadows, Austin, TX 78759.



NEWS NOTES

THE LP OF TEXAS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE will hold its next meeting April 25th and 26th in Galveston at the Marriot's Hotel Galvez. The Saturday (12-5pm) and Sunday (-1pm) business sessions in the East Parlor meeting room are open to observers and everyone is invited to a cocktail party Saturday night. For more information, call Region 3 Rep J.P. Miller at 713-495-3728. For hotel reservations, call Hotel Galvez at 713-765-7721 . . . **LPT SPEAKERS BUREAU COORDINATOR** and **LPT CAMPUS COORDINATOR** are two new volunteer positions the State Execom will fill at its next meeting. Any libertarian activists who would like to help with speakers bureau or campus organizing should contact LPT Chair Honey Lanham. Also during its next meeting, the LPT Execom will create a new Publications Review Committee to oversee publication of all LP of Texas position papers and brochures. The Execom is looking for knowledgeable, sophisticated Libertarians who have the time to read and help edit LPT publications. If you want to be nominated for



Region 1 LPT Execom member Steve Briggs explains the proposed 1981 LPT budget to Texas Libertarians in Beaumont.

this important new committee, contact an LPT Execom member . . . **TEXANS FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE IN HEALTH CARE** is a new LPT committee working to eliminate state agencies involved in regulation of health care. The committee is organizing a statewide network of individuals who will work to support freedom in health care. "As a libertarian, I reserve to myself the right to control my body," explains Health Care Committee Chair David Kelley. "I welcome the existence of private groups and individuals who wish to give me information, but I deplore the existence of government agencies which tell me what I may or may not do with my body." To join the health care freedom network, contact David Kelley at P.O. Box 35432, Dallas, TX 75235 or call 214-526-7114 . . . **UPDATE ON SPECIAL ELECTIONS:** Mike McCollum's 36 percent of the vote in a special Jan. 17th election for North Harris County College District Board of Trustees is a new record for the highest vote percentage won by a Libertarian in Texas. Scott Meek's Jan. 10th race for State Representative may have won only 2 percent overall, but in the one key precinct where his low budget campaign concentrated - with the efforts of precinct chair Don Burger and other Houston libertarians - he won 12.5 percent! Targetting our limited resources apparently brings good results . . . **HOUSTON'S LP HEAD-**

QUARTERS received a shot in the arm March 14th when over 100 Harris County Libertarians attended a Casino Party to raise funds to support their Region 3 headquarters, located at 3410 Marquart, Suite 225, near Greenway Plaza. The Casino Party was a great success, everyone had fun, and \$630 was raised . . . **DALLAS LIBERTARIANS** are now raising funds to support a second LP headquarters in Region 1. Libertarians who would like to help support a headquarters in their region should contact Dallas LP, Box 501028, Dallas TX 75250 . . . **WHEELER COUNTY LP** representative Rick Thurmond appeared on KDNF's radio talk show March 14th in Pampa Texas to spread the word about the Libertarian Party and its activities in the Texas Panhandle. To help Rick spread the word, call 806-826-3342 . . . **THANKS** to Dave Disney and Alma Kucymbala for their efforts in getting the Denton LP off the ground, and hosting the productive LPT Execom meeting in Denton last February. Dallasite Martin Gibson was the featured speaker at the first meeting of the new Denton student LP group at North Texas State University . . . **SAN ANGELO** Libertarians are planning a tax protest forum April 16th. They've invited leading LP activists from across Texas to attend the forum and help kick off local LP activities. Dallasite Greg Clark will be one of the speakers. For information, call Brent DeMotive at 915-949-7287 . . . **AUSTIN LIBERTARIANS** will hold their monthly meetings April 8th and May 3rd at 7PM at the Anarchodillo Bookstore, 1712 S. Congress. (512-441-4565). The LP of Travis County will host a cocktail party and potluck dinner (B.Y.O. Food!) at the Chevy Chase Apartment Clubhouse, 7487 Chevy Chase Drive (1 block west of 135 and 183) on Sunday, June 7th at 6PM. Last minute plans for the Politics of Principle conference in Austin will be discussed. Austin Libertarians are encouraged to volunteer to help during the June 19-21 conference. The Sixth Annual LP Tax Protest is scheduled for 12 noon, Wednesday April 15th at Austin's Main Post Office. Bring picket signs and anti-tax literature! . . . **UPDATE:** Austin Libertarian Gene Berkman's court case (see Summer 1980 FREE TEXAS for details) has finally come to a definite, if unlibertarian, conclusion. Berkman will get back less than half of the \$7,000 confiscated from his store during a June 2, 1980 drug raid, and will receive one year probation for the misdemeanor offense of possession of marijuana . . . **LIBERTARIANS** interested in keeping up with the nefarious, laughable, absurd, bombastic, bureaucratic, Dallas-soap-opera activities of the current Texas Legislature may call 1-800-252-9693 for the status of current legislation, 512-475-8452 for copies of House bills, and 512-475-2520 for copies of Senate bills . . . **FREE TEXAS** grows increasingly popular. Because so many local LP groups in Texas ordered copies to distribute at local bookstores, shopping centers, and restaurants, the Winter 1980-81 issue was reprinted in early March. FREE TEXAS makes a great local outreach tool for LP activists. Have you placed copies in your doctor's or lawyer's office, or on the counter of local businesses? For more information about ordering back issues or reprints, contact Publications Director Michael Grossberg at 512-454-1522. Bulk discount for LP county organizations: 10c per copy, plus shipping charges . . . **TEXAS LIBERTARIANS PUBLISHED:** Houstonian Robert Bradley, an Austrian economist, is writing a book on "Government and Energy: the U.S. Experience" to be published by the Cato Institute. Bradley invites Libertarians to send



LP of Texas Finance Chair Matt Monroe (Right) turns over the first check of money received in the Independence Pledge campaign to LPT Treasurer David Kelley.

him clippings, articles about energy, or rationales favoring government intervention (so he can refute them in his book!) Write Bradley at 1201 McDuffie #150, Houston TX 77019. Austinite Jeffrey Rogers Hummel will publish a pathbreaking article on the history of the arms race in the *May Libertarian Review*, and recently published a front page article in *Policy Report* on "The Deregulation and Monetary Control Act of 1980." Michael Grossberg's centerfold article on "Progress versus Politics: The Next Industrial Revolution in Space" in the winter FREE TEXAS is being reprinted in *Claustrophobia*, the "combo-zine of libertarianism, life extension, and space colonization." . . . **END OF AN ERA:** Libertarian businessman Roland DeNoie,

founder of Austin's Salvation Sandwiches, a popular "alternative foods" sidewalk vending establishment, has called it quits. After years of harassment by both city and university bureaucrats, DeNoie has ended his long-running "sandwich war" with the University of Texas over the sale of his wares on campus property. "Once again, the State has conspired to eliminate the free enterprise attempt to serve legal, gut needs of students," DeNoie explained in an *Austin American Statesman* news story. Wayne Gronquist, a longtime associate of DeNoie's, commented "He's been fighting the university and the city for 10 years. I think you can see that the man's tired. He wants a little bit of rest." Relax, Roland! You deserve a break today . . .

BACK ISSUES

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- Test Your Libertarian IQ
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- Prospects for Freedom in the 1980's
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LP of Texas Chair Honey Lanham (Center) meets with FREE TEXAS Treasurer Russell Turpin, LPT Secretary Bill Mitchell, and LPT Treasurer David Kelley (l. to r.) during an LPT Execom meeting break in Denton.

How to communicate libertarian ideas

FROM THE CHAIR

By Honey Lanham

What were the three biggest organizational problems for the Libertarian Party of Texas during the Clark for President campaign?

"COMMUNICATION, communication, and communication," say Texas Clark for President Chair Bill Fraser and Dallas Clark for President Co-Chair Kris Cooper. During the Clark campaign, daily phone calls were soon supplemented by a weekly Clark for President Newsletter, which improved communication with county coordinators across Texas and with state coordinators around the country.

It is an extremely difficult task to keep Libertarians across the state equally informed of state LP activities, not to mention local LP activities. However, the alternatives are clearly unacceptable. Concentrations of power lead to obstructionism, while the continual "re-invention of the wheel" is counterproductive.

Therefore, in this time between general elections, it is imperative that we improve internal communications within the Libertarian Party of Texas.

FREE TEXAS is certainly our most visible and professional medium of communication for Libertarians in Texas. It is continually being improved - notice the Activist Directory in this issue. Each county and campus LP group is invited to contribute local news on a regular basis to

our newspaper. Many areas have already designated a local correspondent or reporter to FREE TEXAS. Free-lance articles are also encouraged.

THE STATE MAILING LIST is the key element in the distribution of FREE TEXAS and is certainly one of our most valuable resources. Our mailing list, which has recently grown to more than 7,000 people, is composed of local, state, and national LP members, FREE TEXAS

committee members, county chairs, campus leaders, and Independence Pledgers. These local activists may then disseminate this information amongst local libertarians.

COUNTY/CAMPUS NEWSLETTERS are critical to the success of local events and activities as well as to the growth of the local organizations. A local newsletter can give your group focus and credibility and can help increase membership. Just one page per month with a calendar of events

your whole local group notified in an extremely short period of time for an upcoming meeting, event, getting-out-the-vote, or campaign about pending legislation. Get a local telephone tree, with only eight to ten calls per person, started now and systematically add to it! The current Texas Legislature seems especially threatening to our personal freedoms. It seems we are no longer fighting to increase our freedoms, but just to maintain the status quo!

PERSONAL INFORMATION SHARING with other Libertarians at meetings, events, and on the phone remains the most effective form of communication. Get to know your membership. Let people get involved in what they want to do and like to do. Create opportunities for participation and responsibility. What appears to be apathy may be shyness, politeness, or the fear of being presumptuous in a new group, when, in fact, that group may be crying for new talent. Even the inevitable drudge work of a growing political party offers the opportunity to get together to work and visit and exchange information. Harris County LP Chair Bob Yaussy has organized a successful "Thursday Work Night" at the HCLP Headquarters in Houston.

SHARED IDEALS can open previously barred lines of communication. Peace, prosperity, and freedom are certainly the common goals of a most disparate and uncommon group: Libertarians.

"The current Texas Legislature seems especially threatening to our personal freedoms. We are no longer fighting to increase our freedoms, but just to maintain the status quo!"

subscribers, as well as people who have expressed an interest in the Libertarian Party of Texas.

LP of Texas Secretary Bill Mitchell is currently maintaining our state mailing list by computer. The national LP headquarters sends us its additions on a monthly basis. Local LP groups send us their updates as well. Please keep Bill informed of any additions, changes, or deletions from your area. We are especially mindful of those few who request that their names be removed from our list. County listings of the state mailing list can be obtained from the State Chair by local organizers.

A TEXAS ACTIVIST NEWSLETTER is soon to debut. Its six to twelve issues per year will be distributed to LP executive

can make a big difference! Strive to get a newsletter published in your area - and don't forget to put the State Chair and FREE TEXAS editor on your mailing list.

LATERAL COMMUNICATION among local activists, campus leaders, county chairs, and executive committee members has been initiated by Dallas County LP Chair Gwynn Groggel with a "round robin" packet of information about local goals, plans, reports, and ideas. Other county chairs may then make copies of desired information, add their own reports and activities, and circulate it to others. By sharing this information, each local LP group can capitalize on the experience and success of others.

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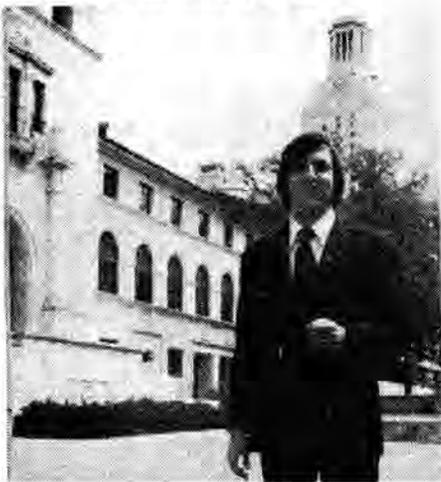
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developers won't endanger the water supply," Johnson told a *Texan* reporter. "Governmental planning has gotten out of hand here. And no one is questioning it. The other mayoral candidates are saying pretty much the same thing about growth management. I want to give the voters a choice."

Johnson also advocates that Austin sell its 16 percent share in the South Texas Nuclear Project, since the electricity the nuclear plant would generate is not necessary and the project's cost is prohibitive. Financing of the project, which will not be operable before 1984, is intolerably costly to Austin citizens. Johnson pointed out in a *Daily Texan* interview. "Ten percent of what you pay for electricity goes for interests on bonds for STN . . . Electricity bills would be lower if private companies were competing for customers."

