



ILLINOIS LIBERTARIAN

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SPECIAL
CONVENTION
ISSUE

KICKOFF DINNER RATED A SUCCESS

by PAT NATSCHKE

The February 20 ballot drive kickoff dinner in Chicago raised as much money on a per-person basis as the most successful Libertarian fundraising dinner ever held here: the September, 1980 Ed Clark dinner that attracted 250 people.

This is according to state Party Chair Ray Birks. The dinner at the Illinois Athletic Club was attended by 63 people and a total of \$4,500 was raised. After expenses, the campaign netted about \$3,000, he said. "It was very successful in terms of the money raised and the number of people attending," Birks said. "It bodes very well for the campaign that we were able to raise a nice amount right at the beginning."

Birks served as master of ceremonies at the event. The keynote speaker was Bea Armstrong, Libertarian candidate for Governor of Illinois.

Armstrong's journalistic background was evident in the speech she prepared. Here are some highlights.

Talking about Reagan's proposed New Federalism, she observed: "The taxpayers who foot the bill for such bureaucratic musical chairs know that the difference between Springfield or Washington handling the programs is not going to make a difference in their tax bills." She continued: "The Libertarian Party denounces this 'change partners and dance' approach to solving problems. We are tired of that being the same old song the Democrats and Republicans sing."

Armstrong said the trouble with public transportation is there is too much government regulation, and monopolistic practices are permitted, such as limiting the number of cab licenses, which hinder competition. "It is competition that would provide the consumer in Chicago and the collar counties with transportation."

In the area of education, Armstrong said she supports tax credits. "We propose as a transition to diversity and accountability in education, tax credits transferable on a voluntary basis that could be used by any taxpayer to send any child to an independent school."

Near the end of her speech, Armstrong talked about her son and how he influenced her decision to run for governor: "I don't want him to ask me when he is grown up and living in a totalitarian state, 'Why didn't you do something before it was too late?'"

Armstrong stated that her campaign goals include achieving a 5 percent vote total to get permanent ballot status in Illinois, but especially "a chance to speak up for individual rights, to live one's life without interference by force or fraud, whether the interference comes from a private citizen or an elected one." She concluded by declaring that her short-range goal is to "give the voters of Illinois permanent ballot access to those who alone fly the banner of individual liberty"; her long-range goal is to "recapture liberty in our lifetime."

**NEWS FROM THE CATO INSTITUTE FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
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**NEW STUDY OFFERS BETTER WAY TO PREDICT
ELECTION RESULTS**

CATO INSTITUTE ANNOUNCES SEMINARS

Election analysts must recognize that there are not two but four distinct ideological groupings in the American electorate, according to a study released by the Cato Institute.

Political scientists Stuart A. Lilie and William S. Maddox, opinion-survey experts at the University of Central Florida, argue that the liberal-conservative dimension must be expanded to reflect four basic belief systems prevalent among the public. They designate those positions as liberal, conservative, populist, and libertarian. Populists are the largest group, comprising 24 percent of the electorate. Conservatives comprise 18 percent; liberals, 16 percent; and libertarians, 13 percent. (Divided, centrist, and inattentive respondents account for the remaining percentage.)

Lilie and Maddox describe the positions of the four groups as follows: "The liberal supports government intervention in economic affairs and the expansion of individual (civil) liberties; the conservative opposes both. The libertarian supports expanded individual liberties but opposes economic intervention. The populist supports economic intervention but opposes expansion of individual liberties."

Traditionally, Lilie and Maddox explain, political scientists have evaluated ideological thinking among the public only in terms of the liberal-conservative dimension. "Thus respondents whose attitude do not fit the researcher's definition of liberal or conservative are categorized as nonideological or inconsistent. This approach of course assumes that liberal and conservative are the most meaningful and logical positions for a person to take. In recent years, however, researchers have become uncomfortable with the unidimensional approach."

In revising this traditional approach, Lilie and Maddox took the data collected by the 1976 Center for Political Studies Election Survey and analyzed it in a different way. Taking three economic questions and three civil-liberties questions, they classified each respondent as being in favor of or opposed to government intervention in the economy and in favor of or opposed to the expansion of individual liberties. Then they combined the two major issue dimensions into four categories to describe more precisely the ideological orientation of the public.

Besides coming up with the overall percentages cited above, they also analyzed the demographic characteristics of each group. For instance, pop-

This summer the Cato Institute will mark its fifth consecutive year offering week-long seminars in libertarian theory with a return to the Dartmouth and Stanford campuses. The seminar at Dartmouth College is scheduled for the week of July 3-10, while the Stanford University seminar will be held the week of August 4-14.

These seminars have always been popular with libertarian activists and thinkers because they provide a comprehensive overview of the philosophy of liberty along with an opportunity to discuss ideas with well-known and knowledgeable libertarian intellectuals. A week at one of these seminars also seems to instill that elusive feeling of comraderie among the participants which can be so hard to come by in the typical workplace or classroom setting.

This year, noted libertarian lecturers Israel Kirzner, Roy Childs, Earl Ravenal, Ralph Raico, George Smith and Leonard Liggio will return to give an intensive series of 24 lectures in economics, ethics, foreign policy, American history and policy issues.

The fee is \$395.00 with a reduced rate of \$150.00 for students. Enrollment is on a selective basis. More information on how to apply can be obtained by writing to:

Janet Nelson
Director of Public Affairs
Cato Institute
224 Second Street, SE
Washington, DC 20003

ulists predominate at the lowest income level in the sample, while libertarians are more heavily represented in upper income groups. At the lowest education levels, populists and conservatives dominate (reflecting an agreement that civil liberties should not be expanded but a disagreement over economic questions), while liberal and libertarians are the largest groups among college graduates (reflecting an agreement that civil liberties should be expanded but again a disagreement over economic issues). Liberals and libertarians are strongest among the youngest age groups, while populists and conservatives dominate among older respondents. Libertarians are strongest in the West and weakest in the South, while populists reflect just the opposite geographical distribution.
(continued on the following page)

GERRY WALSH FOR CHAIR

Current Northern Illinois Vice-Chair
Delegate to 1981 National Convention
School Board Candidate for District 211

I'm running for Chair because I need a new excuse to remain active. In the past year, I've visited almost every affiliated club (including Rock Island). I'm impressed with the people we have here. I enjoy this work.

