



FREE TEXAS

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GOVERNMENT IN CRISIS ISSUE

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BIG GOVERNMENT IN CRISIS Energy, Runaway Inflation, and War

By Michael Grossberg

Governments have always thrived in times of crisis.

That's why, so often, governments manufacture crisis — as this special issue of FREE TEXAS argues about the energy "crisis", runaway inflation, and the increasing threat of war.

Every government-created crisis offers an opportunity for Big Government to grow bigger. Politicians distort the nature of our social problems and confuse their solutions in order to maintain and expand their own power.

Carter is a perfect illustration. A year before the elections, Jimmy Carter was America's most unpopular President, on the verge of being evicted by his own party. He had brought about the worst inflation and weakest dollar in American history, while Carter's so-called energy "program" — ballyhooed as "the moral equivalent of war" — had failed as ignominiously as Johnson's "Great Society" and Nixon's war in Vietnam.

Today, virtually guaranteed his party's nomination, Carter has been blessed with a miraculous transformation: he is a born-again bureaucrat. One thing, and one thing alone, made it possible: the Middle East crisis.

Carter has succeeded in diverting the American people's attention from his do-

mestic policy failures by overreacting to the brutal Russian invasion of Afghanistan and the unjust imprisonment of the American hostages in Iran. Threatening nothing less than the revival of a new Cold War, Carter is sacrificing domestic concerns — runaway inflation, chronic unemployment, (Continued on page 8)



Clark campaigns in Texas

Ed Clark took his Presidential campaign on a whirlwind tour of Texas to help kick off the Libertarian Party ballot drive May 3, generating favorable reception and major media coverage across the state.

In Houston, where over 200 people attended a cocktail party in his honor, Clark was featured in the *Houston Post*, "Calling the Carter administration's foreign policy 'a shambles', Clark said the hostage crisis in Iran has been a political bonanza for the President because 'an aspect of American politics is that people tend to rally around the President during a crisis even if the crisis was caused by his own incompetence.'"



CLARK said, "We must allow our oil companies to use their higher profits to find more crude oil and natural gas at home. I'd rather have people digging wells in Texas and Oklahoma than foxholes in the Middle East. We would not be worrying about war in that area if it weren't for our dependence on their oil."

The Southwest Libertarian Conference in Dallas was Clark's next stop. Clark

addressed over 150 Libertarians before being whisked away by helicopter to catch a plane for Washington, where he was a guest of *U.S. News and World Report* at the prestigious White House Correspondent's Dinner.

The *Dallas Morning News* reported, "While well-known presidential hopefuls awaited the outcome of the Texas primaries Saturday, 49-year-old Edward E. Clark . . . said in Dallas his party offers the only 'consistent direction toward smaller government and lower taxes.' Clark said he plans to propose 'tax and spending cuts of tens of billions of dollars' and urged abolition of the federal departments of education and energy."

Even before Clark's active fulltime campaign begins in June, his Libertarian candidacy has inspired serious, in-depth articles in *Saturday Review*, *Washington Monthly*, *New West*, *Oui*, *Chic*, *Mother Jones*, *Coevolution Quarterly*, *TWA Ambassador*, *Congressional Quarterly*, and *Washington Post Magazine*, to name a few. Coming up soon are articles on the LP

more support for Clark comes from young voters, aged 18 to 20, of whom 19 percent endorse Clark.

THE POLL also revealed that 47 percent believe a strong third party will revitalize our political system, while 45 percent said they would support a third party candidate whose two major planks were much lower taxes and much less American intervention in the affairs of other nations. That is a unique mix of issues which only Ed Clark and the 600 other state and local LP candidates across the country combine in their campaigns.

Already newspapers are beginning to run editorials endorsing Clark and the Libertarian Party. The Vermont *Caledonian-Record* observed that (Libertarians) "are raising the kinds of questions that badly need to be raised, and they are doing so in a responsible way. We hope many Americans choose to listen." The Alaska *Anchorage Times* noted that Clark's Libertarian platform "is an appealing call for action in a political year. And it very well might strike close to the real mood of America."

"Calling the Carter administration's foreign policy a shambles, Clark said the hostage crisis in Iran has been a political bonanza for the President because an aspect of American politics is that people tend to rally around the President during a crisis."
—Houston Post

in *High Times*, *Esquire*, *New York Times Magazine*, and a full-fledged interview in *Penthouse*.

Such positive publicity is already bringing about increased support for Clark in the polls. Opinion Research, Inc. released a poll recently which found — in a trial heat of the Presidential race with Reagan, Carter, and Clark — that the results were: Carter 50 percent, Reagan 20 percent, and Clark 8 percent, the rest undecided. Even

WHO knows how many more Americans will turn to Clark and the Libertarian alternative, once Clark's nationwide television and radio ads start in July? "What we really expect to achieve, as a minimum, is several million votes and building the LP as a real alternative in American politics," says Clark. "We hope to get more votes than separate the Republicans and Democrats, so in that sense, in this election, we become the balance of power." —M.G.

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LP FIGHTS FOR 50 IN '80

Ed Clark will qualify for the ballot in all fifty states and the District of Columbia — a historic first in this century for third party or independent Presidential candidates — announced Chris Hocker, Clark for President Campaign Director.

"We've not missed a deadline yet," said Hocker, "and we're on target or ahead of schedule in the remaining states." The LP had already gotten its candidates on the ballot in 36 states by June 7. That includes Oregon, Oklahoma, West Virginia, Massachusetts, Maine, and Montana — some of which had been considered "impossible" states, and all states where the LP had never before won ballot status.

IN TEXAS, where Libertarians have until July 14 to collect 23,698 valid signatures, petitioning efforts have centered in Austin, Dallas, and Houston, where Clark for President ballot drive headquarters have been set up. In addition, major petitioning efforts are underway in San Antonio, Fort Worth, Bryan, Midland, Odessa, and Lubbock with almost 15,000 signatures already collected as of June 10.

Covering the grand opening of the Austin LP headquarters, the Austin *American Statesman* reported, "A converted former enchilada restaurant at 2201 Manor Road, the headquarters was decorated with red, white and blue pennant flags, which were strung from the LP Headquarters sign to a line of 'Ed Clark for President' posters. The walls of the East Austin headquarters were covered with posters of Clark, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, and author Ayn Rand's 'Atlas Shrugged' character, John Galt, holding the world above his head, and a few 'Legalize Freedom' bumper stickers. The 70 or more celebrants at the opening gathered to listen to speeches and rock music, to mull over the Libertarian magazines and to talk politics."

Texas LP Ballot Drive Coordinator Allan Vogel has promised a new, higher goal of 55,000 signatures to insure Clark and 38 other state and local candidates a guaranteed place on the November ballot. "After we submit our 55,000 signatures to the Secretary of State on Monday, July 14," announced Vogel, "I want to invite every Texas Libertarian to our Ballot Drive Victory Party at the Austin Libertarian Party headquarters. Champagne and hors d'oeuvres will be served, beginning at 6PM, to everyone who has collected at least 100 signatures during our ballot drive or who has donated at least \$100 to the LP of Texas."

TEXAS is one of the hardest states to get on the ballot, because of the barriers the Republicrats have erected to maintain their position in American poli-

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bureaucratic rule forces libertarians to work literally *thousands* of hours researching signatures on county voter rolls to find their voter registration numbers — even after working *tens of thousands* of hours to collect 55,000 signatures in the first place!

Even worse, Texas is one of only two states legally prohibiting millions of registered Texas voters from signing our petitions, just because they voted in the Republicrat primaries. Fortunately, this year Carter and Reagan have inspired so much contempt and disgust among the voters that only 34 percent chose to participate in the primaries: a record low. Even so, because so many Texans are unable to sign the LP petitions, Libertarians will have to approach at least a quarter of a million people in order to find 55,000 eligible signers.

OUTRAGEOUS and unjust as they are, ballot access restrictions are just one of the ways the Republicrats preserve their two-party monopoly and their bipartisan policies of Big Government.

In a bald attempt to use tax dollars to buy votes, over \$130 million in federal campaign subsidies have gone to Demo-



cratic and Republican Presidential candidates to spend in their primaries and the general election. Tom Wicker, in a syndicated column discussing the "indefensible restrictions on third parties and independents", pointed out that "the 1974 campaign reform act went far to build in the two major parties as 'official' parties by denying federal subsidy to any others during a campaign. Yet, a non-major party candidate would have to abide by the \$1,000 limit the act imposed on individual contributions. That would make it impossible for him or her to equal or even come near the \$29 million federal subsidy each of the major party nominees will receive . . . The extent to which Congress and the state legislatures have worked to rule out third-party candidates discourages even the idea of one."

Of course, Ed Clark and the Libertarian Party — as a matter of principle — refuse to accept federal campaign subsidies. As a Scripps-Howard syndicated news story noted, "If they win over 5 percent of the

presidential vote they officially become a 'minor Party' in the eyes of the Federal Election Commission and eligible for about \$7 million in federal campaign funds. According to Libertarian Communications Director Ed Crane, that would impose a 'moral dilemma' on the Libertarians because they are opposed to federal campaign funds and favor abolition of the FEC. 'If we don't accept it that would only increase the subsidy to the Democrats and Republicans. We'd probably try to find a way to give it back to the taxpayers.'

ANOTHER benefit received only by Democrats and Republicans is a special low bulk-rate mailing permit. Where it will cost anyone else 8.4 cents to mail campaign material, the major party candidates receive a rate of only 3.1 cents. In an era in which campaigns are being heavily financed by direct-mail appeals, this is a huge advantage.

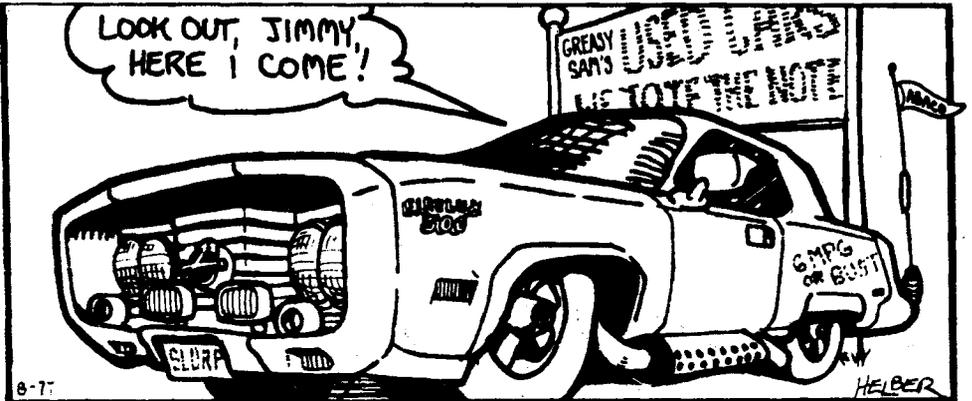
One of the reasons you see so little coverage in the electronic media of third-party campaigns is the "equal time" provision of the Communications Act of 1934. A blatant infringement on the natural and First Amendment rights to freedom of speech, this provision leads the electronic

media to avoid coverage of any third-party candidate for fear they will be required to cover them all, down to the Trotskyites and the Vegetarians. It is impossible to believe that the Republicrats who voted this law into existence were unaware of what its real impact would be.

Interestingly, the House Subcommittee on Communications held hearings in early February on H.R.6103 — a bill that would repeal the "equal time" requirement for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. All three networks and National Public Radio testified against the "equal time" requirement, as did LP spokesman Ed Crane. NPR specifically mentioned its desire to cover the Libertarian Party as one of the reasons for favoring H.R.6103.

THERE are other restrictions that favor the large parties, but the situation is clear enough. A free market in political ideas being essential to the vitality of American politics, all these interventions and favors should be abolished. In the meantime, the Libertarian Party is working to make Texas a three party state — despite all the government regulations and government bureaucrats!

Michael Grossberg and Scott Olmsted



FREE TEXAS

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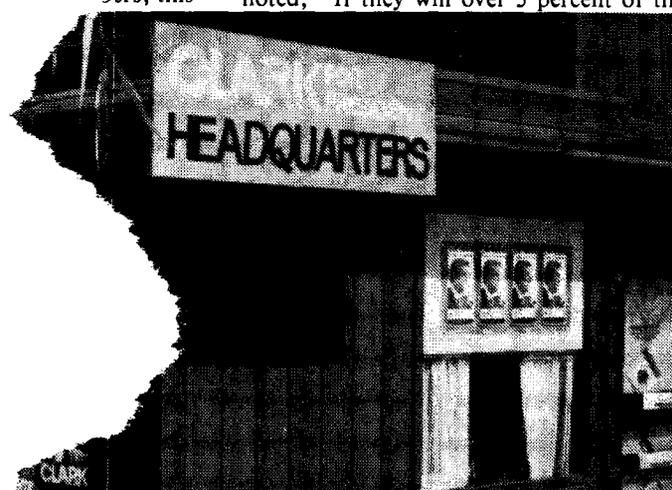
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Von Hoffman speaks at convention

Nicholas von Hoffman headlined the Libertarian Party of Texas Convention in San Antonio, speaking on "Why are Carter, Reagan, and Anderson running against Ed Clark?"



LIBERTARIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE meets in Dallas during Conference. (Left to Right) LP National Director Bill Burt, LP National Secretary Sylvia Sanders, and LP National Chair David Bergland.

In an interview with the *San Antonio Light*, von Hoffman said, "Ed Clark is the only candidate with the excitement of the question mark. We already know what Carter, Reagan, and Anderson can do." In a recent column, von Hoffman all but endorsed Clark, noting that "the man who polled almost 400,000 votes in the last California gubernatorial election is an unflashy man, the antithesis of the Moses-like figures, the leaders-out-of-the-wilderness who ordinarily run on third party tickets. Clark is par excellence the middle class, white collar, modern-day suburban American who speaks in the mooted mode we associate with reason."



LP candidate for Texas Railroad Commission David Hutzelman (The Sunset Kid), and his wife, LP of Texas Secretary Becky Hutzelman, listen to Ballot Drive Workshop in Dallas.

"Libertarians are raising the kinds of questions that badly need to be raised, and they are doing so in a responsible way. We hope many Americans choose to listen." —*Vermont Caledonian-Record*



SOUTHWEST LIBERTARIAN CONFERENCE headline speakers Alicia Clark (R) and Libertarian Review editor Roy Childs (L) relax and discuss politics before the Saturday night banquet begins.

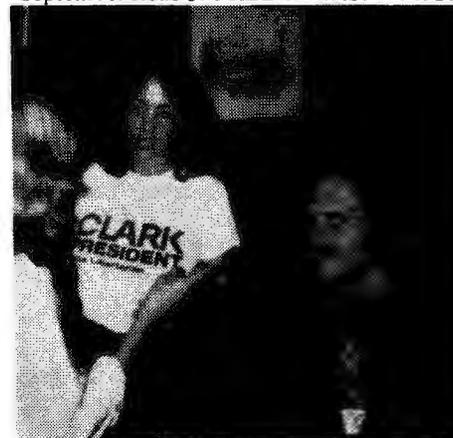
Deeming himself a "Libertarian fellow traveler" to the *San Antonio Light* and a "closet anarchist" to the *San Antonio Express-News*, the iconoclastic *Washington Post* syndicated columnist made it clear that he is not a Libertarian, but said he believes in many of the same values the party supports. "I am not a conservative. I oppose big government because I am in favor of individual liberty. I have found that government frequently sits on individual liberty and prosperity."

"What he's saying however, is deviant. No MX missile, no B-1 bomber, no new bases in the region of the Indian Ocean. No draft, no increase in arms buildup and a return to the definition of 'defense', before it was polluted to mean landing expeditionary forces 10,000 miles from the motherland. Defense for Clark has the old-fashioned meaning of defending American lives and American property in America."

VON HOFFMAN concludes, "To Clark, what the geopoliticians in Washington call our vital interests don't appear quite so vital. Although he would like to continue to buy that sticky black liquid from Iran, if they don't sell it to us for whatever reason, he points out, 'it isn't our oil.' Free market man that he is, Clark be-

lieves that if the Iranians or any other foreign suppliers cut off sales, the ensuing price jump will afford entrepreneurs the exactly correct incentive to find cheaper substitutes, as well as bottom-line reason for making the same barrel of oil do more things. So Clark and the Libertarians combine this foreign policy approach with an insistence that the government get out of controlling oil prices either directly through regulation or indirectly via such convoluted mechanisms as the windfall profits tax."

The LP State Convention was a huge success, generating over a dozen news articles statewide about the growing libertarian movement, major television and radio publicity, and even an editorial in the *San Antonio Express-News* which attacked Texas Democrats while applauding the Libertarians for demonstrating a sense of humor by inviting the amusing von Hoffman. A full report on the Convention, including Platform and Rules debates and new LP officers, will be published in the September issue of FREE TEXAS. —M.G.



JANET TLAPEK, LP candidate for state representative in Houston, discusses her campaign while LP candidate Jeff Hummel looks on.

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SPECIAL NOTICE

Our apologies for delaying the June FREE TEXAS. Due to a "crisis" within the Libertarian Party of Texas — the ballot drive and other emergencies — we have decided to catch up by combining this issue and the next issue (June through August) into a special Summer Double Issue.

The result is in your hands. The future of the Libertarian Party of Texas, the future of liberty itself, is also in your hands. So join the LP of Texas, help us get on the ballot, and make a commitment to work for the Clark for President campaign. To bring about a free Texas, we need a personally significant contribution from you.

—Michael Grossberg, FREE TEXAS Editor

Initiative and Referendum

By Scott Bieser

A major shift in the balance of political power in Texas from the government to the governed is shaping up under the unlikely impetus of Gov. (Mr. Bill) Clements.

This shift promises to come in the form of initiative and referendum, which allows us peons to gather petitions to initiate elections on given issues independently of the legislature, enabling us to make or repeal laws. Just think: a government by the people.

NATURALLY, a coalition of establishment forces is forming to prevent citizens from gaining so much power. This coalition includes most of the Legislature as well as big business, organized labor and the League of United Latin American Citizens.

What these apparently diverse factions have in common is a stake in the status quo, an incentive to keep things pretty much as they already are. Of course, none of these groups will come out and state their real reasons; they are much more adept at making up phony ones.

Take House Speaker Billy Clayton, who worked to defeat initiative and referendum when it was first proposed in the last legislative session. He was quoted as bemoaning what he termed the "drugstore petition" syndrome, which he explained meant

people will sign just any old petition without really reading it.

THAT STATEMENT is so full of fertilizer you can smell it from Lubbock.