ACCORDING to the *Texan*, "Johnson strongly supports private enterprise taking ownership of public utilities. 'Wherever possible, service should be provided by the private sector,' he said . . . He favors a flat, uniform utility rate because, he said, it is unfair that large businesses and other large-scale customers (for example, the Texas legislature, the Internal Revenue Service, the University) receive a financial break on electric rates, while the average customer pays a higher rate."

Consistent with his Libertarian belief in competition and free enterprise, Johnson has publicly attacked the local government-enforced cable television monopoly, arguing that two or more cable companies should operate in the same area and compete for the same customers.



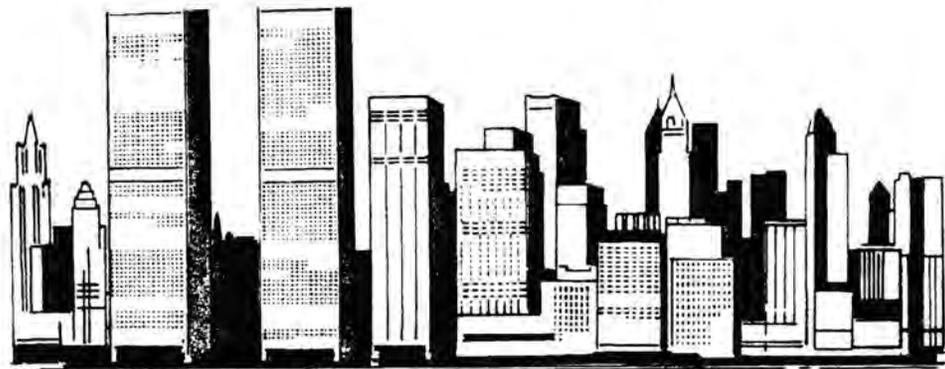
Gary Johnson campaigns against Big Government.

The *Austin American Statesman* reported. "Mayoral candidate Gary Johnson said Tuesday the proposal to 'more than double' the city franchise tax on cable customers 'is caused by greed, not the need of the city administration . . . Calling the city's proposed cable franchise 'unacceptable', Johnson said he would vote against 'this anti-consumer, anti-taxpayer' proposition."

"THIS FRANCHISE would serve the interest of the cable companies and the city government, but now is the time for the taxing consumers to be represented, too," said Johnson, a 27-year-old member of the Libertarian Party, reported the *Austin Citizen*.

Commenting on the proposed requirement that free cable TV be offered in all city government buildings, Johnson observed "There is no such thing as a free lunch and there is no such thing as free cable television. The costs of these 'freebies' will be borne by paying customers."

Johnson also brought to public attention an ominous provision of the 15-year franchise renewal "which I, as a Libertarian, could never accept" - a clause allowing the City Council to exercise an option of government ownership of the cable system as early as 1991. Johnson warned "This would place a vital medium of communication under complete government control." Not only would censorship



be a consequence of government monopoly, but, Johnson added, "a bureaucracy could not operate the cable service as well as private enterprise can."

CIVIL LIBERTIES is another important issue to Johnson. "Enforcement of victimless crime laws is overloading our courts with unnecessary cases against harmless citizens. The City Council needs to direct the police to put a lower priority on rounding up streetwalkers and potsmokers, and devote more time to catching murderers, rapists, and thieves," Johnson recommended in the *Austin Citizen*. "And the city massage parlor ordinance should be repealed."

"The solution to the crisis in our cities is not misguided government paternalism, which has created the crisis. The solution is to get government out of the city and keep it out."

If elected, Johnson has pledged to reduce city taxes. He has condemned City Council subsidies to the Chamber of Commerce, which is scheduled to receive nearly \$400,000 from the city for fiscal 1981. "This is a private organization, and I don't think it should be subsidized by taxpayers. I am a capitalist. I believe that private enterprise made this country great. I support our free market economy. But I think our taxes should not be raised to subsidize this private organization which can pay its own way through dues from its members," said Johnson at a press conference. Standing in front of the Chamber's headquarters and holding a dollar bill in one hand, Johnson said. "If we elect a mayor and City Council that will stop the subsidy to the Chamber of Commerce, then the taxes of the people of Austin can be cut more than one dollar per person."

INCUMBENT MAYOR Carole McClellan's two terms have seen an increase in spending from \$244 million to \$420 million. Unlike his opponents, Johnson has specified exactly where he would cut the city budget. If elected, he plans to curtail the hiring of consultants for the council, end city subsidies to 33 non-governmental organizations, and abolish city council and mayoral salaries. "We taxpayers are not getting our money's worth," said Johnson

in a televised local news story. "I don't regard this (Council position) as a full time job. I'm sure City Council members have their own private businesses."

Johnson, who is the only mayoral candidate from the underrepresented South Austin district, favors the building of another hospital, explaining, "South Austin needs this hospital. The City Council was wrong to spend money from the taxpayers, including South Austin taxpayers, to try to stand in the way of this valuable project for our community," he said in a radio interview. Johnson pledges to resist any effort to use zoning laws or denial of a building permit to prevent the opening of

this new private hospital, which would compete with the city-subsidized Brackenridge Hospital.

SOUTH AUSTIN voters have been specially targeted by Johnson during his campaign. During the last week of the mayor's race, over 40,000 South Austin households received a mailing from the Johnson for Mayor campaign, reminding them that Johnson, as a Libertarian, was the *only* candidate who had made a firm pledge to work for their civil liberties as well as significant tax cuts.

Having raised over \$10,000 in what is quite probably the most ambitious and best-financed local campaign in the history of the Libertarian Party of Texas, Johnson took out a series of radio advertisements over KNOW-AM, KCSW-FM, and several other Austin radio stations to build his momentum in the final week of the race.

SOME INDICATIONS of Johnson's increasing impact were apparent during his guest appearance on the Joyce and Mel Show, a local ABC-TV call-in talk show. Several viewers commented that although they had originally formed a negative impression of the Libertarian Party, Johnson's thoughtful "good sense" politics had persuaded them to vote Libertarian April 4th.



economy through the housing market has destroyed the incentive for market expansion. Through rent control, the number of housing units has declined because new investment is deferred and uneconomic properties are simply abandoned. Through an outdated tax structure in most cities, improvements are discouraged, and finally, through the massive federalization of zoning, housing codes and regulations, new entrepreneurial efforts in housing are stifled.

NOTICE that all of the attendant social, cultural and moral problems of declining cities are derived from their economic problems: Crime is rampant because many residents cannot get jobs. Promiscuity is high because slum residents have much idle time on their hands and cannot afford to take economic responsibility for a family, and they can do better on welfare and aid to dependent children, which prohibits having a man in the house.

The development of the slum community and the renewal of the city must begin with the establishment of an economic base - a foundation of individual and community self-support. In many ways, the slum faces problems like those of underdeveloped nations. The slums are outside of the general social cycle of production and consumption and investment.

INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM - and its corollary, a free market economy - must be allowed to produce jobs, investment and consumption and to restore the disadvantaged to the mainstream of economic life. New industry must be encouraged in the slums to foster economic development.

The economic development of the slums requires not more government aid and programs, which only perpetuate depen-



gency without developing positive skills. What is needed is an end to the economic policies which have created the crisis in our cities in the first place.

- Rent controls should be removed.
- Minimum wage laws should be ended.
- The coercive power of unions to create "closed shops" and thereby exclude social minorities should be eliminated.
- Taxes on businessmen should be ended and government regulations on business should be eliminated.
- Urban enterprise zones should be created, in which slum businesses are exempt from licensing and other business fees which often make it difficult or impossible for the poor and uneducated to start their own businesses.
- Taxes on the poor should be immediately and completely ended, increasing their disposable income.
- Taxes on investments in the slums should be ended to provide a tax incentive for investment in these areas.

IF THESE programs are followed, the disposable income of slum dwellers will immediately be raised, housing will improve, it will become much easier to start businesses in these areas, employment will increase, and investment will be stimulated.

The solution to the problems in our cities is not misguided government paternalism, which has largely contributed to the problem. The solution is rather to get government out of the slums and keep it out. Laissez faire!

(Don Ernsberger is the Director of the Society for Individual Liberty. This article has been reprinted, in abridged form, from a SIL pamphlet. Membership in SIL (P.O. Box 1147, Warminster, PA 18974) is \$5 per year.)

Urban enterprise zones revitalize cities



By Michael Grossberg

Since first proposed in England as a means of stimulating depressed cities, the idea of Urban Enterprise Zones has been gaining adherents on both sides of the Atlantic.

ENTERPRISE ZONES - areas offering special relief to industry from red tape and taxes - have won endorsements from a number of mayors as a potential way of revitalizing depressed portions of their cities. A bipartisan coalition is emerging in Congress and in a number of states, including Texas, behind this new, libertarian approach to the solution of our urban problems.

Recently, the Sabre Foundation, which specializes in innovative public policy proposals, initiated a national project to develop tools for establishing effective Enterprise Zones in communities across the country. "The purpose of our effort is to reverse the spiral of decay and despair that has taken hold in many cities," explains Mark Frazier, director of the project. "A primary objective is to remove constraints upon businesses while creating incentives for firms to cooperate with local groups in improving their surroundings."

PRINCIPAL activities of the Sabre project include:

- Identification of tax and regulatory deterrents whose removal would do most to generate employment and financial benefits for communities;

- Analysis of innovative self-help mechanisms through which neighborhoods could reduce the incidence of crime and other social problems; and

- Examination of ways to share benefits with the city as a whole, such as by lowering the overall tax burden in proportion to the declining needs of zone residents for support services.

A broad spectrum of economic and community development specialists have joined the Sabre research effort. Participants include Robert Poole of the Local Government Center, Milton Kotler of the National Association of Neighborhoods, Prof. Alvin Rabushka of Stanford's Hoover Institution, Dr. David Levy of the National Planning Association, and Dr. Stuart Butler of the National Planning Association.

URBAN enterprise zones have become such an attractive solution to the problems of our cities, in fact, that even socialists are encouraging the adoption of this libertarian-oriented program. British Professor Peter Hall, a socialist academician with a special interest in urban affairs, has proposed what he calls the "Freeport Solution," in which selected regions are liberated from all national exchange and customs controls and taxes. Such freeports already exist at the Shannon airport in Ireland and the Canary Islands. Hall declares these areas "would be based on fairly shameless free enterprise."

Ultimately, establishment of urban enterprise zones could be just the start of a great national movement to de-tax, de-regulate, and de-control our society.

AFTER ALL, if freedom works in the slums and the inner cities, why not let freedom work everywhere? As land use expert Bernard Siegan points out in a recent issue of AREA's *Environmental Alternatives*, "The closest approximation to enterprise areas occurs in the non-zoned cities, the largest of which is Houston, Texas. That city undergoes constant development and redevelopment to an extent impossible under zoning restraints. Houston's experience suggests that the enterprise zone concept can be extended to entire municipal areas with benefit; there is no need to confine it to the most severely depressed sections of a city."

entrepreneurs will be unwilling to start businesses because they will fear that taxes and regulations might suddenly be reimposed."

"**AN ENTERPRISE** zone policy will restore the economic vitality of our inner cities. Businesses will be established, jobs will be created, buildings will be refurbished and rebuilt. Once again our inner cities will be thriving, bustling centers of activity. Perhaps the most important benefit will be moral: inner-city residents will know that their own efforts can accomplish something; they will be able to build their own communities. Our cities will have a future of jobs, production, and opportunity."

"Establishment of urban enterprise zones could be the start of a great national movement to de-tax, de-regulate, and de-control our society. After all, if freedom works in the slums and inner cities, why not let freedom work everywhere?"

That's exactly what Libertarian Presidential candidate Ed Clark suggested during his campaign last year: the establishment of enterprise zones in many cities throughout America. As Clark persuasively argued in *A New Beginning*, "We should remove all the taxes and controls which prevent the establishment of businesses and destroy jobs. At the same time, no business in an enterprise zone should be eligible for any government subsidy, grant, loan, loan guarantee, or other financing. We want real productive businesses, not companies dependent on the government. All these conditions must be absolutely guaranteed for a specified period of time - at least ten years. Otherwise

Today economic prospects for most inner city residents are as grim as the boarded-up stores and factories in their neighborhoods. The loss of productive enterprises has desolated vast areas of American cities, leaving behind unemployment, crime, and despair. As Roy Fauntroy, a leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, told a Miami rally in June, 1980, "The issue is justice. The problem is government. And the solution is in the hands of the people here."

LIBERTARIANS are working to free up the system, so that people will be free - to work, compete, build, plan, and live. That is the *only* moral and practical way to solve our urban problems.

