The Illinois Libertarian



October 1975

WHO IS ROGER MacBRIDE?

Roger was born on August 6, 1929. He was active in debating in high school and won an award for giving a speech by Leonard Read entitled "Pattern for Revolt."

Roger attended Princeton, graduating with an AB degree in Political Science in 1951. At Princeton he wrote an article in opposition to the Keynesian theory which appeared in the Educational Reviewer. His senior thesis was later published with modification as his first book, The American Electoral College.

From Princeton, Roger went to Harvard Law School, graduating in 1954. This time his senior thesis concerned the controversial Bricker Amendment which would have prevented provisions of foreign treaties from overriding the U.S. Constitution. Roger's thesis was published as Treaties Versus the Constitution, which ultimately sold over 100,000 copies, a remarkable achievement for such a scholarly work. Upon graduation, Roger was awarded a Fulbright scholarship to study comparative constitu-

After completing his studies, Roger went to work for White & Case, a large New York City law firm, and specialized in banking law. He was to become one of the recognized experts on bank holding companies in the U.S. During this period, he developed a course in political technique for the Society for the Advancement of Management under a grant from the Richardson Foundation. He also created the structure for United Student Aid Funds, a private organization intended to be a free-market answer to government proposals to subsidize tuition costs.

Around 1957, Roger was asked to become a member of the Board of Directors of National Review. Roger accepted but resigned shortly thereafter. He made the decision almost twenty years ago that his libertarian outlook was not compatible with orthodox conservatism.

Around 1960, Roger moved to Vermont to practice law. He lived in Halifax and was elected to various town offices and then to the state legislature. While there, he introduced numerous bills to remove fat and muscle from state government. He later entered the Republican gubernatorial primary in 1964 and received 25% of the vote in a three-man race.

In 1968, Roger moved to Virginia where he presently operates Esmont Farm, about 15 miles south of Charlottesville. In the last few years he has edited three books and is currently in partnership with Ed Friendly (creator of the TV show "Laugh-In") and is responsible for

the production of the "Little House on the Prairie" TV series. He is also working on another show based on the life of Rose Wilder Lane.

In 1972, Roger was chosen as a presidential elector from Virginia. Instead of casting his ballot for Nixon and Agnew, Roger made a decision of conscience and cast it for John Hospers and Tonie Nathan, the candidates of the Libertarian Party. This act of principle insured the Libertarian Party a place in the history books.

Since casting his electoral vote, he has traveled to 20 states to support Party activities. He was a featured speaker at the 1973 Libertarian Party National Convention and in 1974 was the keynote speaker at the Libertarian Party National Convention in Dallas. (LPIers will recall his appearance at the state party conference last December.) And, of course, this was all topped off when the 1975 LP National Convention just two months ago chose Roger to be the Party's standard bearer in the 1976 Presidential Campaign.

Of course, there are many activities that could be added to the above listing if space permitted-the hundreds of interviews he has given, the 30 plus television newcasts along with numerous radio shows he has been on. A more intangible credit he deserves is for his voluminous correspondence with activists around the country and his tireless advocacy of the Party in his personal and business relationships. Roger possesses the raw endurance, stability of goal orientation, and dogged determination necessary to carry us through the coming presidential race--a factor that may very well hold the key to our future success.

Roger MacBride has been referred to as "The Candidate They Can't Ignore" and that is certainly true--he has the intellect, backlog of accomplishments, and stature

to command the respectful attention of the media and the public. As our candidate the Libertarian Party will have a luxury few third parties have ever had -- a fully qualified Presidential candidate. Roger MacBride should be President!

The Illinois Committee to Elect Mac-Bride plans to kick off the ballot drive sometime in mid-November--or with the state party conference/ convention in December. But in the meantime, know that it takes MONEY (as well as volunteers) to mount a successful campaign. Please send your contributions to: the Illinois Libertarian Ballot Committee, P.O. Box 1776, Chicago, Illinois 60690.



THE ONGOING GREAT DEBATE

Deus ex quanta?

BY STEVE NELSON, CHAIRMAN

In physics, a quantum jump is an instantaneous change of electron probability from one orbital to another. For once, the physicist means it; the change is literally instantaneous, requiring no time at all.

Many of the founding fathers of LP and LPI sustained their enthusiasm in the lonesome early days by their belief that LP would take a political "quantum jump." They felt that when certain preconditions were met, LP would leap into the national consciousness, gaining millions of votes overnight, and ending the chronic famine that prevailed. The founders carefully kept from their minds the thought that few human organizations have grown in so abrupt a fashion, and those that did usually declined as quickly as they grew.

There was also the question of the necessary preconditions; in the early days of the party these were held to be quite simple: a single winding of the Libertarian horn-in the form of national publicity-and hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of "closet libertarians" would immediately unite to put down statism. Themselves but recently "out of the closet," many of the early LPers saw no reason why there should not be many more. As time passed and various postulated preconditions were met and surpassed with no sudden access of power, most of these founders came to feel that they had been mistaken, and they buckled down to the long chore of nursing the young party through the early stages of exponential growth. A few of them, however, simply escalated the preconditions and continued to await the jump.

Since LP has no twentieth-century precedents, it is difficult to say that such growth is impossible. One might imagine, for example, the genuine conversion of some presidential hopeful--say Ronald Reagan or Teddy Kennedy--having some such result. A sufficiently active imagination can think of other possibilities.