Just try going out and circulating a petition, as this writer has. The first thing a potential signer will do is ask if you're a communist. Once you satisfy him you're not, he will read the petition not once, not twice, but at least three times. Then he will ask for a detailed explanation of what it

"Just try going out and circulating a petition, as this writer has. The first thing a potential signer will do is ask if you're a communist. Once you satisfy him you're not, he will read the petition not once, not twice, but at least three times. Then he will ask for a detailed explanation of what it means in concrete terms. Then, maybe, just maybe, he will affix his John Hancock on your paper, if he likes your looks. About half the time he will give a false address."

means in concrete terms. Then maybe, just maybe, he will affix his John Hancock on your paper, if he likes your looks. About half the time he will give a false address.

The other objections to initiative and referendum can be summed up in the statement: "That crazy mob might pass some law against my worthy interests." What is implicit in this assertion is that the people are considered generally hostile while the government is perceived as

basically friendly.

BIG BUSINESS is afraid of the corporate income tax (a real possibility) and more stringent environmental regulations (in this state, a straw man). Labor fears Proposition 13-style tax cuts (a real possibility, and dangerous in its view because it would permit the more productive laborers to lift themselves out of the working class, thus eroding organized labor's base of support) and either suffers from or per-

most is best summed up in Lt. Gov. Bill Hobby's quaint phrase, the "give and take" of the legislative process.

"GIVE AND TAKE" in state government means lobbyists give presents and legislators take them. In the present system, special interest lobbies enjoy a great deal of control over which laws are passed or even brought up for consideration. If voters could make laws, these lobbyists who have to buy three-martini lunches for millions of people. It could blow their whole game. It would cost them their jobs.

And what about Mr. Bill, who is pushing this issue?

The first Republican governor of Texas in over a century is facing an extremely hostile Democratic legislature and bureaucracy. He has no institutional basis of support outside of the anemic Texas Republican Party.

So what Mr. Bill is doing when he supports I&R is attempting to establish strong voter appeal, going over the legislators' heads to their theoretical bosses. It is not libertarian ideals which motivate the corporate statist, but politics-as-unusual.

HOWEVER, the citizens can take advantage of Mr. Bill's pragmatism by supporting his drive to pass initiative and referendum. Let's free up the system in Texas.

(Scott Bieser is a popular FREE TEXAS cartoonist and reporter for the Alvin Sun in Alvin, Texas.)

THE EMPIRE STRIKES BACK

Darth Vader in Corpus Christi

CORPUS CHRISTI (AP) — Corpus Christi city fathers didn't think much of a limit on taxes approved by the community, so they filed suit — against everybody in town.

"It's just unbelievable," said one resident after learning of the lawsuit that challenges the validity of a controversial city charter amendment limiting local taxes. "They have now challenged the last right and privilege that you and I have and that's the ballot box," said Tom Hunt, one of the organizers of the amendment known as Proposition 14.

THE PROPOSITION, passed by an

"The tax wars between the government and the people continue."

overwhelming margin in the April 5 city election, lowered the tax rate ceiling from 74 cents to 68 cents per \$100 valuation and limited annual tax-rate increases to 6 percent.

The suit named as defendants "all taxpayers, residents, property owners, non-resident property owners and persons having or claiming interest in any funds or property" in this Gulf Coast resort city of 210,000. David Diaz, one of the five council members who voted to file the suit, defended it as a necessary action. "It's like a doctor who had to cut off a patient's leg," he said. "As an elected official you have to do some things that people don't like."

In response, the Corpus Christi Taxpayers Association, angered by the city's

court challenge of its successful tax-cutting measure, is off and running on a campaign to recall the mayor and six council members. Association secretary Joe O'Brien said, "The response is absolutely unbelievable" as thousands of Corpus Christi citizens rush to sign the petition to force the city's first recall election.

"Proposition 14 is the will of the people, an order from the taxpayers to the City Council that we are tired of big tax increases," said Taxpayers Association president Lewis Lovelace, who blames the council for the turmoil.

IN REVENGE, Councilman Jack Best filed a \$17 million libel suit Tuesday against the Corpus Christi Taxpayers Association, charging the group defamed him in its petitions to recall the entire council. "My honesty and integrity have been challenged by members of the taxpayers association," Best said. He declined further comment.

The suit specifically names association secretary Joe O'Brien, saying he told reporters "If they aren't for us, they are against us."

Meanwhile in California, masochistic taxpayers voted down "JAWS II" — Howard Jarvis's attempt at a sequel to Proposition 13. The tax wars between the government and the people continues.

NEXT: REVENGE OF THE JEDI?

petuates the illusion that big business supported the California initiative (in fact, something like 90 percent of all big business money spent on the campaign went to those fighting the tax limitation.)

The minority organization said it feared "special interests" would hamstring or even eliminate "social and political programs that have aided minorities in Texas."

What LULAC and the other lobbyists who oppose initiative and referendum fear

WHO'S WHO

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

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Payment must accompany order. Camera-ready copy should be mailed to Michael Grossberg, Executive Editor, 1205 E. 52nd St. #201, Austin, TX 78723. Make checks payable to Libertarian Party of Texas. (We will do typesetting and artwork and bill it at our cost plus 30% if requested.)

Deadline for next issue is August 15, 1980.

PETITION FOR LIBERTY!

By Allan Vogel

You are walking along the sidewalk, minding your own business. Suddenly a figure intercepts your path. The person is smiling and holding a clipboard and a pen.

"Excuse me," the person asks in a friendly tone, "are you a registered voter in Texas?"

"Uh . . . yes." (*What does this person want?*)

"You didn't vote in the primaries, did you?"

"The primaries? Uh . . . no. No, I don't think I did." (*This person must be taking a survey.*)

"Wonderful! You're eligible to sign this petition! We need 25,000 signatures to place a new political party on the ballot in Texas."

"What party?" (*How can I get away from this person?*)

"The Libertarian Party. It's the third largest and the fastest growing party in the U.S."

"Well . . ." (*Now I'll get away.*) "I don't know anything about them, so I couldn't . . ."

"Libertarians believe in individual freedom and less government. But signing our petition doesn't pledge you to support us. It just means that you support our democratic right to be on the ballot. Won't you just give us that opportunity?"

"Well . . . okay." (*I guess it won't hurt any.*)

"Thank you. Just sign your name on this line . . . Do you have your voter

registration card with you?"

"No, I don't."

"That's okay. Now would you print your name on this line . . . And would you please write your registration address here . . . and your city. And the date here . . . and the county where you're registered. Don't worry about the last box. We can look up your registration number later. Thank you very much for giving us a chance!"

"You're welcome." (*Libertarians . . . probably never hear of them again.*)

THIS SCENARIO, or a very similar one, has already played thousands of times across the state of Texas. And it will have to be repeated many thousands of times in the coming weeks. It is only through ballot

status in Texas that we can be certain the signers of our petition and millions of other Texans will hear about the Libertarian alternative.

Although most Libertarians are anything but shy when it comes to discussing politics, many become timid and reserved when they have to face a stranger and ask for nothing more than a signature to insure a basic political right.

But consider the plight of the poor petition signer. He is being accosted on the street by a total stranger. He is being questioned about matters which are unfamiliar. And he is being asked to give away his identity for a reason which he probably considers dubious at best.

WHO IS the greater threat to the other? The signer or the petitioner? Who is more timid, more doubtful, more afraid?

The worst the signer can do is to say "no."

The worst the petitioner can do is to fail to give someone the chance to say "yes."

Giving Texas voters that chance is our major challenge during the month of June.

And the best place for the shy petitioner to start is with the people he knows personally: family, friends, neighbors, co-workers, fellow students.

Once those easy signatures have been collected our shy volunteer may be emboldened to approach strangers. And when he does so, he can easily improve the likelihood of his success.

HOW? By smiling. By being friendly. By being brief and to the point. By being courteous. By being respectful of the signer's natural cautiousness and fear.

How? By petitioning where there are the most potential signers who are likely to be eligible and agreeable. Places like movie and concert lines. College campuses. Outside the jury assembly room at the local courthouse. Parks, zoos, and swimming pools. Shopping centers and flea markets. Gun shows. State conventions. Airports.

OF COURSE, petitioning in public isn't always easy. Even the best petitioner is sometimes turned down 15 or 20 times in a row before collecting his next signature.

And it's always that next signature which is the important one. Just as the successful golfer puts a missed shot out of mind in order to concentrate on his next shot, so too must a successful petitioner forget about the last "no" in order to concentrate on the next signature.

Good location, good technique, and a good attitude are keys to successful petitioning. But the principal ingredient of a successful petition drive is repetition. If every fifth person who is asked signs our petitions, we will have to ask over a quarter of a million persons to put the Libertarian Party on the Texas ballot this year.

WHAT'S IN it for the hard-working petitioner?

The first three volunteers to collect 1,000 signatures will each receive a Life Membership in the LP of Texas worth \$250. All other volunteers who collect 500 signatures will receive a three year extension of their LP of Texas membership. And the volunteer who collects the most signatures over 300 will receive a \$100 cash award.

But most of all what's in it for every petitioner is the same thing that's in it for every lucky signer of every petition: an opportunity Texans have not had before, an opportunity to vote for the Libertarian alternative, an opportunity to give freedom a chance in Texas.

To achieve that opportunity we need your signature and as many signatures as you can collect from friends and strangers both, within the next three weeks. Send your notarized petitions in as quickly as possible to: Libertarian Party, P.O. Box 25043, Houston, Texas 77005.

Join the Core of the New Coalition

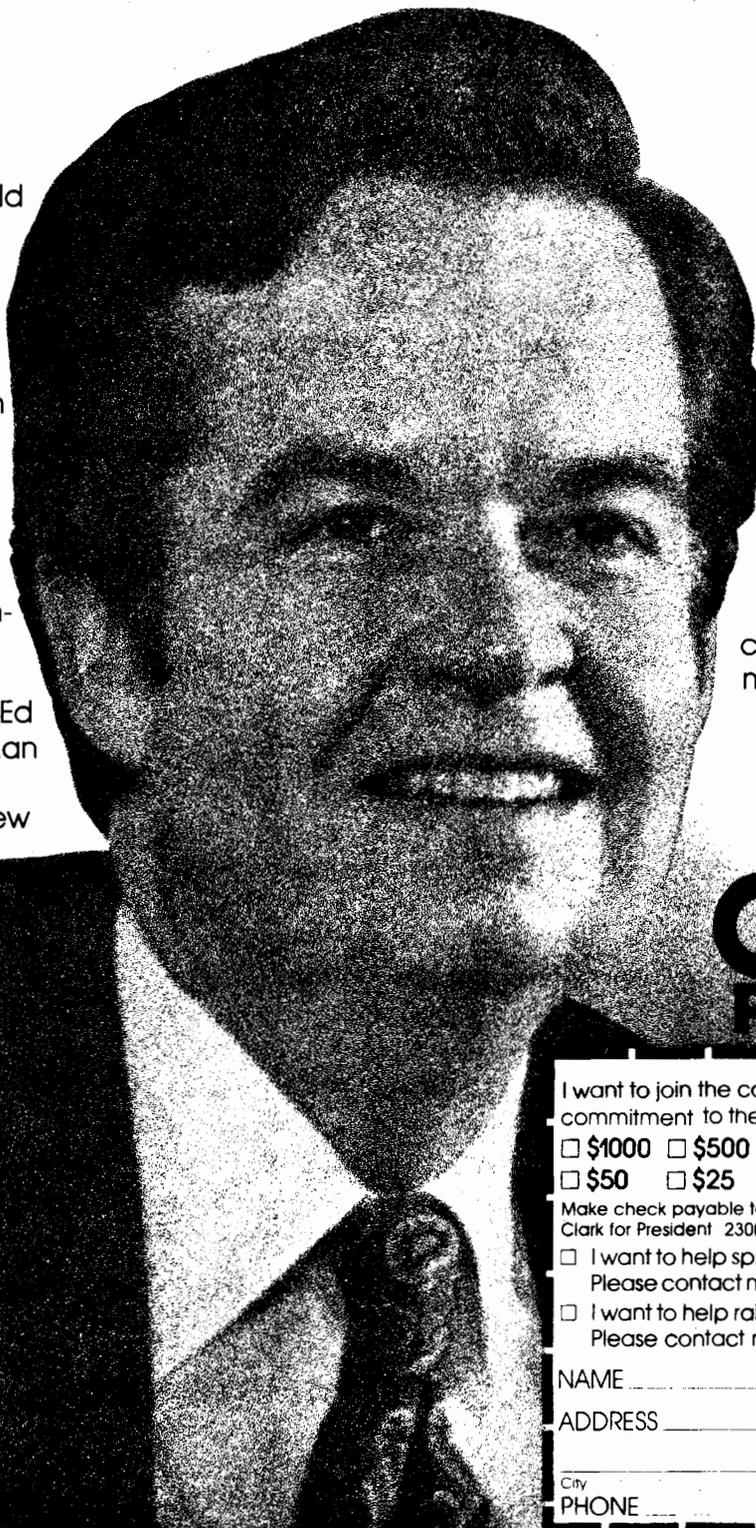
This is the year to build a new coalition in American politics. Of former liberals and former conservatives who oppose government intervention both in domestic and foreign affairs. Of non-voters in search of a real alternative. Of people from all walks of life who view government as the problem, not the solution, and who find new hope in Ed Clark and the Libertarian party.

At the core of this new coalition are tens of

thousands of Libertarians all over the country who are making an extraordinary commitment to the Ed Clark for President campaign in this election year. If you're a Libertarian, you can help this campaign make a dramatic breakthrough in our quest to create a free, prosperous, and peaceful society.

Join the core of the new coalition. Make your commitment.

This is the year.



CLARK PRESIDENT

I want to join the core of the new coalition. Here's my commitment to the Clark for President campaign:

- \$1000 \$500 \$250 \$100
- \$50 \$25 Other (\$_____)

Make check payable to: Clark for President 2300 Wisconsin Ave, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007

- I want to help spread Ed Clark's Libertarian message. Please contact me.
- I want to help raise needed funds for the campaign. Please contact me.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

PHONE _____

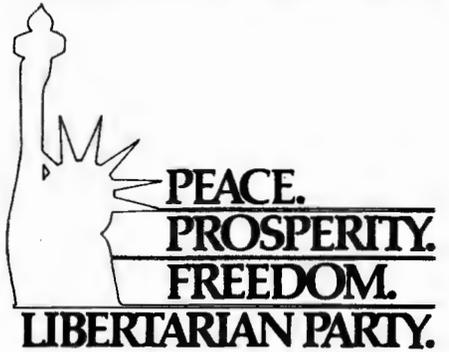
Missing Page 6

Statue of Liberty New LP Symbol

By Ann Hammond

The Democrats have the donkey. The Republicans have the elephant. But the Libertarians, in the short nine year history of our party, have never had their own symbol.

THAT IS, until the National Committee meeting at the Southwest Libertarian Conference in Dallas May 3-4. After a lively and spirited discussion, NatCom endorsed the Statue of Liberty as an appropriate symbol for the Libertarian Party.



That's not the final word on the subject, though. The Statue of Liberty, though approved for use in LP publications, has not yet been formally approved as the LP's official symbol. Other popular symbols considered in the past — some adopted by



LP FOUNDER David Nolan debates the need for a party symbol with decentralist LP NatCom member Craig Franklin.

state LP's — include the Liberty Bell, a porcupine, the rising sun, Pegasus (the LP of Texas symbol), and the famous Revolutionary War flag with a snake and the slogan, "Don't Tread On Me".

After half a year of discussion and deliberation a new Special Platform Committee has finally been created. The committee, which will work from now until the 1981 Tenth Anniversary LP Convention in Denver, will revise the current Platform, design a Platform Study Guide, and work with the 1981 Convention Committee to assure optimum consideration of the Platform Committee's report by the Convention.

OF THE ten Platform Committee members, two are from Texas. Michael Gross-



LP NATIONAL SECRETARY Sylvia Sanders presides for adoption of the Special Platform Committee at the Dallas NatCom meeting.



BILL HOWELL, LP NatCom member from Texas, considers the possibilities of Clark's campaign with LP NatCom member Sara Bease.

berg, our Texas LP Chair, and Jeff Hummel, winner of the 1980 Texas Libertarian of the Year award, were chosen on the first ballot. Also elected were Joan Kennedy Taylor (California), Peter Gleitsman (Alaska), Jenny Roback (Illinois), Sheldon Richman (Virginia), Bill Evers (California), Fred Bross (Oklahoma), and Phil Carden (Tennessee), with Richard Kenney (Washington) elected as Chair. This is a very important committee and we have every reason to be proud of our two Texas representatives.

The new LP Publications Director — responsible for editing the national LP newspaper, the *Libertarian News* — is Michael Burch. Burch is a libertarian from Arlington, Virginia who previously was assistant editor of *The Political Report*, a Washington, D.C. newsletter.

BURCH shared his thoughts on the significance of the Libertarian Party in an interview with National Director Bill Burt: "The real difference between Libertarians and conservatives and liberals is essentially a question of governmental force and freedom. Many conservatives, for example, would advocate the reinstatement of the draft, enacting of victimless crime laws and depriving citizens of their freedom. Many liberals would champion forced bus-ing or taxes to finance social programs, which however worthwhile, involve the same exercising of governmental force on what is supposedly a free citizenry."



LP NATCOM member Michael Emerling shares pleasant memories of his successful Art of Political Persuasion Workshop in Dallas with a satisfied Texas libertarian.

"Both conservatives and liberals view the state as an instrument of social or military policy. Libertarians, conversely, view the state with horror and oppose its intervention in every aspect of life except where absolutely necessary for justice or defense. The LP is the only party that believes that the individual is sovereign in every respect."

Special thanks to everyone who helped make the Southwestern Libertarian Conference a success, especially Tom and Gwynn Groggel, Steve and Barbara Briggs, and Honey Lanham for all their work. Deadline is July 12 for introduction of items for the agenda of our next NatCom meeting August 2-3 in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

CALENDAR

CLIP AND SAVE

JULY

- 1 TEXAS
- 2 DALLAS
- 3 FORT WORTH
- 4 AUSTIN AMERICA FAYETTEVILLE
- 5 AUSTIN
- 7 EARTH
- 8 HOUSTON
- AUSTIN
- 10 DALLAS
- AUSTIN
- TEXAS
- 12 EARTH
- 14 TEXAS EARTH AUSTIN
- 15 LUBBOCK
- 17 FORT WORTH MIDLAND AUSTIN
- 19 DALLAS
- 20 AMERICA
- 24 DALLAS
- 27 HOUSTON

AUGUST

- 1-4 ANN ARBOR
- 3 AUSTIN
- 5 DALLAS
- 7 FORT WORTH
- DALLAS
- 12 HOUSTON
- 14 DALLAS
- 16-17 MIDLAND
- 21 FORT WORTH
- 28 DALLAS
- 29 EARTH
- 31 HOUSTON

DEADLINE for ballot drive signatures to be mailed to LP Ballot Drive, Box 25043, Houston, TX 77005.