Neighbors volunteer

By Robert Poole

When Davidson Rubber Co. donated \$750 to the Farmington, New Hampshire volunteer ambulance corps, it had no idea the gift would lead to a major construction project. But by the time the ambulance and fire volunteers were through, the town had a brand-new fire station. And not one cent of tax money was involved.

THE FARMINGTON fire station was financed and built entirely by volunteer effort. In an era of federal grants for nearly everything, we tend to forget the long-standing American tradition of volunteerism. Who would believe, for example, that of the nation's 24,500 fire departments, fully 87% are manned by volunteers?

In the Farmington case, the town's selectmen vetoed the idea of applying for a federal grant. In true Yankee individualist fashion, they reasoned that if the townspeople wanted a fire station, by golly they'd come up with the time and money. And come up with it they did. Each of the 33 firefighters donated his \$200-a-year clothing allowance to the building fund. The Jaycees held a town fair which netted \$3,500. Altogether over several years a total of \$91,000 was raised.

BUT the efforts didn't stop there. A talented minister drew up the plans instead of an architect. Firefighters who are carpenters or plumbers donated their skills, too. Only the cement work and the finishing of a large wood floor had to be contracted for. The Ladies Auxiliary even raised money from bake sales to purchase tables, chairs, and kitchen equipment.

That's all well and good in small towns, you may be thinking, but volunteerism can't be applied to the big city. Think again. One of the country's most sophisticated paramedic/emergency ambulance operations is the Bethesda/Chevy Chase Rescue Squad, which serves northwest Washington, D.C. and Bethesda and Chevy Chase,

Maryland. It operates six paramedic vans, three ambulances, a mobile intensive care unit, a crash truck, and two rescue boats. And does it all with volunteers.

THE RESCUE SQUAD receives no government funds and doesn't charge for its services. It raises its half-million dollar a year budget largely from an annual door-to-door fund drive, supplemented by bingo games, interest income, and miscellaneous donations.

Although operations as extensive as the Rescue Squad are rare, volunteer efforts in big cities are not. Out of some 39,000 city blocks in New York City, some 10,000 have functioning block associations, voluntary groups aimed at neighborhood betterment. One of their most common activities is providing a volunteer security patrol.

In the East Midwood neighborhood of Brooklyn, for example, the East Midwood Patrol provides all-night service, 365 days a year. The 120 members volunteer their time on a rotating basis to maintain coverage in the 25-block area. Besides teaching householders improved security procedures, members patrol the streets in cars equipped with CB radios, watching for prowlers and muggers. When they spot trouble, they notify the police via CB. Studies by the Rand Corporation and others have found that crime drops in neighborhoods so patrolled.

NEIGHBORHOOD associations go one step further in certain sections of St. Louis. These groups take over full responsibility for neighborhood streets, including sweeping, patching, and snow removal. Similar private streets - to which adjacent owners actually hold title - exist in several neighborhoods in New York City.

OF COURSE many details remain to be worked out, but the idea would seem to have a lot of merit. American volunteerism lives on - in big city and small town alike.

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Electric monopolies are

By Michael Lipson

Both doctrinaire Marxists and doctrinaire conservatives call the public utility "the most capitalistic of all enterprises," though one group means to curse and one to praise. We have been led to believe that the historical development of utilities has been inevitable, that their monopoly is somehow "natural," that the production of "public goods" must be regulated in the "public interest" in order to correct "inherent market defects."

IN FACT, nothing but the most vapid rationalizations underlie the public utility concept; yet these rationalizations, so firmly entrenched in the economic views of both the left and the right, have successfully cemented the wealth and power of an important segment of the American ruling elite for over half a century. Utilities cannot be understood in the context of ordinary business regulation: they exist, by their very nature, as appendages of the State apparatus, to be used in the service of its plans, for purposes it alone selects.

Since time immemorial, ruling elites have sought power, wealth, status and hegemony. In pursuit of these objectives they have molded many political institutions, feudal, socialist, and democratic. But one factor has remained constant. State control of large capital investments has been essential for an elite to maintain power. And by systematically siphoning away the earnings of the most enterprising Americans and funneling all of it into state-controlled industries, today's elite can maintain hegemony in much the same way the parasitic landholders did in the Middle Ages - by collecting rent.

PREDICTABLY enough, the legal framework of public utility regulations is drawn from feudal traditions. In order to find legal justifications for the public utility concept, the U.S. Supreme Court was forced to look at a two-hundred-year-old judgment taken from English common law, which in turn was based on medieval economic concepts.

The concept of the "just" price lay at the heart of medieval economics. Fundamentally, there are only two theories of price, contradictory and mutually exclusive: one is free market; the other, state-controlled. The free market theory, its origins in Stoic philosophy (later grafted onto Roman law), allows buyers and sellers to reach a mutually agreed upon price, called the "natural price."

The "just price," first proposed by St. Augustine, allows a seller to receive only that compensation "customarily sufficient for his economic support," in the words of

church authorities. An implicit assumption here is price control: an elite must be created, of necessity, to determine what actually is "sufficient" and to police individual contracts to insure "justice."

IN FEUDAL SOCIETY, an individual's social position was determined at birth. The entire population was organized hierarchically, from the peasant who subsisted at the most meager level up to the priestly and landholding elites who systematically and continuously looted, through coercive taxation, any surplus produced by the peasants. Ultimately, feudalism maintained the working class at a moribund level. In such a framework, it was status, not contract, that decided the outcome of conflicts and transactions.

ACCORDING to utility economist Martin G. Glaeser, "the feudal lord was the center of the manorial economy. His control was exercised in person or through bailiffs sitting as judges in the manor courts. Prices and quality of services were thus controlled. This was the approach, peculiar to the political economy of feudalism, which medieval courts applied to those economic transactions of which our modern utility dealings are the lineal descendants."

The seventeenth century favored the lessening of economic restrictions, not their increase. The masses, recognizing free competition as their only means of raising their standard of living, began revolting

requested them. The government retained the power to regulate every aspect of their operations, even though the standard by which "proper" regulation was judged was the marketplace itself. In exchange, such businesses received the last remnant of mercantilist status - a monopoly in their field.

UNTIL 1877, the public utility's legal status remained undefined by American courts. Both state and local governments had the authority to grant charters for "public works and common carriers," but political pressures exerted by voters opposed to monopoly privilege forced politicians during the early nineteenth century to grant charters to all who applied. However, the people's faith in the free market was gradually eroded, particularly by government subsidies to railroads. According to Glaeser:

When the railroad industry was new the companies were encouraged to freely expand throughout the country. They received land grants from federal and state governments, the voters gave them tax exemptions and public funds, and the securities were sold to the towns and persons to which they brought transportation service. . . . Being built ahead of the demand for railroad service and needing earnings, the railroad systems resorted to discriminatory and non-competitive pricing.

Midwestern movements sprang up in response in the late 1860s and early '70s,

The utilities - creations of the State, in aid of the State, tools of the State - do not supply us with services; they do not promote growth, and they are no more capitalist than a military contractor. Like the feudal barons they so closely resemble, they can be expected only to stand for the further perpetuation of their own power.

against "just prices" throughout Europe.

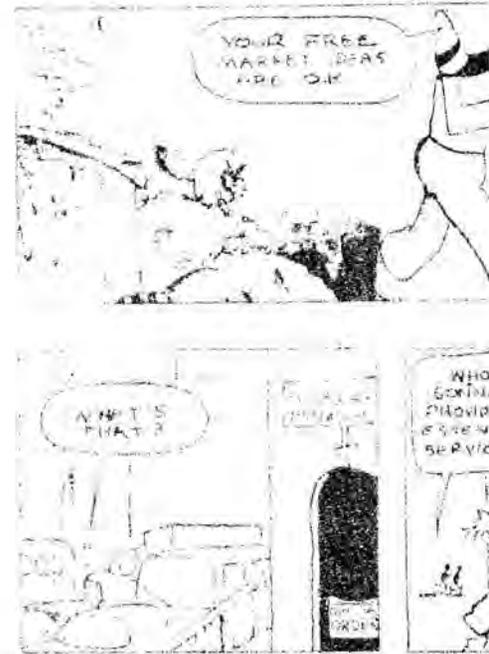
BY the end of the eighteenth century, the free market had become the rule in every economic sector but one: the public utilities. The idea persisted, even in the almost free market analyses of both Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill, that the government should be responsible for all those businesses affected with the public interest.

Companies so classified were exempted from the rigors of the marketplace; they were regulated, instead, by laws requiring them to fulfill the services for which they were chartered and to serve anyone who

investigating and heavily publicizing railroad abuses and urging the federal government to enact price regulation as a "solution."

BUSINESS became subject to regulation whenever "monopoly" conditions could be proved in court. By 1930, not only electric generation, but the production of petroleum, natural gas, telephone service and broadcasting has all been "proven" to be affected with a public interest because of "inherent monopoly conditions." Electrical energy was doomed to extensive regulation from the start.

SAMUEL INSULL was more than



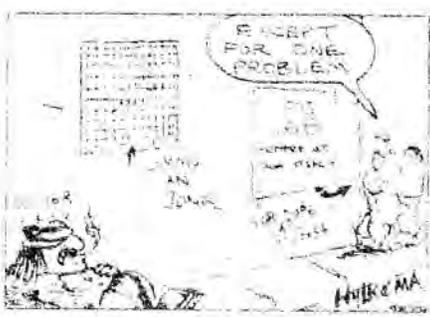
simply the pioneer of the electrical industry; he conceived of and agitated for the monopoly structure under which today's utilities operate. Insull firmly believed the electrical industry to be a "natural" monopoly, arguing that one producer of electricity in a region could supply the product more cheaply than several competing firms. His argument, however, was based on two unexamined assumptions.

FIRST, a public utility had the right of eminent domain, enabling it to "take" not only entire corridors down streets, but even part of a person's back yard if necessary. Since land was "free," a utility had no incentive to find a means of economizing the amount of land used, and Insull conceived of only one way of delivering electricity: a large-scale power plant (the larger the better) with an incredibly expensive distribution system costing over four times the amount spent on the plant. He despised the idea of individually owned generating facilities, whether for homes or factories.

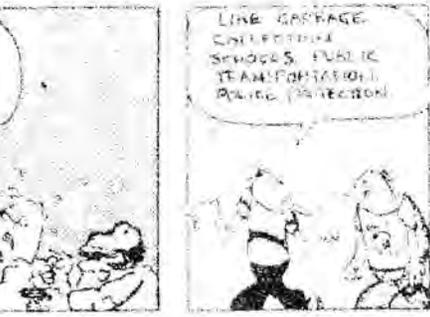
Second, Insull envisioned the utility as a permanent social institution, rather than as a technology which might be superseded by a superior one in a matter of years. Since his facility could produce enough electricity for the city of Chicago, he saw no "need" for competition. In the market place, however, it makes no difference whether a single producer can produce enough for all consumers. The question is, "Do the



tools of the power elite



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consumers want to buy the product at the price at which the producer sells it?" If the answer is "no," then the producer goes out of business. Insull wanted a monopoly because he wanted his concept of power generation put into service regardless of whether or not it was truly the most economical one.

SOME American businessmen were attracted to Insull's conception, particularly some belonging to the elite New York financial clique dominated by J. P. Morgan. But when Insull proposed the establishment of a state public utility commission with the power to grant monopolies, set rates and standards of service, and develop a uniform method of accounting, in 1898, the members of the National Electric Light Association for the most part did not support him.

Utility executives were frightened of state regulation, but even more terrified of municipal utility ownership. In 1904, attempting to coerce his business opponents into favoring state regulation, Insull insinuated that municipal ownership would be the inevitable consequence of a failure to enact his proposal. To prove that he wasn't kidding around, he founded the Committee on Municipal Ownership.

Events played into his hands. In June 1907, panic struck the municipal bond market, sending hundreds of municipal power plants into receivership. The National Electric Light Association together with the National Civic Federation

started a massive propaganda campaign blaming the bond market's fall on the lack of state regulation. Soon state regulation of just about everything became a popular issue. By 1920, two-thirds of the states, including Texas, had commissions granting monopolies to electric and telephone companies, and usually to gas and transportation companies as well. Within the short span of 25 years, the "regulated monopoly" had taken the well-traveled path from radical proposal to commonly accepted public policy. And the old mercantilist ideal of a permanent privileged monopoly class, which would retain its wealth long after its capital had lost its productive value, had been re-established.