It is, however, impossible to imagine the ensuing mass conversion as having beneficial results to libertarian ideology—and the access to funds, skills, and votes would mean very little if the essential thoughts of libertarianism were lost in the hubbub.

What is missing is any evidence that a sufficiently large body of more-or-less rigorous libertarian conviction exists in the public at large. Those libertarians who consistently undertake to reach the general public (and many of us shy from the task as a Hasid shies from a pork chop) report only a general sympathy, coupled with an equally general skepticism concerning our chances. "Closet libertarians" undoubtedly still exist, but they number in the thousands rather than the millions, and are often so tied to the traditional parties that no blandishment save the privacy of the voting booth will dislodge them. To amass a respectable vote, libertarians must depend on conversion.

It is here that the belief in quantum jumping may prove disastrous. To the extent that one believes that phenomenal instantaneous growth is possible and desirable, one is apt to be disappointed in "merely" exponential growth—and one is apt to squander resources attempting to provoke instantaneity. Those familiar with the history of the party can think of many examples, including a few in Illinois. Worse still, contemporary preconditioning theories center around "saturation" media campaigns which tend to preclude the kind of grass—roots conviction necessary to permanent success; they are very attractive to many libertarians because they do not in—

volve consorting with the generality of men, but only refined interchanges with a sophisticated (and wealthy) few. That the party's fortunes would thereafter rest solely with those few does not seem to be considered.

The alternative involves the upsetting, difficult, and time-consuming task of actually meeting as many people as possible in as many walks of life as possible and seeking to change their political and (in many cases) moral philosophy. It means facing whole audiences of hostile statists to reach the two or three people that can be reached. One risks ridicule, defeat—conceivably physical attack. But it is the only way that a permanent, vital, winning party can be had.

Political Momentum

BY POPULIST

The Libertarian Party is now embarking upon its first credible national campaign under the banner of Roger MacBride and David Bergland. A nationally syndicated political columnist has predicted that the MacBride/Bergland ticket may receive 6 million votes, or almost 10% of the presidential popular vote. With the experts insisting that the momentum of political force in this country is moving toward the Libertarians, great caution must be taken not to block that momentum.

To understand the movement of the body politic, we need only look at the general public's reaction to any revolutionary group. After the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, the CIA-inspired "freedom fighters" just could not understand why the peasant did not join their battle for freedom (sic). The answer does not lie in the value which the peasants placed in their present condition vis-à-vis the offer of "freedom," but by who was winning. If the Bay of Pigs invasion had been going well, and the Red Cuban army losing ground, then the peasants being simple people, not really understanding the issues and caring less, just wanted to be on the winning side--they wanted to be "right."

A similar experience can be seen in the countries occupied by the Nazis during World War II. Though very few Frenchmen or Poles sympathized with the Nazis, they did almost nothing to challenge this dominance. In fact, the average citizen did not join with the falling French army to hold the line, nor did he later join the underground. Taking even the most generous estimates, fewer than one-half of one percent of the French populace engaged in underground activities against the Nazis. Over 99% of the population suffered in quiet honor the degradation of the Nazi occupation.

Of present import is a survey conducted by Georgetown University which found that 90% of the U.S. college student population wants less governmental interference in their lives, but that over 70% of that group supported George McGovern for President, and would support him again over Gerald Ford. Why do students who want less governmental control over their lives support a candidate who is pledged to more governmental control over every aspect of American life? How could this massive perceptual hoax been perpetrated? Clever public relations, of course. The same kind of clever public relations which Libertarians must use for political achievement.

The press asks: Are Libertarians anarchists? Absolutely not! John Q. Public believes that anarchists are bomb-throwing kooks. Libertarians respect property rights; they are certainly not bomb-throwing crazies. Anarchists are not Libertarians! Forget philosophy-it's the body politic's perception that counts.

Heroin is bad for you. Yep, that's right; at least it's

comparatively disadvantageous to good body chemistry. Are Libertarians for the legalization of heroin? Libertarians are for the legalization of all drugs; no one should need a prescription. Big Brother should not have the right to determine what is good for you. There is proof that Vitamin E is a cure for cancer, but the FDA is preventing Americans access to this miracle drug.

Not good, the press man says: Are you in favor of legal heroin? Libertarians are in favor of the people's access to all available drugs based on the individual's discretion. We believe in personal freedom for all people, which means that we must give people the opportunity to ruin their lives through heroin addiction, if that is their free choice.

The above dialogs are examples of uncompromising development of Libertarian principles. But the answers are engineered to be sufficiently consistent with the orientation of John Q. Public that he'll stop, listen, and learn.

1976 will be a great victory for Libertarian candidates and for the furtherance of Libertarian principles if we start from a base accepted by the masses, not from the vantage point of the political elite. Using good public relations will be the key for changing the momentum of the American political scene to absolute freedom.

Tergiversations

BY PROBITUS

It might as well be told.

A significant minority of delegates to the Libertarian Party Convention last month left that convention unsure of their commitment to the Roger MacBride candidacy and to political involvement in general. They were, and many continue to be, distraught over MacBride's rejection of one (or was it two?) of the nominees for the Vice-Presidential candidacy for nonideological, purely "political" reasons. They were troubled over what they saw as a compromise of the high principle that one should not only espouse the libertarian philosophy, but live it as well. They were (and are) in error, I think.

