

FREE TEXAS

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Underground anti-draft activist

Jacobs sews seeds of liberty

Free Texas Interview
By Peter Elloway

(Editor's note: Since the summer of 1981 when he became one of the first 11 men indicted for failure to register for the draft, Paul Jacob of Arkansas has embodied the spirit of Libertarian draft resistance.

When the registration program was first announced Jacob, then age 19, immediately became its most vocal critic in Arkansas, appearing on countless radio shows denouncing the draft as an intrusion on our basic freedoms and swearing to resist if the government tried to draft him or imprison him for not registering.

When he was indicted Jacob, true to his word, went underground where he is a more effective anti-draft spokesman than he could be from inside prison. Jacob moves from place to place not only to avoid the FBI but to meet more people and spread his message to young people everywhere.

Sometime last March Jacob met Peter Elloway in Houston. Elloway is a member of the LPT Executive Committee as well as one of Houston's local draft boards, and he interviewed Jacobs to get information he may need as a draft board member. Elloway later sent the record of this interview to Free Texas.)



Free Texas: Why did you decide to go underground, rather than be prosecuted as many others have? In fact, some of those cases were dismissed.

Jacob: I think that the courts are concerned only with the legalities involved and they really don't care about the justice of the situation. Therefore I don't expect justice coming from the courts.

According to the law I'm guilty; according to the laws of justice I have committed no crime, so I don't see any reason to go to court. But also I'd like to show to 18-year-olds who are being coerced that the choice is not between registering and going to jail. The government is attempting by selective prosecution and their own form of show trials to intimidate 18-year-olds into thinking that if they resist they will go to jail.

Now for the quiet resistors that is not the case. No one who has been quiet about their resistance has been indicted nor will they from what evidence we've seen so far. And even those people who have been vocal, such as myself, have not been prosecuted, and some who are, such as myself.

I want to show by my example that jail is not a given, that even those of us who are vocal will not necessarily go to jail. I didn't register for the draft because the draft is slavery and I don't want to be enslaved by the government. I see prison as equivalent to the draft; they're both forms of slavery. And by going to court I feel I have the same chance of going to prison as I have of being drafted if I register for the draft.

FT: How can you say you are a vocal nonregistrant? How vocal can you be when you're underground?

Jacob: Obviously not as vocal as you could be above-ground, yet once you're taken to court and when you're convicted and sent to prison, you can't be very vocal there either.

Since I've been underground I've been able to do radio interviews and some interviews with local college newspapers, I've written some articles — I have been able to be somewhat vocal and I plan to continue to be vocal.

I think it's important that someone show that the legal system of this country is not a just system and that every time the government infringes on our rights we're not always able to go through the legal system and gain vindication. Very many times throughout history conscription laws have been allowed by every court including the Supreme Court. So I think that I can still gain media attention and can remain out of prison.

FT: The 13th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States states that "involuntary servitude" shall never exist in the U.S. How can you conclude that the Supreme

Court, which is empowered to hold up the Constitution, will consistently rule that the draft is constitutional.

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Volunteer ballot drive plans take shape

By Tom Glass
Ballot Drive Coordinator

What will it mean to you to be able to vote for Libertarian candidates in 1984? If it means anything at all, schedule several weekends or evenings next May to help with the ballot drive.

The 1984 drive to place the Libertarian Party on the ballot in Texas begins May 6 (the day after the major party primaries) and we plan to complete the drive by June 9, the date of the LPT State Convention. However, the state sets July 9 as the deadline for turning in signed petitions.

At their June 12 meeting in Austin, members of the LPT Executive Committee expressed their desire to pursue an all-volunteer ballot drive in 1984. Those members agreed with Toni Black, a leader in the successful 1982 Pennsylvania volunteer ballot drive, that a major volunteer effort will only be successful if volunteers know that no one else will be paid to do the work.

Every 100 signatures collected by volunteers saves the Party \$143 -- an amount equal to the price of three radio ads. In 1982, the Texas LP spent \$37,000 for an essentially all-paid ballot drive while David Hutzelman only spent \$11,000 on his campaign for governor.

Spending money on communicating libertarian ideas will advance our goals far better than paying college students to ask people for signatures on a petition. A volunteer drive can also develop the organization that can help 1984 and later campaigns.

The number of valid signatures required by Texas law for a minor party to obtain ballot status is one percent of the votes cast in the last gubernatorial race. Those signatures must come from registered voters who have not voted in that year's major party primaries and must include a valid voter registration number.

In 1984 the magic number of signatures is 31,911. To get a comfortable cushion, we need to turn in at least 40,000 signatures. A volunteer effort will therefore require Texas Libertarians to organize better than we ever have before. In fact, that is one strong argument for an all-volunteer effort.

The ballot drive will be organized in a fashion similar to a symphony fund drive. The Ballot Drive Coordinator is responsible for organizing the effort and ultimately responsible for all 40,000 signatures. The state will be broken up into several regions and each region will have a regional coordinator who will

be responsible for a set number of signatures.

The regional coordinators in turn will recruit county coordinators and the more populous counties will be broken down into state representative or even precinct levels. In the months before the drive each coordinator will seek commitments of signatures from volunteers in his or her area.

The key here is to set manageable goals for each person. Toward that end the coordinators will have weekly goals and will seek commitments from volunteers on a weekly basis. The coordinator structure provides a motivational network that will monitor progress and remind volunteers of their commitments.

If 400 Libertarians each pledge and deliver 25 signatures a week for four weeks, the drive will be successful.

In the past, much of the organized effort has taken place in the big cities. This time, regional organization will bring in volunteer signatures from other parts of the state as well.

To calculate what each area of the state's fair share of signatures would be, only counties that have contacts listed in *Free Texas* are counted as active participants. Then the total number of signatures required is assigned in proportion to the number of people on the Libertarian mailing list in each county.

By this formula, Harris County's "fair share" would be 15,500 signatures, Dallas -- 8,600, Tarrant -- 2,500, Travis -- 4,700, Bexar -- 1,700, Brazos -- 900, and El Paso -- 900. To get an idea of how many your county should collect, multiply the number of people on the mailing list by seven, or better yet count 100 signatures for each activist in your area.

Although training material such as tapes on how to petition will be available, the drive will be decentralized so that each community and each individual may collect signatures in a way most effective for the area and with which he or she feels most comfortable. There are essentially three levels of collecting signatures: grocery stores, walking precincts, and asking friends and family.

Grocery store petitioning is the most efficient due to the steady traffic flow. However, it is psychologically the most difficult way to collect signatures.

Walking precincts is easier on the ego -- especially in your own neighborhood. A house-by-house list of the registered voters who have not voted in the primaries can be made from the list of registered voters in the precinct. You already know that person's name and that

he or she is eligible to sign. You also have the valid voter registration number already.

The only drawback to this method is that only about five signatures per hour can be collected compared with 20 per hour in front of grocery stores. The big advantage of walking precincts is that it helps the candidates running in that precinct.

Finally, everyone can ask friends and family to sign up.