BY 1931, Insull's holding company supplied over one-eighth of the nation's electric power. Prior to the 1929 stock market crash, he confined this empire to the midwest; afterwards, he proceeded to buy up scores of bankrupt companies on the East Coast. This was an invasion of the territory of J.P. Morgan, from whom Insull had borrowed heavily during the dizzying speculative frenzy of the late '20s. In retaliation, Morgan engineered a mammoth publicity campaign designed to place Insull's financial dealing under government scrutiny. It worked. The government began a complete investigation of Insull's finances, which were in a shambles; Insull was completely exposed to the Wall Street "wolves"; his spectacular demise was the subject of front page newspaper stories for weeks and left the government with a perfect excuse for new regulations. By 1935, Congress had passed the Securities and Exchange Act (SEC), the Glass-Steagall Banking Act, and most far-reaching of all for the utilities, the Public Utility Holding Act.

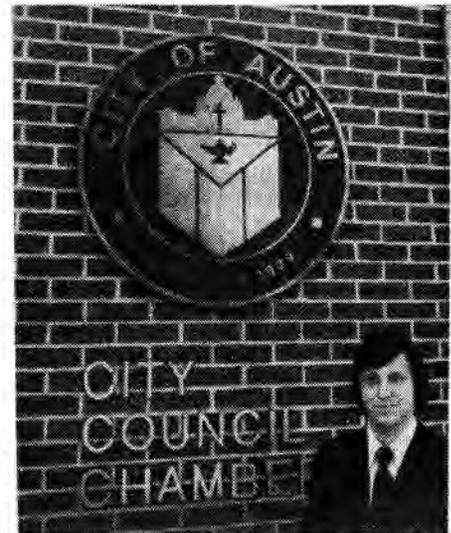
As usual, the government, seeking legislation under the pretext of "reform," actually brought into existence a regulatory system designed to benefit only the entrenched interests.

NOTHING underscores the failure of state planning and monopoly control more definitively than the history of nuclear power. For two decades, the utilities concealed its potentially catastrophic flaws and economic inefficiency. Unfortunately, however, the nuke's present critics fail to understand the inseparable connection between state policy, nuclear power and the monopoly structure of the utility industry, supported by the present federal and state regulatory apparatus.

Not until the early '50s could nuclear

power be seriously considered for electricity generation, and only then because of the existence of state regulated monopolies. Slowly, the utilities realized that the economics of nuclear power together with the economics of rate regulation might be a bonanza for them. A utility's "profitability" is directly linked to the size of its assets; the rate it can charge is calculated by multiplying its capital valuation by a rate of return set by the regulatory commission. The utility, therefore, has every incentive to maximize its capital investments, their only limitation being the amount of money banks will lend. Bankers of the '50s, seeking to place as much of their loan portfolio under government guarantee as they could, gladly lent the utilities vast sums to develop nuclear power.

UNDER these circumstances, nuclear power was the most "attractive" investment possible - capital cost ran ninety percent of total costs; nuclear plant construction required at least a decade before going "onstream" and another thirty years to amortize. Lenders made billions. And the interest costs are still regularly passed onto the public through rate increases. A charge-off called "Construction Work in Progress" (CWIP) additionally gives utilities the



Libertarian candidate Gary Johnson challenges the financial and political establishment which backs incumbent Mayor Carol McClellan.

privilege of passing along the costs of nonproducing plants during their construction. Studies estimate that CWIP accounts for more than fifteen percent of current utility bills. It is not too much to say that a bloodsucking alliance of utility fiefs and bandit bankers have quietly milked billions from the ratepaying public: the

LOCAL PROBLEMS, LIBERTARIAN SOLUTIONS

- A selected reading list
- Rent Control: The Perennial Folly*
By Charles Baird
 - The Limits of the City*
By Murray Bookchin
 - Local Problems, Libertarian Solutions*
By William Burt
 - Freedom to Build*
Edited by Fichter and Turner
 - Community Technology*
By Karl Hess
 - Libertarianism*
By John Hospers
 - The Economy of Cities*
By Jane Jacobs
 - Neighborhood Power*
By David Morris and Karl Hess
 - Cutting Back City Hall*
 - Cutting Local Taxes*
By Robert Poole
 - Land Use Without Zoning*
By Bernard Siegan
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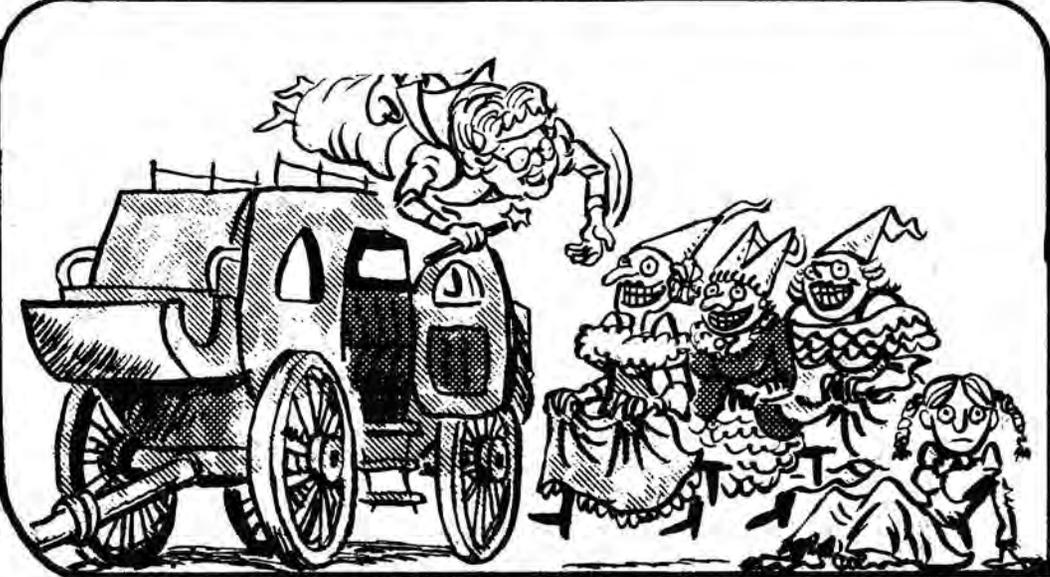
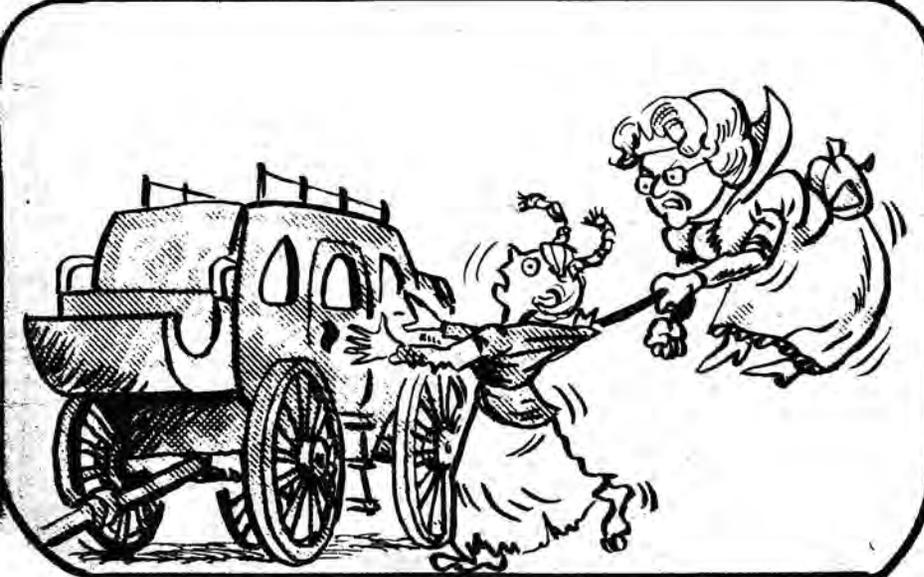
electricity that was first promoted by the feds as being "too cheap to meter" has predictably become too costly to contemplate.

REGARDLESS of the hundreds of innovations which will doubtless come along between now and the turn of the century, inventions we do not now know about, we cannot expect to see even one in actual service if state licensed monopolies still exist. The utilities would rather see us reading by candlelight, if the candles were produced in their plants, than see us independent of them. (Actually, building codes in many parts of the United States do not even permit us to rely on candlelight - electrification is required.)

The utilities - creations of the State, arms of the State, tools of the State - do not supply us with "services," they do not promote "growth," and they are no more "capitalist" than a military contractor. They can under no circumstances be expected to work toward development of efficient, inexpensive, and relatively pollution-free energy technologies.

LIKE the feudal barons they so closely resemble, they can be expected only to work for further perpetuation of their own power, status, hegemony and wealth.

(Michael Lipson is on the staff of the Students for a Libertarian Society. This article has been reprinted, in abridged form, from SLS Liberty. Membership in SLS is \$10 for students and \$15 for non-students. SLS, 2262 Hall Pl. #304 N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007.)



Freeing up the media

By Michael Grossberg

"The real-life saga of cable television in Houston is the stuff of fictional television drama. It has many of the elements of intrigue and power politics for a blockbuster network series," noted the *Houston Chronicle* in its March 13th lead editorial.

As Robert Sablatura demonstrates in scathing detail in his FREE TEXAS investigative report on Cable TV in Houston, special interest lobbying, financial favoritism,

the pressure and influence of the networks... The insistence that programs must be 'given away' — that is, paid for by the public through its purchase of advertising products — has led to precisely the results that it would lead to with (government control) of reading matter: deadening uniformity, limited choice, low-cost low-quality programs. It has also fostered the dominance of networks and their geographical concentration, because their special advantage is in merchandising nationwide advertising. That is why they have bitterly opposed pay-TV. The networks have been able to main-

"No one today — except Libertarians — is challenging the necessity for government-mandated cable television monopolies."

tain their monopoly position because of the requirement of a government license to operate a TV station. Without this requirement, it would have been impossible for them to have prevented the development of pay-TV on a large scale — and, for all I know, of still other alternatives to present-day commercial TV."

PREDICTABLY, when the FCC began to have second thoughts about government regulation of the communications industry and started to take the first, halting steps toward partial deregulation, it was the networks who fought it. "The FCC is in the process of realizing there's not enough networks," observes maverick cable TV entrepreneur Ted Turner, who last year pioneered the first 24-hour all news network. "The FCC wasn't the trouble. I had to fight the broadcasting establishment. The three networks lobbied and did other things to keep out cable. It was a very close battle and it's still going on. They are very powerful. General managers of television stations

political corruption, bureaucracy, and monopoly are the rule, not the exception, in cable TV politics.

VIRTUALLY no one today — except Libertarians — is challenging the necessity for government-mandated cable television monopolies. In Austin, Libertarian candidate Gary Johnson is making the "anti-consumer, anti-taxpayer" policies of the local cable monopoly a major focus of his campaign for mayor.

Meanwhile in Dallas, Libertarians are fighting an April 4th cable franchise referendum which would grant a cable monopoly to a powerful, influential corporation, Warner Communications. "Dallas should get cable TV by free enterprise and not franchising by the City Council," asserted Dallas LP Chair Gwynn Groggel in the suburban weekly *The White Rocker*. "The Libertarian Party is in opposition to the city government on the cable franchise issue... we feel the City Council should not have the power to grant franchises."

Obviously, cable television has become a controversial political issue in Texas. What is not so obvious is why the spread of cable TV should be a political issue at all!

AFTER ALL, every time a new magazine, book, or newspaper company begins publishing in Texas we don't require a majority vote in a local referendum! Consider how few magazines, books, and newspapers would ever be sold if their publication depended on prior approval by your local City Council. Just imagine how few controversial magazines, good books, or dissenting newspapers would ever see the light of day.

Yet that is the precise situation we have faced with television ever since the first regular broadcasts more than three decades ago. As a result, television today provides us with the electronic equivalent of a *Reader's Digest* or *Life* magazine, a Harold Robbins or Jacqueline Susann novel, and a *National Enquirer* or *New York Times* — but fails to offer us the electronic equivalent of *Harper's* or *Reason* magazine, an Ayn Rand or Tom Robbins novel, and *The Texas Observer* or *FREE TEXAS*.

NOTHING in the production and distribution of television shows prevents such diversity. Nothing in the nature of television as an electronic medium prevents it. The obstacle is politics.