Sometime after the first Vice-Presidential ballot, in which Jim Trotter had come closest to winning, a rumor swept the convention floor to the effect that MacBride, using the power vested in him by the LP by-laws, would veto Trotter if chosen as his running mate. The delegates demanded an explanation and an explanation is what they got: MacBride explained that he had only recently learned of Trotter's failure to file an income tax return for three years (not to mention his smuggling-of gold, apparently); and that he, MacBride, feared the media would seize upon the single issue of tax resistance to the exclusion of everything else-which is a fear well grounded, this being the Watergate Era.

But that didn't satisfy: they still demanded an explanation. That is to say, the dissident delegates wanted to have it their way. And because they couldn't, a number of them are now prepared to bolt the campaign, if not the party.

But could one have expected different from such a hard-lining, dyed-in-the-wool, and naive bunch of idealists? At the first sign of disagreement, the Libertarian Party may be going the way of all other radical, ideological parties—the way of infighting, then splintering, then open political warfare among factions. Listen closely, now: Hear the statists laughing?

Particulars aside, was MacBride justified in rejecting Trotter in principle? The following examples will hopefully make the answer clearer. If Gus Hall or (an alive) George Lincoln Rockwell were to convert sincerely to libertarianism, would the LP be wrong to reject out of hand these (now) former heads of the American Communist and Nazi Parties for consideration as the Libertarian Party's standard bearer?

Or (if the above example is too esoteric), if instead of gold smuggling, the Vice-Presidential nominee had engaged in the smuggling of hard drugs such as cocaine and heroin--would MacBride had been wrong in rejecting him too? Why not? The LP is in favor of legalizing all drugs, and supplying the needs of drug users is a legitimate embodiment of libertarian principle, according to one logic.

But it is absurd, politically. If anyone doubts that what a candidate <u>is</u> (or has been) is as important as what the candidate stands for, ask Karl Bray what the press and voting public made of his trouble with the tax authorities. The fact is, they perceived him as a criminal, as yet another Agnew-like crooked politician, and this cost Bray the strong electoral showing that up to the last minute his libertarian views had ensured him. (Karl made this point in support of MacBride's decision at the convention.)

Hardline, extremist views can also alienate voters, to be sure. In the 1964 Presidential campaign, Barry Goldwater took an uncompromising conservative stand and was whumped. Eight years later, in the 1972 Presidential campaign, George McGovern (initially) took an uncompromising liberal stand and was equally whumped. But Goldwater stuck to his position throughout the campaign, whereas McGovern was perceived to soften on issue after issue. It is perhaps too soon to judge which of the two men has had greater impact on the course of American political life; but the best guess is that Goldwater's influence has been the stronger (more than 50% of the American people now identify themselves as "conservative," a figure up significantly from a decade ago). If nothing else, Goldwater is considered the more honorable.

Compromising on issues, then, probably cost McGovern more votes than it gained him. But what of his dumping Thomas Eagleton, an incident that bears uncanny resemblance to MacBride's threat to dump Trotter (and later John Vernon)? That, too, probably cost McGovern votes. Not so much for the principle involved—and McGovern was likely correct in considering Eagleton's history of emotional difficulties as a liability, and certainly not an asset, to the campaign—as for the way the whole affair was handled. (When Eagleton's past difficulties became known, McGovern at first pledged to stand steadfastly behind his running mate—then he abruptly pushed Eagleton aside.)

Unfortunately, the Trotter veto was also bungled. One hopes--for unity's sake, one must accept--that this was due to MacBride's and the party's political inexperience, and not to the former's cynical, sinister calculation. But, it must be admitted, if MacBride had openly announced his objections to Trotter Defore any Vice-Presidential balloting, then the maneuverings would not have appeared to some so underhanded, and perhaps those some would not be considering a bolt from the party.

So: Has Roger MacBride reneged on principle? No, though he <u>is</u> guilty of an error of political judgment.

And: Will the dissidents renege on the Party of Principle? That remains to be seen.

The only political principle on which there should be no compromise is in sending the hard message home--with no equivocation, no ifs, ands, or buts. This is the only inviolable standard that we should hold our candidates to.

Region 4 Talkathon

BY RICH SUTER

As the United airliner lifted into the clear sky over Chicago, the flight captain announced that it was a beautiful day in the west--you couldn't find a cloud from Chicago to the Pacific. The bright and clear sun illuminating the sky grew even brighter with the entry into the home of Dr. Bill Bockoven, a Des Moines psychiatrist and Chairman of the LP of Iowa. The brightness was reflected by the aspiring faces of seven members of the Iowa LP; Tom Piotrowski, Minnesota LP Executive Director (a full-time employee of the Minnesota Party); Dennis Satola, Chairman of the Milwaukee Libertarian Party organization; aspirants to put the Missouri LP on the political map; and your faithful servant--all of whom were about to experience the exchange of ideas and successful methods to make Libertarianism the new dynamic on the American political scene.

The meeting, chaired by the LP ExCom Regional Representative Dale Hemming, flowed smoothly under his easygoing non-leadership. The meeting had a simple purpose as it had a simple structure: for each state representative to tell the others the successful methods and structures used in his state organization.

Since lowa's party was organized just this past May and Missouri is not yet organized, these states were strictly in the learning mood; however, Illinois, Minnesota, and Wisconsin are established LP states and found themselves in the dual role of instructor and student.