DOWNTOWN LUNCH BUNCH. Sanger-Harris, Carnation Room, 11:30AM. Reservations. **DISCUSSION GROUP.** Led by David Jones. 7:30PM. 2428 Annglen Drive. (817)536-0127. **OPEN HOUSE.** 7:30PM. LP Hdqtrs. **INDEPENDENCE DAY.** Read Thomas Paine's "Common Sense."

LIBERTARIAN FOURTH OF JULY celebration. Bar-B-Que and fireworks at Jeff Calver's ranch between Houston and Austin. 60 acres of party room. All libertarians invited to come and enjoy. For map information, call (713) 477-8325.

VOLUNTEER DAY. 11AM. 2201 Manor Road. Robert Heinlein's birthday. **MEETING.** Completion of the ballot drive. **VOLUNTEER NIGHT.** 7:30PM. **MEETING.** 7:30PM. Ballot Drive completion. (214)521-1411. 4310 K Westside Drive. **OPEN HOUSE.** 7:30PM. (512)476-2728. **LATE DEADLINE!!** Send all signatures by registered mail to LP, Box 14181, Austin, TX 78761.

Henry David Thoreau's birthday. Read his libertarian classic "An Essay on Civil Disobedience" - and then fight the draft! **END OF BALLOT DRIVE!**

BASTILLE DAY. Free all political prisoners! **BALLOT VICTORY PARTY.** Clark for President Headquarters. 2201 Manor Road. 6PM. Live music. Champagne. Hors d'oeuvres. BYOB. Bring your friends! **MEETING.** (806)747-4999.

MEETING. 7:30PM. 2428 Annglen Dr. **MEETING.** (915)694-2730. **OPEN HOUSE.** Biennial Travis County LP elections. Campaign planning session. 2201 Manor Road.

BALLOT VICTORY PARTY and Bastille Day Bash. 8PM. (Location to be announced) (214)651-1784.

DRAFT RESISTANCE. Stop compulsory registration before it starts! **NEWSLETTER MEETING.** 7:30PM. (214)651-5706.

GREATER HOUSTON SUPPER CLUB. 6:15PM. Wyatt's Cafeteria, Sharpstown Mall. (713) 961-2812.

FIRST NATIONAL STUDENTS FOR A LIBERTARIAN SOCIETY CONVENTION. Michigan. Presidential debate: Clark versus Commoner. Roy Childs. Leonard Liggio. Jeff Rigganbach. \$21 to \$50. Register by July 1-15% discount. SLS, 1620 Montgomery St., San Francisco CA 94111.

CLARK FOR PRESIDENT SWIM PARTY. Potluck dinner. Meeting. 6PM. 1205 E. 52nd. St. #201. Bring a friend. BYOB. **FOR A NEW LIBERTY book discussion.** Review of Rothbard's book. 7:30PM. 3728 Princess Lane. (214)651-5706.

DISCUSSION GROUP. Led by David Jones. 7:30PM. (817)536-0127. **DOWNTOWN LUNCH BUNCH.** Sanger-Harris, Carnation Room. 11:30AM. Reservations. (214)350-7318. **MEETING.** (713)961-2812.

MEETING. 7:30PM. 4327 Sexton Lane. (214)350-3980.

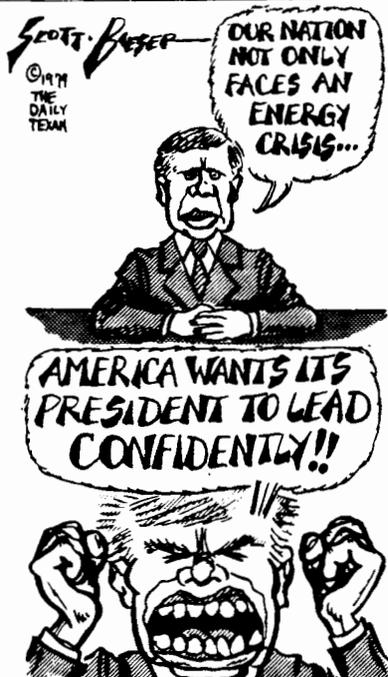
LP EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING. Banquet. Movies. Speeches. Campaign Workshop. For more information, (915) 697-1500 or (214) 350-3980.

MEETING. 7:30PM. 2428 Annglen Drive. (817)536-0127.

PROGRAM. Guest speaker. 7:30PM. 4327 Sexton Lane. For details, (214)350-3980.

JOHN LOCKE'S BIRTHDAY. Read Bernard Bailyn's "The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution."

GREATER HOUSTON SUPPER CLUB. 6:15PM. Wyatt's Cafeteria, Sharpstown Mall. Admission: \$1. For details, (713)961-2812.



BIG GOVERNMENT IN CRISIS

(Continued from page 1)

declining productivity, the move for a balanced budget, deregulation, and the tax revolt — for a panicky military build-up in a new holy war for Mideast oil.

Increasingly, Carter is using foreign policy to manipulate domestic policy, even risking the threat of war, in order to maintain his political power. Leading commentators have expressed dismay at Carter's willingness to use the threat of war as a political ploy. In the *Wall Street Journal*, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. worried, "The Iran blackout of the presidential campaign was just starting to wear thin when Afghanistan came along to give President Carter a free ride for another few weeks. For months, Carter succeeded in turning every primary into a referendum on backing the President in a time of national emergency." In fact, the Carter administration apparently has come to believe that war is inevitable. The *Los Angeles Times* reported "When officials discuss the military options now available to the United States, they use words like horrendous and scary and raise the specter of World War III."

THE PROCLAMATION of the Carter Doctrine, the increasing war hysteria and militarization of the American economy, the return of compulsory draft registration and involuntary servitude — all these things add up to war preparations.

Recent power shifts behind the scenes of the Carter administration confirm this ominous development. The resignation of Cyrus Vance was the culmination of over a year of struggle within the Carter administration between the "moderate" hawks, led by Vance, and the ultra hawks, led by Carter's foreign policy Rasputin and former staff director of the Trilateral Commission, National Security Adviser Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski.

Vance had hoped to maintain the international balance of power through government manipulation of world finance and trade, relying on regional "proxies" — like the Shah of Iran — to preserve the Nixon Doctrine of indirect imperialism. But with Vance's resignation, Brzezinski's ideal of direct American intervention and empire triumphed.

To inaugurate the Carter Doctrine — the de facto annexation of the Persian Gulf region — Brzezinski has been junketting around the globe, pleading for the privilege of providing U.S. military welfare — with money stolen from American taxpayers — to assorted left-and-right/wing dictatorships.

IN THIS new Cold War (no longer being fought against "monolithic communism"), allies are being sought everywhere: from Red China — the most murderous to-

talitarian dictatorship left on the planet! — to the two-bit military regime of General Zia in Pakistan. Meanwhile, the man who for years lusted after Kissinger's Machiavellian power and Metternichian policies is now spending his time gleefully aiming a machine gun up the Khyber Pass, assuring Afghan refugees in Pakistan that "God is on their side", and half-arrogantly half-mockingly entitling his self-dramatized expedition "Three Weeks Before the March on Kabul." Dr. Zbigniew "Strangelove" Brzezinski has become his own cartoon caricature: the perfect symbol of today's hysterical, war-crazed American government, grown out of control.

UNFORTUNATELY for President Carter, while such histrionics may have temporarily diverted attention from his domestic failures, Brzezinski's antics may have only succeeded in focussing the American people's attention on Carter's foreign policy failures. According to the *New York Times*, President Mohammed Zia ul-Haz dismissed the \$400 million that the U.S. has offered to Pakistan, in response to the threat from Afghanistan, as 'peanuts' . . . Asked whether he expected the U.S. to be inhibited in its new approach to Pakistan by the fact that this is a martial law government, or by President Carter's concern for human rights, Zia said: "If the

U.S. can support 20 other countries — which I won't name — where there is no U.S.-type democracy, then I don't think we should undermine President Carter's intelligence that he will be asking me these questions."

A *Libertarian Vanguard* editorial responded to such self-righteous hypocrisy: "The spectacle of arrogant little dictators getting out of American-made (and-paid-for) limousines to meet the press, and dismissing \$400 million in a nauseating display of public petulance, is par for the course. But even by the rather low standards of the CIA and the present adminis-

"Thousands of years of history demonstrate that governments can do two things well: start wars and inflate the currency."

tration, General Zia is just a little too much. If Brzezinski and his clique are smart, they'll tape Zia's mouth before he gives their game away."

TAKING the imperialistic Russian invasion of Afghanistan as his pretext, Carter has now endorsed Brzezinski's long-held dream of creating a "rapid deployment strike force" of 100,000 American soldiers capable of airlifting anywhere in the world at a moment's notice. He has threatened an all-out war — if necessary, nuclear — to defend U.S. "national interests" in the Persian Gulf. The President who promised us he would never lie to us is, in the grand Democratic

tradition of Wilson and Roosevelt and Johnson, lying us into war.

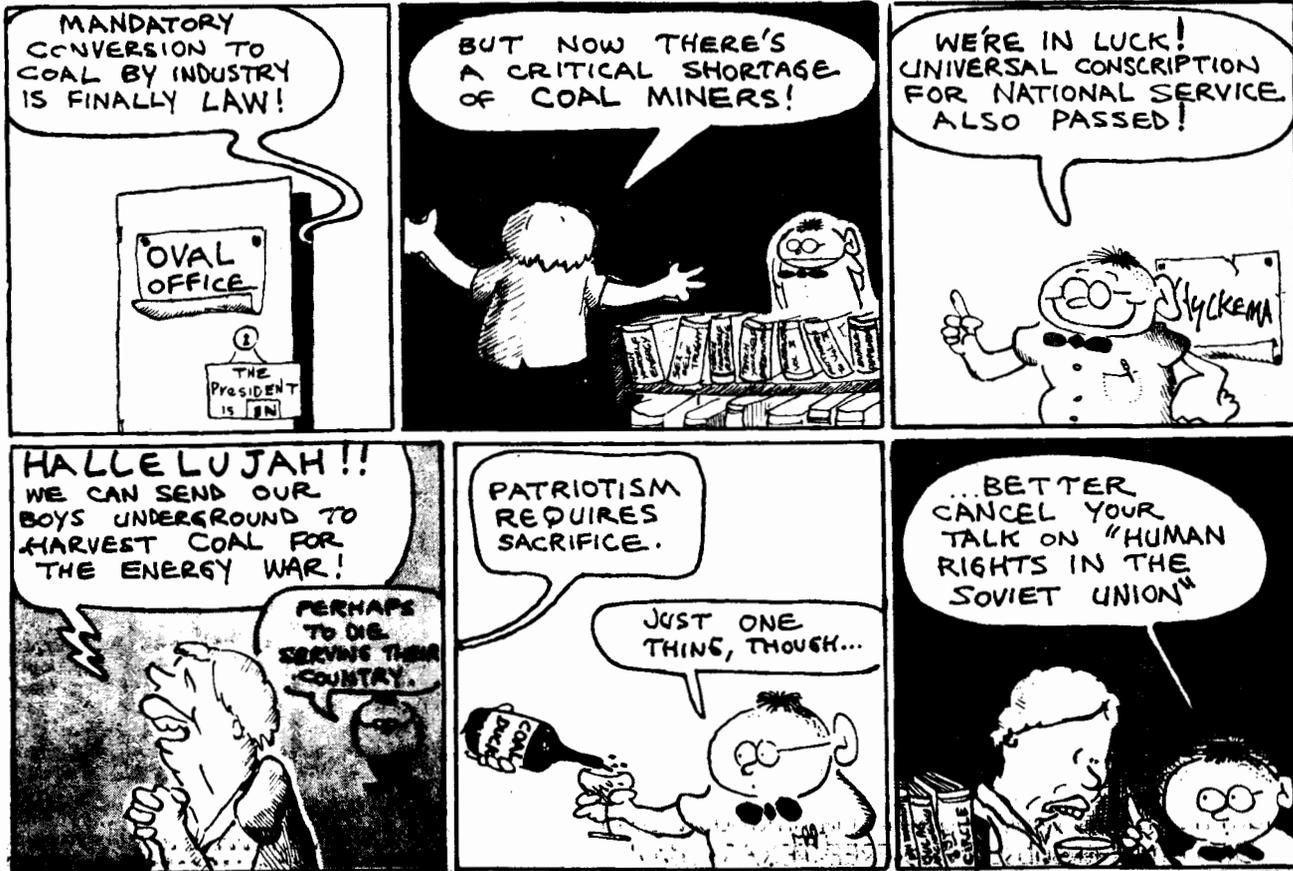
Throughout the twentieth century, from Wilson's and Roosevelt's World Wars and Truman's Cold War and Korean War to Kennedy's and Johnson's Vietnam, Carter's Democratic Party has been, preeminently, the Party of War. War often serves the purpose of Democrats, by expanding the size and power of government. Historically, the growth of the public sector — as Jeff Hummel shows in his brilliant article in this issue "War: The Greatest Threat to Liberty" — is tied to the rise of militarism and the advent of war.

THE ONLY socialism the Democratic Party is capable of bringing to America is war socialism, the guns-and-butter socialism of FDR, LBJ, and Jimmy Carter. The return of the Cold War is the only way the Democrats can increase government control of the domestic economy without antagonizing conservatives and Big Business. As Bruce Bartlett explains in *Inquiry*, "Faced with the horrifying prospect of a balanced federal budget, smart liberals are jumping on the defense bandwagon, knowing full well as much as conservatives want to balance the budget and cut taxes, they want to increase defense spending even more." In fact, these Cold War liberals — that Welfare/Warfare State coalition of Big Business, Big Labor, and the Pentagon "capitalists" of the military-industrial-academic complex, which has dominated the Democratic Party since the New Deal — "support the war economy as a solid application of Keynesian economic strategy," according to Seymour Melman in *The Permanent War Economy*.

With Carter taking the lead, and the Re-

publicans only urging him on, the return of the war economy is clearly at hand. Carter has accelerated the growth of government into every area of American society. He has fattened up the federal budget, particularly the military budget; imposed a "windfall profits tax", really a graduated excise tax penalizing the production of domestic crude oil and benefitting OPEC; and created two new monster bureaucracies, the Department of Education and the Department of Energy. Now, using the Mideast crisis as his excuse, Carter has added to his agenda gas rationing, crushing taxation, wage and price controls, a "no-growth" policy, and other forms of

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"national self-sacrifice" — like the draft — in short, the complete militarization and bureaucratization of American society.

CARTER'S GAME of force and fraud, of power politics played with American lives and dollars, is an old one. For centuries, inspired by the admonition in Shakespeare's *Henry IV* to "busy giddy minds with foreign quarrels", political rulers have distracted their subjects from their own mistakes by dramatizing an external threat.

The intertwining of domestic and foreign policy guarantees that the expansion of government control in one area insures the

when these selfsame political leaders led us into policies which saw taxes rising *fivefold*, from less than \$100 billion under Lyndon Johnson's first years, to half a trillion and more under Jimmy Carter, there were no calls to murder *them*."

Since the early part of this century, oil companies have been eager to use the State Department to get their oil. For decades, the U.S. government has been willing to intervene in the Middle East to secure cheap access to crude oil. Now Carter and Brzezinski and other members of the national security elite, like former Secretary of Defense and Energy Czar James Schlesinger,

must adopt domestic and foreign policies consistent with that end and not, as Schlesinger suggests, reshape our social system to fit and serve existing government policies. What we need to dismantle is not our freedom to buy and sell oil, but our interventionist institutions and policies themselves."

Thousands of years of history demonstrate that governments can do only two things well: start wars and inflate the currency. Howard Katz argues in his fascinating (but flawed) *The Paper Aristocracy* and *The Warmongers* that governments start wars *in order* to inflate the currency! Whatever we may finally conclude about that sobering and startling hypothesis, Libertarians should make clear in our 1980 campaign — as LP of Texas candidates David Hutzelman and Jeff Hummel make clear in their probing articles on energy and inflation in this issue — that **Government is the Problem, Not the Solution!**

AS THIS special "Government in Crisis" issue of FREE TEXAS is designed

to show, government is the cause of our energy and inflation problems. And **WAR IS NOT THE SOLUTION!**

Jimmy Carter's plan for war socialism must be resisted and defeated. As Murray Rothbard has affirmed, Libertarians have no enthusiasm for war or the moral equivalent of war. We don't want a healthy government and a sick people.

We must find the courage to oppose the war hysteria and government propaganda sweeping our society. We must present the facts about the ongoing crisis of statism to the American people, offering them the Libertarian alternative of a free demilitarized economy, a free prosperous society, and a free peaceful world.

Let us call upon all Americans who love their country to refuse Carter's demand that we sacrifice American blood for Mideastern oil!

(This article is dedicated to those libertarians who helped me to understand our present crisis: particularly Roy Childs, James Davidson, Jeff Hummel, Howard Katz, Justin Raimondo, and Murray Rothbard.)