The major reason for an all-volunteer ballot drive is financial. Since the number of signatures needed in 1984 is 35 percent greater than in 1982, a paid drive using the same procedures would cost roughly \$60,000. A volunteer effort will still cost \$10,000 to pay for telephone coordination, printing of petitions, microfiche readers to look up voter registration numbers, fund-raising, and other expenses. Most of this money would be needed in late 1983 or early 1984.

To kick off the ballot drive, LPT Chair Alma Kucymbala has volunteered to collect 1,000 signatures. Bill Kelsey has volunteered to coordinate the Bastrop County effort, and Michael Ray of Williamson County has promised "at least" 20 hours of work on the drive. Jeff Daiell and Frank Bartle, both of Houston, have already pledged financial support.

The Libertarian Party -- your party -- can be on the ballot in 1984 without spending most of our resources on that effort. But only if you make a commitment to do your fair share, so that we will have a fighting chance to communicate the message of liberty that Texans so desperately need to hear.

"In Germany they first came for the Communists and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Communist. Then they came for the Jews, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics, and I didn't speak up because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me -- and by that time no one was left to speak up."

Pastor Martin Niemoller

"All political government must necessarily become despotic, because all government tends to become centralized in the hands of the few, who breed corruption among themselves and in a very short time disconnect themselves from the body of the people. The American republic is a good illustration."

Lucy Parsons

Notes from the Chair

By Alma Kucymbala
LPT Chair

Any political movement is dependent upon the communication of ideas which will persuade individuals to take desired action. In the general populace there are many people who, while they fundamentally agree with some libertarian principles, may nevertheless be unaware of the party organization.

Our efforts should be directed towards identifying those individuals, making them aware of the party, creating an interest in our objectives and ultimately enabling them to join us in political activism.

In addition to continual discussion of ideas with our friends and co-workers, the most effective means of reaching a broad distribution of individuals is writing letters to the editor.

This is one of the most widely read sections of the daily newspaper. Letter writers as well as readers tend to be vitally concerned about the issues we deal with in our daily lives and most importantly seek to act on their beliefs.

If you haven't written a letter lately, write one now. For those of you who have missed our monthly newsletter, *Free Texas Reports*, the past few months, we have a "Speak Out" column featuring the best pub-

lished libertarian letters to newspaper or magazine editors which are brought to the attention of *FTR* editor Scott Bieser.

If you will send in your most recent letter to the editor to *Free Texas Reports*, P.O. Box 6023, Austin, TX 78722, you will receive a year's subscription to *FTR* (a \$10 value), free of charge.

In addition to outreach, we frequently have a need to communicate with our membership more quickly and inexpensively than is possible through a general mailing. A telephone network can be an effective tool at the local level, and even the state and national levels, for communicating information which could be badly out-dated if we relied on the postal service.

Organized pyramid-fashion, one person initiates calls to a list of people who, in turn, call their own list of people. With as few as two levels in this network anywhere from 50 to 100 people can be reached in a very short period of time.

If you would like to join the LPT Telephone Network to keep abreast of pending legislation (state or national), local events, or to keep on top of our Presidential campaign next year, please fill out the coupon below and send it to me at P.O. Box 2271, Dallas, TX 75221.

Libertarian Party of Texas Telephone Network

Do you want to be called for:

Local events Pending Legislation Misc.

Will you call someone else? Yes No

Are you interested in serving as a local (or state) organizer for this effort? Yes No

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Phone no. _____

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Who we may be, what we probably think

By Scott Bieser
Free Texas Editor

Most libertarians oppose the draft under any circumstances, believe drugs should be decriminalized, support building anti-nuclear defense systems, support user fees and private contracting for public services, hold that nuclear power should not be subsidized or regulated, and advocate limited government as opposed to anarchism, according to a write-in poll conducted by the Reason Foundation last spring.

"The Frontlines Nationwide Libertarian Survey" was published in 20 state LP newsletters (including the February Free Texas) and one county newsletter, receiving 672 responses, according to a report on the survey released in June.

Those responding to the poll were generally divided on such questions as children's rights, the FBI and CIA, immigration, how to deal with the government debt, use of nuclear weapons, nuclear disarmament and whether the U.S. should have alliances with any foreign countries.

Several activists in Texas and elsewhere have challenged the validity of the Frontlines poll, pointing out that the respondents were not selected at random, and that many people who receive party newsletters (particularly in Texas) are not libertarians but have asked to be put on the party mailing list anyway.

Robert Poole, president of the foundation, says in response to these criticisms that most of the people who chose to respond to the survey were probably the "more active" libertarians, the ones who do the work and contribute the money which makes the movement possible. Non-libertarians would have no interest in answering such a poll.

While the poll was not completely scientific, it should still give a fairly valid reflection of most active libertarians' feelings and backgrounds, he said.

During the National LP Platform Committee hearings in Austin June 12, the poll was mentioned several times by delegates trying to make a case for their proposed amendments. Opponents to the amendments just as frequently denied the poll's validity. Apparently, the poll has not helped establish what the libertarian body politic really thinks as convincingly as some had hoped.

The Editor, who sent in a survey form himself, has looked at the report and decided that the survey was valid only insofar as the survey results coincide with his own opinions.

The Frontlines poll was the first attempt ever to gauge libertarians' thoughts and backgrounds. As this information is important for those of us who represent Libertarians in the party hierarchy as well as those of us who provide information for

the movement, it is hoped that future (and less vulnerable) attempts will be made.

The following are the questions asked in the poll and the results, expressed in percentages or averages:

For each of the following, please check the answer that is the closest to your views.

- 1. Abortion** "Abortion is a private matter; government should neither regulate it nor subsidize it" -- 65.2 percent; "Abortion is a private matter until that stage of fetal development when the fetus develops human-type brain waves" -- 13 percent; "Abortion should be legal, and as long as the government pays for other medical services, it should pay for abortions as well" -- 11.6 percent; "Abortion is wrong and should be prohibited by the government" -- 10.2 percent.
- 2. "Recreational" Drugs** "All drugs should be decriminalized (i.e., penalties against use and sale removed)" -- 73.3 percent; "All drugs should be legalized (i.e., regulated and taxed like tobacco and alcohol)" -- 18.6 percent; "Soft (i.e., nonaddictive) drugs should be decriminalized" -- 8.1 percent.
- 3. Children's Rights** "Children have rights that are not adequately protected by current law, but not the same rights as adults" -- 53.2 percent; "Children have the same rights as adults and the laws should be changed to reflect this" -- 28.4 percent; "Children are inherently dependent; present laws correctly take this into account" -- 18.4 percent.
- 4. Conscriptio** "Any form of conscription is a violation of rights" -- 81.7 percent; "Conscription is unjustified except during wartime" -- 13 percent; "Conscription is

just a form of taxation and is a necessary evil under present circumstances" -- 5.3 percent.

5. Nuclear Power "Nuclear power should be neither regulated nor subsidized by government" -- 77.3 percent; "Nuclear power plants violate rights and should be closed down" -- 13.8 percent; "Nuclear power is safe and economical; government R&D and liability limits are realistic measures to support this technology" -- 8.9 percent.