This report is appearing in Illinois, and most readers know many of the projects of Illinois LP; therefore, I will tell you about the activities of the other active states in the region--Minnesota and Wisconsin.

MINNESOTA

Minnesota, under the direction of MBA candidate Tom Piotrowski, has developed a graphic concept that runs through all their printed material--which is voluminous. Minnesota has reprinted all the pamphlets of the Society for Individual Liberty (SIL), inserting the Minnesota LP logo and listing membership information (one year \$12, lifetime \$120), and asking for contributions and selling newsletter subscriptions. Above I said all SIL pamphlets; they now feel that this is too many and are selecting only a few for future printings. The Minnesota Party has printed its own platform, adopted in state convention, using an eye-catching red, white, and blue cover. At the state fair it's the fastest moving piece of LP literature. In order to help speed communications between members and the State Office and to achieve desired results, members receive a fold-over type business reply envelope each month asking for contributions, membership renewals, etc. The Minnesota mailing list receives a no-nonsense letter about contributions. It simply says: If you don't want to put your money where your mouth is -- shut up! This coordinated fund-raising approach gives the Party some \$30,000 annually to budget.

This budget takes some of the drudgery out of running the Party; it pays for automated mailing service, pays the insurance premium on a liability policy, and provides fun for members, too. The Party offers members (as a right of membership) four parties each year, including a Halloween Party, New Year's Eve Party, Wine Tasting Party, and Theatre Party. Not only is membership in the Minnesota Party politically rewarding, it's fun too! The budget also provides some \$6,000 for institutional media advertising of Libertarianism, including billboards (often on gun control), radio and TV ads, and even a professional public relations agency to keep contact with the media and arrange for Libertarian

spokesmen to make TV and radio appearances. There is also \$3,000 available for the Minnesota State Fair booth.

On the subject of the fair booth, much material is given away free, but some is sold. The material which really sells are political buttons and posters.

To gain added exposure for Libertarian candidates, in Minnesota Libertarian candidates for public office enter into an interesting contract with the people:

We (I) propose a contractual alternative and if elected do hereby waive the right to hide behind any executive privilege and state constitutional impeachment proceedings. We (I) contract:

- To work for and approve any and all specific legislation that would increase each individual's liberty as long as it is not at someone else's expense.
- To work against and veto any and all specific legislation that would result in the initiation of force by any individual or group or state against any other individual, group, or state.
- To act consistently with the positions taken by us on this platform.

If we (I) should fail to perform the above conditions to this contract, we give to and recognize the right of each and every individual supporter who contributed \$1 or more to our election effort to have us removed from office through the courts of this state for breach of this contract. [end of contract]

Oh yes, did I mention that the Minnesota Party does all this with less than 90 members?

WISCONSIN

In Wisconsin, the LP is currently putting most of its organizational effort into recruiting through state and county fairs, and also street festivals which attract a lot of "free spirits" interested in trouncing the system. Wisconsin greets its prospects with a well-printed membership brochure which asks an important question: Why go political?

The answer: Americans, the media, and the government are all politically oriented. A candidate for political office gets attention. A political rally gets attention. A tax protest gets attention. To effectively fight to regain our liberties, we, too, must get attention. Political activism can generate opportunities we need to effectively meet this challenge. Politics is only a forum, but used with care it can provide opportunities to educate others as well as to help ourselves.

The pamphlet goes on to tell its readers what they can do to help regain lost liberties and gives not only the State Party address, but the address and phone numbers of various active county chairmen. After you have become a member of the Wisconsin Party, you are besieged with poorly printed and hard-to-read materials--but their membership brochure is great!

The consensus of the Des Moines meeting was that LP is through with defining its goals; the new national platform does that well. Party members must now unite behind the Presidential Candidate, Roger MacBride, using whatever ethical tactics will get the greatest vote tally, and do the most to promote the Libertarian ideal: Don't tread on me. Members of the Party have no time to squabble among themselves on methodology since LP is only a very small group but has a huge task before it.

Upon leaving Des Moines for the trip back to Chicago, I felt sure of the LP's and Libertarianism's ultimate success.

The next meeting of Region 4 will be held in Missouri, the weekend after that state's November convention. A Region 4 meeting is planned for January in Illinois.

Laffer's Wedge

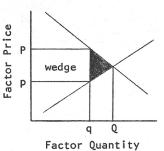
BY ROBERT OSTERLUND

On Friday, October 10th at the University of Chicago's Ida Noyes Hall, 75 persons gathered under the auspices of the UC Libertarian Club to hear Professor Arthur Laffer of the University's Business School speak on government transfer payments and their effect on the nation's economy. Prof. Laffer, who in the early 70's was an assistant to former Secretary of the Treasury George P. Schultz, fairly dazzled the audience with the brilliance of his exposition, which brilliance—aside from his breadth of knowledge and captivating wit—derived from but a simple and unpretentious source: the wedge.

THE WEDGE

What, you may ask, is a "wedge"? Technically put, a wedge is the differential between the amount paid for a factor of production and the amount received by that factor of production. Or, to give a down-to-earth example, the difference between what an employer pays out in gross wages and what the employee receives net--that is a wedge. In this example, the wedge consists of deductions made for federal (and state and city) withholding (income) tax, the Social Security tax, and for vari-

ous other purposes. The wedge is shown graphically to the right, where P is the price paid for the factor of production, p is the price actually received by the factor, Q is the optimal employment, q is the actual factor employment, and where (P-p)q is the size of the wedge (the shaded area is the social loss).