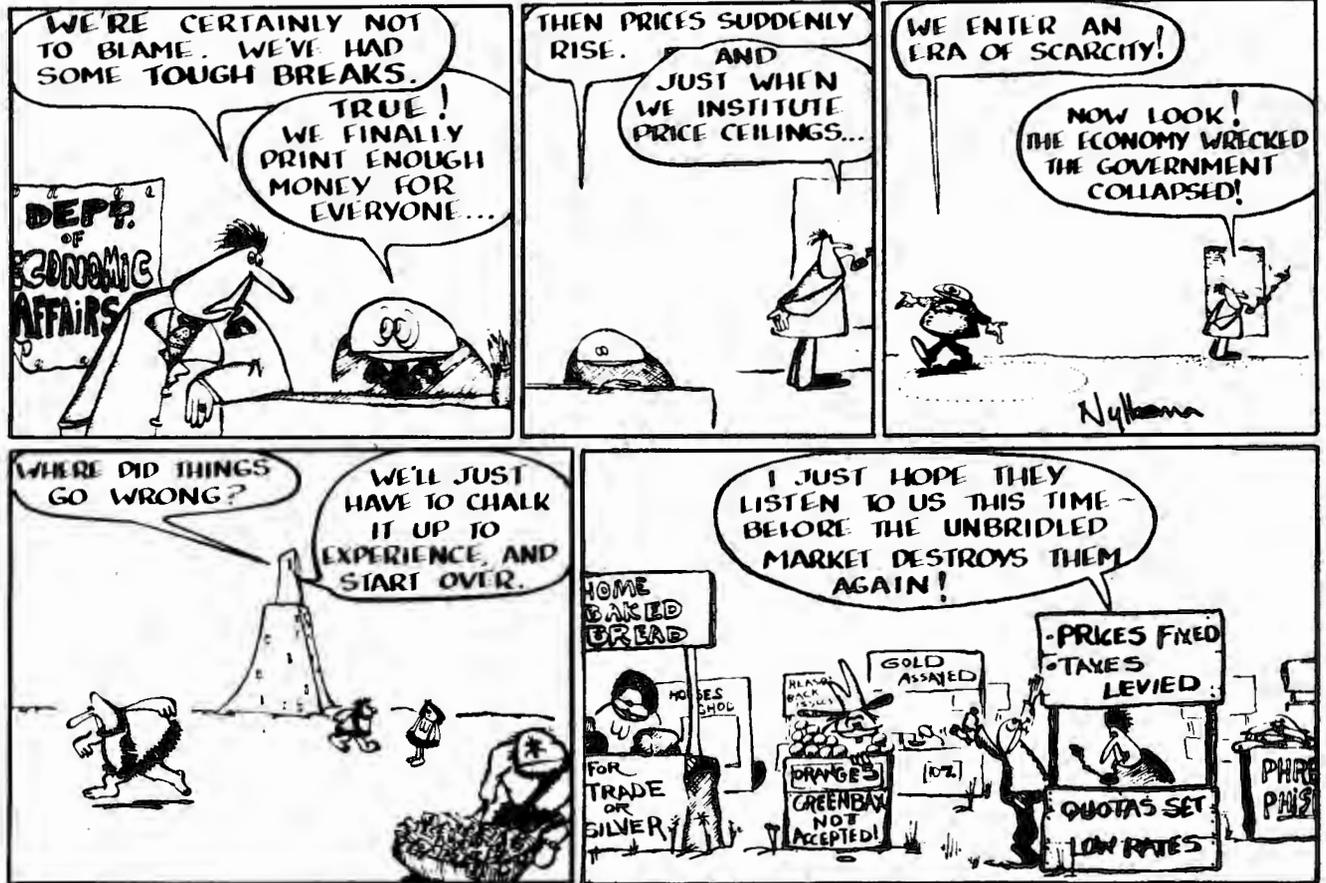
"Government is the cause of our energy and inflation problems —and war is not a solution! We should not sacrifice American blood for Mideastern oil."

expansion of control in the other. Increased government intervention abroad results in increased government intervention at home — and vice versa. Government-created inflation leads to an international energy crisis, which in turn, provides the rationalization for a Middle East war.

Carter is blaming inflation on the energy crisis, scapegoating the Arabs and the oil companies, but the truth is more nearly the exact opposite, as James Davidson, founder of the National Taxpayers Union, points out in *Reason* magazine: "The so-called 'energy crisis' . . . does not arise from a lack of oil, of which there is plenty, but from a glut of paper money. The Germans, with the world's largest monetary reserves and strongest economy, can buy all the oil they want. Their money is good. If our government kept the dollar sound, we'd have no problem either. But it hasn't and we do. The oil producers have lost money in the past because of our inflation and they don't want to be caught again. That is why OPEC stopped calculating prices in dollars."

AGAIN, Carter is trying to justify his new Cold War by pointing to America's "national interest" in, and dependence on, Middle Eastern oil — a dependence which Carter's own "moral equivalent of war" helped to create. As *Libertarian Review* editor Roy Childs commented, "One really must pause here for a moment and let all this sink in. Here are the supposed leaders of the 'free world,' having caused an energy crisis through decades of prices held artificially low, through irrational, stubbornly maintained price controls and a bizarre foreign policy which tried in the case of Israel and the Arab countries to have its cake and eat it too. And when Arab nations responded to this — and to Western inflation which had by then gone out of control — by raising prices to a more realistic level, these selfsame leaders threatened to *murder* them and their subjects, to send American boys off to be chewed up in pointless battle, *rather than to let prices rise*. Oil prices had risen fourfold. And yet

are planning for a war in the Middle East, pointing out, as does Schlesinger, that recent developments in oil interfere with



"the establishment of our foreign policy objectives."

AND SO they do, as libertarian Charles Koch points out in *The Energy Crisis*. "Schlesinger is right to see that a free market in oil conflicts with existing American foreign policy. But he is wrong to suggest that we abandon even more of our free enterprise system in order to preserve such policies. Why should we abandon freedom in the domestic economy for still further foreign adventurism and interventionism? If we intend to be a free society — if that is what America is truly about — then we

RUDEBARBS, a book collection of Hylkama's libertarian cartoons, can be ordered for \$4.95 from BOOKS IN FOCUS, Inc., 180 E. 38th St., Suite 318, New York 10018.

"We are facing a crisis in this country, a crisis brought on by government intervention in the economy and by an interventionist foreign policy working hand in hand. Our policy-making elites are beginning to reach a murderous consensus: that the way to solve the energy crisis is to *increase* government intervention in the energy industry, and to intervene more militantly in the Middle East and elsewhere to guarantee — by threat of *war* — American access to crude oil. The end result of these policies is going to be depression and war . . . It is only libertarianism which can provide policy recommendations which can save both freedom and peace from destruction."

—Roy A. Childs, Jr., Editor, *Libertarian Review*

NEXT ISSUE

Coming in the September FREE TEXAS:
A SPECIAL ISSUE

ON GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS.

Tibor Machan on THE MORAL FOUNDATIONS OF DEREGULATION. Michael Grossberg on GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS: Friends or Enemies? Jarret Wollstein on MONOPOLIES.

Also: A LOOK AT WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS. GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY. HOW TO PRIVATIZE GOVERNMENT SERVICES. WHAT ABOUT THE POOR? BALLOT DRIVE RESULTS!

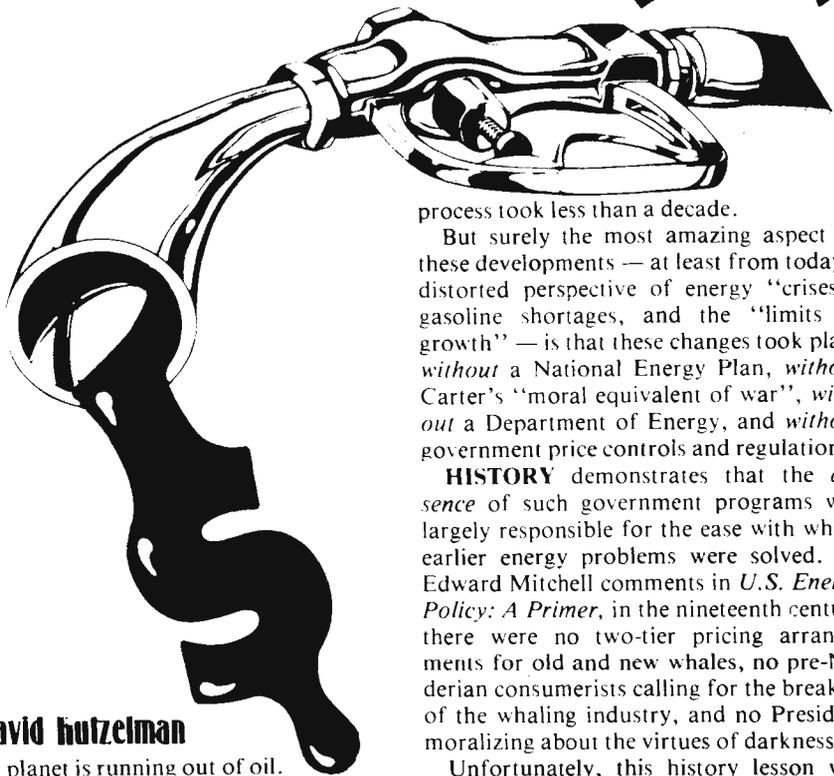
Plus regular columns by Robert Poole, Neil Smith, Jeff Hummel, Bill Howell, and Ann Hammond, MORE!

Don't miss it! Subscribe to FREE TEXAS today!



Col. Mauldin (L) of Fort Worth, Steve Briggs of Dallas, and Bill Mitchell of Austin listen attentively as LPT Ballot Drive Coordinator Allen Vogel (R) of Houston offers some tips on the petitioning process.

ENERGY CRISIS:



By David Hutzelman

Our planet is running out of oil. In America we have been consuming, at an increasing rate, an essentially non-renewable natural resource. At current consumption levels, the U.S. now has less than twenty years supply of proven crude oil reserves.

THESE are facts. But what is most alarming about these facts is that they should ever have become front page news, let alone the source of headlines about a supposed "energy crisis".

In fact, these "facts" have described America's domestic petroleum industry throughout the twentieth century!

To note that we are running out of oil is about as trivial, if true, as to note that we are running out of solar energy — because the sun will shine for only several more billion years!

FOR DECADES, the ruling elite in Washington have brought us bipartisan inflation and global intervention, deficit spending and increasing taxation, and an ever-tightening regulatory stranglehold on the productive forces of a free market economy — most recently including the new bureaucratic Leviathan, the Department of Energy. We don't have an energy crisis in this country. What we have is a crisis of Big Government!

Even before the discovery of petroleum, America had experienced other energy "crises". But, without the "help" of government controls and regulations, we managed to survive them.

In the early nineteenth century, whale oil was the principle source of energy for illumination. As the whale population was relentlessly hunted and slaughtered, this commodity rose rapidly in price, from 23¢ per gallon in the 1820's to \$1.45 per gallon in the 1860's, setting powerful but voluntary economic forces into motion.

THE FIRST low quality illumination replacement to appear was lard oil and camphene, refined from vegetable oil. During the 1840's, many families opted for coal gas. By the 1850's coal oil or kerosene became the primary illuminant, and by 1860 kerosene from crude oil had replaced the entire coal-based technology.

The technical innovation causing the progression from whale oil to camphene, lard oil, coal gas, coal oil, and finally crude oil-based kerosene were spurred on by one factor — the impersonal yet unflinching signal mechanism of a free market economy: the price system. During this period major industries arose to satisfy consumer demand for cheaper energy alternatives, only to be themselves replaced by further innovation. In the case of coal oil the whole

process took less than a decade.

But surely the most amazing aspect of these developments — at least from today's distorted perspective of energy "crises", gasoline shortages, and the "limits to growth" — is that these changes took place without a National Energy Plan, without Carter's "moral equivalent of war", without a Department of Energy, and without government price controls and regulations.

HISTORY demonstrates that the absence of such government programs was largely responsible for the ease with which earlier energy problems were solved. As Edward Mitchell comments in *U.S. Energy Policy: A Primer*, in the nineteenth century there were no two-tier pricing arrangements for old and new whales, no pre-Naderian consumerists calling for the breakup of the whaling industry, and no President moralizing about the virtues of darkness. Unfortunately, this history lesson was

prompting the Secretary of the Navy to call for nationalization of the oil industry as the only solution to the shortage. And in 1946 prominent economists urged extension of wartime energy controls to combat an imminent shortage.

As Jim Davidson of the National Taxpayers Union points out, "In every case reputable experts testified there was an incurable shortage. In every case these predictions were ludicrously wrong. In every case actual shortages of deliverable petroleum products were brought on by a combination of government controls and inflation. In every case elimination of controls not only stimulated production, but led to a decline in the real price of petroleum."

IT IS DUE to this last item — namely the decline of petroleum prices in the free market — that we have witnessed the sorry spectacle of the oil industry's incestuous relationship with these coercive anti-market mechanisms of the state. Ever since the discovery of massive cheaply produced crude oil reserves in the Middle East, the U.S. oil industry has attempted to manipulate the government in order to cartelize the industry and maintain artificially high prices.

"For decades, the ruling elite in Washington have brought us bipartisan inflation and global intervention, deficit spending and increasing taxation, and an ever-tightening regulatory stranglehold on the productive forces of a free market economy — most recently including the new bureaucratic Leviathan, the Department of Energy. We don't have an energy crisis in this country. What we have is a crisis of Big Government!"

lost on subsequent politicians who have regularly raised the spectre of imminent exhaustion of our energy resources. In 1866 the U.S. Revenue Commission proposed a synthetic fuels program for when "crude oil production ended". In 1891 the U.S. Geological Survey announced that America would soon run out of oil and that no oil would be found in Texas! In 1919 the same agency warned that the world oil supply would be exhausted in twenty years —

When voluntary efforts failed to restrict production during the Depression, the industry turned to such agencies as the Texas Railroad Commission, the Interstate Oil Compact Commission and even the State Department to keep suppliers and producers in line. In the name of "conservation", the Texas National Guard was sent into East Texas to shut in producing wells, and Congress passed the Connally Hot-Oil Act to prevent low-priced

"distressed" oil from crossing state lines to avoid pro-rationing regulations.

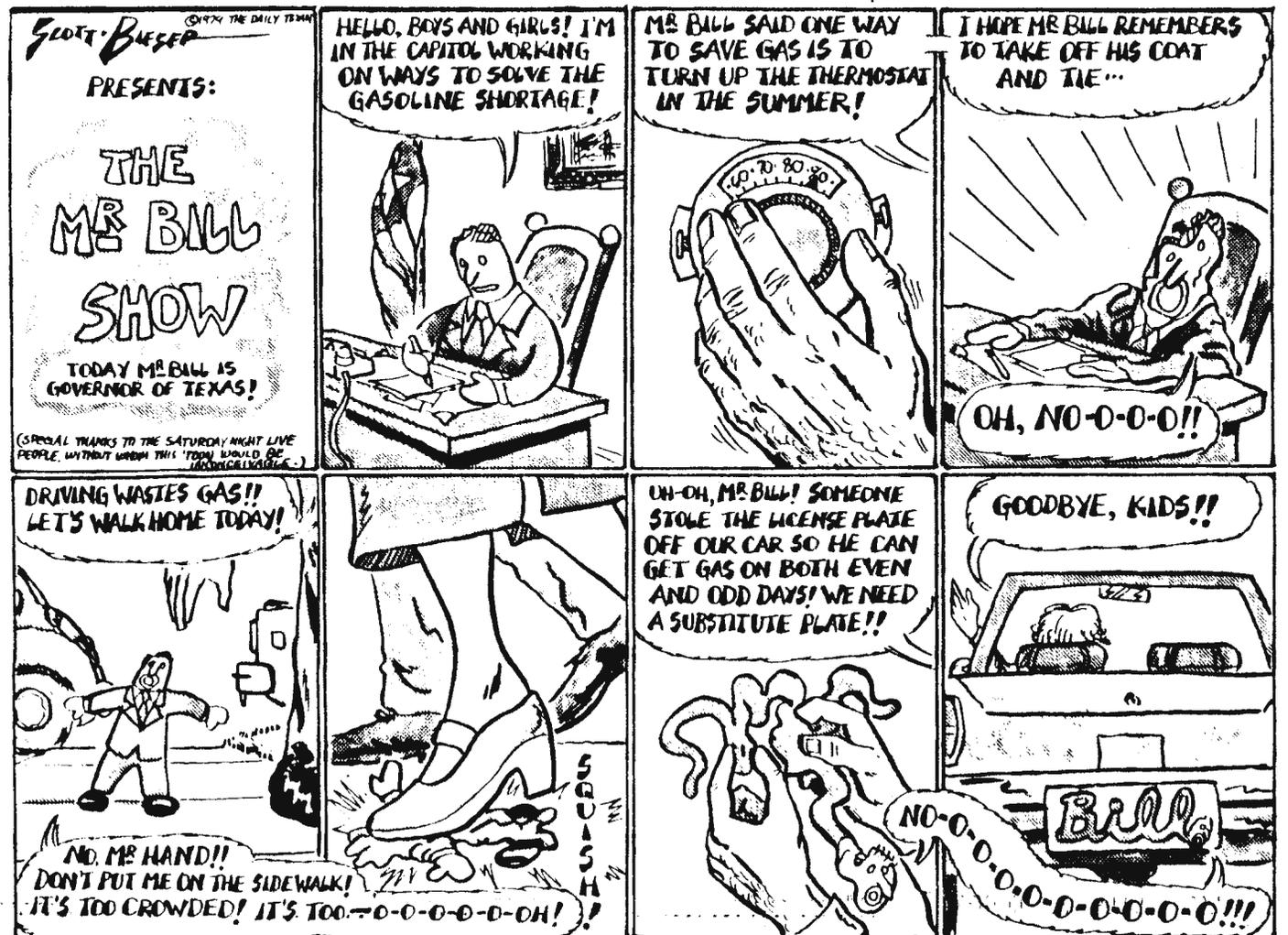
In the name of "national security", President Eisenhower imposed mandatory oil import quotas limiting the amount of low-priced foreign crude which could be brought into the country, thereby enriching domestic producers at the expense of American consumers. These regulations led James Blair to comment in his *The Struggle to Control Oil* that "the historic role of the federal government has not been to restrain the industry but to make more effective their exploitation of the public."

BUT THE OIL industry, like the railroad industry before them, underestimated the potential drawbacks to the regulatory Frankenstein they were creating and nourishing. Once the politicians became aware of the powerful scapegoating function offered by the industry for rising energy prices and the entirely separate phenomenon of inflation, these energy-related agencies multiplied and became new weapons in the arsenal of power-hungry bureaucrats and politicians.

The deluge of energy legislation over the past ten years is a classic example of government creating a problem with one type of regulation and then proposing to solve it with further interventionism.

For example, in 1971 President Nixon, under the guise of fighting inflation, imposed price controls on crude oil and gasoline that are still with us today. In response to the shortages caused by these controls the Federal Energy Administration put in place an allocation program based on outdated consumption data which amplified shortages and caused gasoline lines in the healthiest fastest-growing areas of the country — notably Texas and California.

THIS domestic shortage encouraged a more militant OPEC strategy of sharply increased crude prices. To offset the effect of these higher prices on foreign crude-dependent refiners, the government unveiled their "entitlements" programs which expropriated domestic crude from its rightful owners and diverted it to these foreign-supplied refiners.