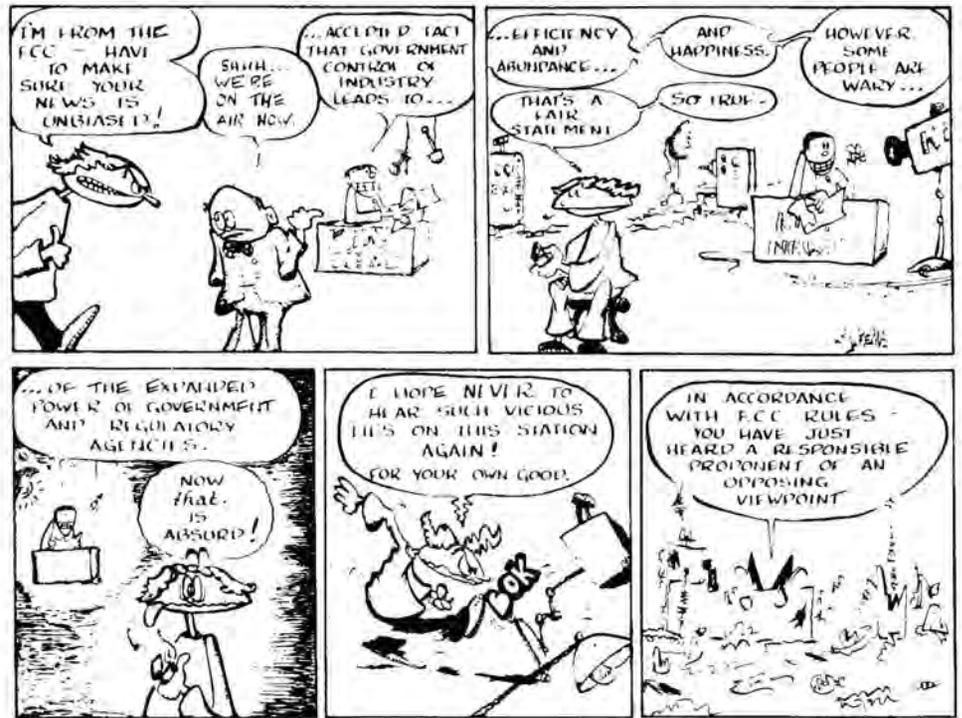
FCC regulation of the "public" airwaves created a political environment in which all the economic incentives favored the networks' monopoly. Since only a limited number of licenses to use a particular frequency were issued, their owners enjoyed a monopoly reflected in the higher value of the license. Companies transmitting over commercial wavelengths without a license faced legal penalties. The inevitable results of such a system were detailed by Milton Friedman in *An Economist's Protest*:

"The present lack of diversity... has its origins in two related features of TV: first, the requirement of a government license in order to operate a TV station; second, the effective stifling of pay-TV for well over a decade by the Federal Communications Commission under

over the utility poles where cables hang, and the streets they'd be buried under. With this power, your local government is doing its best to keep cable TV away from you. For permission to operate in your city, a cable company must first sell the government on its service. Your local government insists on a contract between itself and the operator before letting them service you. Government is the middleman by force."

Thus an unholy alliance between federal and local governments and the networks has served to delay the spread of cable television, inhibit competition, and prevent innovation.

CABLE TV is more than just access to first-run movies and 24-hour sports networks. It is the basic component in an ongoing communications revolution. Cable TV can be used to send information, trans-



mit data, and serve as a communications link in the same way telephones do now. Soon cable will allow us to make banking transactions from home, pay bills, extract educational information and news from computer databanks, and obtain services still unimagined.

FOR such a potentially important means of communication to remain in control of privileged government-franchised businesses is intolerable. Libertarians demand that the entire broadcasting industry be granted full First Amendment parity with the publishing industry — by abolishing the FCC,

State and giving absolute protection to intellectual producers (is) this rich, gaudy, astoundingly varied flood of human thought and creativity, all of it competing freely in the marketplace for the consumer's attention and his dollar."

FREEING UP the media would bring about an explosion of diversity in our society. It would be a tremendous breath of fresh air, stimulating our politics and opening up the horizons of our culture. It's about time that the First Amendment became a living reality, flickering on the TV screens of our living rooms.



really affect politicians at election time. They depend heavily on coverage."

Ironically, just when cable TV is winning its battle with the networks; just when stiff competition from cable TV, video cassettes, video discs, more TV channels, direct satellite-to-home transmission, and other new television technologies is challenging the networks' monopoly; just when the federal government is deregulating the communications industry on the national level — local governments are moving in to inhibit competition!

LOCAL GOVERNMENTS are restricting the number of cable contracts, in many cases permitting one company to gain a monopoly. Local governments are using their power to tax cable operations, making cable more and more expensive for the consumer. Many local governments are adding special conditions to their monopoly franchises, requiring "free" (consumer-subsidized) cable networks to be set up in governments and public schools in order to placate bureaucrats, teacher's lobbies, and other powerful special interests. In his article "How Local Government is Cheating You on Cable TV", Robert Goodman points out that cable companies aren't "allowed to offer service directly to you, because your local government has domain

"Calling the city's proposed cable franchise 'unacceptable', Johnson said he would vote against 'this anti-consumer, anti-taxpayer' proposition," reported the Austin American Statesman. 'There is no such thing as a free lunch and there is no such thing as free cable television.'

NEXT ISSUE

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Cable TV monopolies reflect politics of privilege

By Robert Sablatura

In January of 1979 the Houston City Council awarded franchises to five companies to begin wiring the nation's fifth-largest city for cable television. Now, after more than two years of name-calling, anti-trust lawsuits and federal investigations, fewer than 10 percent of the city's homes have been wired for the service.

GULF COAST Cable Television, a local company formed in 1972 by Houston cattleman Clive Runnells, had applied for the largest share of the Houston market encompassing some 200,000 homes in the southwest section of the city. This area was considered by many to be the most valuable in the city due to the dense population and the young age of many of the area's residents.

"The Houston City Council awarded franchises to five companies to begin wiring the nation's fifth-largest city for cable television. After two years of name-calling, anti-trust lawsuits and federal investigations, fewer than 10 percent of the city's homes have been wired for cable service."

Runnells had formed the company in hopes of winning a franchise when the City Council was first considering the issue some six years before. The next year however, the council granted the franchise to Greater Houston Cable Television, Runnells' biggest competitor. Several citizen groups, angered that the council had awarded only one franchise for the entire city, forced a public referendum contending that Houston did not need another municipal monopoly and voters turned down the proposal by a better than 2 to 1 margin.

AFTER the referendum, cable television became a dead issue until 1978 when Runnells, aware that mayor Jim McConn was ready for the city to again direct attention to cable TV, filed his application. Following the filing by Gulf Coast, several companies soon followed suit including the newly formed Houston Cable Television headed by Houston banker and developer, Walter Mischer. Houston Cable had no experience in the cable market but what it lacked in experience it made up for in financial and political clout. The stockholders included former governor Allen Shivers, Gerald Smith, president of Allied Banchshares and Austin broadcaster Tolbert Foster.

The only national company recommended for a franchise was the Meca Corporation, a subsidiary of Storer Broadcasting Company. In the past few years Storer, a Florida based company, had been busy acquiring cable holdings in more than 180 cities across the country. Storer, who operated a cable franchise in Clear Lake City, was the most experienced company recommended to the city council.

THE SMALLEST of the applicants was Westland Cable Television who asked for about 20,000 homes in the Meyerland area

in Southwest Houston. The company, who was affiliated with Columbia Communications Corp., was made up of several businessmen from the area they asked to serve. One of these men was Marvin Katz, the personal attorney for Mayor Jim McConn.

The last of these companies to apply for a franchise was Southwest Cable Television, a firm headed by Billy Goldberg, chairman of the State Democratic Party. His company filed application to serve the Alief area in Southwest Houston, an area that Gulf Coast Television had also applied for.

After receiving the recommendation, the city council lost no time in awarding franchises to five of the six applicants. The only applicant that failed to receive a franchise was Southwest Cable Television.

The year to follow would find the City Council being criticized almost constantly for their actions in the franchise process. It seemed that every day the local newspapers printed a story concerning the matter.

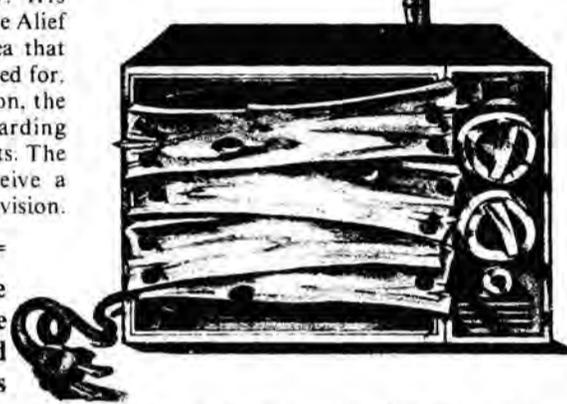
Southwest Cable Television filed suit against the city of Houston, Mayor Jim McConn, and Gulf Coast Cable Television, charging that the city had conspired with Gulf Coast to eliminate competition in the franchise process.

LOOKING BACK at the events leading up to the awarding of franchises, several points seemed to indicate that the city government had indeed handled itself improperly during the proceedings.

For one thing, the city council never set out the boundaries of the various sections of the city to be awarded. The cable companies were left to decide for themselves how to slice the city into sections and the city never challenged the companies or asked by what means they had decided on the final boundaries. Once the franchises had been decided, the question of boundaries was moot. It seemed that the five franchises fitted together perfectly with no overlapping of territories. The only company recommended to City Council who had not received a franchise, Southwest Cable Television, had asked for an area that was already included in the territory of another company. Billy Goldberg, the head of that company was quoted in *Texas Monthly* magazine, saying that he refused to meet with the other companies to discuss the subject of boundaries. It appears that since his boundaries did not coincide with those of the other applicants, his application wasn't accepted for a franchise.

HOUSTON Cable Television was also awarded its franchise on January 10, 1979.

Less than six weeks later, the company was contacted by Warner Amex about jointly developing the Houston franchise. According to the company, on July 2nd, Houston Cable sold 80 percent of its stock to Warner Amex exchange and received 240,267 shares of Warner Amex stock valued at \$10,985,600.



Here again, a company formed less than a year before and armed only with the city council's blessing in the form of a cable franchise, was able to turn a quick profit for its investors. Neither Houston Community Cablevision or Houston Cable T.V. asked for or received permission to transfer stock.

AS A RESULT of this politically corrupt monopoly franchise process, Houstonians will have to pay more for cable television services than residents in other Texas cities. In fact, due to City Council rate approvals, residents within the city will generally pay rates higher than those of residents in unincorporated sections of Harris County—even though, in some instances, the same cable T.V. company is providing the service!

In 1978, before the franchises were awarded, the city sent all the applicants a

questionnaire from the Public Service Department. In it, the companies were asked to specify charges they wished to receive for their services. Months later the city council set the rates, based almost exclusively on the answers provided by the cable companies in the questionnaire. *In every instance, the council set rates equal to or higher than those requested by the cable T.V. companies.* Of the ten different charges mentioned in the questionnaire, the city set the highest rate requested on four and allowed the companies to charge more than asked for on six others. For example, for basic monthly service, Gulf Coast requested \$8.00. H.C.C. requested \$7.50, while Westland and Meca requested \$7.95. The Council approved an \$8.50 rate.

PRESENTLY, these government-created cable T.V. monopolies expect to have up to 25 percent of Houston wired by the end of 1981.

SIGN OF THE TIMES

All Sigmor Corp. wanted to do was take down an old sign and put up a new sign at its gas station at 11646 Research Blvd. in Austin, Texas. But instead of simply being issued a sign permit, Sigmor found itself required to seek rezoning, submit a site plan, close two of its driveways, provide landscaping and reserve land for future widening of U.S. 183.

"All the owner told me to do was take down the old sign and put up a new one," lawyer Les Procter told the Planning Commission, "and you'd be surprised what happened from there." Sigmor was one of the first landowners to have to comply with a city land use ordinance that went into effect December 1. The ordinance applies to developed land as well as to vacant land, and says that nothing can be built and no land can be used along designated roads unless the ordinance is obeyed.

If such absurd and oppressive government regulations had existed just a few centuries ago, businessmen might still be trying to obtain building permits to put up the first skyscraper in Manhattan!

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Libertarian Review, July/August 1979

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DANGER: LEGISLATURE IN SESSION!

By Robert Hamilton

"*Danger: Legislature in Session*" proclaims a popular Libertarian bumper-sticker. If its recent activities are any guide, the current Texas Legislative session should make that bumpersticker a runaway bestseller.

NEARLY eight years after the legal drinking age was lowered from 21 to 18, a bill is in the works at the Texas Capitol which would raise the age to 19 — directly affecting tens of thousands of young Texans.

The bill was passed by the House last month and is expected to be re-approved by the Senate and signed by Governor Bill Clements by April. The current bill — proposed by Senator Bill Sarpalius, (D-Hereford) and toughened by an amendment requiring stricter identification checks sponsored by Representative Henry Allee (D-Houston) — preempts a longstanding drinking age bill sponsored by arch-conservative Senator Walter Mengden (R-Houston).