6. Intelligence agencies "Both the FBI and CIA have violated people's rights, but agencies of this sort are necessary; the agencies should be reformed, not abolished" -- 56 percent; "The FBI and CIA are threats to liberty and should be abolished" -- 38.4 percent; "The FBI and CIA are important and legitimate defenses against domestic and foreign threats to liberty and should be maintained essentially intact" -- 5.6 percent.

7. Immigration "All restrictions on immigration should be abolished; we should have open borders" -- 43.7 percent; "Some limits on immigration are necessary and proper for any society" -- 23.2 percent; "Immigration controls should only be lifted if noncitizens are made ineligible for welfare programs" -- 18.7 percent; "Controls on immigration must remain until the United States achieves a free-market economy" -- 14.4 percent.

8. Government Debt "Government must honor existing obligations to its creditors, but should do so only by selling off assets" -- 56.8 percent; "Government must honor its obligations to creditors, even if this requires use of tax funds" -- 22 percent; "Government debts are illegitimate and should be repudiated" -- 21.2 percent.

9. Nuclear Weapons "Nuclear weapons should be used only against specific military targets; they should be made smaller

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JOE & JOAN KEEP ON TRUCKIN'

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Scott Bieser
5 MIRE HOURS

Getting our pockets PIKed

Of farmers, politicians, and the inc

By Mike Holmes
Free Texas Correspondent

The redoubtable Sage of Baltimore, journalist I.L. Mencken, made it clear that he was skeptical about claims regarding the virtues of farmers in his famous 1924 essay, "The Husbandman:"

There has never been a time, in good seasons or bad, when his hands were not itching for more; there has never been a time when he was not ready to support any charlatan, however grotesque, who promised to get it for him. Why, indeed, are politicians so polite to him — before election, so romantically amorous? For the plain and simple reason that only one issue ever interests or fetches him, and that is the issue of his own profit. He must be promised something definite and valuable, to be paid to him alone, or he is off after some other mountebank. He simply cannot imagine himself as a citizen of a commonwealth, in duty bound to give as well as take; he can imagine himself only as getting all and giving nothing.

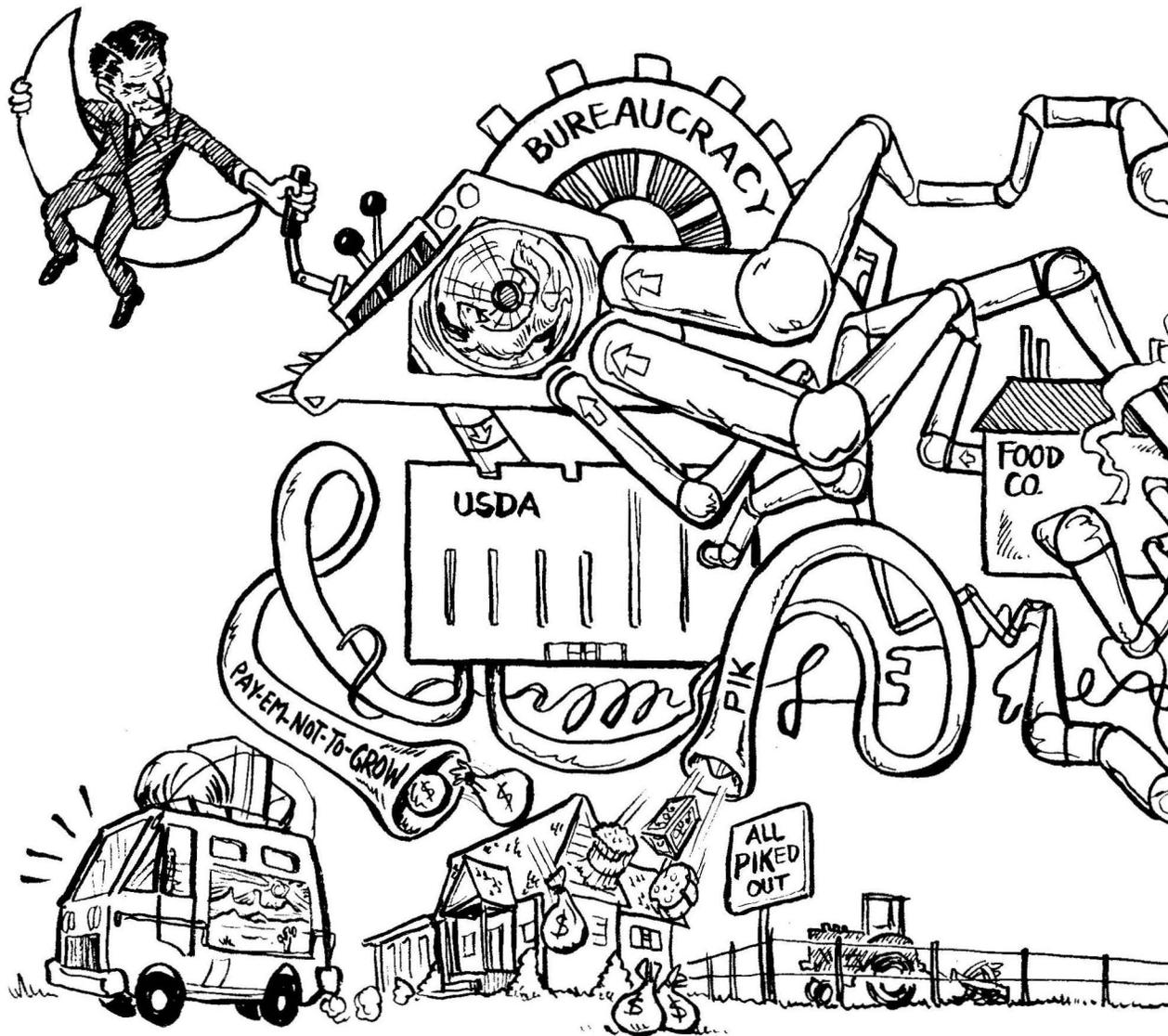
And why? Because he produces something that all of us must have — that we must get somehow on penalty of death. And how do we get it from him? By submitting helplessly to his unconscionable blackmailing — by paying him, not under any rule of reason, but in proportion to his roguery and incompetence, and hence to the direness of our need. I doubt that the human race, as a whole, would submit to that sort of high-jacking, year in and year out, from any other necessary class of men.

They are all willing and eager to pillage us by starving us, but they can't do it because they can't resist attempts to swindle each other. Recall, for example, the case of the cotton-growers in the South. They agreed among themselves to cut down the cotton acreage in order to inflate the price — and instantly every party to the agreement began planting more cotton in order to profit by the abstinence of his neighbors. That abstinence being wholly imaginary, the price of cotton fell instead of going up — and then the entire pack of scoundrels began demanding assistance from the national treasury — in brief, began demanding that the rest of us indemnify them for the failure of their plot to blackmail us!