As can be seen from the above graph, the wedge driven between prices paid and prices received reduces factor employment below optimum. And to where does the wedge go? To the government, which then distributes it in the form of Social Security, welfare, and unemployment payments (among other things). Thus, the government transfers income from productive sources to nonproductive sources; that is, nonwork is subsidized at the expense of work, with unfortunate consequences for the following:

ECONOMIC GROWTH

In the 1930's, the total federal, state, and local government wedge in the American economy was about 2-3% of GNP. In the late 40's it was 4-5%, and by the mid 50's the figure had grown to 7-8%. Presently the wedge is approximately 18% of our annual total output; if we add in other contributors to the wedge, we can imagine it as being \$400 billion currently. This represents a sharp expansion of the wedge over the last 40 years; indeed, it has grown faster in this country than perhaps in any other developed country during the time period (with the possible exception of Great Britain). With a growing wedge acting as a disincentive to work, it is not surprising that the U.S. has the slowest economic growth rate (per capita) to go with it. One effect of a growing wedge, then, is the retardation of economic growth (possibly to the point of "negative growth").

CYCLICALITY

"Cyclicality" refers to the tendency of the economic system to deflect from "equilibrium"—to "boom and bust." That a growing wedge leads to increased cyclicality can be seen from the following simple example.

Suppose that 100 apples are produced in the economy (neglecting everything else). 50 apples are paid out

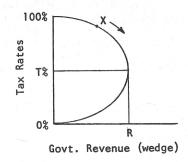
in wages, and 50 apples are distributed via transfer payments (e.g., unemployment benefits) resulting in a wedge of 50% in the economy. Now suppose that for some reason-bad weather, say--output falls to 90 apples, and transfer payments rise to 60 apples, leaving 30 apples to be paid out to the remaining producers, a return of 33% on their effort. The wedge has grown to 67%, nonwork is more attractive relative to work, and the increased disincentive to production leads to a further decline in output.

Again, it is not surprising that the U.S. is experiencing the largest post-war recession. And the way out of the recession is not as the Keynesians propose--to increase the wedge even further--but to decrease the wedge as quickly as possible.

GOVERNMENT REVENUE

It is clear that were tax rates as high as 100%--i.e., the government taxed away everything--there would be a total disincentive to work, and government revenue would be zero. Likewise, if tax rates were nil, government revenue would also be zero (though output would assuredly rise). Prof. Laffer has done no empirical work on the relationship between government revenue and tax rates (in the interim ranges), but his intuition tells him that the curve would look something like the figure

to the right. Prof. Laffer suspects that with
regard to specific taxes
we are currently situated
at point X on the curve,
and that to increase tax
rates would be counterproductive--from the government's point of view
(and, needless to say,
the taxpayer's). Now if
only we could get the
government to see that
it is in everybody's best



interest to lower taxes! (How we get them to lower tax rates past T%, the point of maximum government revenue, R, is another problem entirely.)

INFLATION

Consider a machine that turns out a profit of \$10. After a corporate profits tax of 50% is levied, \$5 is left to be paid in dividends. The average shareholder is in the 50% tax bracket and is left with only \$2.50 of the original \$10. The wedge is thus 75%.

Now suppose there's a little inflation, which generates paper profits, which in turn—assuming a progressive tax rate--push everyone and everything into higher tax brackets. On the \$10 economic profit produced by the machine, the tax is now 60%, leaving \$4 in dividends, which are now also taxed at 60%, leaving the shareholder with only \$1.60 of the original \$10. The wedge is now, after inflation, 84%. Thus we can see that inflation tends to make the overall wedge grow even faster.

After his presentation, Prof. Laffer answered questions from the audience, many of them of a technical nature. He declined to speculate on why we in this country have allowed our transfer payments—our wedge—to grow so fast. But Laffer, who privately admits to some libertarian leanings, did pose the rhetorical question: "When the output of your factors of production is taxed at 90%, can you be said to own those factors of production?" And, we must add: With the government taxing away more and more of your income (for you, too, are a factor of production), can you really be said to own your own life?

It was an evening well spent.

New Dimension for TANSTAAFL

BY BONNIE KAPLAN

TANSTAAFL moved from Chicago economics into SF (science fiction) when Robert Heinlein made it a slogan for the lunar revolutionaries in The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress. Now TANSTAAFL is part of fandom (science fiction fans and their activities) as a new SF club which made its public debut at Windycon, Chicago's SF convention, Oct. 3-5. TANSTAAFL was founded by libertarian fans who knew SF's appeal for latent and blatant libertarians. We thought our appearance at Windycon would bring out other fans taken by the TANSTAAFL philosophy. We were right.

Knowing that cons (SF conventions) are not the place for political activity, we deliberately did not proselytize. Our remarks, flyers, and club are nonpolitical. The flyers talked of alternatives and the freedom to explore them as well as future political/social/cultural systems in the context of SF.

Our philosophy has good recognition in fandom. Fans stopping at the TANSTAAFL table in the huckster room often identified us as libertarian without being told. Thirteen people, from Tennessee to Maryland, signed our list, and others asked for information about the LP.