The coming year is important because of the statewide election in November and the elections for local office in April 1983. The goals I see for the Party include:

- 1) Assist the Armstrong for Governor campaign. This is the Party's most important activity in 1982. The Campaign Committee and the Party will work synergistically to spread the Libertarian name and ideas.
- 2) Encourage the organization of new local clubs. This can be done by identifying areas with a significant number of libertarians (e.g., Champaign-Urbana, Springfield). Local members can then be contacted to organize these areas.
- 3) Increase public awareness about libertarianism using existing clubs.
We can draw on existing talents here. Knowledge of activities which have worked in the past can be shared among local clubs. The Activist Workshop at this year's Convention is an excellent example.
- 4) Develop candidates for local elections.
The Armstrong Campaign will keep the Libertarian name in the limelight and get us permanent ballot status. We have to use this impetus and follow up with candidates in the April 1983 elections. Remember: we won't win state elections until we elect local officials.

PAT NATSCHKE FOR SECRETARY

I am Pat Natschke, a candidate for Secretary of the Libertarian Party of Illinois.

I joined the national LP and the Illinois LP two years ago. I have been involved in the campaigns of Jim Peron, Bruce Green and Ed Clark, getting petitions signed, distributing literature, conducting telephone surveys, marching in parades, attending fund-raising dinners and helping out with huge mailings.

I joined the Northwest Cook County Libertarian Organization in the summer of 1980 and have held the position of Secretary for that group for two years. For the last few months I have also been Assistant Editor of the Illinois Libertarian newsletter.

Besides my obvious interest and involvement with the Libertarian Party, I feel my professional background also is a plus to my candidacy. I worked as a secretary for eight years before becoming a reporter for a business newspaper. I

take shorthand and my typing is fast and accurate.

My interest in the position has led me to attend an SCC meeting and watch Marji Kohls in action, and also to learn something about the data base, by spending a few hours with Ray Birks, Dan Hansen and the computer to punch out cards for the mailing list.

I think the job will be challenging, but I would welcome the opportunity to meet and work with other Libertarians for the Libertarian Party of Illinois.

NEW CATO ELECTION STUDY (continued from the preceding page)

tion.

Questioning why political scientists have continued to use the one-dimensional liberal-conservative approach when it has obvious disadvantages, Lilie and Maddox offer a partial answer. First, they point out that many researchers assume that liberal and conservative define the conflicts in American politics. It is the basic division within institutions like Congress and is therefore most relevant for voters as well. If voters hold other ideological positions, they are largely irrelevant to the political system. But in fact, when analyzing even elites like Congress, the liberal-conservative continuum must often be discarded or modified. Second, the authors say, a major reason for continued use of the liberal-conservative approach is its mechanical simplicity. They suggest that both these factors are reflected by the authors of a recent article, who conclude that it is necessary to analyze issues consistency on a liberal-conservative scale so that "electoral mandates could be easily interpreted."

However, Lilie and Maddox conclude, "By clarifying the liberal and conservative labels and adding two new categories we are able to more completely explain the behavior of the American electorate ... We find tendencies for our four groups to behave differently (even after controlling for various demographic factors) in such areas as party identification, presidential vote, and evaluation of candidates' issue positions. Further, we can speculate that the existence of two major groups of people who hold political beliefs for which the traditional language and labels of American politics provide more confusion than clarity has long-range implications for the political system.

"(Contemporary political changes) may also be related to the presence of two ideological groups in society whose belief systems are not reflected by the Democratic or the Republican party nor by their candidates.

"If our analysis is correct, the major parties and their candidates will have to deal with the presence of at least four, rather than two, ideological groupings in the American electorate. And those who seek to predict or explain voter behavior including voter apathy will especially have to recognize these four distinct groups."

LOCAL CLUB NEWS

by GERRY WALSH

I'm going to use a change of format since there are a number of activities which involve more than one club.

APRIL 15th TAX PROTEST

On April 15th members of the DuPage, Northwest Cook and North Cook Clubs (with possible help from McHenry and Lake County members) will picket the Chicago Main Post Office at 433 West Van Buren Street until midnight. Signs will advertise TAXATION IS THEFT and other great libertarian slogans which last-minute taxpayers should find thought-provoking. We need a good turnout to counter the protestors of the "bread, not guns" variety: we're attacking the principle of taxation, not the particular application. Show up any time after 5 pm.

APRIL 16th

An introduction to libertarianism will be held on the heels of the tax protest to open the 1982 State Convention. Speakers include Libertarian gubernatorial candidate Bea Armstrong and Libertarian National Chair Alicia Clark. The new introductory film, "We Hold These Truths" will also be shown. Time: 7 pm. Place: Holiday Inn at Madison and Halsted, Chicago. Call 312-248-2250 for more details.

LIBERTARIANS FOR CONGRESS

Club Chairs Dan Hansen and Joan Jarosz have declared their candidacies for U.S. Congress from the 9th and 12th Districts, respectively. Both candidates will need contributions of time and money as well as 5,000 valid signatures before August to assure a place on the November ballot.

Hansen will face Democratic incumbent Sidney Yates and Republican challenger Catherine Bertini in the 9th District on the Northside of Chicago. The 12th District now contains McHenry County, most of Lake, and a portion of Northwest Cook County. Jarosz is challenging Republican incumbent Phil Crane. There will be no Democrat running against Jarosz and Crane.

STATE CONVENTION APRIL 16-18

FREE Convention packages (a \$60 value) will be given away by the Armstrong for Governor campaign for 500 valid signatures (TANSTAAFC). Holiday Inn at Madison and Halsted, Chicago.

PARADES AND COUNTY FAIRS

Rockford Northwest Cook, DuPage, Lake and McHenry are all planning to enter local parades and county fairs. Now is the time to investigate and make reservations.

STUDY GROUPS

The study packet series from the Society for Individual Liberty are proving very popular in

Illinois. Lyn Tinsley of Des Plaines has organized a weekly study group using them. The McHenry and DuPage groups are also using them at monthly study group sessions. The Will County study group is listening to and discussing tapes on Objectivism on alternating Sundays. Interested persons can contact Anne McCracken at 739-6240.

WORLD SCIENCE FICTION CONVENTION

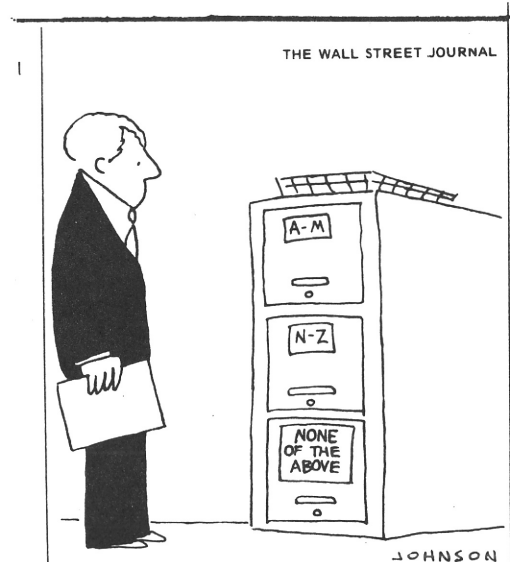
The Northwest and Northside clubs will be jointly sponsoring a booth at the World Science Fiction Convention in Chicago during September.