One doesn't have to embrace Mencken's entire sour view of farmers as a class to recognize the ring of truth in what he wrote, even though some 60 years have passed and farmers, as a class, are a much smaller part of the population than they were in 1924. What remains true of the situation, is that many farmers (not all by any stretch of the imagination) continue to exercise disproportionate political leverage in the state and national legislatures. They continue to demand special subsidies for their industry under an implicit mantle of holiness; the notion that farmers have some special sanction to rig the marketplace at the expense of everyone else.

In fairness, a couple of other observations should be made. Farmers and ranchers, as a class, are not necessarily more greedy or prone to use political force to obtain subsidies for themselves than any other group of economic producers. They have simply benefitted from certain romantic notions about their business, the fact that it is highly sensitive to the whims of nature and thus quite risky. And especially because their political clout has not diminished over the past 100 years nearly as much as their percentage of the voting public.

Thus, the farming industry continues to benefit from outdated proportional representation dating back from the days when the U.S. was primarily a rural, agricultural-based society. They are a well entrenched special interest group which has been very successful at preserving their privileged status despite vastly changed demographic circumstances. It must also be noted that even as a group, there is little hard evidence to demonstrate that a majority of farmers actually support or advocate special privilege and subsidy. Most of the benefits accrue to the larger and often more politically powerful sectors of agriculture, and often the much lamented "family farmer" is left with little actual net benefit from government programs.



Many farmers, in fact, advocate and practice the well-known libertarian virtues of economic self-sufficiency, hard work, respect for property rights, and opposition to government regulation or interference in their lives and businesses. There are, not surprisingly, a good many libertarians engaged in the farming and ranching business. But, despite sometimes fierce opposition to it from within the agricultural community, the role and extent of government "management" of farming and ranching continues to grow larger and larger, sometimes to an almost unbelievable extent.

For example, just one form of government subsidy to agriculture (and probably the most costly) is the crop price support program. As Jeffery H. Birnbaum writes in *The Wall Street Journal*, this effort will cost taxpayers in fiscal 1983 more than \$21 billion. This amounts to more than \$93 for every man, woman and child in the U.S. and will cost a family of four more than \$373 per year. This staggering sum is five times larger than such payments in 1981 and equals the total net farm income for 1983.

If we didn't have to eat we could simply put all farmers on the dole and save the trouble of actually raising crops. Don't laugh, the newest government farm boondoggle does exactly that!

Government agricultural policies do more than simply soak up huge quantities of tax dollars. We all pay a lot more for most of what we can afford to eat. Economist Bruce Gardner noted in his book *The Governing of Agriculture* that in 1978 and 1979 government farm policies were responsible for food cost increases of 11 percent for milk, 3.5 percent for cattle, 17.5 percent for wheat and 88 percent for sugar.

Gardner also estimated that consumers paid nearly \$5.5 billion more for food annually due to government farm policies. In 1983 dollars, this translates into \$8-10 billion in higher consumer prices for food. This sum doesn't include the effects of the so-called "marketing orders" for various products, such as fresh fruit and nuts, which mandate government quotas on crop amounts sold to artificially keep prices high. We seem blessed with a government which believes that the public is best served by paying inflated prices for the basic necessities of life.

And who suffers most? Those who can afford it the least, as usual. Stephen Chapman noted recently in *Harper's*, "It is not an exaggeration to say that, under the price support system, slum children in Harlem go without milk so that dairy farmers in Wisconsin may prosper." Just where is Senator William Proxmire's Golden Fleece Award on that issue, we'd like to know?

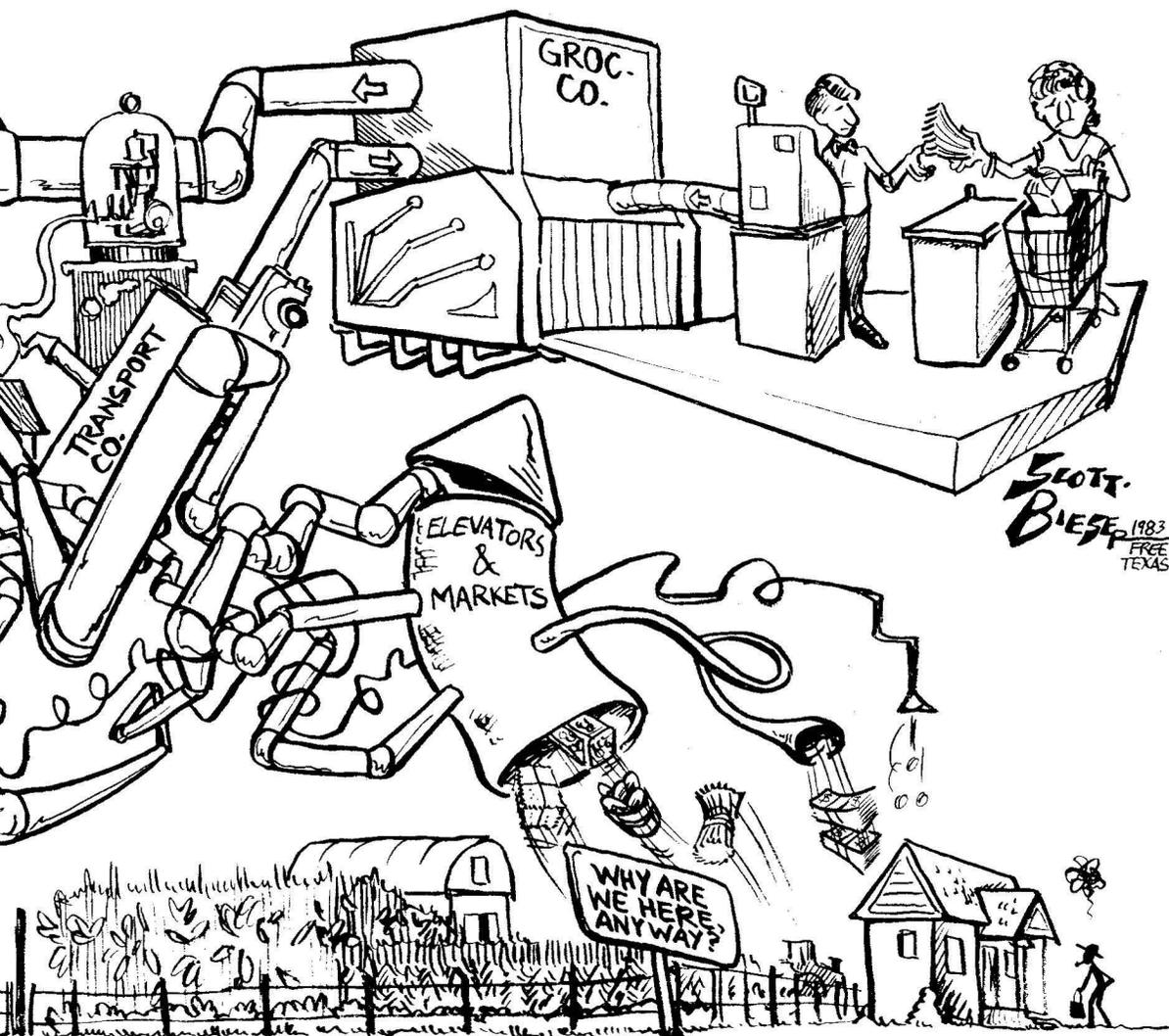
The government has stored enough "surplus" non-fat dry milk to provide USDA nutritional requirements for milk for 39 million people for an entire year. As David A. Lips reports in his article, "How to Get Out of the Food Stamp Trap," published in *Reason* magazine, that's several million more people than are classified by the government as living under the poverty line. Even the government finally figured this out and began the now-famous "surplus cheese" giveaway program last year. Of course, if the government didn't spend so much in tax dollars to subsidize production and keep prices artificially high, more poverty-level people (and everyone else) could afford to buy food on their own, without government help.