Would we do it again? I think we are all still too exhausted to be enthusiastic. Next time we will need more help. Hopefully, some of our new people will spread the idea and TANSTAAFL will snowball into a national network of clubs. But whatever the fate of TANSTAAFL, 600 people saw us at Windycon, a rather successful beginning.

Letters to Other Editors

HIDDEN TAXES

Your editorial of Aug. 4, "Mr. Ford flings the gauntlet," was long overdue. You failed to bring forth, however, a simple fact of economics that eludes many people, especially politicians. That fact is—if you tax business, the price of consumer goods ultimately rises.

Politicians cautiously approach the individual taxpayer, who represents one vote. Instead they tax business and the taxpayer pays from the blind side.

In a final product there are many hidden taxes. In a common bottle of soda pop there are taxes on the glass, on the finished bottle, on chemicals, flavorings, and "fizz," on wood pulp or plastic, on the finished carton, on printing, on advertising, and on transportation. The only visible tax is a sales tax, a penny per bottle. Bargain, right? Wrong!

Politicians, with their mastery of evasive rhetoric, are displaying "shock" and are talking of Gerald Ford's "insensitivity" to the plight of the taxpayer. It seems to me that the Congress and its tag-along lobbies are insensitive to the fact that the American people are intelligent enough eventually to see through their schemes and rhetoric.

--MARYBETH S. KINNEY in the Chicago Tribune

THE IMPOVERTY WAR

"The war on poverty" was a catchy phrase and we were caught by it when they put the real impoverishers in charge. We've been increasingly impoverished ever since.

The opposite of poverty is plenty. There can only be plenty when everybody is free to work and to produce, when those who labor and produce reap the rewards, when people who save and invest in the tools and means of production are rewarded. But all we've been getting from

government are antiwork, antiproduction, and antireward laws, programs, and policies.

To win the war against poverty we must begin by ending those government programs that are making poverty more widespread.

--J. KESNER KAHN in the Chicago Tribune

LEGALIZE DRUGS

If the Sun-Times were truly concerned about the high cost to the nation of heroin addiction, it would have run instead of its series on the subject an editorial advocating the complete legalization of all drugs.

If all drugs were legalized, their prices would fall sharply. This would create almost no additional addicts, while enabling existing addicts to satisfy their needs legally or with minimal crime. Besides allowing people to walk the streets more safely, legalization would reduce taxes now needed for police, courts, jails, etc. This would add another billion dollars or so to the billions saved by reducing the crime rate.

-- JEFFREY D. SMITH in the Chicago Sun-Times

VILLAGE BOARD

At the Sept. 15 meeting, Village Pres. Edward Patten suggested a curfew time of 10:30 PM for village board meetings; the board would adjourn to a special meeting to complete long agendas.

I already have made suggestions which, incidentally, would be in accord with the spirit of the American Revolution. Not only would the board meetings be shorter, their frequency would be reduced to as few as one per year or less.

The principle behind the suggestions is to shrink back the powers of government (including our village government) to those which are proper to government; namely, foster the security of each individual as to his person, his property, and his liberty via the military and courts.

More specifically, abolish the following government functions: the granting of licenses and permits; the regulating of interpersonal and intergroup peaceful activities; land use control (zoning); and government operation or ownership of property, services, and businesses not connected with trespass of person, property, and/or liberty.

I do not claim that evil will disappear. I do claim that evils have increased in spite of and because of the above government activities. If you do not believe this, attend a few village board meetings with me.

Licenses and permits increase costs and wastes without corresponding benefit to citizens and consumers. Regulations stifle creativity and increase costs and wastes without corresponding benefit to citizens and consumers. Zoning has increased housing costs, flooding hazards, fuel consumption, and land scarcity and has forced the poor to join the welfare rolls.

Other government activities such as interfering with voluntary activities between individuals and groups have diluted the proper activities of government to such an extent that few obtain justice in court and that many are subject to violence.

Were my suggestions adopted, the only need to hold a village board meeting would be to face a genuine emergency which could not be solved another way or to plan the method of raising voluntary funds to support the next year's fiscal operations.

Freedom is not just a word, it is a moral way of life.

--BERNARD IRVING SOMMER in the Glenview Announcements

September Meeting Minutes

BY DALE NELSON

The meeting came to order at 2 PM, Sept. 28, at Riggio's Restaurant, Niles. Bob Randall being out of town, Dale Nelson agreed to take minutes. The August minutes were approved per the IL.

John Cody announced that contrary to the IL's convention report, he had not cast any vote for Roger MacBride. [John was not present for the voting.] Announcement of forthcoming events proceeded per the agenda.

OLD BUSINESS

National Review [the "Bulletin"] and Human Events listed George Wallace as second in the YAF Convention's mock convention. John Hospers actually won second place, and the Secretary was directed to write each publication on the matter.

The issue of giving National LP the LPI mailing list arose. Background: NLP desires to have the LPI mailing list for its own use, yet will not give LPI a list of NLP members living in Illinois. This hampers our organizing efforts. Chairman Steve Nelson has requested the list from NLP at least four times and has never got it. Additionally, no one was sure just what NLP plans to do with the list since there have been instances in the past of NLP selling lists to nonlibertarian members. Rumor has it that NLP has forsworn this practice, but there is nothing firm on this. The following motion passed 10 to 6: "LPI will not give NLP the LPI mailing list until LPI has a list of all national members in Illinois and written guarantees from NLP on what will be done with the LPI list."