TAXPAYERS: 1 COUNTY BOARD: 2

DuPage County taxpayers will have three county-wide tax-cut referenda on the ballot in November, thanks to the Libertarian Club of DuPage and the National Taxpayers United of Illinois. The folks in Lake and Winnebago Counties aren't so lucky; their county boards blocked the referenda by putting spuerfluous referenda on the November ballot before the tax-cut petitions could be filed.

The Chair of the DuPage County Board kept LCD members Pat Peterson and Fran Holt waiting for two hours while he obtained legal counsel concerning his competence (my phrasing -- GW) to accept the petitions. In the end, he accepted them.

In Lake and Winnebago Counties the high-handedness of the boards was noted by the local newspapers. The blocking of the petitions was a page one story in Rockford, with prominent mention of local Libertarians. The Lake County move upset even the Daily Herald, a perennial supporter of tax increases. The papers claimed that such board actions only increase support for disreputable individuals (e.g., persons who oppose taxation), such as NTUI's Jim Tobin.





**Libertarian
National
Committee**

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NEWS RELEASE

DRAFT REGISTRATION HAS FAILED

(Washington, D.C.) "The young men of America have rejected draft registration," Libertarian National Director Eric O'Keefe said today. "It is time for President Reagan to recognize reality -- and justice -- and end registration."

O'Keefe pointed out that Selective Service itself acknowledges that nearly one million young men have failed to register and about as many more have moved without informing Selective Service. "In fact, the figures are probably much higher. Selective Service has consistently overestimated the actual percentage of registrants," O'Keefe said.

O'Keefe charged, "The only reason for registration is that the Administration wants to be prepared to bring back the draft, the most fundamental violation of individual rights imaginable. When Ronald Reagan was a candidate for President, he was a forthright opponent of the draft and draft registration. Now that he doesn't need our

votes anymore, he has broken his pledge. Well, he's gotten his answer from the young people of America. According to his laws, two million young men are now criminal. Is he planning to build enough jails for all of them?"

O'Keefe said, "This fall more than 1,000 Libertarian candidates will take the Libertarian Party's bold and progressive program to the American people. One of its fundamental elements will be an end to draft registration, abolition of the Selective Service system, and amnesty for those young men who refused to give up their rights by registering. Faced with the choice of \$100 billion deficits, repressive social policies, and a dangerous foreign policy from the Republicans, or even bigger spending and social engineering from the Democrats, I think millions of Americans will choose the Libertarian alternative of peace, personal freedom, and a massive reduction in the size and power of government."

NONE OF THE ABOVE

by JEANNETTE WALDER

None Of The Above (NOTA) is a libertarian tradition. Libertarians have been placing NOTA on their ballots and casting votes for NOTA in "real" elections for years. NOTA is a very useful tool in the political arena and I'd like to urge LPI members to vote for NOTA in the upcoming elections for Party officers at the State Convention.

Only one person has announced for each office; no incumbent is seeking reelection. Why is this? Is there a lack of interest in running the LPI? Are these new candidates the only four LPI members who haven't burned out yet? What are all the other activists doing?

I think it is safe to say that there are more than four Libertarians in Illinois who aren't burned out. 1982 is a "real" election year and many activists are devoting time, money and effort to state and local campaigns.

Furthermore, if any of you have attended a Libertarian State Central Committee meeting in the past year, you might have come to the conclusion that the State Central Committee is ineffectual and counter-productive and also that the Party is

without any funds. So it might seem reasonable to you that not many activists would be interested in running a bankrupt organization. Also, Illinois activists get more "points" from putting on a campaign than they do from running the antiquated state Party organization.

If all (or even some) of this is true, there are two choices we can make. We can do nothing and maintain the status quo. Or we can accept the fact that the state Party exists only to serve the "real" elections and act accordingly. By that I mean that the Libertarian Party of Illinois should pattern itself after the Republican and Democratic state parties and abolish the statewide election of officers. Instead, they would be chosen by the State Central Committee.

But since it is unlikely that the LPI will adopt such a modern constitution in time for this election, I would urge all of you to choose None Of The Above for every office. If NOTA wins any office, then the State Central Committee will either fill the vacancy or simply do without those positions that it can't fill. Even if NOTA were to win all the offices, the Party would go on; it might even improve.

I look forward to placing None Of The Above in nomination for each Party office at the Convention.

ACTIVISTS WRITE NEWSPAPER EDITORS

The following letter to the editor appeared in the Rockford Register Star on January 31, 1982:

"Who Cares for Poor?"

We will continue to have government involvement in our lives until we demand that it cease and when we are willing to assume responsibility for our own lives.

One responsibility that was touched upon by your paper on January 19 was the return of our welfare system to the private sector. I was saddened by some of the statements made by some religious leaders with regard to their duties to the fatherless, homeless, and poor. Where, in Christian doctrine, are we taught that we should be "lobbying with government agencies for more help for the poor"? Since when does the churches' charitable responsibility become the states'? How can these religious leaders tell their congregations that they must be accountable when they themselves want to shift their duties to someone else? The clergy preach tithing. I thought the money given was for God's work. If not this purpose, what? The building fund?

The churches and other private charities are competing with government for money. Everyone needs an income to survive. After Uncle Sam takes his share, charitable donations are a difficult burden for many. When bureaucrats decide on rules to govern our welfare system they are making value judgments. Inflexible rules are poorly applied to individual cases. Should you be forced to give to a charity you don't support? Government agencies have no real incentive to solve social problems. A solution spells death for a bureaucratic empire.

In contrast, if the churches with other private charities took care of those in need, our taxes could be reduced. Everyone would have more money available for voluntary donations to whatever private charities they deemed worthy. Donors could directly see the services rendered for the money given and have an incentive to truly help and solve the problems. They would be more willing to become involved. Solutions could be tailored to the problems of the needy and beliefs of the donors. No humane person likes to see another in pain.

The Libertarian Party has long advocated the return of freedom and responsibility to the people. The private sector has everything to gain by such action -- the only thing to lose is a poorly run welfare system.