The sheer physical dimensions of the surplus government crop storage effort boggles the mind. Roughly 1.5 billion pounds of non-milk dairy products, 11.4 billion pounds of dry milk, 184.6 million bushels of wheat, 1.8 billion pounds of rice, whole storage warehouses full of honey, rye, oats, corn and sorghum were, as of the end of February 1983, stored by our Department of Agriculture, according to Lips. It seems every single aspect of these farm programs involves millions and billions of tons and dollars, all coming from taxpayers and consumers.

But just when you think you've heard of every conceivable farm boondoggle giveaway/subsidy/tax-sucking program, a new and more expensive effort springs up to help the "poor farmers." This latest hydra-headed monster is known as the federal Payment-in-Kind program, or PIK for short. "PIKing" the taxpayers' pockets is more apt.

This program is based on the same ideas as many other federal agricultural programs, designed to combat the very "greed" element that Mencken noted which occurs when farmers band together to take cropland out of production in order to limit supply and therefore increase crop prices. The problem, as Mencken noted, is the same for all non-

credible bread machine



governmental cartel members. While private producer cartel members all have a common interest in limiting the supply of crops produced, each individual benefits by cheating, at least so long as all other members abide by the restriction agreement. In short, everyone has a big incentive to cheat other cartel members as long as they all don't cheat.

Historically, private producer cartels have been ineffective over significant lengths of time in keeping prices artificially high because private cartels lack the authority, or legal sanctions, to prevent members from individually cheating. Among other reasons, this phenomenon is one of the principle reasons why OPEC oil producers have been unable to keep oil prices above market levels, once the price increases balanced supply and demand.

Since Mencken's time, the government has attacked the "private cartel" problem in several different ways, in order to artificially prop up farm crop prices. Mentioned earlier was the government "marketing order" system, which establishes a legal farm cartel that limits members and prohibits outsiders from selling certain crops (the anti-trust laws are basically non-operative in the agricultural area since these cartels are fostered by government policies, due to various legislative exemptions passed by the farm lobby).

Acreage allotments are another approach, particularly popular in the tobacco and peanut business (ever wonder how Jimmy & Billy stayed in the peanut business?). Under this system the government in effect licenses a given number of acres upon which a particular crop can be grown, and these rights, called allotments, can then be traded between farmers and often are worth a significant premium.

Tariffs and import quotas on certain items, such as sugar, beef and certain grains, also help to limit production and make foreign suppliers noncompetitive with domestic sources.

But the most effective arrangement to limit crop production is to simply "bribe" farmers not to produce, using the "carrot" approach rather than the "stick." Under this system the "cartel" members (i.e., producers of certain crops) are paid on a per-acre basis by the government not to grow a certain type of crop. Sometimes this is

done via the Commodity Credit Corporation, a government agency which loans money to farmers based on crops planted and then "forgives" the loans depending on whether the farmer upholds his agreement not to plant certain acreage.

Under this direct "pay'em not to grow" method, substantial amounts of cash are needed to either loan to or pay farmers who cooperate with the government-sponsored cartel arrangement.

However, for some crops, notably wheat, corn, rice and cotton, the government is also involved in buying up "surplus" production as well as paying farmers not to grow them in the first place. The government guarantees a certain crop price, known as "parity," upon which government crop loan values are based. The government lends the farmers a certain amount based upon estimated production and the "parity" price set for the crop. If the market price for the crop is less than "parity," when the loan comes due (after harvest), the government either "forgives" the difference in the loan or actually purchases the crop itself at the "parity" price, and thereby repays the loan itself.

The exact mechanics of these arrangements can become quite complicated and seem to exist in almost endless variation. It helps to understand the reason why the "parity" prices are usually (though not always) higher than market prices: "Parity" crop prices are based upon relative prices paid to farmers for crops compared with non-farm product prices during the period of 1910-1911. This magic period of relative prices, chosen by the farm lobby for its relative prosperity and ignoring the tremendous improvements in per-acre crop productivity in the past 70 years, almost guarantees that "surplus" crops will be grown as long as the unlimited resources of the taxpayers are available to soak up these "surpluses."

What about the Payment-In-Kind program? Well, as you can appreciate, with all of these farm subsidy programs the government was paying cold hard cash out through the nose both ways — paying farmers not to grow crops and buying up the "surplus" crops they do grow. Because the acreage limitation programs are generally not mandatory, many farmers (God bless 'em) prefer to actually grow crops rather than to take handouts not to grow.

In the face of this distinctly wasteful program, the "fiscally responsible" elements of the Congress, led by the conservatives (who don't object to the subsidies, they just want to make them efficient subsidies), came up with a brilliant solution. Instead of paying farmers in cash not to grow crops, henceforth the government would pay them with "surplus" crops.

Viola! Two problems are solved (in theory). First, the government spends no cash to bribe farmers not to farm. This may quiet those nagging spoilsports who wonder why the taxpayers are doing that in the first place. Secondly, with grain bins bulging at the seams with government-owned "surplus," storage costs for holding the "surplus" can also be reduced. Farmers can sell the "surplus" crops they get from the government for cash and Uncle Sam can reduce its storage bill. Sound like a simple, elegant solution? Not Quite.

Consider these problems:

* Big farms benefit more than small farms. Historically, price support payments were limited to \$50,000 per farmer. This limit has been lifted for the PIK program and some farmers may receive windfalls of more than \$1 million.

* Subsidies will benefit inefficient as well as efficient farmers, thus encouraging marginal farmers to remain in business.

A recent *Wall Street Journal* article profiled the situation of Eugene Smith, a corn farmer from Indiana. Smith ran up \$30 million in debt largely due to his ambitious expansion efforts involving thousands of new acres and new equipment in an attempt to cash in on rising crop prices and the farm land price boom. He recently filed bankruptcy when land price inflation and low interest rates came to an end.

However, farmer Smith is still in business, in part due to more than \$1.3 million he'll get under the PIK subsidy program. "This is as close to doing nothing as I've ever been," says Smith. "It's absurd what the government has to do to keep me in business." He recently told a group of Midwest bankers and economists, "My whole strategy is still to bank on the government farm program and bet they'll keep saving the family farm."