The YAF letter will be mailed shortly. Fran Griffin, former Chairwoman of Illinois YAF, has agreed to sign it and encourage Illinois YAF'ers to join LPI.

Bob Osterlund reported that his recruitment mailing to former Illinois LPI members yielded a 2% response. LPI now has more current members than former members.

Rich Suter volunteered to go to the regional meeting in Des Moines if no one else would.

NEW BUSINESS

By a vote of 9 to 7, the agenda was upheld, cutting off an attempt to bring up the petition drive early.

The first item concerned the annual conference. Tentatively, this is set for Dec. 6-7 inclusive and will be both a general Mid West Conference and LPI Convention. The convention will feature selection of state officers, candidates for state offices, and adoption of by-laws. The conference will feature Roger MacBride.

A motion to have the two events combined passed overwhelmingly. Joe Cobb moved and Bob Osterlund seconded a motion to "have backers in a fashion similar to past successful conferences." Amended as follows: backers must be LPI or NLP members, can participate regardless of financial subscription, and must make regular reports to the LPI membership on progress.

Background: LPI functions have in the past been done by a group of members getting together, assuming liability, appropriating LPI's name, and running the whole show. The backers put up money-this serves as a starting budget--and agree to split all profits or losses. In the past, there having been no losses, profits have been turned over to the LPI general fund. This issue excited a lot of debate, so the minutes will go into the controversy at some length.

Pro-backer arguments: Backers stand to absorb losses. Having been through this before, the backers have the

necessary resources and expertise. Don't have a lot of time left, must move now.

Anti-backer arguments: LPI cannot repudiate any actions taken by backers. LPI ought not to lend its name to anonymous groups. The backers have not opened up membership opportunities as promised last time. The backers' interests tend to result in LPI business being shoved aside. LPI is capable of putting on the affair by itself.

Motion carried 13 to 5.

The following have volunteered to be backers: Steve Nelson, Rich Suter, Bob Osterlund, J. D. Webster, Joe Cobb, Ann McCracken. This group will select one of their number to organize everything. Anyone interested in being a backer, contact Steve Nelson [312/969-1088].

A motion for the backers to work with the LPI Chairman to arrange physical facilities for the LPI Convention passed 13 to 3.

A motion to set up three committees for the convention passed. They are: (1) Nominating, to find and approach candidates; (2) Credentials, to screen membership qualifications; and (3) Rules & Agenda, to set convention rules only. Any interested party please contact Steve Nelson.

Bonnie Kaplan moved, Jeff Dehn seconded: "The agenda committee shall immediately provide an agenda to the backers for use as a time budget, such agenda to take precedence over the backers' conference concerns."

The motion failed on the grounds that the backers must have full discretion in these matters or they will be unable to arrange things. The Chair ruled that the backers shall take full responsibility for all arrangements.

A motion to have the events in early January failed 9 to 4. A motion to have them necessarily on Dec. 6 ϵ 7 failed.

Jeff Smith's motion to settle disputes between backers and the agenda committee by providing the backers shall prevail in all cases was tabled.

The issue of limiting debate was tabled until the next meeting.

The petition drive issues were divided and considered separately.

First, the MacBride-Bergland campaign. Under the NLP by-laws, all state parties must support the national ticket or be disaffiliated. [Not quite: Article X, Section 1 of the by-laws reads: "No affiliate party shall endorse a candidate for President or Vice-President of the United States other than those elected to candidacy at a regular convention of the party. The autonomy of the affiliated parties shall not be abridged by the ExCom or other committees of the party, except as provided herein."] National Executive Director Bob Meier has appointed Joe Cobb to get the Illinois drive under way. Joe in turn has appointed Jeff Smith and J. D. Webster to coordinate the effort.

Due to legal complications, this is not an LPI project. LPI urges all its members to get involved. The Committee to Elect MacBride wishes to include LPI candidates for Illinois officers on their petitions. For further details, contact Joe Cobb [312/288-2270].

The RTA drive will be organized by LPI and may or may not affiliate with the CEMB as it shall determine.

* * * * *

[As this issue is a week late and all of the month-end meetings have already taken place, there is no Calendar this month.]

news and notes

SEARCH NO MORE: The 16th Legislative District Search Committee is a private citizens organization that looks for independent-minded candidates to run against machine candidates of both parties. LPIer Will Kinney recently went before the group to present his qualifications for state representative and to disseminate libertarianism. The libertarian philosophy was well received, and only the strict petition requirements prevented the group from endorsing Will over a Democrat or Republican (Will has since been disqualified for falling just two months short of residency requirements) -- but there is every indication that the Committee would back a libertarian candidate if one were already on the ballot. *

TAG TEAM: Joe Cobb and Rich Suter spelled each other perfectly on Mike Edwards' Nightline Show (WBBM-FM) earlier this month; between them and their call-in opponents it was no contest. (Expect big things from this combination in the future.)