Made in Washington

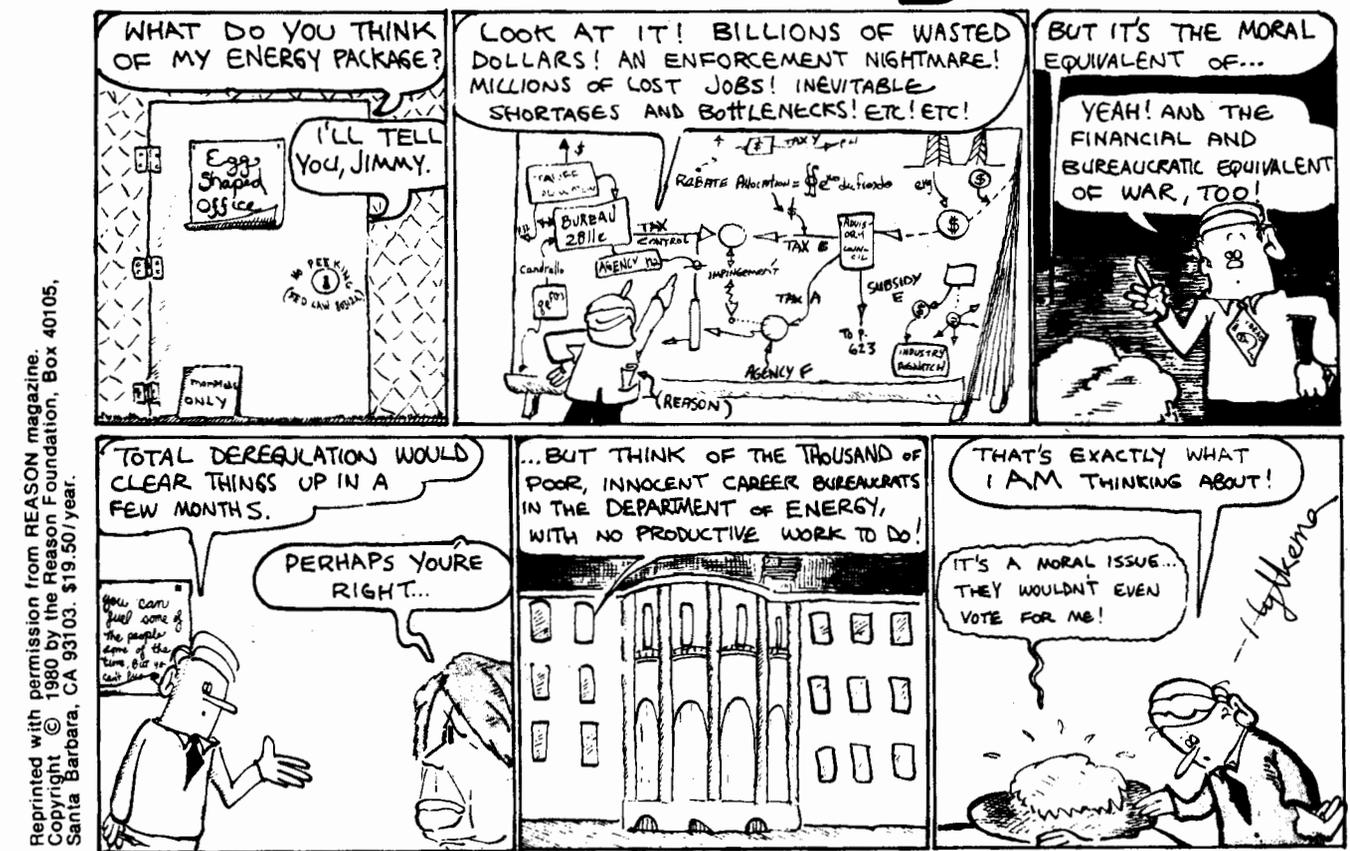
As a result of this program, obsolete refineries which had been dormant for years because of the high operating cost and relative inefficiency were suddenly re-opened to qualify for this redistributionist scheme. Those companies penalized by this program were placated by research grants from the Energy Research and Development Agency.

To consolidate this unmanageable proliferation of agencies and regulations, Congress then created the Department of Energy — whose annual budget exceeds the combined profits of all the major oil companies and which has yet to find or produce a single barrel of oil!

REGARDLESS of whether the State or the industry should take ultimate responsibility for this corrupt and shameful situation — and both Big Government and Big Oil can fairly be blamed — economist D.T. Armentano has clearly identified the long-range result: "The crazy quilt of regulatory privileges and punishments makes no economic sense but generates vast uncertainty and misallocation of energy resources. In short, business-generated interventionism has led inexorably to the present and perpetual energy crisis."

As the Libertarian Party candidate for Texas Railroad Commissioner (Unexpired Term), I will take every opportunity during my campaign to communicate these facts to the public and make the libertarian case for a free market in energy.

In my speeches, position papers, and press conferences, I will demonstrate that the market system is at the same time the most *moral* and *practical* system ever devised. *Moral* because the free market depends on *voluntary* exchanges and *voluntary* associations of individuals, without which morality has no meaning. *Practical* because it delivers the goods.



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WE MUST accept the fact that profits encourage technical innovation, energy exploration, and discovery of new resources. Notwithstanding the currently popular scapegoating of the oil companies — which have a lower average profit margin than the rest of American industry — the American people must begin to understand that profits are the just reward of those who correctly anticipate consumer preferences. As *Libertarian Review* editor Roy Childs reminds us, "The oil companies do not owe

it to anyone to deliver oil and gas on terms set down by the government; the people working and investing in them are not slaves to be ordered about by officious bureaucrats. They have rights to invest, produce and sell to whomever at a freely agreed price."

But as a Libertarian Party candidate, I will not rely on educational efforts alone.

do and the tar sands of Canada than there is in all the Middle East.

Only one third of the total oil in this planet has yet been found! Indeed, some respected geologists believe there is as much oil and gas waiting to be discovered and developed in this country as has been produced over the 120 years since oil was first found in the United States.

"As the Libertarian Party candidate for Texas Railroad Commissioner, I will take every opportunity during my campaign to demonstrate that the market system is at the same time the most moral and practical system ever devised. I will demand the sunseting of the most corrupt and obtrusive energy agencies: the Department of Energy and the Texas Railroad Commission."

—David Hutzelman

In my campaign, I will demand the following specific and immediate reforms:

- 1) A moratorium on all further energy legislation.
- 2) A proposal to exempt energy transactions from taxation and regulation.
- 3) Sunseting of the most obtrusive and offensive energy agencies: the Department of Energy and the Texas Railroad Commission (which will be reviewed under the Texas Sunset Act in 1981).

IN CONCLUSION, I want to emphasize some facts *not* publicized by the political demagogues, doomsday criers, and bureaucrats.

There is more oil in the shale of Colorado

CONSIDERING the history of our energy "crisis", and the potential for energy abundance in our future, John Blair, in *The Control of Oil*, observed, "the conclusion is not that the free market has failed. At least with regard to the petroleum industry it has yet to be tried."

All that we need to renew the American Dream of growth and abundance, of liberty and prosperity for all, is the liberation of the forces which can produce the energy we need: the human energies of free Americans.

(David Hutzelman is the LP candidate for Texas Railroad Commissioner, Unexpired Term. He lives in Houston with his wife Becky and their two children.)

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WAR: GREATEST THREAT

A historian, army veteran, and LP candidate

By Jeff Hummel

War is without doubt the greatest threat to liberty.

No other pretext has been a more important source for the growth of state power. As the classical liberal Randolph Bourne so poignantly put it, "War is the health of the state!"

NOT ONLY do governments, when they go to war, engage in the massive violation of the rights, often to the point of mass murder, of the private individuals living under the opposing government, but they also engage in the massive violation of rights of their very own citizens.

Almost without exception, the amounts that governments have spent on making

handle the financial chaos of the War of 1812. During the Civil War, not only did both the Union and Confederate governments resort to paper money inflation, but the banking system was finally permanently nationalized with the passage of the National Banking Act. Although the government's current central bank, the Federal Reserve, was not set up during the war, it first came into its own when financing World War I, which took place only a few years after its establishment.

Protective tariffs were first imposed during the War of 1812, while federal government aid to big businesses was first dispensed during the Civil War to the rail-

roads. I could go on endlessly. Even some of the measures that do not appear to have any immediate connection with war turn out, upon closer examination, to have had their genesis in war.

defended is totally unacceptable. Of course, libertarians are not the first to possess the moral sensitivity to notice some of the problems with war. Anti-war activists have perceived the moral nature of war for generations. Unfortunately, people have continued to allow their governments the power to wage war because of their fear of foreign governments.

The need for national defense has been greatly exaggerated. Because war is the health of the state, because citizens will endure much more from their governments when they fear a foreign threat, governments have a strong incentive to exaggerate the need for national defense.

Because the state is running a protection racket, it is very convenient for it to have an enemy around to protect people from. If no enemy really exists, the state will go out of its way to create one. An examination of history reveals that, in most cases of war between nation-states, *either* government could have easily avoided war with a rational, non-interventionist foreign policy. For example, during the history of the United States, *none* of the many wars that took place, dating back to the early colonial period, except for the American Revolution, was either justified or necessary. Every war prior to and every war since the American Revolution could have been avoided.

THIS MAY strike some readers as a startling claim, and unfortunately, I do not have the space in this article to document it. I must confine my evidence to one example, the Cold War, and that I will treat only briefly. For the other wars, I can only recommend the extensive literature written by revisionist historians who have amassed substantial evidence debunking the official justifications for these wars.

As for the Cold War, we are told that the Soviet Union has the intention and is fast acquiring the capability to take over the world. They neither have the intention nor the capability.

By denying that the Soviets have the intention of taking over the world, I do not mean to imply that the Soviet leaders would not answer affirmatively the question, "If you could rule the world by snapping your fingers, would you do so?", (if they answered honestly). However, if Jimmy Carter were given the same question and he answered it honestly, he would also answer yes. This desire for power is merely a general characteristic of all politicians,

rulers, and heads of state.

Nor do I mean to deny that the Soviet rulers are butchers, and that they have engaged in imperialism. They have not only continued the ruthless Czarist policy of imperial domination of the minority groups within the Soviet Union itself, but they have also fastened their rule over client states in Eastern Europe.

THIS SOVIET imperialism, however, has been limited to Soviet borders and has been very conservative, reflecting its essentially defensive characteristic. Since World War II, Soviet imperialism has been neither expansionistic nor revolutionary.

Even the takeover of Eastern Europe was a partial response to a U.S. initiative. It was the U.S. that first broke the war-time agreement on joint three-power occupation of the defeated and liberated nations by allowing Russia no role in the occupation of Italy. If the Soviet Union were hell-bent on world conquest, why after World War II did they willingly withdraw their occupation troops from Finland, eastern Austria, and northern Iran? Why did Stalin restrain the Communists in France, Greece, and Italy, although Communists had constituted the bulk of the resistance in all of those countries? Stalin also tried to hold back Tito in Yugoslavia and Mao in China, and force them into coalition governments, but they ignored him.

The invasion of Afghanistan fits the conservative and defensive pattern. Afghanistan has had a pro-Soviet ruler since 1919. It has had close military and economic ties to

"Taxation goes up and inflation worsens so governments can finance their wars, the citizens are kidnapped and enslaved and even forced to risk their lives through conscription, the economy is put under strict government control and regulation, and civil liberties all but disappear. In short, war is the health of the state."

war or preparing for war dwarfs their expenditures on all other things combined. Taxation goes up and inflation worsens so governments can finance their wars, the citizens are kidnapped and enslaved and even forced to risk their lives through conscription, the economy is put under strict government control and regulation, and civil liberties all but disappear. In short, the power of the state takes a quantum leap. This is the meaning of Bourne's statement.

In the history of the United States, many of the current statist measures which plague the people were originally adopted during times of war. The income tax was first employed during the Civil War, while the withholding feature, without which tax resistance would be far easier and far more widespread, was imposed during World War II.

CENTRAL BANKING, which assists the government in regulating the money stock and engineering inflation, was first attempted with the Bank of North America, established to help finance the Revolutionary War. The Revolutionary War was also the occasion of a government paper money inflation. The First Bank of the U.S., the government's second attempt at central banking, was justified in order to help finance the Revolutionary War debt, while the Second U.S. Bank was set up to

roads. I could go on endlessly. Even some of the measures that do not appear to have any immediate connection with war turn out, upon closer examination, to have had their genesis in war.

It is a popular myth among conservatives that the major leap in the growth of the federal government came with Franklin Roosevelt and his New Deal. In fact, most of Roosevelt's New Deal consisted of the continuation and expansion of policies initiated by Herbert Hoover. In addition, the growth of government under the Hoover-Roosevelt New Deal was quite marginal compared to the jump that government power took after Roosevelt succeeded in dragging the U.S. into World War II. Finally, to the extent that the New Deal did increase state power, war was indeed responsible, for all the salient features of the New Deal, especially the big business-big union-big government three-way partnership, were directly patterned upon the war collectivism of the War Industries Board and other government agencies created during World War I.

IN SHORT, there is no greater danger to human freedom than war as conducted by nation-states. Whatever else can be said about it, a form of national "defense" that murders innocent bystanders and sacrifices the liberty of the people supposedly being



LP CANDIDATE Jeff Hummel presents his case against military conscription, and Big Government to the Austin news media.



THREAT TO LIBERTY

candidate considers the Soviet threat



years later neither side has mastered. Yet here we are again, in the early 80's, being told that the U.S. is falling behind in the arms race.

WE ARE TOLD, for instance, that Soviet missiles far exceed U.S. missiles in throw-weight: 9 million pounds to 3½ million pounds. What we are *not* told is that the Russians need more throw-weight because they have inferior, non-miniaturized guidance systems and heavier, more primitive bombs. Further, if long-range nuclear bombers are included, then the U.S. has the advantage in throw-weight: 25 million pounds to 14 million pounds.

We are told that the Soviet missiles exceed U.S. missiles in equivalent megatonnage: 4450 to 2290. What is ignored is that only 400 equivalent megatons would destroy 70 percent of the Russian population. Again, if you add bombers, the U.S. leads: 6700 equivalent megatons to 4905.

We are told that the U.S.S.R. leads the U.S. in numbers of missiles: 2348 to 1710, and this superiority does not disappear when bombers are added. But again, what we are not told is that the number of launchers has no meaning with MIRVed (Multiple Independently-targeted Reentry Vehicles) warheads. The number of warheads means the number of targets, and in this measure the U.S. has always led and

“In the early 50's, Americans were told about a bomber gap. The bomber gap turned out to be a myth. In the early 60's, Americans were told of a missile gap. This turned out to be another myth. Yet here we are again, in the early 80's, being told that the U.S. is falling behind in the arms race.”

still leads the Soviet Union. 11,000 to 7,500 if you include bombers and 7,274 to 7,230 if you do not. In addition, this count completely omits tactical nuclear weapons, of which the U.S. has 22,000 scattered around the world, including 7,000 in Europe, in contrast to the Soviet Union's 3,500.

We are told that the Soviets with their new SS-18 now have a missile so accurate that it can hit our Minuteman and Titan missile silos and thus deliver a debilitating first strike. The SS-18 is indeed an awesome weapon. If reports about it are accurate, it can carry one 18 to 25 megaton warhead or 8 MIRVed 600 kiloton warheads a

REVISIONIST HISTORY

A suggested reading list

- Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*
By Harry Elmer Barnes
- The Roots of War*
By Richard Barnet
- Cover Up: The Politics of Pearl Harbor*
By Bruce Bartlett
- The Price of Defense*
By The Boston Study Group
- The High Priests of Waste*
By Edward Fitzgerald
- The Cold War and Its Origins*
By D.F. Fleming
- The Cloud of Danger*
By George Kennan
- Why the Futile Crusade?*
By Leonard Liggio
- The Permanent War Economy*
By Seymour Melman
- National Suicide*
By Anthony Sutton
- The Origins of the Second World War*
By A.J.P. Taylor
- Shattered Peace: The Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State*
By Daniel Yergin

distance of over 6000 miles with a Circular Error Probable (CEP — the radius within which one half of the warheads are expected to fall) of between .25 and .12 nautical miles.

YET, IS this information reliable? Remember, it has been given to us by the same

the Soviet Union since 1956. And it has had an outright Communist government since 1978. In fact, the Soviets intervened to overthrow a Communist who was too radical for them and was alienating the people, and replace him with a more moderate Communist! This does not justify the Russian invasion, but it makes it clear that Afghanistan is not some new domino falling to the enemy.

INDEED, if intervention in the affairs of foreign countries is taken as the measure of intent to rule the world, then the U.S. is a much greater threat to the U.S.S.R. than vice versa. U.S. hostility to the Soviet Union has been manifest since 1918, when the U.S. joined Britain and the other allies in a military intervention into Russia to help the Whites in their struggle against the Bolsheviks.

Since World War II, U.S. intervention, in marked contrast to that of the Soviets, has encompassed the entire globe, stretching to the very borders of the U.S.S.R. In 1962, President Kennedy aroused the country about Soviet missiles in Cuba, 90 miles from the U.S. — when for years the U.S. had had missiles pointed at the Soviet Union in Greece and Turkey, the latter of which is right on Russia's border.

A Brookings Studies Institute entitled *Force Without War* finds that from World War II to 1975, the U.S. government used

or threatened military force to achieve political ends throughout the globe an incredible total of 215 times! And this catalogue excludes large scale interventions for direct military objectives, like the Korean war, non-military intervention like the Marshall Plan, and covert operations like the CIA coup in Iran. Out of these 215 incidents, 33 involved a threat to use nuclear weapons. During the same period, the Soviet Union engaged in 115 similar incidents, about half as many.

SO FAR I have addressed Soviet intentions. But Soviet capabilities have also been highly exaggerated.

Hindsight reveals that throughout the arms race official claims about Soviet military capabilities have been gross overestimated. In the early 50's, Americans were told about a bomber gap. The bomber gap turned out to be a myth. In fact, the U.S. lead in bombers was so great that the Soviets just gave up that contest.

In the early 60's Americans were told of a missile gap. This turned out to be another myth, with the real missile gap being the other way in favor of the U.S. In fact, the Air Force had to revise its estimates of Soviet missiles downward to 3.5 percent of the original figures. During the early 70's, the U.S. began to MIRV its warheads to counter the alleged Soviet anti-ballistic missile capability, a capability that ten

people who gave us the bomber and missile gap. They do not have an SS-18 they can personally test, and they have already been forced to lower their warhead yield estimates from their first reports which gave 50 megatons for the single warhead version and 2 megatons for the MIRVed version. Furthermore, unlike most U.S. missiles, which are solid-fueled, the SS-18 is liquid-fueled, making it about 75 percent reliable. If the Soviets tried to improve their chances in a first strike by sending more than one warhead at each target, they have the additional problem of “fratricide”, in which the explosion of the first

(Continued on page 20)



The Solar Energy Alternative

By Bill Howell

We hear a lot these days about solar power. As an energy source, the sun has several advantages: its supply is not controlled by any cartel or government; it doesn't pollute the environment; it presents no dangers from radiation leakage; it will not be exhausted for billions of years; and it is almost free.

THAT'S a very large "almost", however. There is a cost involved in constructing solar cells and batteries. As the supply of fossil fuels declines — or the greed of state-backed cartels controlling them increases — the resulting increase in price can make even a relatively inefficient solar cell economically viable.

Even today, it is feasible for people in southern areas of the country, like Texas, to reduce their gas or electric bill by using solar power for water heating. As solar cell and battery technology advances (spurred by, and at the same time as, rising costs for utility bills) it will make economic sense for more people to convert all the energy use in their homes (or apartment complexes, office buildings, and factories) to solar power. The cells could be set up on their own property, making people independent of the existing energy distribution network and its monopolies.