Katherine M. Kelley
Rockford

The following letter to the editor appeared in the Chicago Tribune on March 11, 1982

"Negotiating the Law of the Seas Treaty"

The Tribune's recent editorial on the Law of the Seas urged the United States delegation to look beyond selfish interests and strive instead for conflict resolution and an improvement of the human condition, especially in developing coun-

tries.

Most of us share those objectives. However, the distasteful reality is that agreement on the current draft treaty will not achieve those objectives. The more likely result will be a heightening of tensions as detailed regulation replaces voluntary exchange. Moreover, as the supply of oil, minerals, fish and other ocean resources are restricted by provisions of the treaty, prices will go up, thereby worsening the condition of consumers, especially in less developed countries where the growth rate of consumption is the greatest.

The essential truth is that the effort to avoid conflict and help poor people takes more than good intentions. It requires many technical skills that generally are not possessed by the lawyer-diplomats negotiating the sea law treaty.

James L. Johnston
Wilmette

The following letter to the editor appeared in the Daily Herald on January 19, 1982:

"Subsidized Housing"

The Justice Department recently published a report charging that high house prices bar blacks and other minorities from living and working in the suburbs. The Herald argued that the construction of subsidized housing was central to the solution of this problem. "No longer can there be any argument over the necessity for subsidized housing," said the Herald. Well, I disagree. There are compelling arguments against subsidized housing.

The first argument is that subsidized housing is unjust. It is unjust because it involves the forcible transfer of property from one person to another. The fact that one person has more property than the other is irrelevant. Emotional appeals cannot make a forcible transfer just, nor can high-minded legislation make it just. Whether a forcible property transfer is done at the point of a gun or with the flourish of a legislator's pen makes no difference at all to the victim: it is still theft to him; his property has still been expropriated.

The second argument against subsidized housing is a very practical one: it costs too much. In six short years, Federal housing subsidies have cost a quarter of a trillion dollars in taxpayer funds. This staggering liability has been run up with only a tenth of all eligible low-income tenants. To expand this program further would be folly of a high order; prudence demands that it be cut back.

If blacks and other minorities want to live in high-cost housing in the suburbs, they should get their rent or mortgage money the same way other suburbanites do: earn it.

George A. Clowes
Mount Prospect

March 31, 8 pm. South Side Libertarian Club; East Lounge (2nd floor), Ida Noyes Hall, 1212 E 59th ST.

April 3. Anti-tax "Freedom Fair"; Bea Armstrong, Libertarian for Governor, may speak. For details, call Ken Prazak 312-485-1974.

April 7, 8 pm. South Side Libertarian Club; for location, see March 31.

April 9, 2:10; 5:40; 9:10. Dr. Strangelove: "General Jack D. Ripper (Sterling Hayden) orders his jets to drop the Big One on Moscow and an international crisis explodes in Kubrick's spoof of nuclear politics, scripted by Terry Southern. Peter Sellers plays the titular doctor (modeled after Henry Kissinger) and two other roles. George C. Scott and Keenan Wynn are featured (1964)". Parkway Theater, Clark and Diversey, Chicago.

April 9, 2:00 pm. United States Court of Appeals, 219 S Dearborn St, Room 2721, Chicago. Notice of Oral Argument: No. 80-2082, United States of America, Plaintiff-Appellee, versus Thomas E. Verkuilen, Defendant-Appellant; Appeal from the United States District Court for the Northern District of Illinois, Eastern Division, No. 80-Cr-220, Judge Bernard M. Decker.

April 14, 8 pm. Students for a Libertarian Society; for location, see March 31.

April 15, 5 pm to midnight. TAX PROTEST at the Main Post Office, 433 W Van Buren ST, Chicago and at other locations. BE THERE! This could be the largest local protest ever; anti-tax leaflets announcing the State Convention will be handed out. Contact Mike Shipe 312-248-3080.

April 16, 7:30 pm. "Who Me? A Libertarian?" An introduction to libertarianism with National Chair Alicia Garcia Clark, Bea Armstrong and David Boaz. (Preceded by a cocktail party at 6 pm). Holiday Inn, Halsted at Madison in Chicago.

April 17 & 18: 1982 Libertarian State Convention Holiday Inn at Halsted and Madison in Chicago. For more details, call 312-248-2250

April 21, 8 pm. South Side Libertarian Club; for location, see March 31.

April 25. Libertarians of Lake County; subject: How to Dismantle the State; location to be announced. Call Bill King 312-662-3959.

April 28, 8 pm. Students for a Libertarian Society; for location, see March 31.

May 23. Libertarians of Lake County; subject: "For a New Liberty" by Murray Rothbard; location to be announced. Call Bill King 312-662-3959.

Libertarian Miscellany Club



Our specialty is books about Freedom. Maybe that's why we're the world's smallest book club. But if you read and care about Liberty, we offer outstanding discounts

ROUTE 10, BOX 52-A

FLORENCE, SOUTH CAROLINA 29501

It has been a long, long time since I received a copy of the Illinois Libertarian. Since your impressive first issue with the beginning of Hummel's repudiation piece, I have not gotten a single copy in the mail. I trust you have been receiving Caliber in a timely fashion. If not, then let me know and I will fill any missing issues (I've been out like clockwork every two months since I took over in February 1981).

Hummel is now living in California (I lured him here with a salary for becoming the Research Director for the 1982 California campaigns), and he showed me the attack on his article, as well as your reply. Hummel was delighted with it, as I was. You're a damn good libertarian, if I do say so myself. Keep it up, but let me get the product.

Which reminds me of one criticism I have of IL: It is generally outstanding!! Now that Free Texas has been murdered and Colorado Liberty apparently out of circulation, it may be my key rival!!! I have noticed one habit of yours which is annoying, though!!!! You overuse a particular type of punctuation!!!! But I can't remember which one it is at the moment. All I know is that it is something you should use only when you want to attach particular emphasis to a statement. Take it from a virgin, there are some things so terrific that they should be used only sparingly.

May the non-initiation of force be with you.

Less Antman

The preceding letter was written by the editor of Caliber, the excellent newsletter of the Libertarian Party of California.

FINAL ON NATIONAL DEBT REPUDIATION

by RICHARD W. SUTER

Since I was given the kindness of reading Verkuilen's rebuttal before it was printed, that was my chance to take it on blow by blow. Since I didn't then, I won't now, except to make two brief points.

First, I do not advocate higher taxes for anything, under any conditions. I am not opposed as a matter of principle of repealing or not repealing the National Debt; my only concern is a matter of strategy for winning elections.