CLIPPED AGAIN: The Governor's Office of Special Investigations has uncovered an elaborate shakedown scheme of barbers seeking state licenses from the Illinois Department of Registration. Investigators report that \$300,000 in payoffs in the last five years have been demanded of aspiring barbers, many of them immigrants, to ensure that they pass the state license examination, which includes a written test that "most medical doctors couldn't pass without memorizing the answers" and that has nothing to do with hair cutting. The Department of Registration regulates licensing for half a million persons in thirtythree occupations, ranging from horseshoers to doctors, and OSI Director Donald Page Moore has promised to extend the investigation to these other professions in the hope of uncombing other, similar abuses. * * *

TANSTAAFL: The Libertarian Science Fiction Club has pretzels and soda, T-shirts ("Don't Tread on Me"), and SF books left over from the Windycon. The club also did not break even. Send contributions and orders to: Bonnie Kaplan, 7820 Nordica 2A, Niles 60648 (312/967-1339). (Help support this worthy group, whose formation has been noted in the Southern Libertarian Review, the Libertarian Review, and Reason magazine in the past several months.)

OUR BETTER HALF REPLIES: Several months ago this publication reported that the Junior Senator from Illinois, Adlai Stevenson, disagrees with our

criticisms of national economic planning and views favorably the Humphrey-Javits Planning Bill. And now, our Senior Senator's reply: "Thank you for letting me know of your opposition to the Balanced Growth and Economic Planning Act (S. 1795). This bill presently is pending in the Government Operations Committee and no action has been taken to date. As ranking minority member of the Committee, | particularly appreciate your bringing your views on this bill to my attention. I basically agree with your comments on this legislation. I do not feel that a planning commission is the answer to our economic problems. You may be sure that if this bill is actively considered by the Committee, I will be keeping your thoughts in mind. Sincerely, Charles H. Percy, U.S. Senator." * * *

A LAMB AMONG WOLVES: The National Office of the Libertarian Party has opened up it's new headquarters in the nation's capital: Libertarian Party, 1516 P Street, NW, Washington, DC 20005.

POLICE STATES: Prime Minister Indira Ghandi's government has banned public drinking in India as a first step toward the Constitutional goal of total prohibition (so long, Nirvana). In Copenhagen, Denmark, a court has ruled that policemen can tell merely from the way a woman walks if she is soliciting (public solicitation is illegal, though prostitution is not). And here at home, a federal panel has upheld an Illinois statute that permits the state to commit "mentally ill" persons having no history of violent or dangerous conduct (GULAG Chicago?).

WHIRLWIND: One of the more active non-Party libertarians in the state is Bernie Sommer, who at the National Health Federation Midwest Regional Convention in Chicago Sept. 26-28 distributed almost 1,000 copies of a libertarian statement on drug use and health. Hardly a month goes by without a letter of Bernie's, always on libertarianism, appearing in a local newspaper, one of which (of Pioneer Press) reportedly plans to run a feature article on this ever-active vortex of anti-statist energy. (Where's he get his go?) * *

THE IMPERIAL PRESIDENCY: Ford may not be a Lincoln, but he sure is imperial: ask James Salamites. There he was, driving down a Hartford street and minding his own business when all of a sudden this big black limousine ran thru the red light and smashed Salamites' car all up and these hulking men came out and swarmed all over him and he was hauled downtown and grilled for four hours and he went

on TV and he said he was sorry (for what?) and after all this (as the press men incredulously reported), he still was not charged but was released (how gracious of them). Unfortunately (for us), auto insurance in Connecticut is no-fault, so the President (hah!) will have to pay for his own.

NOTA: The next meeting of this north side and north suburban libertarian organization will be held on Nov. 6, 8 PM at Will & Marybeth Kinney's, 5704 N. Mango Ave., Chicago (774-4105).

THE CZAR AND ALL HIS MINISTERS: The Washington Monthly has uncovered a Federal Energy Administration memorandum regarding the inflation in the number of executive position titles within the agency. The memo proposes a "freeze" on old titles, with a program of phased control over new titles. The list of old titles includes: Administrator, Deputy Administrator, Assistant Administrator, Deputy Assistant Administrator, Associate Deputy Administrator, Associate Assistant Administrator, Deputy Associate Assistant Administrator. And the new titles include: Associate Administrator, Deputy Associate Administrator, Assistant Associate Administrator. Deputy Assistant Associate Administrator, Assistant Deputy Associate Administrator, Assistant Deputy Administrator, Assistant Associate Deputy Administrator, Associate Assistant Deputy Administrator, Associate Deputy Assistant Administrator. (Yeah, but all I wanna know is who's gonna read my gas meter?) * * *

ONE FINAL NOTE: If you don't get vital, promised material to me on time, don't expect the newsletter on time either. NEW POLICY: ALL SUB-MISSIONS ARE DUE 10 DAYS BEFORE THE PUBLICATION DATE FOR INCLUSION IN THAT ISSUE. The next issue is due to be published on November 29th (a change from the Calendar); therefore, the next newsletter deadline will be November 19th (only three weeks away). And I do mean it!

The ILLINOIS LIBERTARIAN is published monthly by the Libertarian Party of Illinois, P.O. Monopoly Box 1776, Chicago, 111. 60690. Subscription is "free" for all current LPI members (and other worthies); for nonmembers (and unworthies) it is \$6/year. Submissions (due 10 days before publication) are welcome. The views expressed herein are not necessarily those of LPI, its officers, or the Editor, who by the Grace of the Chair is: Robert Osterlund, 5301 S. Kimbark Avenue, Chicago, 111. 60615 (312/752-6866).