TO MOST people, this would seem like a bright prospect indeed. Fossil fuels could be conserved or used for chemicals instead of power generation. There would be no more Three Mile Islands (or worse disasters). A major source of pollution would disappear. Not least, homeowners and businesses would no longer be at the mercy of politicians granting rate increases at whim to power companies with government-enforced monopolies.

Those power companies, however, look on this possibility with horror. They foresee (correctly) their government-guaranteed market and profits slipping away.

In a free market — unlike the mixed economy we have today — when technology advances, businesses must either change their operations or suffer a loss in profits as their more flexible competitors pass them by. The marketplace has no mercy on firms that resist change and hold to tradition in the face of new developments that can cut prices to consumers. Only by using government force can some companies guarantee their markets and profits.

ELECTRIC companies have been one of the worst offenders in this regard. Faced with the threat of economic obsolescence, these monopolies are unwilling to change their policies. Instead, they are already pushing a new plan to keep themselves in

business by restricting competition still more.

The first step is a huge program (either taxpayer-guaranteed or taxpayer-funded) to put several solar power satellites in orbit. These satellites would collect solar energy, turn it into microwaves, and beam it back to earth to collection centers. (The safety of the people and animals — and even the atmosphere — in the beam path is currently being hotly debated, but this doesn't seem to bother the planners.) From there electricity would be sent out over the existing power transmission network.

To require people to use this very indirect source of solar power instead of installing their own solar cells, the utilities will push for regulations such as urban zoning and rural land use controls to prevent "unsightly" solar cells on people's own property. The result will be to keep most people paying whatever the politicians and power companies want to charge them for electricity.

LIBERTARIANS need to be aware of this pork-barrel proposal for economic entrenchment of the utility monopolies and oppose it at every chance. By objecting

loudly and longly now, before these schemes actually begin, we may be able to head them off.

The key is not to just object to the inefficiency of the plan, but rather to take a firm moral stand that the politicians and power companies have no right to make our decisions for us.

We must act now to control our own future — or the privileged special interests will seize it from us.

(Bill Howell is an at-large member of the LP National Committee. He is running for State Representative, District 33Q, in Dallas.)

ENERGY: THE CREATED CRISIS

by Antony C. Sutton

If You Think The Energy Crisis Is A Hoax...
You're Right!

"The Energy Crisis is A Snare And A Delusion. Worse, It's A Hustle."
—The Wall Street Journal

"Antony C. Sutton has amassed facts and opinions that support the claim of his book's title. He blames the DOE, Department of Energy—surely a worthwhile target—as well as politicians, social engineers, environmental dreamers and the multi-national oil companies."
—Barrons

At last! Here's the down-to-earth truth about the so-called energy crisis. Professor Antony C. Sutton, one of the country's leading economic-political analysts, has written a bombshell of a book that gives us honest answers...answers to questions such as these:

- Why do we have an energy crisis?
- Who is actually responsible?
- Where and how large are our nation's energy resources?
- Which forms of energy are available right now?
- When can we expect our energy problems to worsen?

In this daring, breakthrough work, Sutton shows how the energy companies, in collusion with elements of our government, have caused the "crisis." By locking up vast domestic resources that could have prevented our current national dilemma—resources such as American coal, which could supply our energy needs for 1,000 years! And where deliberate, corrupt energy manipulation leaves off, incredible government mis-management takes over!

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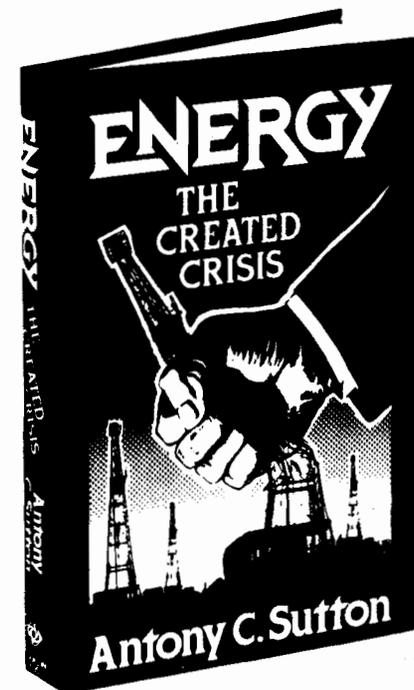
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About the Author: Antony C. Sutton is widely regarded as one of the leading economic-political writers of our time. Among his previous nine books, he is most noted for his classic three-volume work, *Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development*.



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FT

LIBERTARIAN LAWS

Pro is to con as progress is to Congress.

In any city, when the number of lobbies exceeds the number of buildings, you can be sure it is a capital of local, state, or federal government.

Preston Sturges, the director and screenwriter, in the prologue to his 1944 film "The Great Moment":

"One of the most charming characteristics of Homo sapiens — the wise guy on your left — is the consistency with which he has stoned, crucified, burned at the stake, and otherwise rid himself of those who consecrated their lives to his further comfort and well-being so that all his strength and cunning must be preserved for the creation of ever larger monuments, memorial shafts, triumphal arches, pyramids, and obelisks to the eternal glory of generals on horseback, tyrants, usurpers, dictators, politicians, and other heroes who led him, usually from the rear, to dismemberment and death."

Nuclear Power: Pro and Con

By Richard Ebeling

The nuclear power issue has taken on a growing importance in the face of ever rising oil prices, dangers of Middle Eastern war and the uncertainty of nuclear plant safety in the wake of the Three Mile Island crisis.

For libertarians the questionable safety of existing nuclear power facilities should be no surprise, given the sheltered and privileged position the nuclear industry has increasingly enjoyed since the end of World War II. Having to meet neither the market test of profitability nor the market test of safety through market-generated insurance coverage, the nuclear industry has operated in a never-never land of "cost-plus" and minimum government safety standards.

FUNDAMENTALLY, the issue is not one of being "for" or "against" nuclear power in some absolute sense, but rather an insistence that nuclear companies, like any other business on a free market, prove their profitability through voluntary exchange and be bound by strict liability against any and all potential damage to life and property. Under present circumstances, it is highly questionable whether nuclear industry could pass either requirement if the Interventionist State were to withdraw its protection and support.

Though a systematic libertarian study of the nuclear issue is still to be written, the last couple of years have seen the publication of a few books that, although penned from most definitely non-libertarian perspectives, do touch upon and analyze a sizable number of the relevant issues and offer in some instances a useful storehouse of information on the topic.

Irrevy, an Irreverent, Illustrated View of Nuclear Power by John Gofman argues the danger of nuclear power under all circumstances. Even the most carefully designed techniques for the provision of nuclear power are far from foolproof, he insists, both in the running of the installations and in the elimination of nuclear waste. Gofman reminds the reader of the "irreversibility" of the nuclear decision, for once in use any human damage due to radiation can never be reversed.

HE ALSO discusses the various rationalizations and motivations behind the support and defense of nuclear power by government agencies, showing their general focus on short-run job and income security.

Finally, Gofman sees a definite link between limiting the power of the government and ending nuclear power construction.

No Nukes, Everyone's Guide to Nuclear Power by Anna Gyorgy and Friends offers a detailed breakdown of the nature, economics and alternatives to nuclear power. It presents in layman's terms an extended account of the workings and safety factors involved in nuclear-supplied energy. It convincingly discusses the dollars and cents of nuclear production and demonstrates that without government subsidization and regulatory privileges the industry would almost assuredly find it impossible to operate profitably on the free market. It offers energy alternatives and points out the worldwide dangers from government supported nuclear construction.

The New Tyranny by Robert Jungk, though arguing like Gofman on the basic unsafety of nuclear power, is more concerned with the wider political and cultural ramifications involved. To overcome the safety problems as well as to diminish any social resistance to nuclear power, the State

is more and more coming to enlist totalitarian tactics. The necessity for an "atomic-technocratic" elite is developing that would place decisions completely outside the citizenry's control. He feels that governmental responses to terrorist activities in an environment of nuclear proliferation will bring about total State control of social and economic events.

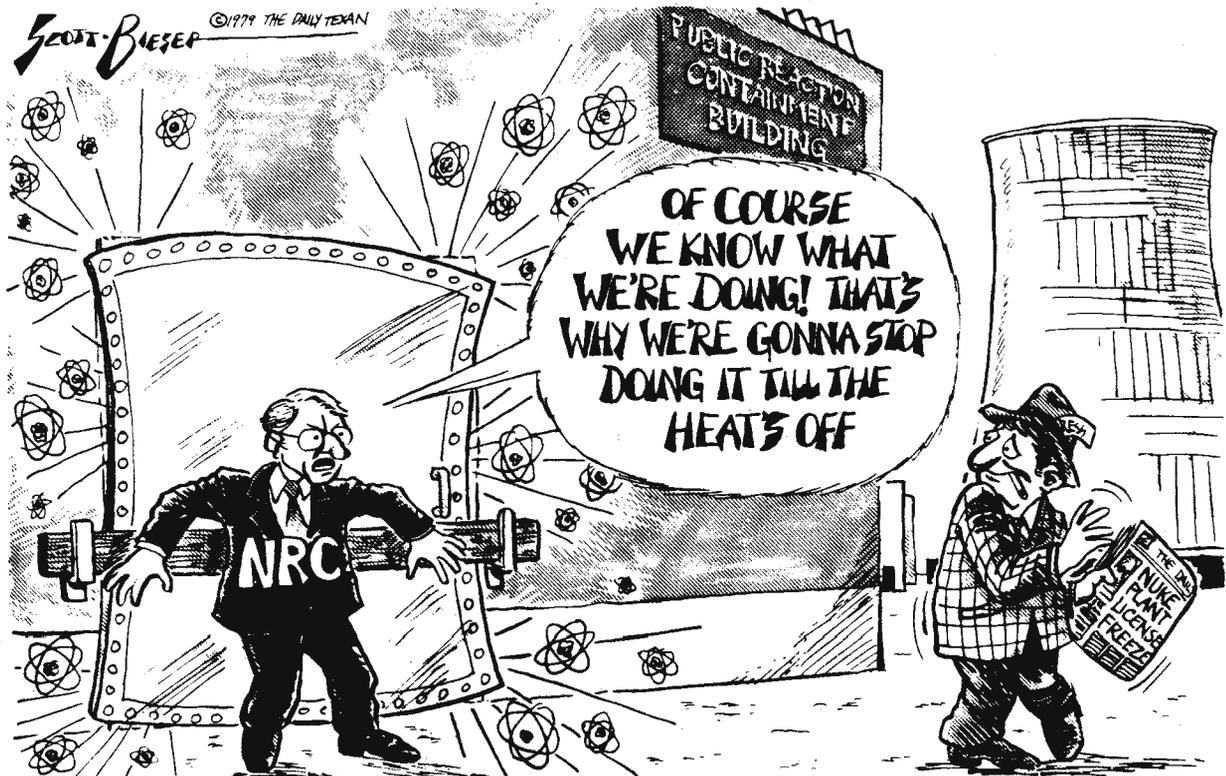
THE CASE for nuclear power is made in Petr Beckman's **The Health Hazards of Not Going Nuclear**. He argues that the standard by which nuclear power should be judged is not whether it is absolutely safe but rather whether nuclear power is more or less safe in relation to other energy sources — and Beckman concludes that nuclear power is safer than the alternatives. He insists that the production and waste-disposal problems argued by nuclear opponents are either non-existent or not as serious as claimed; and he downplays the fears about nuclear terrorism and blackmail.

A similar case is made in a wider context by Antony Sutton in **Energy: The Created Crisis**. Analyzing the facts about oil availa-

bility, he insists that the concerns that the earth is going dry are unfounded and proceeds to show that the energy problems of the past decade have all been caused by the State in cooperation with special business interests. He also insists that nuclear energy is safe and attributes opposition to it to the standard anti-business, anti-capitalist intellectuals.

FINALLY, the July/August 1979 special issue of **Libertarian Review** brings together such libertarian notables as D. T. Armentano, Roy Childs, David Henderson, Leonard Liggio, Murray Rothbard and others for a series of articles on the domestic and foreign consequences of government intervention into energy production and the importance of freeing the marketplace to assure solutions to the problem.

(Richard Ebeling is a free market economist of the "Austrian" school working at the Center for Libertarian Studies. This essay has been reprinted, in abridged form, from the Laissez Faire Books Catalog and Review. Books reviewed can be ordered from Laissez Faire Books, 206 Mercer Street, New York, New York 10012.)



A civil libertarian looks at nuclear power

By Ira Glasser

(The following article, by the Executive Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, is a controversial and thought-provoking attempt to begin exploring the nuclear energy debate from the perspective of concern for our civil liberties.)

We are not for or against nuclear energy. Our concern is with the violations of constitutional rights that could occur as public controversy about nuclear energy mounts.

OUR SOLE GOAL is to alert people to such violations and to government's justification for them. We do not want constitutional rights to be a casualty of the debate over nuclear energy.

There are two kinds of issues involving civil liberties and energy policy. The first kind traditionally arises during any major political or social controversy, and encompasses such familiar violations of individual rights as political surveillance, search and seizure, and loyalty/security programs.

Police surveillance of protest demonstrations against nuclear energy, for example, is reminiscent of recent surveillance of the civil rights and anti-war movements. In this respect, there is nothing unique about the threat to civil liberties posed by the nuclear energy controversy.

However, the issue of nuclear energy seems likely to produce much stronger justifications for political surveillance, illegal search and seizure, and the institution of widespread loyalty/security programs because of the tremendous danger involved in nuclear power.

THE POTENTIAL for terrorism against nuclear energy plants and the potential danger that could result from the theft of nuclear materials has already created a powerful rationale for extraordinary security measures. Such claims of national security have always been used to institute overbroad and excessive surveillance, and there are already indications that such surveillance, both by public police agencies and private security forces, is extensive and may become more extensive than similar surveillance in the past.

In addition, proposals have already been made to institute routine searches of everyone connected with nuclear plants in order to provide complete protection against possible theft of nuclear materials. Finally, serious proposals have been made to institute unprecedented loyalty/security programs for the same reason.

THE NUCLEAR Regulatory Commission published proposed regulations in March 1977 which, if enacted, would have

instituted a loyalty/security program far more extensive and far more capable of abuses of traditional civil liberties than even the loyalty/security program of the post-World War II era.

The commission's proposed regulations would have authorized FBI-type field investigations into the character and political associations of everyone employed by or connected with nuclear industry. These kinds of investigations have in the past been limited to the highest public officials with access to the most sensitive classified information.

THE PREMISE that underlies such extraordinary proposals is that nuclear materials and nuclear energy are potentially so dangerous that traditional liberties and traditional limits on government power must be waived.

Such a premise raises the real possibility that traditional liberties themselves may turn out to be one of the prices we have to pay to maintain energy independence. It is important for civil libertarians to be alert to that argument and to be prepared to resist it.

The second kind of civil liberties issue is less traditional, but involves possible violations of the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment.

CLOSELY RELATED is the right of informed consent. If the government wanted to conduct experiments involving exposure to radiation, it could not force one hundred citizens to take part in such dangerous experiments. Traditional law would require that participants in such experiments be afforded the right to a fully informed consent prior to participation. That right would include the right to full technical information and a candid assessment of risk.

However, when the government initiates, encourages, enables or regulates nuclear installations such as Three Mile Island, it in effect subjects the surrounding populace to precisely these kinds of experimental risks and hazards without affording any right of informed consent.

IN FACT, the traditional secrecy surrounding nuclear energy appears to affirmatively withhold from the people possibly affected the information they would require in order to consent to the risks.

(This essay has been reprinted, in abridged form, from Civil Liberties, the national monthly of the A.C.L.U. Basic membership in the A.C.L.U. is \$20 a year. For information, write Texas C.L.U., 600 West 7th Street, Austin, TX 78701.)

A Libertarian Foreign Policy

By Joseph Stromberg

Non-intervention is the application of libertarianism to foreign affairs.

Since our philosophy calls for the use of force only in self-defense against those who violate the rights of individuals to their life, liberty or justly acquired property, libertarian principles call on the American government to restrict its use of force in international relations to repelling actual attacks on the United States itself.

Unlike liberals and conservatives who argue over how much aid of what kinds should be sent to which oppressive regimes abroad, or exactly where American military might should be applied, libertarians reject the whole notion of a U.S. role as either world policeman or a do-gooder busybody.

NON-INTERVENTION, sometimes called neutrality or political "isolationism", was a strong tendency in American foreign policy until this century. It was well regarded by the men of our revolutionary era as they faced the concrete tasks of charting sound policy in a world of great power rivalry and large empires — a world much like our own.

Our first President, George Washington, enunciated the non-interventionist viewpoint in his celebrated Farewell Address to the American people, in 1796. He urged his countrymen to avoid sentimental attachments to and partiality toward any foreign nations, since such unrealistic ideas would promote U.S. involvement in wars unrelated to our true interests. While maintaining liberal and impartial commercial relations with the nations of the world, America ought to "have with them as little political connection as possible," Washington said.

This philosophy of cosmopolitan neutrality, embracing free cultural and commercial exchange, reflected the peace-loving individualist liberalism of 1776. It was reiterated and implemented by John Adams, our second President; and Thomas Jefferson, in his first Inaugural Address, in 1801, called for "peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none."

AND SO it went. Non-intervention, despite serious lapses, was the major theme in American foreign relations up to 1898, and even to 1917. Libertarians believe it to be the essential tenet of sound policy now, as then.

Libertarians consider complete and unfettered trade and exchange with all peoples, and total abstention from meddling in their affairs, as the path most productive of immediate and long-run world peace and prosperity.

Libertarians see an intimate connection between complete free trade and world peace. We believe that all restrictive measures such as tariffs and quotas, aside from injuring American consumers, can only provoke hostility from the countries most affected. It is no accident that both world wars followed periods of galloping neo-mercantilism and virtual economic warfare.

THE DAMAGE done to our own country by meddling in such conflicts is incalculable. To begin with, there is the loss of life and limb among those sent to fight — usually after being drafted — half-way around the world from their homes for incomprehensible causes.

There are also grave costs to our prosperity. All the talk of "war booms" notwithstanding, it is obvious that the expenditure of vast sums upon sheer destruction necessarily reduces the people's standard of living below what it would otherwise have been and redirects human endeavors away from life-enhancing channels.

Less obvious, but of critical long-run significance, are the institutional changes brought about by the imperial role into

which the past few Presidents have cast our country. War critics have warned again and again that our freedoms could not survive "perpetual war for perpetual peace," from Charles Pinckney reminding the Constitutional Convention that military adventures have always undermined Republican forms of government, to Robert Taft, Sr., William Fulbright, and others repeating the warning in our own time.