Life on the farm can be quite good, it seems, when the PIK proceeds come rolling in. Sales of RVs and boats have soared in Nebraska, and one Nebraska boat dealer noticed recently a 30 percent increase in boat sales. So much for saving the family farm.

University of Missouri agricultural economist Harold Breimeyer notes the unfairness of PIK, commenting, "It helps the big guys who gambled big on grain farms more than the small, diversified farmers who kept a lid on things." Democratic Congressman Tom Harkin, a self-styled Populist, isn't too happy about PIK either. Says Harkin, "The unfairness of this program verges on the criminal."

* PIK subsidies appear to be reaping a full harvest of economic costs. Consumer food prices have been pushed up, as expected. Central Illinois corn prices have jumped from \$1.90/bushel in November 1982, when PIK went into effect, to nearly \$3.20/bushel in mid-July this year. In order to accomplish this price run-up, the U.S. has almost 2.7 billion bushels of corn tied up in government storage programs.

* Despite an 18 percent drop in acreage planted for winter wheat, in part due to PIK, the crop will only decline 8 percent, partly because farmers idled their least productive land and used some of their savings to add additional fertilizer on the crops they did plant.

Since wheat prices are expected to remain under "parity" due to the slight drop in production, much of the PIK wheat doled out to farmers will simply have to be repurchased by the government. The U.S. will shell out about 550 million bushels of wheat under PIK to farmers but is expected to have to repurchase nearly 500 million bushels from them under the crop price support programs.

This amounts to nothing more than a costly "recycling" effort, fueled with tax dollars. And by canceling crop loans and some of the give-backs for grain and cotton, the government will lose \$1.2 billion in foregone interest in 1983, according to Wharton Econometric Forecasting Associates of Philadelphia.

But even though some farmers will benefit, all parts of the agricultural economy will not benefit equally. Some, in fact, will suffer. Fertilizer and pesticide use has declined 15 percent and seed corn sales are down 25 percent, according to some

Continued on page 7

Libertarian window on the world

by Michael Holmes
Free Texas Correspondent

The number of Americans who believed the federal government could be trusted to do what was right "just about always" or "most of the time" increased from 25 percent to 33 percent from 1980 to 1982, according to a recent University of Michigan Institute for Social Research poll.

This marks the first time since 1964 that public confidence in government has increased. In that year the "trusting" public percentage was an incredible 76 percent. The poll claims an error rate of plus or minus 3 percent.

No specific reason was cited for this disturbing rise in government credibility, but at least two out of three Americans still express a healthy distrust of Big Brother in Washington.

Houston Post

The Sheriff of Hamilton County resigned in February after a late 1982 tax revolt at the polls dropped the county property tax rate by more than 53 percent. Complaining of overwork and the lack of deputies, the Sheriff resigned and left county

law enforcement to the Texas Rangers, DPS and local city police.

"I feel just as safe in Hamilton County last night as I did last week," said Hamilton County Judge Betty Jenkins.

Houston Chronicle

Those who wonder why all the so-called Reagan tax cuts haven't made them feel any richer now have an answer, according to a recent survey conducted by the Associated Prss.

Of the estimated \$30 billion the federal government is not taxing, new and higher taxes and fees levied by state governments will absorb \$15.7 billion, more than half the phantom reduction. City and county taxes are also being increased in many places, leaving the AP to conclude that the federal tax "cut" will simply be going "into one pocket and out the other."

Major state tax increases in Texas were largely forestalled, despite Gov. Mark White's best efforts and the urging of Comptroller Bob Bullock, although tax collection dates have been accelerated to speed up tax collection.

The established political parties have shown little real interest in reducing the tax burden, despite

much-publicized claims by the politicians in power.

Houston Post

Three Conroe residents were arrested recently by DPS agents and Montgomery County Sheriff's deputies after the citizens set up their own "Southern District Texas Township Court" and began issuing subpoenas and summonses to local area judges and tax collectors.

This group claims the present government is illegitimate because of Constitutional violations, the Federal Reserve's issuance of fiat money, and the corruption of the common law legal system. The Township Court issued its own "peoples" money and demanded that local officials report to its court and account for their actions.

The entrenched government apparatus, not wanting to tolerate or encourage competition to its own power, promptly arrested the Court members for "impersonating law officers" and issuing "fraudulent" legal documents.

The question of who is defrauding whom will apparently be settled by the government with superior firepower, which has also threatened

more arrests if the Township Court continues to issue its own "legal" documents.

While this business seems to demonstrate a very provound and radical challenge to the legitimacy of state power, as discussed by numerous libertarian theorists, the Township Court group is affiliated with the radical right-wing, paramilitary Posse Comitatus, alleged to be anti-Semitic and even neo-Nazi. It also appears the Montgomery County state apparatus is not quite ready to go along with this type of experiment in privatizing the public sector.

Houston Chronicle

The Central Texas town of Wimberly has adopted a progressive and enlightened approach to government: It has no city employees, taxes, budget, zoning or other niceties that usually accompany government. In fact, this town of 5,500 has no government at all and is not incorporated.

The local Chamber of Commerce sets up committees which raise funds voluntarily to establish water and sewer service, a library, a fire department, and other local services.

Continued on page 8

Survey from p. 3

and more accurate" — 41.3 percent; "Nuclear weapons are immoral, per se, and their use can never be condoned" — 41.1 percent; "Nuclear weapons are completely legitimate; present arsenals should be maintained or expanded" — 17.6 percent.

10. Strategic Defense "Mutual assured destruction is immoral; the U.S. should build defenses against nuclear attack" — 76.3 percent; "The U.S. should work to preserve stable mutual deterrence by not building ABM systems or engaging in civil defense" — 23.7 percent.

11. Nuclear Disarmament "We should pursue disarmament negotiations, but strictly on a mutual basis" — 55.9 percent; "Arms limitation treaties have seldom worked; mutual disarmament is unrealistic" — 25.8 percent; "The U.S. should disarm unilaterally" — 18.3 percent.

12. Alliances "Military alliances violate libertarian principle; the U.S. should therefore withdraw from all alliances" — 45.4 percent; "Military alliances are proper under some circumstances, but present U.S. military alliances (NATO, Japan, etc.) are unwise and should be terminated" — 42.9 percent; "The U.S. must maintain its alliances and continue as leader of the free world" — 11.7 percent.

13. Foreign/Defense Policy "U.S. defense forces should operate in the oceans and outer space, as well as on U.S. soil" — 54.9 percent; "U.S. defense forces should be restricted to U.S. territory" — 39.5 percent; "U.S. defense forces should be used to defend non-communist countries from communist attack" — 5.6 percent.

14. Transition Measures. For this question, please check off all of the proposals listed which you would support as transition steps toward a fully free-market society. User fees instead of taxes to pay for public services — 75.8 percent; Contracting out public services to private firms — 73.9 percent; Balanced budget amendment — 68.1 percent; Education tax credits — 61.6 percent; Flat-rate income tax — 53 percent; Education vouchers — 52.5 percent; Mandatory private retirement accounts (IRAs) and paying off Social Security's existing obligations with general revenues — 36.3 percent; Housing vouchers for the poor instead of construction and rent subsidies — 34 percent; Negative income tax to replace all present welfare — 29.3 percent.