IT COULD have been worse. Representative Gene Green of Houston fought hard to raise the age limit back to 21, and failing that, to 20. Others wanted to prohibit 18-year-olds from working in drinking establishments, or stop sales of alcohol on state college campuses during class hours. In response, one of Green's



colleagues suggested sarcastically that the drinking age be raised "up to 40 or 50. Then we could solve the problem of alcoholism altogether!"

Several dozen Austin-area high school students filled the Capitol gallery one day to plead for their legal rights — and discovered just how little respect politicians have for human rights and individual freedom.

LOCAL businessman Tom Owen, manager of Austin's Texas Tavern, observed in the March 25th *Daily Texan* that the new law is a "do-nothing bill," which won't solve the alcohol problem among high school students or anyone else, noting that it's "just a lot of politicians who are trying to show they're doing something for the Moral Majority."

One ironic, unintended consequence of the law will be that as beer and wine become less accessible to teenagers, marijuana will become relatively cheaper and more available, leading to an increase in recreational pot smoking which will provide the perfect excuse for passage of Clements' and Perot's authoritarian "War on Drugs" bills.

TEXAS LEGISLATORS have apparently rediscovered a "new" "liberal" "reform" to impose on the people of Texas. Fifty years ago we called it "Prohibition".

Government harasses sexually-oriented local businesses

Travis County Commissioner's Court has voted unanimously to appeal an injunction blocking enforcement of a county ordinance drafted to control sexually oriented businesses.

DISTRICT JUDGE Jim Dear ruled recently that zoning restrictions in the commercial sex ordinance were unconstitutional. The ordinance, the second of two passed by Travis County Commissioners, outlawed massage parlors or any other businesses appealing to "sexual appetites" from operating within 1,500 feet of public buildings, parks, or residences.

The first ordinance, which applies only to massage parlors, regulates health, education and operational hour standards as well as imposing a dress code for employees. Closing hours were set at 10 P.M. in the county and 2 A.M. within city limits — a direct blow to the massage industry, which does most of its business at night.

A vociferous conservative neighborhood group, the Citizens for Regulation of Indecent Massage Parlors (CRIMP), had lobbied for the second ordinance, apparently feeling that one ordinance was not sufficient to "get these businesses out of our neighborhoods". CRIMP spokesman Mary Hausmann testified at a commissioners' meeting that in her opinion "the only way to stamp out massage parlors is to have both the sexually oriented businesses and the massage parlor ordinances," reported the *Austin American Statesman*.

EVEN WITHOUT the second ordinance, local massage parlor owners have suffered the effects of government regulation. In a FREE TEXAS interview, businessman

John Irwin, who owns Suzy's Ranch, explained, "The regulations in the first ordinance alone would make me a criminal if I continued to operate, while another massage parlor a few blocks away (within the city limits) might still be legal." As a result, Irwin — who recently became a Libertarian Party supporter — has quit the massage parlor business, converting Suzy's Ranch into an "encounter and rap house" where consenting adults can party, play adult games, and participate in encounter sessions.

Public controversy generated by government attempts to stamp out massage parlors seems to have inspired some private harassment as well. One of the women employed by Irwin has been beaten and threatened, while neighborhood boys have thrown rocks breaking windows of Suzy's Ranch. "These people hindering my free enterprise are supposedly god-fearing Christians," said Irwin. "I'm not teaching these kids to hate. Their parents are."

At the same time, a similar attempt to harass sexually-oriented businesses is

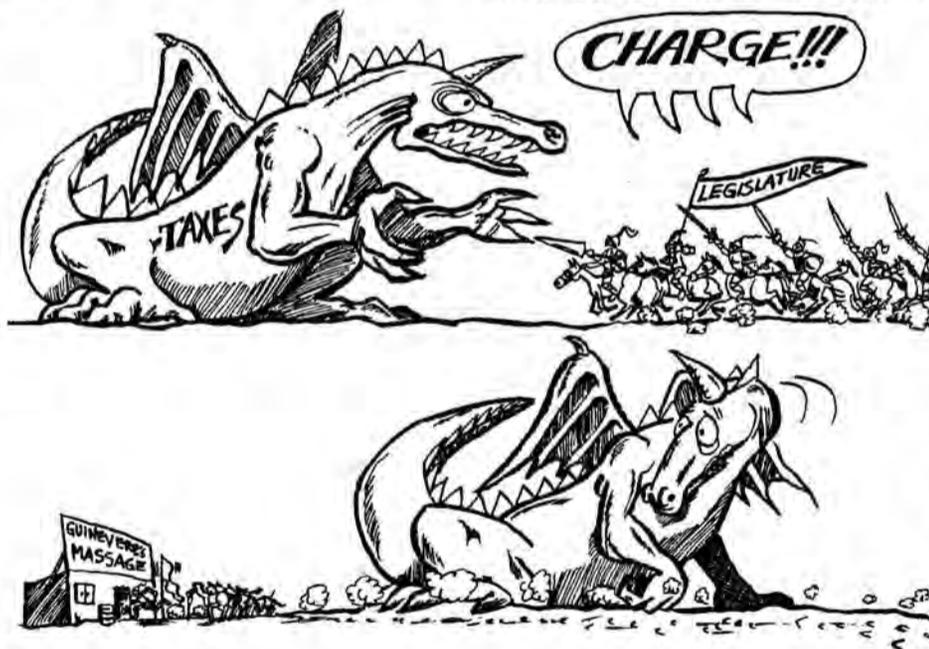
taking place in Houston. According to the December 28th *Houston Chronicle*, Harris County's new ordinance regulating nude modeling studios has convinced most operators of such establishments to close their doors or change their tactics.

VICE SQUAD Sergeant Kessler told the *Chronicle* that earlier efforts by the sheriff's office, county officials, and the district attorney's office before enforcement of the new ordinance began in October had led to the closing of 60 of the sex operations since the Houston vice division was created in 1978. While Kessler claimed "We have made a big dent in blatant prostitution in this county" with the help of the new ordinance, he conceded that "this can be a very lucrative business. It's not going to go away."

When are local governments going to give up and admit that legislation of morality has never worked and never will work? The Libertarian Party's position on such matters is clear: Vice squads must be abolished, so police can concentrate their priorities on real crimes of rape, murder, and theft. Sex ordinances violate our civil liberties and should be repealed immediately. Zoning laws, which invade private property rights and routinely discriminate against unpopular minorities and powerless individuals, should be abolished as well.

FINALLY, if prostitution were legalized (See "Sexual Politics" Spring 1980 FREE TEXAS), local governments would lose one of their major pretexts for harassing businessmen in the massage industry.

—Michael Grossberg



JEFFREY ROGERS HUMMEL

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

SPEAKS ON

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IF THE MORAL MAJORITY HAS ITS WAY, YOU'D BETTER START PRAYING.

The Moral Majority—and other groups like them—think that children should pray in school. Not just their children. Your children.

But that's just the beginning.

They want their religious doctrines enacted into law and imposed on everyone.

If they believe that birth control is a sin, then you should not be allowed to use contraceptives.

If they believe that abortion is wrong, then you should not be allowed to have one.

If they believe that the Bible condemns homosexuality, then the law should punish homosexuals.

If they believe that a man should be the breadwinner and the divinely appointed head of the family, then the law should keep women in their place.

If they are offended by the ideas in certain books, then the law should ban those books from your libraries and schools.

And like Joe McCarthy, they believe that anyone who disagrees with them should be barred from teaching in the public schools.

These new groups are on the march and growing stronger each day. Their agenda is clear and frightening: they mean to capture the power of government and use it to establish a nightmare of religious and political orthodoxy.

And they are dangerously deceptive. They appear to represent American patriotism, because they wrap themselves in the American flag and use words like "family" and "life" and "tradition."

In fact, their kind of "patriotism" violates every principle of liberty that underlies the American system of government. It is intolerant. It stands against the First Amendment guarantees of freedom of expression and separation of church and state. It threatens academic freedom. And it denies to whole groups of people the equal protection of the laws.

Make no mistake about it: the new evangelicals are not a conservative movement. True conservatives place great value on the Bill of Rights—a time-tested document designed to guarantee individual rights by limiting the powers of government.

In fact, the new evangelicals are a radical anti-Bill-of-Rights movement. They seek not to conserve traditional American values, but to overthrow them. Their agenda represents massive government intrusion. And conservatives as well as liberals should stand up against them.

THE DANGER POINT

These groups have already had alarming success. They have been pivotal in blocking passage of the E.R.A. in fifteen states. Public school boards all over the country have banned books and imposed prayer and other religious ceremonies. State legislatures have begun placing increasingly severe restrictions on a woman's right to have an abortion. And there is mounting pressure to pass laws requiring the teaching of the Biblical account of creation as an alternative to evolution.

They have grown into a rich and powerful force in this country.

How rich? In a week, the Moral Majority raises a million dollars with its television program.

How powerful? In the last election, key members of Congress were successfully targeted by them for defeat, because of their positions on abortion, E.R.A., and other civil liberties issues.

And the head of the Moral Majority promises more of the same. At a press conference a week after the election, he warned elected officials, both Republican and Democrat, to "get in



step" or "be prepared to be unemployed."

Already there is talk of constitutional amendments that would impose prayer in the public schools and outlaw all abortions. And legislation has been introduced that would strip federal courts of their authority even to hear constitutional cases.

In the Senate, Strom Thurmond will now chair the Judiciary Committee, which controls most legislation affecting the courts and the Constitution. Senator Thurmond favors repeal of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and has announced his support of much of the Moral Majority's program. He has actively opposed civil rights and civil liberties for thirty years. Now he may prevail.

We are facing a major struggle over the Bill of Rights. This struggle does not involve the question of whether the Moral Majority and other groups like them have the right to speak

They do, and we would defend that right. Even those who oppose the Bill of Rights are protected by the First Amendment. The danger lies in the content of their views, not in their right to express them.

Nor is it a question of partisan politics. There have been shifts of power from one party to another before. That is not what concerns us. The American Civil Liberties Union is non-partisan and does not endorse or oppose candidates for public office. But we will make certain that, whatever other changes may occur in the political arena, the Constitution does not become a casualty of the new order.

WHAT THE ACLU CAN DO.

For 60 years, the American Civil Liberties Union has been the organization that protects the Bill of Rights. As former Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote:

"The ACLU has stood foursquare against the recurring tides of hysteria that from time to time threaten freedoms everywhere... Indeed, it is difficult to appreciate how far our freedoms might have eroded had it not been for the Union's valiant representation in the courts of the constitutional rights of people of all persuasions, no matter how unpopular or even despised by the majority they were at the time."

We've been there in the past and we'll be there in the days ahead. We will meet the anti-Bill-of-Rights forces in the Congress, in the courts, before state and local legislatures, at school board hearings. Wherever they threaten, we will be there—with lawyers, lobbyists, staff and volunteers—to resist their attempts to deprive you of your liberty and violate your rights.

WHAT YOU CAN DO.

The ACLU, like the Moral Majority, depends on individual contributions. But they raise more money in a few weeks than we raise in a year.

We can only be as strong as the number of people who support us. Ultimately, the protection of your rights depends not on legislatures, not on who gets elected President, not even on the courts. It depends on individual citizens, aware of the fragility of liberty, alert to the forces that imperil it, and prepared to give of themselves in order to preserve it.

In the past, when the Bill of Rights was in danger, enough people recognized the threat, and came together in time to repel it. Such a time has come again.

It is up to you to assure that the Bill of Rights will be passed on intact to the next generation.

Please send us your contribution before another day passes.

Without your help, we don't have a prayer.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

600 West 7th St. Austin, TX 78701

- I want to join the ACLU and help fight the new anti-Bill-of-Rights movement. Enclosed is my check in the amount indicated below.
- I do not want to become a member, but enclosed is my contribution.
- I am already an ACLU member; enclosed is an extra contribution.
- \$25 \$50 \$100 \$1,000 More

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Texas Affiliate, John Duncan, Executive Director

Help the Independence Pledge to become a success!

By Mike Holmes and Bill Ware

Over \$20,000 has been generated by the Libertarian Party of Texas in its Independence Pledge campaign to support the grass roots activities and programs of the Libertarian movement in Texas.

"We are pleased with the results so far," stated Finance Committee Chair Matt Monroe at February's Libertarian State Executive Committee meeting in Denton. At that meeting, Monroe, a Houston cardiologist, turned over the first \$500



LPT Finance Committee member Mike Holmes participates in a Houston LP fundraising project, a March 14th Casino Party.

collected in the monthly pledge program to LPT Treasurer David Kelley.