THE INCARCERATION of the Japanese-Americans in World War II; executive "emergency powers" that are never rescinded; innumerable special economic controls; outrageous taxation; nearly runaway inflation — all derive from the "hot and cold" war posture in effect since 1940.

That policy has also brought us inflationary recessions, Watergate, CIA/FBI surveillance of everything that moves, the squandering of taxpayers' money on every despotic regime on earth, and the restoration of legalized impressment, the very system of "draft" slavery from which so many of our ancestors fled.

Thus, the people suffer, but the Executive, the bureaucracy, the generals and the admirals revel in the glory of it all. It is time to end their little games, played with our lives, property, and liberties.

AMERICA cannot and should not police the globe with sermon and sword, but she can be a model of a free and peaceful society

by creating what historian Charles Beard called "the open door at home."

As noninterventionists, libertarians believe that free and productive Americans, provoking no one, can be counted on to defend their lives and property in the event of actual attack on the United States, and that this fact will deter any such attack.

Prepared to defend a homeland, but not to build an Empire, we need not fear the enemies of liberty, whether foreign or domestic.

(This essay, reprinted here in abridged form, was written by Joseph Stromberg, a historian at the University of Florida, as an official position paper of the Libertarian Party.)

MODERN WAR IS NO ACCIDENT

This startling new book reveals the link between a manipulated paper money economy and war...and it points a finger at those who are leading us to war right now:

THE WARMONGERS

by Howard S. Katz

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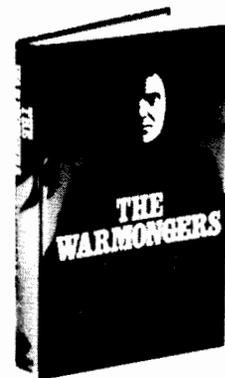
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ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Howard S. Katz has written extensively on economics and history. He has edited financial newsletters and journals,—and authored two previous books, published by Books In Focus:

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INFLATION:

By Jeff Hummel

With prices soaring at a rate of nearly 20 percent every year, inflation has become the number one economic problem troubling the American people. Yet, many Americans understand neither the cause of nor the cure for inflation. Most of the solutions promoted by politicians are even worse than the problem.

IN ORDER to understand the cause of inflation, one must first fix firmly in mind the crucial distinction between *relative prices* and the *price level*. The failure to grasp this fundamental distinction lies at the root of nearly all the false diagnoses of inflation. Inflation, as it is popularly defined (and I am not going to quibble with the popular definition), is a rise in the price level. A change in relative prices, in contrast, takes place when the price of one particular good rises or falls relative to the prices of other goods.

In a market economy, relative prices change continuously in order to adjust to changes in scarcity, preferences, technology, and other real factors. For instance, assume that a new craze for hoolahoops strikes the public. Assume further that consumers finance their purchases of new hoolahoops by no longer buying frisbees, which have gone out of fashion. Obviously, the relative price of the two goods will change, with frisbees falling in price relative not only to hoolahoops but to everything else while the relative price of hoolahoops will rise.

THERE is no reason for such a shift in relative prices to alter the price level. In fact, the adjustment of relative prices can occur regardless of what the price level is doing. The price level can either fall, remain constant, or rise. If the price level is rising, this would only mean that the absolute price of hoolahoops would have to rise higher than prices generally, while the price of frisbees would rise less or perhaps still fall. It would clearly be absurd in this case to attribute the rise in the general price level to the rise in the price of hoolahoops. Unfortunately, many widely accepted explanations for inflation are no more sensible. They blame inflation on factors that, in reality, affect only or primarily relative prices.

One extremely popular claim, especially among liberals, is that OPEC is responsible for our current inflation. OPEC undoubtedly has caused a dramatic four-fold jump in the price of oil. This increase in oil's relative price, incidentally, follows a period of 25 years during which the price of oil was falling relative to other goods. With a higher relative price for oil, consumers who now spend more on oil must spend less on other goods and services. The money to pay higher oil prices must, after all, come from somewhere. Why should this reallocation of consumer spending cause prices in general to rise? Both Germany and Japan, which are 100 percent de-

pendent on foreign oil, have experienced a decline in their rates of inflation since the OPEC price hikes: from 7 to 5 percent a year in Germany and from 30 to 5 percent in Japan.

SOME CONSERVATIVES like to blame labor unions for inflation. Labor unions, because of their special privileges from the state, do have a pernicious impact on the economy, but they do not cause inflation. If labor unions worked as their advocates assert, all unions could do is raise the price of labor relative to other factors of production. In actuality, labor unions, to the extent that they have any effect on wages, raise the wages of the members relative to the wages of everyone else. If

unions caused inflation, why is inflation at nearly 70 percent a year in Brazil, where unions are extremely weak because they are barely tolerated by the government, while in Germany, where unions are very powerful, inflation is at 5 percent?

All the other cost-push and structural explanations for inflation, from the allegation that inflation is imported from abroad to the charge that monopoly power causes inflation, rely on this confusion of relative prices with the price level. In order to explain the behavior of the price level, and thus explain inflation, one cannot focus on factors that only influence particular prices. Instead, one must look at factors that impinge on all prices.

All prices result from market exchanges using money. This is the one factor that ties all prices together. Indeed, the price level is simply the inverse of the purchasing power of money. To say that the price level is rising is the same as saying that the purchasing power of money is falling. If the price level is falling, then the purchasing power of money is going up. Just as supply and demand determine the price of any particular good or service on the market, so also the supply and demand for money determine its price, that is, its purchasing power. In short, in order to explain inflation, one must examine the supply of and demand for money.

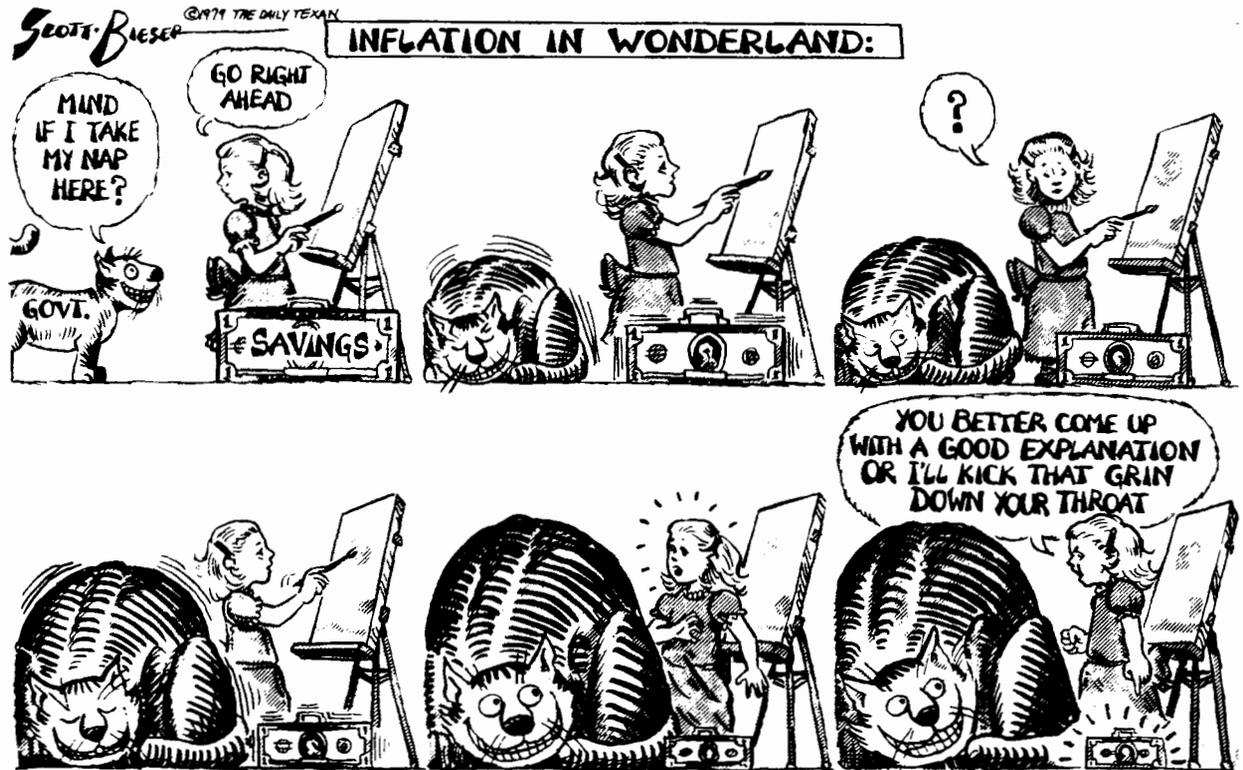
MANY THINGS influence the demand for money. One of the most obvious is pop-

system for payments. If the efficiency of the clearing system should improve, as with the more frequent use of credit cards for purchases, then people will demand less money and prices will rise. Finally, if people's preferences change, and they simply want to hold more or less cash, then the demand for money will rise or fall, respectively, and prices will move accordingly. One way economists often discuss those changes in the demand for money not accounted for by changes in output is with the concept of velocity. If the velocity of money is going up, then the demand for money is falling, and *vice versa*.

ALTHOUGH all of these factors, and others I have not mentioned, can affect the price level through their impact on the demand for money, none of them has much significance for explaining today's rampant inflation. All of them remain fairly stable in the short term and primarily affect secular trends.

The major factor determining the price level, therefore, is the supply of money. The only reason that inflation is a problem today is because of the increase in the money stock. In the decade from 1952 to 1962, when the Consumer Price Index rose 1.3 percent annually, the quantity of money (M₂) grew at a 3.7 percent annual rate. From 1962 to 1969, the money stock began increasing at 7.4 percent a year, while prices crept up at nearly 3 percent a year. From 1969 to 1979, the average annual increases in the quantity of money reached over 9 percent, while prices were climbing at nearly 7 percent a year.

THE STATISTICAL evidence from other countries shows the same relationship. A fall from over 25 percent to 10 percent in the annual rate of monetary expansion in Japan preceded that country's re-



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Missing Page 19

WAR

(Continued from page 13)

warhead incapacitates the second.

However, let us assume that the SS-18 is as lethal as claimed. Assume further the utterly fantastic case of a successful Soviet first strike that wipes out all the U.S. land-based missiles and all U.S. long-range bombers and all the missile-launching nuclear submarines not at sea. Only the 60 percent of U.S. missile-launching submarines that are on station at any one time would remain. (In contrast, the percentage of Soviet missile-launching submarines that are continuously on station is 10!) That would still leave the U.S. with approximately 3,000 warheads, or more than 12 warheads for every single Russian city with a population over 100,000.

Actually, the U.S. is much more likely to achieve a first-strike capability than the Soviets. Consider the Navy's proposed Trident submarines. One sub will carry 24 Trident-2 missiles, each of which can throw 14 MARVed warheads (Maneuverable Re-entry Vehicles — far more accurate than MIRVs) of 100 kilotons each (5 times the yield of the Hiroshima bomb) a distance of 4,500 miles with a CEP of .015 nautical miles, or 90 feet! One Trident sub will be able to destroy 336 targets, while a fleet of 30 could destroy 10,080. The proposed MX also has first-strike potentiality.

WHAT OF conventional forces? Do not the Soviets possess a massive standing military of 4.4 million men as compared with 2 million for the United States? Upon closer inspection, this seeming overwhelming Soviet advantage evaporates. The figure of 4.4 million men for the Soviet military includes 375,000 in the strategic rocket forces, 550,000 in the air defense forces, 460,000 as border guards and internal security forces, 600,000 stationed in the Far East, mainly on the Chinese border, and 750,000 with civilian functions. Similar categories for the U.S. require a total of only 200,000 individuals, leaving the U.S.

as 12 consisting of only small cadres. If the count is confined to those Eastern European divisions at least 50 percent ready and only those Soviet divisions within Eastern Europe (all of which are Category I), then the ratio between the Pact and NATO drops to 47 to 30 for northern and central Europe or 68 to 67 if

forces of France, ignore the unreliability of the Soviet Union's allies. If NATO were to attack the Warsaw Pact, there is little doubt that the satellite nations would join the battle, but if the Soviet Union decided to strike first, the Soviets would be unable to count on the eastern European nations. In fact, considerable Soviet force might

the Soviet Union has none, unless you want to count their four small carriers for helicopters and vertical take-off-and-landing aircraft. None of the small Soviet carriers, the largest of which is 43,000 tons, can launch high-performance aircraft. U.S. carriers vary in size from the *Nimitz* of 91,400 tons to the *Midway* of 62,200 tons, and they can all launch high performance aircraft. Another naval power projection force is the U.S. fleet of 65 amphibious warfare ships capable of landing one and one-third Marine divisions with all their equipment anywhere in the world. The Soviet Union has no comparable capacity.

IN SUM, an examination of Soviet capabilities reinforces my claim that Soviet intentions are conservative and defensive. Without any power projection capability, the Soviet forces, unlike those of the U.S., can only operate in areas contiguous to the Soviet Union. Except for strategic nuclear weapons, the Soviet ability to attack the United States is totally non-existent. The Soviets can no more cross the ocean and launch an assault on the shores of the U.S. than can the Red Chinese or the Iranians.

Foreign policy analyst Earl Ravenal has estimated that only 30 percent of the defense budget goes to actually *defending* the United States, while the Boston Study Group, in *The Price of Defense*, conclude that the defense budget could be easily cut by over 40 percent—even with the U.S. maintaining its military welfare subsidies to Western Europe, Japan, and Israel.

A consistently libertarian policy of strict defense of individual rights and total non-intervention could result in even more drastic cuts without any danger to national security.

(Jeff Hummel was a tank platoon leader in the U.S. Army, and is working on his Ph.D. in history at the University of Texas. He is the LP candidate for State Representative in Austin's District 37D.)

“The bi-partisan legacy of war and interventionism must end —before the arms race it has generated culminates in nuclear annihilation. The Libertarian alternative of peace, free trade, and non-intervention, coupled with nuclear disarmament and demilitarization of the American economy and society, is the only route to a sane foreign policy.”

—Ed Clark, Libertarian candidate for President

southern Europe is included.

FURTHERMORE, NATO divisions are much larger, containing between 11,000 to 19,000 troops each, while the Pact divisions range from 11,000 to 13,000 troops when at full strength. If one compares the number of ground troops, the Warsaw Pact has 806,000 in northern and central Europe opposed by 808,000 for NATO, while if you include southern Europe, the Pact has 1,189,000 troops compared with NATO's 1,683,000 troops.

This, of course, does not include the Soviet Union's 23 divisions in Category I or II that are within or close to the European region of the U.S.S.R. Adding them, along with the active duty portions of Category III divisions in the same area would give the Warsaw Pact no more than 600,000 additional soldiers. Meanwhile, the NATO figures do not include the 283,000 land troops that France refuses to integrate into the NATO structure, nor does it include 105,000 British troops in Britain and Portugal's army of 37,000, because although formally part of NATO these forces might be difficult to quickly deploy. If all of these possible reinforcements are thrown in for both sides, NATO still has a 300,000 troop lead, without even considering possible reinforcements from the

have to be diverted in order to pacify these areas.

ON THE HIGH SEAS, the militarists claim that the Soviets have many more surface ships than the U.S.: 275 to 180. Ignored is the fact that many of the Soviet ships are small and useful only for coastal defense. The U.S. has a two to one lead over the Soviets in total ship tonnage. The Soviet advantage in attack submarines: 248 to 80, similarly disappears when one notes that 162 of the Soviet submarines are diesel powered as opposed to seven for the U.S. Also, the U.S. nuclear powered submarines are far more capable than those of the Soviet Union.

Naval forces are particularly important because they include what the U.S. military calls “power projection” forces, that is, forces with the ability to project military power around the world. The most important ship for power projection is the aircraft carrier. Many other naval vessels are assigned to the defense and the escort of these floating weapons platforms.

The U.S. has thirteen aircraft carriers,

“From World War II to 1975, the U.S. government used or threatened military force to achieve political ends throughout the globe an incredible total of 215 times! During the same period, the Soviet Union engaged in 115 similar incidents.”

with 1.8 million standing troops available for a European conflict as compared with 1.7 million for the Soviet Union.

We are told that the Warsaw Pact has an overwhelming three to one advantage over NATO in numbers of divisions: 184 to 67. We are *not* told that many of the Soviet divisions stationed within the U.S.S.R. are not at full readiness, in what the Soviet's call Category I. Fifteen are in Category II, only 50 to 75 percent combat ready, while 73 are in Category III, only 25 to 50 percent ready.

Many divisions of Russia's European allies are in even worse shape, with as many

United States.

We are told that the Warsaw Pact has a numerical advantage over NATO in tactical aircraft: 5,795 to 3,300. In this area, however, the technological superiority of NATO and the U.S. is beyond question. NATO aircraft far exceed those of the Pact in every significant indicator of performance: payload, range, air-to-air fighting capability, maneuverability, accuracy, crew training and effectiveness, command-control flexibility, and deep-strike interdiction capability.

Furthermore, all of the above comparisons, in addition to generally omitting the

JEFF HUMMEL

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

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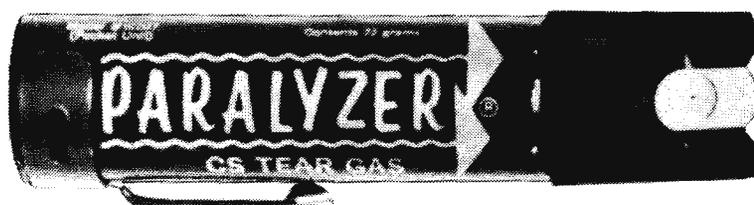
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The LP of Texas has developed a Speakers' Bureau of knowledgeable, sophisticated libertarians to fill this growing need. Most speakers are willing to travel throughout Texas without charge, except for expenses. Almost all speakers will lecture without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

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Nuclear Power: The Government Syndrome
From Laetrile to LSD: The New Prohibitionism
Egalitarianism, Racism, and Affirmative Action: Three Wrongs and Human Rights
American Empire and the Return of the Draft
—Michael Grossberg (Austin)

The LP of Texas: The Battle for Liberty
How to Organize an LP in Your Town
Libertarian Campaigns: Do's and Don'ts
—Ann Hammond (Garland)

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The Energy Crisis: Made in Washington
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A Solution to Liberty's Hardest Problem: National Defense
—Jeff Hummel (Austin)

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—David Hutzelman (Houston)

How to Fight City Hall . . . and Win!
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Ayn Rand's Contribution to Individual Liberty
—Doug Rasmussen (San Antonio)

Big Government in Crisis
The Freedom Imperative
Your Right to Self Defense
—Harry Robinson (Arlington)

The 1980 Campaign
The Texas Ballot Drive
—Allan Vogel (Houston)

How to revive a city

By Robert Poole

Turn to private enterprise to save New York City?