Second, the 1975 LP National Platform advocated the repudiation of the National Debt. At the New York convention, a challenge from the floor to whether or not such a repudiation was a violation of Libertarian principles was made to the National Judicial Committee of which Joe Cobb was Chair. Cobb convened a meeting of the Judicial Committee and announced to the Convention that the Committee had found by a slim majority that such repudiation was "not theft, but in accord with Libertarian Principles." The section calling for repudiation of the National Debt was deleted from the National Platform at the 1977 National Convention in San Francisco.

by THOMAS E. VERKUILEN

"HUMAN LAW IS LAW ONLY IN VIRTUE OF ITS ACCORDANCE with right reason: and thus it is manifest that it flows from the eternal law. And in so far as it deviates from right reason, it is called an unjust law; in such case it is not law at all, but rather a species of violence." -- Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica, I-II, Q. 93, Art. 3 ad 2).

ILLINOIS LIBERTARIANS ARE REMINDED THAT EARLY collection of petition signatures can pay off handsomely. The Armstrong Campaign increased its discount off the full Convention package from 5% to 10% for every 50 signatures turned in at the State Convention. Signatures should be notarized, but a notary may be available at the Convention. Now only 500 signatures could give you a completely FREE Convention package.

From the "Brickbats and Bouquets" column in the February 1982 issue of Libertarian Vanguard come the following two items:

A TRIPLE BRICKBAT TO RICHARD SUTER FOR HIS column in the November/December, 1981 Illinois Libertarian in which he argues for perpetuating the Social Security System, for paying off, rather than repudiating, the national debt, and for the view that people who pay taxes and vote in elections abrogate their fundamental rights and are entitled only to the rights governments grant them. Suter advocates paying off the national debt by selling current government holdings (so much for the homesteading principle) and places the avoidance of "dislocation in (people's) private lives" and the fulfillment of their expectations above libertarian principle. The road to tyranny is paved with guarantees of people's expectations...

A BOUQUET TO DANIEL HANSEN FOR HIS FRONTLINES (January 1982) article entitled "Is the LP Like a Government?" Hansen is properly critical of those who attempt to analyze the structure of the Party and other movement organizations in terms of libertarian principle. Just as there's no distinctly libertarian way to live one's life, there's no distinctly libertarian or unlibertarian way to organize -- beyond, of course, abstaining from aggression...

ENCLOSED WITH THIS NEWSLETTER IS THE OFFICIAL mail ballot for the election of Party officers. Be sure to send in your mail ballot if you have not tendered a proxy to another Party member and if you're not going yourself. But you really should plan on attending this year. Many exciting speakers and panels are planned, such as one of England's leading libertarians, David Ramsay Steele. And it could become a wide-open Convention if that perennial candidate, None Of The Above, pulls off a big upset this year.

DIED: Ayn Rand, 77, author and philosopher; of natural causes after a long illness, at her home in New York City, March 6. Rand, who was born in czarist Russia and came to the United States in 1926, first worked as a movie extra and junior scriptwriter for Cecil B. DeMille. In 1943 she published "The Fountainhead", a novel that made her famous and continued to be a big seller until her death. In her other works, including plays, several nonfiction books, scores of essays and three other novels, Rand consistently espoused her controversial philosophy of Objectivism, which she once described as advocating "reason, individualism and capitalism". For rejecting altruism and embracing what she called "rational selfishness", Rand was criticized by theologians and liberal thinkers, but her views were embraced as inspirational by legions of admirers. As John Galt, the hero of her novel "Atlas Shrugged", explains Objectivism at the climax of a 57-page speech: "I swear -- by my life and my love of it -- that I will never live for the sake of another man, nor ask another man to live for mine".

The preceding was reprinted from the March 15 issue of Newsweek. The following was part of the news report of the comedy show FRIDAYS on March 12:

"Ayn Rand, author of 'The Fountainhead' and 'Atlas Shrugged', died last Saturday at the age of 77. Miss Rand, known for her philosophy of Objectivism, a belief in the virtue of personal selfishness and unbounded capitalism, buried herself in her own backyard, allegedly charged admission to the funeral and refused to pay taxes on the proceeds."

DRAFT RESISTANCE HELP AVAILABLE

by BONNIE KAPLAN

The Midwest Committee for Military Counseling (MCMC) gives training sessions for lawyers on defense of draft resistance cases. The session is also available on tape. MCMC can be reached at 53 E Van Buren ST, Chicago IL 60605, 312-939-3349.

Also, now that prosecutions seem likely, it would be good for people to know that they may contribute to or draw from a legal defense and bail fund for draft and military resisters. The fund is administered through MCMC; contributions should be sent to them, earmarked for the bail fund. Anyone needing emergency legal aid or advice should call Marian Neudel at 312-363-4072. There will be a panel on the draft at the State Convention.

LAST RAMBLING

This special Convention issue is the final one edited by Tom Verkuilen, fulfilling his commitment last year to published regularly the Illinois Libertarian until the State Convention. The new editor will be named at the first Libertarian State Central Committee meeting after the Convention. Public assistance, as always, is more than welcome.

A RESPONSE TO MURRAY ROTHBARD

by LESLIE KEY

You may have recently received the August 1981 - January 1982 issue of Libertarian Forum by Murray Rothbard. I want to believe that someone imitated Rothbard's style, and sent out a fraudulent Forum in an attempt to disgrace him. If that proves to be the case, my apologies to Rothbard, and please discount the following.

In Libertarian Forum, Rothbard writes a long article on LP/10 and the first two National Committee meetings. At least that's what he claims to be writing about. The errors, distortions and vitriolic rhetoric make it hard to believe he is talking about events I actually attended.

You can probably tell from his rhetoric that Rothbard is filled with hatred and bias. But unless you were a close observer of the Convention and the NatCom meetings, you will be unaware of the extent to which Rothbard's rendition of events varies from the truth.

Errors and distortions are contained in nearly every paragraph. The attached paragraph-by-paragraph discussion of just one section of the article, the part on the November 7-8 National Committee meeting, clearly establishes this.

In addition, note some additional general things about the section on the November meeting. Rothbard provides no coverage of the goals authored by Alicia Clark and me, and approved overwhelmingly by the NatCom. He provides no comments on the budget proposed by the Budget Committee consisting of Vivian Baures, Alicia Clark, Eric O'Keefe and me, which was also overwhelmingly approved, after minor amendments.

The goals and budget were the most important items at the November 7-8 meeting. If Rothbard agrees with these, then what is all of his shouting about? How far astray can he consider the LP if he supports these major items? And why does Rothbard inault national office employees in his article, and vote to restrict national office activities at NatCom meetings if he agrees with NatCom and national office goals?