ORGANIZED shortly after the 1980 LP campaign, the Independence Pledge is a method of raising a significant amount of money for ongoing LP of Texas projects by encouraging a large number of people to give relatively small amounts of money each month.

By pledging only \$5 per month or more, Texas Libertarians are making possible:

- publication of FREE TEXAS;
- maintenance of statewide ballot status;
- development of a series of LP position papers on state and local issues;
- plans for regional candidate/activist workshops and the statewide Politics of Principle conference; and
- organization of up to 100 new county parties by 1982.

THE LPT FINANCE COMMITTEE is continuing its efforts to reach and surpass the 1981 budget goal of \$31,250. "We are concentrating now on follow-through efforts after our initial mailing in early February to over 5,000 Texas libertarians."

explained Monroe. "Our success so far is dramatic proof that we can broaden the Party's financial base if we can properly inform and motivate Texas libertarians."

Each participant in the Independence Pledge program automatically receives a subscription to FREE TEXAS, all LP of Texas position papers published during the year, and all other LPT announcements. The Independence Pledge program is set up so that contributors receive special bulletins and postage paid envelopes each month, while yearly financial statements will be prepared detailing how the contributions are used, along with a calendar year contribution statement for each participant.

"Of the \$20,300 pledged by April 1st, over 70 individuals are giving \$10 per month or less," notes Finance Committee member Mike Holmes. "I think this is a good indication of the Party's grass roots support and is a solid basis for future financial growth." The Independence Pledge campaign has been aided by the talents of Finance Committee member Sue Bjornseth, who is a professional media/design specialist.

THOSE PEOPLE able to contribute \$25

and \$50 per month or more have been invited to become Consulting and Advisory Board members of the Finance Committee, respectively. This honored status provides for direct access to the Committee, and special efforts are made to insure that their extra financial support is appreciated. Recent additions to the Committee's Advisory Board are Mark Bruni (Houston), Robert Crane (Houston), and John Westerlage (Houston). New Consulting members include Cecil Bordages II (Beaumont), Donald Burger (Houston), Larry Fiala (Houston), Langston Harris (Houston), Robert Sablatura (Houston), Rick Thurman (Wheeler), and Fred and Mary Wright (Sherman).

Many positive responses to the Libertarian Party of Texas have been sent in along with Independence Pledge cards and contributions. A typical response read: "Send me info on how to start a Party in my County!" But the Finance Committee's favorite letter so far reads: "I cannot mail any money to you. I am a poor man, in poverty now. A victim of inflation and high taxes. P.S. You have a good organization . . ."

CONTEST!

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

FREE TEXAS would like to encourage such an enterprise with a contest.

The following letters were published in the *Houston Chronicle* on February 13th and 22nd. Their authors, Melva Petroff and Liz Barthlow, each wins a half year extension of her subscription to FREE TEXAS.

FREE ENTERPRISE CITIES

If the mayor wants to hold the line on taxes, one good way is by contracting out so-called "city services" to the private sector. Garbage collection, street maintenance, water and sewer line repair can all be hired out to private companies immediately. Gradually, such functions should be transferred entirely to the private sector of the economy, thus reducing the burden of city taxes. Ultimately, even a fundamental such as fire protection can be shifted to private enterprise, thus improving quality and reducing costs.

Let's make Houston a prototype: the world's first completely free-enterprise city!

—Melva J. Petroff
Houston, Texas

LOCAL PROBLEMS

We certainly face a crisis in crime. There are several ways that it can be alleviated:

1. Eliminate insanity as a defense. The question is guilt or innocence; mental status is irrelevant.

2. Repeal laws concerning "victimless crimes." This will free all police officers currently assigned to vice squads to fight real crime, and let officers fight real crime eight hours a day instead of spending much of their shift on regulating personal morality. It will also clear up much of the logjam in our courts.

3. Institute mandatory sentences for selected crimes.

4. Establish a policy of offender restitution to the victim in those cases where it would be practical. Many first-time offenders are not criminal types but still need to pay for their misdeeds. Restitution would bring home to this sort of offender the consequences of his her crime, relieve society of the cost of imprisoning the offender, and mitigate the damage suffered by the victim.

5. Maintain strict standards of police conduct, including rigid respect for the rights of the arrested and accused, to foster respect for the law enforcement system.

—Liz Barthlow
Houston, Texas

the INDEPENDENCE pledge

April 1, 1981

Libertarian Party of Texas
P. O. Box 27932
Houston, Texas 77027

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To: All Concerned Libertarians
From: Matt Monroe, Chair
Libertarian Party of Texas Finance Committee
Re: Independence Pledge Fund Raising Campaign

Dear Friend,

I would like to invite you to join me and other prominent Texas Libertarians in supporting our Independence Pledge Campaign.

This most comprehensive fund raising effort in the history of Texas LP history needs your support at this time. So far over 100 contributors have pledged their support for a total of over \$20,000 this calendar year.

Today I ask for your help to reach our goal of \$31,000 this year to keep our alternative alive and well.

Please fill out the enclosed pledge card today and send it to us. Once again, many thanks for your continuous support.

Yours in liberty,

Mt

I wish to make a monthly pledge of \$ _____ for the next twelve months.

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_____ Apt. No. _____

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Date: _____ Signature _____

Please make checks payable to the "Independence Pledge"
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LETTERS

MUNICIPAL IMPERIALISM

The latest "Future of Freedom" issue of FREE TEXAS is of the usual excellent quality.

My upcoming Houston City Council race this fall will center on two issues: the Houston Metro and private alternatives to mass transit, of course, and "municipal imperialism" - I will propose that the city "deannex" the Montrose area (no more Houston Police Department harassment of Mary's gay bar). I'm also researching government monopoly franchises given to cable television companies, as well as researching the issue of compulsory fluoridation.

-Peter Elloway
Houston, Texas

CABLE MONOPOLY BLUES

FREE TEXAS is by far the best state LP paper I've seen. The last two issues even beat out national LP's *Libertarian News!* Congratulations.

I notice your upcoming piece on cable TV franchises. I got involved in this issue last summer in Chicago, the last metropolitan area in the country to be getting cable TV. I found out about a Chicago Citizens' Cable Coalition and attended their second meeting. They turned out to be about 50 people, half of whom in turn represented special interest groups trying to influence the award of a cable franchise there.

I quickly determined that CCCC was hopeless from a libertarian point of view. They were working on an agenda . . . (which) involved demands of restrictions on the operation of the service, suggestions that the city government have a cable operation (perhaps the only one) of its own, and suggestions about having a consumer watchdog group over cable TV - funded by tax money!

My message that they refuse to work within the system and call for direct competition was incomprehensible to them. They thought that competition meant fair, political competition for monopoly franchises. I gave up.

Chicago would have had cable TV years ago had it not been for political control.

-Robert Goodman
Bronx, New York

EVENHANDED

As I've mentioned before, you're doing an incredibly good job with FREE TEXAS. I particularly like the evenhanded way you analyze the Clark campaign in the last issue. Keep up the good work.

-Ed Crane
President, Cato Institute
San Francisco, California

THANKS

Thanks for the exposure in FREE TEXAS. You have a great newspaper and I was pleased to be in it.

-Sheldon Richman
Director of Research
Council for a Competitive Economy
Washington, D.C.

FUTURIST COMMENTARY

Congratulations on your latest issue. I read it with great interest. I must say that I am more impressed by the overall improvement of the newspaper than by any particular article or feature, good as though some were. FREE TEXAS is rapidly becoming what I would consider a serious effort.

I especially enjoyed the "futurist" slant the winter issue had. Michael Grossberg's "Freedom Is The Mainspring of Progress" was excellently researched and thought out: I'm keeping it as a reference.

The L. Neil Smith article was also interesting. I have to add one caveat to his article. A great similarity between Libertarians and science fiction fandom (and for that matter, wargaming folk - another very similar institution) is the group myth that "we're all very intelligent, crazy people." Regrettably, it's a myth. Fandom, like everything else, has its share of noisy morons, and they're often very visible. If Smith's article causes libertarians to run off to an SF convention, and the first thing you see is a batch of arrested-adolescence cases in propellor beanies, remember two things: (1) The brilliant and inquiring minds he mentioned are around

there somewhere - just keep looking. (2) Some of them might even belong to the drunks under the beanies. And, as he says, there ARE future-shapers at the cons - if you can find them.

I've got to pick a bone with Sheldon Richman's comments on "The Future of Freedom." I'm personally pleased and surprised - so far - that Reagan has done as much as he has. I'm not impressed by the "mathematical error" the Reagan administration encountered with its program cuts . . . but Richman's article looks to me like a pointless exercise in doomgazing. It's not true that all elected officials are alike, and it's silly and counterproductive to imply that they are. And in a case where one must pick between the lesser of two evils, one needs to be able to do so, open-eyed, and use whatever considerable good may be part of your choice - not write long mournful articles about the disasters that may, possibly, if everything goes wrong, (you get the idea) crop up. We know Carter would have been bad. Reagan may turn out very good indeed, where it counts.

-Steve Jackson
Publisher, The Space-Gamer Magazine
Austin, Texas

POLITICS OF PRINCIPLE

Right now, I am crusading . . . to expose the total fraud of the Reagan "budget cut" and "tax cut".

Thanks for the invitation to the LP of Texas Politics of Principle conference on June 19-21. I'll be happy to deliver a speech at the Saturday night banquet, and to participate in the panel discussion on the future of the Libertarian Party, a topic close to my heart. I honestly feel that any politicking I'll do in Texas is for a truly great cause: to return the LP to its once proud status as "the party of principle."

I am delighted to accept the LP of Texas invitation, and am looking forward to the Austin conference. I'm also looking forward to FREE TEXAS.

-Murray Rothbard
Editor, Journal of Libertarian Studies
New York, New York

GOOD WORK

I follow (the LP of Texas) good work with FREE TEXAS, and would very much like to receive copies of it here in Washington.

-Ron Paul
Member of Congress
Washington, D. C.

(Editor's Note: The Winter 80-81 FREE TEXAS featured an article by Scott Bieser analyzing Congressman Paul's successful re-election campaign.)



"You've done a terrible thing here, Mr. Smith. If you want to cheat the government you're supposed to be IN the government!"

NO RIVALS

Andrea and I just received an issue of FREE TEXAS. We're both extremely impressed with both the content and the quality of your publication. Here in New York the Free Libertarian Party has made substantial improvements in its newsletter, but nothing rivals FREE TEXAS. Congratulations on a fabulous newspaper.

-Howard Rich
1980 LP National Ballot Drive Coordinator
Andrea Millen Rich
LP NatCom member, Region 17
Bronx, New York

DEFENSE DEBATE: ROUND III

First off, the article on a free enterprise approach to space exploration by Michael Grossberg took first place. This is the first clear presentation of the way progress is hampered by the depletion of investment capital brought about by high taxes. The space lobby would be much better off bypassing the political system altogether and investing directly in their own projects. Only a heavy tax and regulatory load can stop them.

Second, I was pleased to see Michael Dunn's comeback to Jeff Hummel's article on national defense. Dunn won the debate hands down.

To get a good picture of why, all we need is a look at the premises underlying the arguments. Dunn assumes that every man has the right to protect himself and his rights and property from aggressors. In order to assure this right, the use of retaliatory force is put under objective control. That's what government is, or should be.

Hummel doesn't believe that this system can work and prefers to think in terms of "free market armies" or bands of mercenaries. As a historian he should know better. The shortest path to mercenary anarchy leads through the ruins of a civilization destroyed by war. I submit that if my goal were the destruction of civilization as a means of securing this ideal, then I would argue as Hummel does, recommending American defense cuts while playing down increases in Soviet weapons production.

But I don't. The only way to avoid war is to make the outcome unfavorable to the potential attacker . . . to be sure of winning. No one will attack the U.S. if they are sure that the only possible outcome is a crushing defeat. It's as simple as that.

In order to secure peace and freedom, several approaches suggest themselves. Standing armies are for aggressors. They who prefer not to initiate violence are best served by very sure weapons which last a long time on the shelf. Nuclear explosives and delivery systems require relatively little maintenance and are the best defense against mobs of whatever size.

I've heard it argued that nuclear weapons aren't discriminating enough to be used by one State against another. The same issue was faced by Archimedes of Syracuse. He could not sink the attacking ships without killing the slaves who were chained to the oars. Faced with the choice of either losing his own life along with those of his friends and countrymen or going ahead and sinking the enemy, slaves and all, he sank them. To have done otherwise would have meant sacrifice: the substitution of that which you don't value for that which you value. The case is pretty much the same with nuclear weapons. Despite all efforts to "clean" the bombs and the adoption of counterforce strategy, it is inevitable that civilians and politicians will suffer heavy casualties in a nuclear exchange. So the only really new result is the inclusion of politicians among the casualties.