That's the kind of advice you might expect to read in FREE TEXAS, but it's startling to hear it among the movers and shakers of our country's leading bankruptcy case. But that is exactly what the members of New York's prestigious City Club heard last November. The voice of authority was no less than a former deputy mayor of New York and professor of management at Columbia's Graduate School of Business — E.S. Savas.

SAVAS'S STRATEGY for saving the city boils down to four basic concepts:

- Cut the soaring cost of public services by opening them up to competitive bidding;
- Make services more efficient by directly charging those who benefit from them, rather than taxing everyone;
- Phase the government out of areas where it has no business operating;
- Revitalize the city's economy by cutting taxes and regulations, so it will become a more attractive place to those who provide jobs.

In his stimulating talk — the annual Richard S. Childs Lecture in Municipal Administration — Savas pulled no punches and attacked numerous sacred cows. To balance revenues with expenditures, for instance, he advocated charging more in the

heavily subsidized City University and public housing projects. The latter, Savas argued, should be privatized over time, as the city simultaneously phases out rent controls and other interferences in the housing market.

AS THE AUTHOR of a nationwide National Science Foundation study of private versus public garbage collection, Savas knows whereof he speaks when he urges the city to contract with private firms to pick up trash; such a move could cut costs in half. He favors such contracting also for building and school maintenance, street cleaning, and park maintenance and operation.

One of Savas's most intriguing ideas involves privatization of neighborhood

bates on their property taxes — as is being done in Houston.

IN THE TRANSPORTATION sector, Savas is quite familiar with the potential of free-market express buses, vanpools, taxis, and jitneys. "The best single step that New York could take to improve its mass transportation is to drop all barriers to entering and operating in the surface transportation business," he told the City Club. Not only would this produce a wide variety of flexible, modestly priced services, it would also provide thousands of new jobs.

In the area of social services like day care, Savas pointed out that it is the family which is "the original department of health, education, and welfare." For generations, before government took it upon

"New York City, and to a lesser extent, New York State, have been among the prime examples of the folly of unlimited government."

streets. Citing the examples of several neighborhoods in Brooklyn, Queens, and the Bronx where local civic associations clean, maintain, remove snow from, and patrol their own streets, Savas points out the inequity of present tax laws which force such enterprising people to pay twice for street (and police) services. He proposes that such people be given appropriate re-

itself to regulate and provide day care, networks of relatives, friends, and neighbors took care of children of working mothers.

But today's well-meaning but absurd regulations on who can provide day care under what conditions lead to the bizarre result that "most children live in homes that would not be approved by government as suitable for the care of children." He suggests the best solution to be that the city simply withdraw and allow the private sector to take over.

SOME MAY THINK these proposals too radical. Yet less than two months after Savas's speech, the Panel on the Future of Government in New York presented its report to Governor Hugh Carey. Charged with charting a course back to fiscal and economic health for New York State and its cities, the panel of 16 public sector leaders came up with recommendations altogether consistent with Prof. Savas's strategy for the City.

In addition, the Panel called for stringent limitations on state and local government taxing and spending, abandonment of public services "that are no longer worth the cost," civil service reforms to reward productivity, and government "self-restraint unknown in New York for many decades."

New York City, and to a lesser extent, New York State, have been among the prime examples of the folly of unlimited government. Yet if New York officials take seriously the recommendations of these distinguished authorities, they may yet set an example for the rest of the country to emulate.

(Robert Poole is Editor of Reason magazine (Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93103). Subscription to Reason is \$15 for one year. Copyright © 1980 by the National Taxpayers Union.)

BOOKS ABOUT FREEDOM

1. **FOR A NEW LIBERTY**, by Murray Rothbard \$5.95
(Most complete general introduction to libertarian philosophy and the libertarian movement. Applies libertarian principles to contemporary issues of public philosophy: welfare, education, civil liberties, public services, national defense, foreign policy. Outlines a strategy for achieving a libertarian America, and lists libertarian organizations and publications in an appendix.)
2. **CAPITALISM AND FREEDOM**, by Milton Friedman \$3.75
(A classic statement on the relationship between economic freedom and personal liberty. Can Freedom of the Press be guaranteed without private ownership of printing equipment?)
3. **THE CONSTITUTION OF LIBERTY**, by F. A. Hayek \$5.95
(On the political order of a free society. Examines constitutionalism as a safeguard of rights, and the threat the welfare state poses to freedom and democracy.)
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Libertarian Review, July/August 1979
(This special issue examines role of utility monopolies in pushing nuclear power, and oil deregulation as an alternative to war in the Middle East.)
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Some people only talk about freedom. Other people do something about it. FREE TEXAS honors them here:

Bill Fraser
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JULY 4: A Libertarian Revolution

By Michael Grossberg

Just what are we commemorating every July 4, Independence Day? Certainly not the American Revolution, if previous July 4 celebrations are any indication.

NOW I don't have anything against parades, picnics and fireworks. After all, the pursuit of happiness is one-third of what the Declaration of Independence was all about.

But the significance of the American Revolution seems to have escaped the vast majority of the American people.

There's the view that the Revolution was not radical, but merely a conservative defense of the status quo. Such "consensus" school historians as Daniel Boorstin and Clinton Rossiter have tried to paint the entire struggle as a mere reaction to excesses of the British crown. Afterwards, they argue, nothing *really* changed.

But Professor Bernard Bailyn in his Pulitzer Prize-winning book *Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* documents "the transforming libertarian radicalism" of the war. And Murray Rothbard in his masterful four-volume narrative history of early America, *Conceived in Liberty*, emphasizes the profound social transition after the war from state feudalism to relatively laissez faire capitalism.

IN FACT, the American Revolution was the first war of "national liberation" against western imperialism. It led to the creation of Bills of Rights, the advance of religious freedom, separation of church and state, and break-up of aristocratic Tory-held estates.

Then there's the opinion that even if it was radical, the American Revolution was

still not as radical as the French Revolution. But if so, then why, as Robert Palmer noted in *The Age of the Democratic Revolution*, were proportionately more Tory aristocrats driven out of America than aristocrats out of France?

Finally, there's the argument that America's radicalism was directed primarily against England and King George, not against the existing social order.

BUT the 19th century libertarian historian Lord Acton — famous for his observation "Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely" — explained long ago that the rebellions and uprisings which swept the colonies at the end of the 1600s were fought not "against England per se, but against the oppressions of the State, dominated by the English government."

And Murray Rothbard affirms that the Revolution, like the rebellions which led up to it, was "in opposition to the tyranny, high taxes, monopolies and restrictions imposed by the various governments."

What was so special about the American Revolution? For it must be admitted that the pages of history are full of revolts and rebellions. But in the Old World, all such "revolutions" had been fought against a *particular* authority. They didn't challenge the legitimacy of government power itself.

THE RESULT was a merry-go-round, what Henry Grady Weaver described as "revolutions only in the sense of a wheel rotating around a motionless center." As he shows in *The Mainspring of Human Progress*, "the standard pattern had always been to overthrow one form of authority

merely to replace it with another form of authority — from priest to king, from king to oligarchy, from oligarchy to despot, from despot to majority, from majority to bureaucracy, and so on, and so on."

But America was the New World. And the radicals of America's popular libertarian Revolution aimed at something new: liberty. It was a vision truly radical, revolutionary, even subversive: maybe people don't need *any* authority to control and regulate their lives.

IT was a philosophy announcing the Rights of Man to life, liberty, and property. That "to secure these rights" — and for no other purpose — "governments are instituted among men."

It's an idea — and a revolution — worth remembering.



LP OF TEXAS Chair Michael Grossberg welcomes Austinites to the grand opening of the Clark for President headquarters there. Dance music was provided by the libertarian-leaning rock group Illuminatus.

DUE PROCESS UNDER COMMUNISM

Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov was arrested recently amid a flurry of international protest. The Nobel Prize-winning physicist was "exiled" to Gorky, a military-industrial city closed to foreigners. However, Soviet authorities have assured the world that there was nothing "improper about his arrest.

"He was read his Mirandovich rights," a Kremlin press secretary told reporters. "These include the following rights, as everyone knows:

"the right to be rudely shoved around by baboonlike guards;

"the right to be shut away from friends and colleagues in an unpleasant room for weeks at a time;

"the right to make one brief phone call to your wife, who must then also, of course, be arrested;

"the right to the services of a state-appointed attorney, who will decline to assist you because of . . .

"the right to avoid messy trial proceedings and go directly into sentencing and punishment; and lastly but never leastly

"the right of the State to do whatever it wants with you, and that's that."

—*National Lampoon*

Let's begin to

LEGALIZE FREEDOM

JULY 3rd

DECriminalIZATION DAY IS COMING!

With the entire nation preparing for the legal holiday of Independence Day July 4th, Decriminalization Day activities provide an exciting counterpoint to monotonous, frivolous, and even militaristic ceremonies. The media have responded well in the past to this thoughtful and provocative pre-4th reminder that freedom is on the decline and needs more than flags and firecrackers to rejuvenate it.

Uniquely libertarian, Decriminalization Day attracts liberal media with its array of 'victimless crime' topics, but repels Ralph Nader Big-business Day types with its intense protestations on behalf of America's most numerous 'victimless criminals' - the small businessmen and their customers.

If you're a taxpayer being punatively fined for the 'crime' of productivity, a woman harassed by officials for selling your body to willing customers, a youth outraged at the time you serve in 'concentration' camps (schools) and forced labor camps (military), a peaceful citizen sent to the 'back of the public bus' by no-smoking rules, or sent to prison for smoking hallucinogenic tobaccos in the privacy of your own home - if you believe in the right of consenting adults to commit capitalist acts, you should participate in Decriminalization Day!

Let's look for and discuss openly the shortcomings of a government that steals from Peter to pay Paul. Let's talk about the implications of enslaving our youth to defend the older folk from foreigners. Let's talk about what counterfeiting money in volume does to an economy. Let's see if we can unravel the question of what most causes crime - Saturday Night Specials or the Minimum Wage Laws?

To receive your D-Day USA tool kit, and to be placed on our mailing list for future materials, send \$10 to cover production costs to: D-Day USA, 1115 De La Vina, Santa Barbara, CA 93101. The kit includes our official "Legalize Freedom" bumper stickers, flyers on D-Day activity across the country past and present, various pertinent essays, and literature from resistance efforts now underway.

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LETTERS

FEELING FREE

Thanks very much for the civil liberties issue of FREE TEXAS. I enjoyed it. I'm seriously considering publishing my own newsletter beginning this fall, concerning what you could call the interface between feeling and freedom. I think that inner and outer repression are of a piece. The most subversive aspect of my position, vis a vis traditional libertarianism, is that personal freedom ultimately has *nothing* to do with principles of ideology or morality. "Isms" are crude mental structures used to justify a natural way of life. A natural way of life will finally come about when people are allowed to be themselves. No person who really has himself submit to coercion. And that person has no need of ideology.

—William Van Doren
Editor, Primal Institute Newsletter
Los Angeles, California

LIBERTY AND MORALITY

Your latest "Civil Liberties" issue of FREE TEXAS is a masterpiece! It shows once and for all that libertarians are advocates of morality. Moreover, it shows that virtue and liberty are not in conflict, but rather inherently related. Well done, Michael.

—Douglas Rasmussen
Asst. Prof. of Philosophy
Our Lady of the Lake University
San Antonio, Texas

CRYPTO-NIXONIAN

I very much enjoyed your special FREE TEXAS issue on civil liberties — except for the letter from Ed Crane. It would appear that Bill Howell has placed a well-deserved burr under a certain crypto-Nixonian saddle.

—L. Neil Smith
Founder, Prometheus Awards
Fort Collins, Colorado

STANFORD SALUTES

I saw a copy of FREE TEXAS while looking over someone's shoulder and it looked great. Please send me my own copy. Also thought you might want to see Stanford's latest.

—Scott Olmstead
Editor, Stanford Libertarian
Palo Alto, California

CONTEST!

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

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

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

The following letter was published in the *Austin American Statesman* of May 18th. Its author, Bill Mitchell, an LPT member, wins a half year subscription to FREE TEXAS.

MEN'S RIGHTS

As I read Bill Howell's article "Crime and Punishment in Texas", I found my enthusiasm for his stand seriously dampened by his proposal that Texas enact a "wife rape" law.

The legal code already overwhelmingly favors women to an obscene degree, and the actions of "feminism" have been seized upon to expand its power by attaching these actions to a seemingly just and noble cause. Equality means equality of opportunity and equality before the law. It does not mean giving some persons special consideration, least of all persons who fervently insist they are equal. Thus, women must be presumed rational, responsible adults who've only themselves to blame if they don't know how to handle a situation or get help.

That the State has seized upon the tragic

situation regarding gender roles and used it for aggrandizement is blatantly clear. The State ever seeks ways to meddle in, interfere with, control, and manipulate the most intimate aspects of people's lives.

"Women's rights" and divorce laws, like phony victimless "crime" laws, are statist abuses of human problems. They are designed to profit the legal profession and augment State power. When an office seeker says he is going to eliminate some of these laws, while creating others, he doesn't appear to me to be a genuine Libertarian unless he genuinely considers women inferior to men and therefore incapable of taking care of themselves.

Despite the availability of cheap, female-favoring divorce, the existence of taxpayer-supported "Battered Wife Shelters", and a climate of opinion that can only be labelled anti-male, an increasing number of women choose to murder their husbands (usually in the men's sleep) secure in the knowledge that they will be exonerated if they but burst into tears and scream brutality.

It was as a men's rights worker that I was first attracted firmly to Libertarianism. I felt that here was a political philosophy that would require strong and responsible individuals, rather than encouraging women to be leeches as does both conservatism and liberalism. Special legal favoritism has no place in the 1980's.

—David Morrow
Arlington, Texas

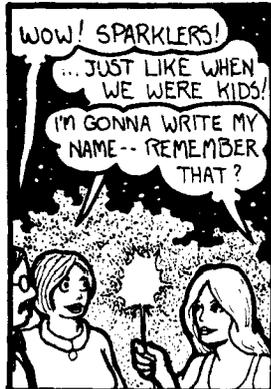
COVER TO COVER

Just a note to tell you how great the Special Civil Liberties issue was. I was impressed from cover to cover. Laissez faire!

—Don Ernsberger
Director, Society for Individual Liberty
Warminster, Pennsylvania

In 1981 Enterprise Square, USA, a \$15 million "Disney World for capitalism" will open in Oklahoma City. Attractions include "The Great Talking Face of Government" which works itself into a frenzy calling for more and more regulation until it shortcircuits.

—Southern Libertarian Messenger



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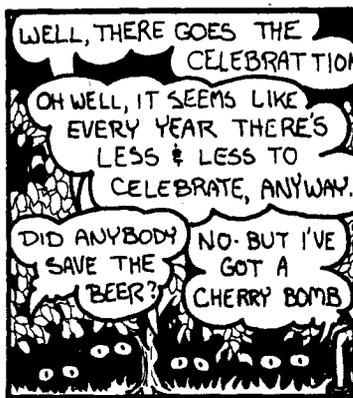
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LIBERATED BUTTONS. Keep your laws off my body. Question authority. Freedom of choice. I own my own body but I share. Children are people, too. Liberated men are more fun. Liberated women are more fun. Anita Bryant sucks oranges. It's my right to choose. Minds are like parachutes, they only function when open. Child abuse kills. Defeat the fetus fetishists. Who killed Karen Silkwood? NO DRAFT. Never another battered woman. The issue is survival. 1/\$1. 3/\$2. 10/\$5. Grossberg, 1205 E. 52nd, #201, Austin, TX 78723



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John Hancock

On The Line For Liberty

Unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America, July 4, 1776.



State Election Form
Prescribed by George W. Strake, Jr., Secretary of State

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(PETICION PARA PONER LOS NOMINADOS EN LA BOLETA OFICIAL DE LA ELECCION GENERAL EN NOVIEMBRE)
(ARTICLE 13.45, V.T.E.C.)

I know the contents of this petition, requesting that the names of the nominees of the Libertarian Party be printed on the ballot for the next general election. I am a qualified voter at the next general election under the constitution and laws in force, and during the current voting year I have not voted in any primary election or participated in any convention held by any other political party, and I will not vote in a primary election or participate in a convention of any other party during the remainder of this voting year. (Yo sé el contenido de esta petición que solicita los nombres de los nominados del Partido Libertario sea puesto en la boleta oficial para la elección general. Soy votante capacitado para votar en la próxima elección general bajo la constitución y las leyes vigentes, y durante el año corriente no he votado en ninguna elección primaria ni he participado en ninguna convención de cualquier otro partido político, y que no voy a votar en ninguna elección primaria ni participar en ninguna convención de cualquier otro partido durante el año electoral en que se llevará a cabo esta elección.)

WHO CAN SIGN:

Any person registered to vote in Texas who did NOT vote in EITHER the Democratic or Republican Primaries.

SIGNATURE (Firma)		
PRINTED NAME (Nombre En Letra De Molde)		
STREET ADDRESS (Dirección De Residencia)		CITY (Ciudad)
DATE OF SIGNING (Fecha De Firmar)	COUNTY (Condado)	VOTER REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE NUMBER (Número De Certificado De Registro De Votante)

SIGNATURE (Firma)		
PRINTED NAME (Nombre En Letra De Molde)		
STREET ADDRESS (Dirección De Residencia)		CITY (Ciudad)
DATE OF SIGNING (Fecha De Firmar)	COUNTY (Condado)	VOTER REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE NUMBER (Número De Certificado De Registro De Votante)

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DATE OF SIGNING (Fecha De Firmar)	COUNTY (Condado)	VOTER REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE NUMBER (Número De Certificado De Registro De Votante)

STATE OF TEXAS
COUNTY OF _____

BEFORE ME, the undersigned, on this day personally appeared _____ (name of person who circulated the petition), who being duly sworn, deposes and says: "I called each signer's attention to the statement at the head of the petition and read it to him before the signer affixed his signature to the petition, I witnessed the affixing of each signature, the correct date of signing is shown on the petition, and to the best of my knowledge and belief each signature is the genuine signature of the person whose name is signed."

SWORN TO AND SUBSCRIBED

BEFORE ME THIS DATE _____

Signature of Circulator of Petition

Certifying Officer (Notary Public)

WHAT TO DO:

Sign your name and fill in all requested information. If you don't have your voter registration certificate number, leave it blank.
Ask your family to sign. Ask your friends. Ask your co-workers or fellow students.
Have the petition form notarized. Most banks have free notary service for their customers.
Mail by July 4. Or give the form to your local Libertarian representative.

Mail notarized form by July 4 to:
Libertarian Party, P. O. Box 25043, Houston, Texas 77005.