Whatever Rothbard is up to, his writing shows that he counts among his enemies not only many devoted Libertarians, but the truth.

VII Post-Convention: The Second NatComm, Nov. 7-8, Bethesda, Md.

The Second NatComm was a very different story, with several significant votes being wrested from Crane Machine domination by an increasingly effective Greater Coalition being forged between the old Clark and Mason camps.

The first great battle occurred at the very beginning. Two people claimed to be the regional rep from Region 15 (Maryland, D.C., and West Virginia). These two were Jule Herbert (D.C.), a top Crane Machiner, and I. Dean Ahmad (Md.), a Clark supporter. Clearly, the Machine was ready to go to the mat on this one. I submitted a resolution, one that seemed eminently sensible to me, that a 3-man Credentials Committee be appointed by the Chair to consider the confusing claims of both parties, and then to report back at the next meeting. Much to my surprise, the resolution passed by 14-9 (unfortunately no one insisting on a roll call.) The first defeat for the Machine! Also, the committee appointed by Alicia is a fine one (Crussel, A. Rich, Monroe).

It should be noted that the "fine" Credentials Committee appointed by Alicia Clark unanimously recommended in a December 7, 1981 memo to all National Committee members (including Rothbard) that Jule Herbert be seated as the "duly elected" representative from Region 15. The election dispute had been covered in mailings prior to the meeting, and those in favor of seating Herbert were already familiar with the facts later confirmed by the Credentials Committee.

Unfortunately, Chris Hocker (D.C.) partially recouped for the Machine by moving an amendment imposing pro-Jule Herbert restrictions on the Committee's deliberations, and the Hocker Amendment, though absurdly contradictory to the very idea of a credentials committee, passed narrowly by a vote of 14 to 13. And so the Herbert/Ahmad question is still in a state of confusion. (Motion 1 in the roll call table below.)

The Hocker amendment instructed the Credentials Committee that "only the 20 delegates registered in Denver be permitted to vote in the best and easiest way possible." This was an attempt to comply with the LP Bylaws. It has now become a moot question because no new election is being held -- a mail ballot held in September is being reconized as the valid election.

Next, Evers moved to suspend the rules to restore the old NatComm rule, on the books since 1972, barring Presidential candidates from invoking the equal access, fairness doctrine, or other coercive FCC rules to obtain broadcast time. This rule, wholly in keeping with libertarian principle and the LP Platform (old as well as new), was violated in secret by Crane, Hocker, and Herbert during the Clark campaign of 1980. When their abhorrent action was considered by the old NatComm at the beginning of the convention, it merely noted the violation, and then shamefully proceeded to revoke the rule. Evers' motion to consider restoring the rule was defeated by a vote of 13-15. (Motion 2 in the table below). Rest assured; the LP and the NatComm has not heard the end of this key question of principle. It will be raised again and again and again.

The Evers motion was to place the motion on the agenda, which requires a 2/3 vote. The merits of the question were not discussed because it was not placed on the packed agenda. The 2/3 vote is required in order to facilitate advance preparation and open discussion of questions. The FCC question was well debated in the mail before the August 26 National Committee meeting, when the 1972 resolution was repealed.

Evers had also attempted to add this item to the August 30 agenda. One wonders why he didn't just request the item with the three weeks notice required for preparation and discussion.

Pratt (Haw.) and Monroe (Tex.) moved to require roll call votes on all main motions. The motion lost by a vote of 11 to 14, with 2 abstentions. (Motion 3 in the table below.) Some of those failing to support this motion felt that requiring all roll call votes would be too onerous a task, but this objection was belied by Secretary Eddy's assurance that this would pose no problem. At any rate, it is firmly set that three NatComm members can always require a roll call.

A large majority of the National Committee supported the resolution at the August 30 NatComm meeting permitting any three members to require a roll call vote. It's hard to see why Rothbard considers this a crucial issue, since he, Pratt, and Evers can already obtain roll call votes on any or every question.

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A RESPONSE TO ROTHBARD
(continued from the preceding page)

While it was generally agreed to send NatComm minutes to all state chairs, the proposal to send them to state newsletter editors failed by 7 to 21, some of the opposition using the absurd argument that the FBI, IRS or other government agency might then see them (Heavens! is the LP now underground?) Once again, keeping the party members ignorant seems to be the major point. (Motion 4 below.)

Rothbard cites on of the lesser arguments used against sending the minutes to state LP newsletter editors. Others were: 1) expense (the minutes were already available at cost to any LP member); 2) lack of interest (no newsletter editor had requested free copies); 3) copies of minutes can be obtained from their state chairs or regional representatives.

Rothbard fails here to mention the motion also promoted by his allies to require the publication of the minutes in Libertarian Party News. There has never been any indication from readers that they want to read the minutes, which tend to be long and boring, and provide only a sketchy picture of what occurred at meetings. Minutes tend to be so sketchy that Robert's Rules of Order requires that when minutes are to be published, they incorporate verbatim transcripts of all arguments offered on each question. One set of such minutes would more than fill any issue of Libertarian Party News.

Unfortunately, Eric O'Keefe was again granted his absolute power over \$10,000 a month to distribute to state parties for ballot status. The motion to rescind that power lost by 9 to 16, with 3 abstentions. (Motion 5 below.)

As National Director, O'Keefe is responsible for disbursing all LP funds, within the guidelines established by the National Committee. In objective discussions, this responsibility is not called "absolute power."

The motion was not to rescind the "power" of O'Keefe to allocate funding but to rescind the funding itself, which would have required shutting down two ballot drives already in progress. In addition, this arbitrary mid-course change would have sharply impaired the confidence of state LP's when dealing with the NatCom.

Then, even Dave Bergland (Cal.)'s mild motion to require O'Keefe to submit periodic written reports on his actions lost by 8 to 18 with 1 abstention. (Motion 6 below.)

Bergland's motion did not require "periodic reports", which are already given in headquarters reports, financial reports, and elsewhere. It required that "the National Director prepare a memo reporting transactions between national headquarters and each state with a ballot drive." O'Keefe pointed out that agreements with state LP's change frequently during ballot drives, and a memo written to describe arrangements would be likely to become obsolete quickly, leading to unnecessary paperwork and wasted time.