Let's not kid ourselves about the nature of the Soviet government . . . they are slavers. Their altruist morality justifies initiating a nuclear attack as long as it is done in order to benefit some third party. Their entire ideology and system is based on the initiation of force, and this is demonstrated to the world on a daily basis. Hummel advocates unilateral nuclear disarmament in spite of the fact that the Soviet State still has germ labs despite the U.S. renunciation of bio-weapons. There is no hope that the Empire would follow suit and every reason to believe that they wouldn't.

As long as Hummel's abolitionist views are farmed off as the position of the Libertarian Party, the party is doomed to failure as a policy-setting body. The National Security Council compiles listings based on opinion polls which indicate that the vast majority of voters favor a strong military. There is also the moral aspect to be considered. One of the functions of a legitimate capitalistic limited government is the administration of justice. If a U.S. preemptive attack on the Empire is mass murder, then the reverse is also true. It is a solemn duty of the U.S. government to administer swift and effective justice in such an event. I suggest that the punishment fit the crime.

I also submit that once the decision to kill has been made, then all of the moral questions have already been asked and answered. The instruments of killing are not affected by any moral or humane questions or considerations. Free men will fight back with anything they can get their hands on. To urge that they disarm themselves and face predators with the same equipment which served the dodo so well is to advocate that mankind follow the path to extinction.

-Hank Phillips
Austin, Texas

DEFENSE DEBATE, ROUND IV

I enjoyed FREE TEXAS, especially the defense debate. Hummel's quote about war expenditures dwarfing everything else "almost without exception" is wildly wrong. At present the U. S. has a relatively high percentage of GNP spent on "defense" (by international standards). Aside from Israel, the countries with substantially higher figures are communist countries, in which government spending is also very high as a percentage of GNP.

Hummel speaks of the "temporary" lead that non-defense spending has in the U. S. budget. Both he and Dunn fail to note that U. S. government expenditure includes state and local governments, which spend almost nothing on defense! Save during major wars (i.e. about eleven years in the past two hundred), I doubt you could find a year when military expenditures (even including pensions) were a majority of total government expenditures in the U. S. As for other countries and other times, while there may well have been States which spent a majority of their income on war, I do not think they are typical, and would certainly like to see some evidence.

Aside from that point, I found both sides of the debate interesting and intelligent.

-David Friedman
UCLA Department of Economics
Los Angeles, California

ADMIRABLE SUBVERSION

I am enclosing a subscription to FREE TEXAS which the Dunn-Hummel exchange has convinced me I cannot do without. Who is this Hummel fellow anyway? Sounds subversive to me.

-Wendy McElroy
Los Angeles, California

ANTI-PARTY; PRO FREE TEXAS

I don't generally subscribe to LP papers, but I have seen quite a few and yours certainly is among the most professional. You do a good job with it.

-Michael Coughlin
Publisher, the dandelion
St. Paul, Minnesota

INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION

You are putting out an excellent newspaper.

-Leslie Webb
Kyoto, Japan

EDUCATION

I have just read FREE TEXAS and saw much about Peace and Freedom, but nothing about education. Last year in Texas 54 percent of the students failed the mandatory ninth grade test. If you want to do something for yourself, your family, and the country, start making waves for better education. Without that you'll have a rabble who can't even understand your publications, policies, and ideas.

-Ralph Pearson
USA Retired Colonel
Austin, Texas

(Editor's Note: The next issue of FREE TEXAS will be devoted to the important issue of Education. Don't miss it. Subscribe!)

FIRST COPY

I just read my first copy of FREE TEXAS. Keep up the good work and good writing. I first heard about the Libertarians in 1972, but I didn't become interested until 1980. I went to a meeting, got to see Ed Clark, and have been talking to people about Libertarianism.

-Hugh Fry
Houston, Texas

Citizen group takes on all government

South Rises

The Revolution Lives!

Civil War

The SOUTHERN LIBERTARIAN MESSENGER is published monthly at Box 1245, Florence, SC 29503. \$4/year.

Rothbard, Friedman to headline conference

The Libertarian Party of Texas has announced plans for one of the major Libertarian conferences of the year, to take place in Austin, Texas on June 19-21.

Twenty-one speakers will be featured during the action-packed conference, whose theme is "The Politics of Principle."

HEADLINERS include "Mr. Libertarian" Murray Rothbard, economist David Friedman, psychologist Peter Breggin, feminist Wendy McElroy, and humanist philosopher George Smith — each coming to speak in Texas for the first time in history — as well as Texas' own prominent libertarian scholar, historian Jeffrey Rogers Hummel.

Kicking off the conference Friday will be a debate between Friedman and Smith on "The Foundation for Libertarianism: Economics or Ethics?" After this stimulating debate Friday night, the LP of Texas will host a Freedom Party — with dancing and live rock and roll music in the luxurious Villa Capri Hotel Entertainment Center — to celebrate Juneteenth, the libertarian state holiday honoring the emancipation of black slaves in Texas on June 19, 1865.

POSSIBLY the most controversy will be provoked by Sunday's panel discussion on "The Future of the Libertarian Party." Every shade of opinion within the broad libertarian movement will be represented, with panelists Murray Rothbard, David Friedman, George Smith, *Inquiry* publisher Ed Crane, LPT Congressional candidate Catherine McDivitt and John McDivitt, and LP National Chair candidates Dallas Cooley, John Mason, and Kent Guida.

Other exciting events include a Libertarian Film Festival, a Celebrity Cocktail Party, a Texas Barbecue Banquet, a Libertarian Slide Show, presentation of the Texas Libertarian of the Year Award, election of delegates and alternates to the LP National Convention, and a special Psychology Workshop by Peter Breggin and psychologist Phyllis Breggin on "Liberty and Love as a Way of Life."

"IF THERE'S only one Libertarian conference you can make this year," declares Conference Coordinator Michael Grossberg, "the Politics of Principle Conference should be it. If you do plan to attend the National Convention, our regional conference will provide you with a grasp of the Libertarian controversies you'll confront at the Convention. If you can't go to the Convention, our Conference offers you a high quality, low cost alternative — within driving distance of most Texas cities."

Grossberg explained that he intentionally designed the Conference program so that virtually every controversy within the Libertarian movement, from ideology to strategy, will be aired.

DAVID FRIEDMAN — son of Nobel Prizewinning economist Milton Friedman and a UCLA economics professor who wrote *The Machinery of Freedom* — will examine "Problems with Libertarianism." George Smith — a Cato Institute lecturer and Institute for Humane Studies research fellow who has written the classic *Atheism: The Case Against God* and a forthcoming major work on voluntary education — will ask "Do Children Have Rights?"

Jeffrey Rogers Hummel — a frequent contributor to *FREE TEXAS*, *Reason*, *Libertarian Review*, *Policy Report*, and the *Journal of Libertarian Studies* who is presently pursuing his Ph. D. in History at the University of Texas — will explore the controversial question "Is Detente Between Anarchist and Limited-Government Libertarians Possible?" Wendy McElroy, one of the leading feminists in the libertarian movement, will explain "Why Libertarian Feminists View Socialist Feminists as Reactionary" as well as partici-

pate in a Civil Liberties panel, analyzing "Abortion, the Age of Consent, and other Women's Civil Liberties Issues."

MURRAY ROTHBARD — a prolific writer, economist, historian, and political philosopher as well as the foremost American exponent of the Austrian School of Economics — will give the Conference's Keynote Address at Saturday's Barbecue Buffet Banquet, investigating "The Prospects for Liberty Under Reagan." Rothbard is a Professor at New York's Polytechnic Institute and Editor of the *Journal of Libertarian Studies* and *Libertarian Forum*. His books include the classic *Man, Economy, and State*, *Conceived in Liberty*, *A New History of Leviathan*, *Power and Market*, *What Has Government Done to Our Money?*, *America's Great Depression*, and the superb introduction *For A New Liberty: The Libertarian Manifesto*.

Peter Breggin, a psychiatrist in private practice in the Washington, D. C. area, will kick off Saturday's events with a speech on "The Psychology of Freedom: Liberation from the State." Formerly a teaching fellow at Harvard Medical School and a fulltime consultant with the National Institute of Mental Health, Breggin is now Director of the Center for the Study of Psychiatry and internationally acclaimed as a leading critic of abusive and coercive psychiatric technology. He is the author of *Electroshock: Its Brain Disabling Effects*, *The Crazy From the Sane*, and most recently, the current libertarian bestseller *The Psychology of Freedom*.

ALSO APPEARING at a Foreign Policy panel discussion during the Conference are anti-draft activist Ken Carpenter, Texas Director of the American Friends Service Committee, and CIA critic John

Stockwell, who resigned as chief of the CIA's Angolan Task Force after 12 years inside the agency and wrote *In Search of Enemies*, exposing the covert U. S. paramilitary operations in Africa. They will discuss the draft, the CIA, and El Salvador.

During the Civil Liberties panel, *Daily Texan* editor Mark McKinnon will remark upon "Threats to Freedom of the Press," while Texas A.C.L.U. Director John Duncan will comment on the sorry state of civil liberties in Texas.

Sunday's Libertarian Film Festival will feature "The Inflation File," "The Incredible Bread Machine," "War Without Winners," "For A New Liberty," and "Libra: A Space Colony." And there's more! Further details of the Conference will be announced in the Summer *FREE TEXAS*.

— David Nelson

"The Politics of Principle"



- Murray Rothbard
 - Texas Barbecue Buffet Banquet
 - David Friedman
 - Debate: The Foundation of Libertarianism: Economics or Ethics?
 - George Smith
 - Celebrity Cocktail Party
 - Peter Breggin
 - Delegate Elections
 - Wendy McElroy
 - Psychology Workshop
 - Libertarian Film Festival
 - Jeffrey Rogers Hummel
 - Panel Discussions
 - Juneteenth Freedom Party
 - Dancing
 - Live Music
 - Slide Show
 - Libertarian of the Year Award
 - The Future of the Libertarian Party
 - John Stockwell
 - Honey Lanham
 - Ed Crane
 - John Duncan
 - Mark McKinnon
 - 21 Speakers!
 - 3 Parties!
 - Controversial speeches!
 - Excitement!
- Austin, Texas June 19-21**

CONFERENCE RESERVATION

Yes, I want to attend the Politics of Principle Conference. Enclosed is payment for person(s) for:

THE PRINCIPAL PACKAGE

This package includes everything: basic registration, Banquet, Debate, Celebrity Cocktail Party, and all speeches and panel discussions. (PRICE: \$40 before April 20; \$45 before May 20; \$50 before June 20)

THE BASIC PRINCIPLE

This package includes basic registration, Banquet, Debate, Freedom Party, Psychology Workshop, Film Festival, and all speeches and panel discussions. It does *not* include Rothbard's Keynote Address, Banquet, and Celebrity Cocktail Party. (PRICE: \$20 before April 20; \$25 before May 20; \$30 before June 20)

THE PARTY OF PRINCIPLE

This package includes only the Freedom Party, the Celebrity Cocktail party, the Barbecue Buffet Banquet, and Rothbard's Keynote Address. (PRICE: \$20 before April 20; \$25 before May 20; \$30 before June 20)

THE PUPILS OF PRINCIPLE

This special educational package is offered only to individuals attending junior or senior high school or college. (Student I.D. required at door)

Student's Principal Package: (PRICE: \$30. Deadline: June 15)

Student's Basic Principle: (PRICE: \$15. DOOR PRICE: \$20)

NAME _____ PHONE _____
 ADDRESS _____
 CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

(Make checks payable to Libertarian Party of Texas, Box 35432, Dallas, TX 75235. No refunds will be given after June 1.)

HOTEL RESERVATION

I am attending the "Politics of Principle" Conference sponsored by the Libertarian Party of Texas.

Please reserve a Single room Double (1 kingside bed) Double/Double (2 beds) for person(s) for Friday and Saturday night, June 19-20. (Single: \$36. Double: \$41. Double/Double: \$46.)

I am sending first night's rent as my deposit. (Reservations cancelled at 4PM unless guaranteed. Check-in 2PM. Check-out 12 Noon.)

My arrival will be later than 4PM Please hold room all night on a guaranteed basis with my credit card. Type _____

Number _____ Expiration Date _____
 Name on Card _____ Bank # _____ (if MasterCard)

NAME _____
 NAMES OF PERSONS SHARING ROOM(S) _____
 ADDRESS _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____
 PHONE _____ ESTIMATED TIME OF ARRIVAL _____

(Mail reservation before June 1 to Villa Capri Hotel, 2400 North I.H. 35, Austin, TX 78705. Phone: 512-476-6171)