15. What is your: Age — Avg. 38.03 years; Sex — 84.5 percent male, 15.5 percent female; Ethnic group — 96 percent white, 3.2 percent "other," 0.8 percent hispanic, 0 percent black; Household income — Avg. \$35,318; Highest level of formal education — 8.5 percent PhD or equivalent, 26.9 percent master's degree or equiv., 39.4 percent bachelor's or equiv., 17.5 percent junior college degree or equiv., 7.7 percent high school degree or less; Marital status — 48.5 percent

married, 40.1 percent single, 6.2 percent divorced, 2.8 percent widowed, 2.4 percent cohabitating; Occupation — no discernable pattern; Religion — 32.9 percent "none," 14.4 percent atheist, 5 percent agnostic, 25 percent Protestant, 5.3 percent Jewish, 4.6 percent Catholic, 12.8 percent "other."

16. How many years have you identified yourself as a libertarian? 3.71 years.

17. What was your ideological position before you became a libertarian? Conservative — 43.6 percent; "Other" — 21.3 percent; Liberal — 20.9 percent; Middle-of-road — 14.2 percent.

18. As a libertarian, do you consider yourself an advocate of: Limited government — 74.1 percent; Anarchism/anarcho-capitalism — 25.9 percent.

19. In general, do you favor a strategy of: Gradualism — 61.9 percent; Abolitionism — 38.1 percent.

20. Which of the following activities are you personally willing to engage in (check all that apply): Educational activities — 71.2 percent; Participation in LP politics — 66.2 percent; Civil disobedience — 33 percent; Participation in Republican or Democratic politics — 16.3 percent.

21. What one writer or thinker has most influenced your development as a libertarian? Ayn Rand — 29.7 percent; "Other" — 17.2 percent; Milton Friedman — 13 percent; Murray Rothbard — 10.3 percent; Ed Clark — 5.6 percent; Robert Ringer — 5.1 percent; Ludwig von Mises — 5 percent; Robert Heinlein — 5 percent; F.A. Hayek — 3.3 percent; Harry Browne — 2.9 percent; Roger MacBride — 1.7 percent; Robert LeFevre — 1.2 percent; Andrew Galambos — 0.

22. Who is your first choice for 1984 LP presidential candidate? Ed Clark — 28.6 percent; "Others" — 25.2 percent; Ron Paul — 18.1 percent; Gene Burns — 9.6 percent; Dick Randolph — 5.8 percent; none of the above — 4.7 percent; Murray Rothbard — 4.2 percent; Milton Friedman — 3.8 percent.

23. Are there any positions that you recognize as based on libertarian principle, but which you personally find difficult to accept? If so, what? No discernable pattern.

It should be noted with regards to the presidential question that this poll was circulated before either Gene Burns or James Norwood announced for the LP nomination. Had this question been asked of the same respondents more recently the results would likely be different.

It should be noted that Frontlines, the activist newsletter published by the foundation and through which the survey was conducted, was abolished in May. So much for gradualism.

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Jacob

from p. 1



Jacob: The first time it was argued that the draft was involuntary servitude, the court ruled that the power of Congress to raise an army overshadowed the involuntary servitude clause. The Supreme Court is basically saying any action of the government that can be said to be raising an army is justified. I think that's extremely dangerous and tends to bear out the thought that we really don't have any control of the Supreme Court and therefore we really don't have the ability to live under a constitution if they can interpret it that broadly.

FT: What kind of reception is your story getting with the media and especially on campuses these days?

Jacob: I haven't seen the published stories, but the reception that I've gotten from the reporters and from other people who are on these campuses has been very, very good. I don't think there are a lot of supporters for registration anywhere in this country. And I think that if there weren't a fear of prosecution -- which is unfounded -- you would see a noncompliance rate even greater than it is today, which is historically the greatest it has ever been.

FT: Tell me about living underground. How do you cope with the situations?

Jacob: The main thing is that it's difficult to get a job. But most places don't require Social Security numbers. They don't even ask for it and you shouldn't give it to anybody unless they ask for it. There is an underground economy and you can work for cash; it's definitely not easy to find work but it's definitely not impossible.

You have to keep moving around -- you can't stay anyplace for three years. As long as you move fairly often there's no big problem, if you can find work.

It also helps to have contacts. Anyone who's thinking now of going underground should be gathering names and addresses and contacts all over the country. Get a passport since it might be in some people's interest to leave the country.

That's really the main nuts and bolts. It's difficult to stay away from your family and friends. It's dangerous to be calling home, or your friends or very obvious people who might be your contacts.

FT: What about the people you've met? Do you find that people are pretty willing to help you out?

Jacob: yes, I've found that people are very, very willing to help me out. Most people are not going to tell who I really am or I'm not going to explain my situation because, one, it's dangerous for me in case they don't take it well and, two, because it could incriminate them. If the FBI closes in on someone who's been helping you and that person obviously knew what your situation is, they can bring charges against him; but if that person doesn't know it's a pretty good alibi.

FT: Has anyone ever threatened to turn you in?

Jacob: No. No one has ever threatened to turn me in. Even people I talk with who are pro-draft, who knew my situation, although they disagree they feel that since I'm willing to take this strong a stand they respect that and they aren't going to do anything to jeopardize my position.

FT: These people don't accuse you of being a coward and not wanting to defend your country?

Jacob: I think that if it wasn't face-to-face they might have that reaction. Usually these people know me well enough to know that I'm not a pacifist and I'm not a coward. But

just from the way I live they're pretty much able to take for granted that if I were attacked or if my freedom was being taken away I would defend myself.

A coward basically is someone who will not stand up for his own security and for his own freedom. It's obvious that I'm willing to defend my freedom because I'm doing it right now.

It's also true that if somebody attacked this country that I'm more than willing to defend it. It's only when the U.S. government attempts to take away my freedom that I'm going to have to defend myself against it.

FT I was thinking of many people who have been underground in the past, like Abbie Hoffman -- after a while they just couldn't take it anymore. How long do you think you can take it?

Jacob: I can take it as long as I think it is worthwhile, as long as I feel like I'm accomplishing something by doing this. There might come a point at which the gains to be had by going underground are no longer high compared with the cost of remaining underground. I don't want to remain underground until I'm 30 or 40 -- that's definitely not something I'm interested in. I'd like to go home tomorrow, if it were at all possible.

But I think I can remain underground as long as I feel like I'm making a point to 15-year-olds that we can beat this law and we don't have to register out of fear. Then I feel good about what I'm doing and can go on indefinitely.

"The problem after a war is with the victor. He thinks he has just proven that war and violence pay. Who will now teach him a lesson?"
A.J. Muste

Farmers

from p. 4

farm analysts. These sales declines appear to closely match the decreases in acreage planted, which in some rural areas has run as high as 50 percent.