In considering the Howie Rich (Crane Machine)-dominated Libertarian Congressional Committee, Evers moved to require the LCC to follow various cogent guidelines for candidate support developed by LCC member Carolyn Felton, and also to hold open meetings publicized at least two weeks in advance. These criteria were so reasonable that even Rich & Co., accepted them with the single exception of Jim Johnston (Ill.), who showed himself all weekend to be a fanatical Craniac *ultra*, more royalist than the King. Johnston also persisted in lone obstructionism in absurdly trying to maintain that the NatComm *could not* legally require roll call votes because of *Robert's Rules of Order*. (Johnston, senior economist for Standard Oil of Indiana, was formerly a Law of the Sea negotiator for the Nixon/Ford administration, and is now affiliated with the Kochian Council for Competitive Economy.)

Johnston did not maintain that "the NatCom could not legally require roll call votes." He maintained that the LP Bylaws require that unless otherwise specified in the Bylaws, the National Committee operations are governed by Roberts Rules of Order, which require a majority vote for a roll call vote. Johnston maintained that the delegates of a national convention are the only people who can change this fundamental arrangement. He also pointed out that he considered the roll call issue relatively minor, but that violating the LP's governing documents on this question set a very bad precedent.

Evers then tried for what seemed like hours to ask three questions of Rich on the LCC. After finally being permitted to ask them Evers' questions turned out to be incisive and revealing, for Rich was forced to admit that he had not done several things he had promised in previous agreed upon plans for the LCC.

No promises were ever made by the LCC, and specifically none were ever made to the NatCom. If Evers and Rothbard think that Howie Rich, the head of the drive for nationwide ballot status in 1980, and the organizer of the Speakers Bureau in 1981, isn't doing enough volunteer work for the LP, I'd like to ask them what they've done for the LP lately.

This ended the Saturday session; it is true that the Machine had won all the votes but one, but that one — blocking the immediate seating of J. Herbert — was significant, and at least promised some light at the end of a dim, dark tunnel. That night, further unity was cemented among the Mason and Clark forces, leading to several crucial triumphs the following day.

The first, and highly significant Sunday triumph was blocking the granting of *carte blanche* to the New York Party to run the 1983 convention as it wishes. Instead, Paul Grant's motion was approved by 17-10 to set up a committee to negotiate a contract with the New York Party, and to continue afterward as an oversight committee for the convention. Unfortunately, there was no roll call on this one. But particularly significant was the breaking away of Dick Randolph (Alaska) from his usual Craniac stance, and agreeing to a negotiating committee, with Grant as chairman. In fact, it was Randolph who worked out the specifics on who would be the members of this committee.

Although the Colorado LP was granted virtual carte blanche in running the 1981 National Convention, there was never an effort that I am aware of to grant the same to New York.

NatComm proceeded to slip back by abjectly agreeing to buying a film on libertarianism produced by the Riches and at their imposed terms. Dave Walter (Pa.), however, did succeed in his motion to inquire into the costs of changing the film to improve the historical sections.

How does one "impose" terms in a voluntary transaction? The film was shown at the meeting (although Rothbard left the room during the showing) and was very well received. The vote to purchase it was nearly unanimous.

Returning to discussion of the LCC, I moved to substitute on that committee one of its two original founders, Jorge Amador (Pa.), for a new addition proposed by Rich, Ross Levatter (Oh.) The motion lost by a vote of 6 to 16, 5 abstaining. (Motion 8 below.)

The discussion on this question made it very clear that the primary question was whether the chair of a committee should be able to appoint members of his or her own choice.

A RESPONSE TO ROTHBARD
(continued from the preceding page)

Next, Evers won on proposing a public opinion poll to see how people regard the LP, and, then, unfortunately, it was generally agreed that NatComm pay the Clark campaign debt of about \$30,000. Even the decentralists decided they could justify this assumption of debt on the ground that NatComm was really buying the valuable asset of the Clark campaign mailing lists. Perhaps; but it sets up a dangerous precedent nevertheless, for future presidential candidates might conclude that any debt incurred will automatically be assumed by the Party. Clearly, further thought must go into this, including the question: by what right do candidates keep their own mailing list from the Party in the first place?

The Clark campaign doesn't and never has kept its mailing list from the party, nor has it ever charged the party for use of the list. This is true in spite of the fact that the Clark campaign spent \$3.2 million on the campaign, and the LP has never offered previously to assist in retiring the Clark debt (which was about \$40,000 at the time of the meeting).

What the NatCom voted to purchase was the ability of the Clark list to generate revenue from rentals to non-LP organizations.

We now come to the most dramatic and single most important ballot of the weekend: the vote on the naked power grab attempted by Leslie Key (Wisc.), a top Craniac, and Finance Committee chair, to seize control of the crucially important Mailing List Committee of NatComm. This blatant power play in effect would have removed the power of Alicia Clark to appoint subcommittees of NatComm as well as placing the crucial power lever into Crane Machine hands. It must be understood that control of the mailing list is the vital power lever in all ideological, indeed all non-profit, organizations. The crucial vote came on Mike Hall (Calif.)'s substitute motion empowering Alicia to name the Mailing List Committee. On this vital ballot, the vote was a 13 to 13 tie with 1 abstention, at which point Alicia broke the tie by voting Yea on the Hall motion. (Motion 9 below.) Whoopee! The crucial vote had been carried, albeit narrowly. Taking the two critical votes on Sunday: rejection of a walkover by the New York Party, and repudiation of the power grab by Leslie Key, things had gone surprisingly well. It looks as if the Machine's power has peaked, and is beginning to wane, perhaps from now on.

Not only that: but Alicia displayed grit and determination when she named the Mailing List Committee a few days later: the new Committee is a fine one, and La Key is conspicuous by her absence. Sometimes justice, even poetic justice, *does* prevail.

The only change my mailing list resolution proposed was to have the full NatCom, after debate, elect members of the Mailing List Committee, rather than having the chair be an automatic member who appoints three other members. I mailed my resolution to all NatCom members three weeks before the meeting; Hall first circulated his typed and xeroxed resolution during the discussion of this item.

It was no surprise to me, and I'm sure it was no surprise to Rothbard when the Mailing List Committee was appointed, with no discussion of qualifications by the NatCom, the very next day.

In view of Rothbard's renunciation of "centralism", I find his opposition to debate and open consideration of the qualifications of committee nominees perplexing.

The next two roll calls were satisfying, narrowly defeating a last-ditch desperate attempt to suspend the rules to overthrow the Key defeat, losing 16 to 9 (it needed 2/3 to win); (Motion 10 below);

The 16 to 9 vote had nothing whatsoever to do with the mailing list. It was a vote to "suspend the rules to reconsider discussion of the mail ballot for ten minutes." The mail ballot in ques-

tion was the one creating the Internal Education Committee. Only 18 of the 32 NatCom members had voted on it, and most of them, along with most of those who hadn't voted on it, wanted a chance to discuss and better understand this important resolution. Nine members of the NatCom, including Rothbard, successfully prevented such a discussion. As far as I know there was no interest in repealing the resolution, but a great interest in discussing it. This vote made discussion out of order.