Jobs and businesses will be lost in some cases due to the PIK program, and Morgan Guaranty Trust has estimated that falling farm supply sales and agricultural output declines will actually reduce the U.S. GNP by about .5 percent over four quarters. As a result, "PIK is potentially a disaster politically and economically," according to G. Edward Schuh, head of the agricultural department at the University of Minnesota.

* Finally, the PIK program has resulted in some economic transactions which can only be termed "wicked" or funny, if they weren't such an economic burden upon the American people.

For example, Texas rice farmers, who outproduce everyone else in the country, will receive shipments of rice from California for not growing rice because government rice surpluses are not large enough to cover their payments-in-kind. Louisiana, Florida and Mississippi will get Arkansas rice.

Only the government could decide that shipping California rice to Texas growers, so that they won't grow their own, could make economic sense. Texas cotton farmers have managed to make out quite well, by allowing Uncle Sam to, in effect, underwrite crop speculation for the cotton "PIK" in cotton and grain producers of the Lower Rio Grande Valley.

It seems that when these Texas farmers signed up for the cotton PIK program, they also agreed to a contract clause allowing the government to buy up part of their 1983 crop that they were going to grow for 55 cents/pound, guaranteed, if the USDA needed it. The Texas farmers now claim that they were "informally" advised the USDA wouldn't exercise this clause.

However, due to bad weather and economic revival, cotton prices have jumped to 73 cents/pound and the government doesn't have enough surplus cotton to pay-in-kind for crops not grown. So the government wants to purchase the Texas cotton for 55 cents/pound but the farmers want the current, higher price.

Futures markets exist for farmers, and others, to hedge such types of risks by establishing a forward price for crops, including cotton. Cotton farmers seem to believe that since PIK is paying them for not growing cotton, then the government should not mind paying current, higher prices for crops that were contracted for last spring. After all the billions being shelled out, what can a mere \$75 or \$100 million more matter?

The cotton farmers have obtained a temporary restraining order, and the U.S. House passed a bill requiring the USDA to reopen "bids" on cotton to be purchased. Rep. Huckaby of Louisiana warned of "chaos in the cotton industry" if the bill is not passed, and Texas representative de la Garza said the bill could be summed up in one word, "fairness."

Meanwhile, the rape of the taxpayer goes on. The crowning incident, which probably won't be the last of its kind, is a PIK situation in Moore County near Dumas. The **Houston Chronicle** reports that 75 to 100 area wheat farmers were paid under the PIK not to grow wheat which they had already planted, and which they intended to harvest.

"The reason for the situation is the late program announcement. The producers got some benefit from the crop because they'd already spent their money. They'd probably not have planted a crop if they knew about it (PIK) ahead of time," explains Wilma Clinefelter, Moore County Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation agent.

Under this novel government subsidy theory,

farmers who grow crops should be paid for not growing them, because if they knew before they planted they would be paid for not growing it they wouldn't have planted the crops in the first place. We wouldn't want anyone to miss out on the boodle, would we, just because they didn't realize the government was handing out money? After all who really cares why we're subsidizing these farmers, just throw them a few more billions and maybe they'll keep quiet for awhile.

Whether it's giving farmers a "surplus" that we'll just have to buy back at "parity" prices at store grain, or merely paying farmers with crop or cash not to grow things (or whether they grow them or not), the current system of government farm subsidies and regulation almost defies belief, let alone description. After awhile, the billions of dollars and millions of bushels tons of "surplus" begin to blur into a haze of unreality.

Only a dedicated statist mentality can take the world's most productive farmland, and hardworking farmers and ranchers, and turn the agricultural industry into an expensive burden on taxpayer consumers and particularly the poor, who spend much larger proportion of their income on food than everyone else.

There is, of course, a simple, inexpensive quick solution to this problem. Cut the Gordian knot of subsidy, "surplus" and waste. Get the government out of the farm business and out of the pocketbooks. And try not to think about PIK the next time you're eating a slice of bread, a ear of corn or a bowl of rice. It'll taste better. Trust me.

Holmes is a long-time libertarian activist residing in Houston and presently LPT Finance Committee Chair.

Monroe announces bid for at-large seat

Dr. Matt Monroe, National LP Finance Committee Chair, announced July 4 he will seek election to the Libertarian National Committee as an At-Large Representative at the upcoming LP Presidential Nominating Convention in New York City.

Monroe is currently the Region 13 (Texas) Representative to NatCom and a long-time Libertarian activist residing in Houston.

"I believe my past efforts for the Libertarian Party have been to strengthen the National Party as a whole, particularly in the area of fundraising and fiscal management, and that I can do this more effectively as an At-Large Representative," Monroe said. "This will also allow Region 13 to choose a National Committee representative who can focus on building the LP in that specific area."

Monroe's most visible achievements have been in fundraising, both as former Chair of the Texas LP Finance Committee and as current National LP Finance Chair. He added that he is willing to continue as Finance Committee Chair if asked by the next Lp National Chair.

Those achievements include broadening the financial base of the LP through the revitalized Liberty Pledge and directing efforts to reduce the party's debt from \$165,000 to about \$30,000 as of early July.

"I believe the Party relied too heavily on a few large contributors in the past and feel that our current system of appealing to the large number of smaller contributors leaves us in much better shape.

Since the past financial problems are behind us, I believe the Party is in a position to grow very rapidly," he explained.

Reflecting his "grassroots" orientation, Monroe supports efforts of the National LP to assist local candidates with information packages, using financial and technical resources to assist state parties with ballot access, improving LP membership recruitment and outreach, supporting communication of successful local LP ideas to other Libertarian organizations and party groups around the country.

"The National LP should maximize its use of volunteers and become a clearinghouse for proven ideas. The National Committee functions in a fashion like the Board of Directors of the Party, and as such needs to encourage and require mature, professional management of our limited resources. The National LP should serve its members — not vice versa," he concluded.

Monroe was born in Poland and emigrated to the U.S. during the 1960s. He is a practicing cardiologist based at the Texas Medical Center in Houston.

"Establishing lasting peace is the work of education; all politics can do is keep us out of war."

Maria Montessori

Window from p. 6

es. Decisions are made at village meetings and funds are raised at local suppers, dances, flea markets and festivals.

The Chamber is now planning a community center, swimming pool, tennis courts, baseball diamond and amphitheater.

The head of the Texas Municipal League noted that Wimberly is not unique in Texas; an estimated 25 percent of towns on the Texas highway map are not incorporated. Who knows, perhaps the trend towards non-government will begin to catch on!

Houston Post

IRS Commissioner Roscoe Egger told a Senate subcommittee that har-

assessment of IRS agents is increasing and physical assaults have also escalated.

In 1982 there were 513 incidents of assault or threat of assault, a 60 percent increase over the previous year. Egger also noted there are 547 civil suits pending against about 1,360 IRS employees, mostly filed by tax protesters.

The commissioner was testifying in favor of proposed legislation making the federal government, not individual IRS employees, liable in civil suits charging violations of taxpayer's civil rights. There was no mention of statistics regarding the number of innocent taxpayers assaulted, killed, sued or who had their property confiscated by the IRS.

Houston Post

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