Once again, Rothbard's support of open debate has proved to be a lightly held belief.

and
confirming Alicia's previous selection of John Mason as Chairman of the critical Internal Education Committee to advance the education of Party members in our principles and programs. Even the Crane Machine graciously conceded here, and voted for Mason, except for a few of their fanatic ultras: the inevitable Johnston, the loquacious Lindsay (Ark.), and La Key, the Madame De Farge of the Party. Michael Burch abstained. (Motion 11 below.)

None of us voted against Mason on this vote. In fact, at my request I am recorded in the minutes as voting no "for reasons respecting the proper nature of a deliberative organization." Lindsay is recorded as "voting 'no' only as a protest against the refusal of 9 of our members to allow discussion on this subject."

ROCKFORD REPORT

by KATHY KELLEY

Rockford has been working these past six months on getting signatures for three National Taxpayers United of Illinois tax-cut petitions. We had nearly 1,000 signatures and were planning a drive in our shopping malls to get over the hump, when we received a telephone call the night before the Winnebago county board meeting. It clued us in on some action our board would be taking.

We went to the meeting but were not allowed to speak. Only one board member tried to help us by postponing the vote, but all three phantom referenda passed, blocking ours. All was not in vain, however, because we received plenty of media exposure. We made the front page of the Rockford Register Star two days in a row and appeared on all three of our local TV stations. Four other articles were written about our petition drive. The following Saturday, we called in to our local radio talkshow and spoke about the entire incident. We are keeping our petitions and waiting to see what happens with a similar case in Peoria.

At our last meeting on February 5, we gathered at a local restaurant-lounge. We got a good turnout and discussed the newspaper articles, the State Convention, the ballot drive, and the need to have "Dial a Libertarian." We decided how it would be nice to have a number to call so when one feels like an outcast, we could call and receive a little edification!

KEEPING ONE STEP AHEAD

by THOMAS E. VERKUILEN

The Libertarian Party bills itself as the Party of Principle and rightly so. It is only our principles that place us beyond the traditional divisions of Left vs. Right and Republican vs. Democrat, distinctions which have become increasingly blurred in recent years.

It was easy enough for Libertarians to criticize the Carter Administration, the culmination of decades of big government, big taxes, and big spending. But now that the Reagan Administration is firmly in place, it seems harder for some to criticize the current occupants of the seats of power. After all, isn't this an administration pledged to reducing governmental control over our lives?

The failings of the Reagan Administration have already been well chronicled in other libertarian and non-libertarian publications. Furthermore, it has been clear for months, as the Wall Street Journal noted, that "two of the President's central priorities -- his revenue-losing tax cut and his expensive defense buildup -- are on a collision course". Some Congressmen even "worry that the Reagan tax cut will undermine the Reagan defense buildup."

The battlelines within the Congress and the Administration are being drawn between the tax cutters (aka "supply-siders") and the big spenders. The supply-siders have tried to stay on the ideological offensive with a two-pronged attack. Trial balloons have been floated calling for an end to the graduated Federal income tax with its Byzantine maze of deductions, exemptions, loopholes and regulations. In its place would be a flat-rate tax, similar to the Illinois State income tax.

Others, notably Art Laffer, Jude Wanniski and Alan Reynolds, are busily promoting the gold standard. They claim that the gradual 25 percent tax cut is only half the battle affecting only the fiscal side of taxes and spending. What is now needed is a firm anchor for the dollar by restoring a gold/dollar link. Under a gold standard, the Federal government would be able to refinance the entire national debt at less than half the cost. The payment of interest on this debt is the largest single item in the Federal budget, costing nearly \$100 billion a year. The hard-core supply-siders argue that a gold-backed Federal debt could be rolled over at traditionally low interest rates, eliminating the budget deficit at one fell swoop without any politically painful spending cutbacks.

Both of these proposals, the flat-rate income tax and a government gold standard, appeal to Libertarians. A flat-rate tax would eliminate a large portion of the huge IRS enforcement apparatus. Such a tax would be easier to understand, saving taxpayers the hidden expenses required to conform to the intricate Internal Revenue Code. A government gold standard would be preferable to the fiat paper standard that we currently suffer under. A sound currency would stop the hidden tax of inflation.

We must be careful, however, to distinguish superficial reforms of an inequitable system from Libertarian demands for dismantling the statist power structure.

What should the Libertarian goals be in each of these areas? A look at the Party platform is helpful. We see that there is no endorsement of a flat-rate tax; instead, it is stated that we "oppose all personal and corporate income taxation" and "support repeal of the Sixteenth Amendment". There is no support for a government gold standard; instead there is a call for "the repeal of all legal tender laws" and the statement that we "favor the use of a free market commodity standard, such as gold coin denominated by unit of weight."

Many Libertarians recognize the importance of supporting intermediate means to accomplish our long-range goals. How can we reconcile the problem of intermediate steps and ultimate goals without compromising our principles?

Are we to oppose a flat-rate income tax because we support only abolition? Are we to oppose a government gold standard because we support only the free market in money? Of course not. We must stay one step ahead of political trends, one step ahead of every else on the road to liberty. In the August-September 1981 issue of the Libertarian Vanguard this problem was discussed in the article "Ten Years Later: An Action Program for the 80's":

"We can and will recruit from the Right by outflanking Reagan at every turn. We must target the Federal income tax (for abolition). When the Administration calls for a balanced budget, we call for a gold standard -- and massive cuts in "defense" to actually achieve a balanced budget. When the Reaganites call for a gold standard, we call for the denationalization of money..."

As the debate over a link between gold and the dollar grows, it is important that Libertarians keep the proper issue in perspective. Consider, for a moment, the Libertarian response to the question of what should be taught in government schools. Libertarians believe that the real question is not what should be taught but that the government should not be in the schooling business. The situation is the same when we begin discussing whether the governmental unit of account should be on a gold, silver or even a paper standard. Libertarians seek to get government out of the money business altogether.

In summary, Libertarians will not be able to counter calls for higher taxes by simply favoring a flat-rate Federal income tax; we must seek abolition of this tax. Libertarians will not end the money monopoly by favoring a government gold standard for the dollar; we must seek freedom of choice for currencies. Only by first understanding our own principles can we then seek to relate them to political events; only by remaining true to our principles will we be distinguished from the rest of the political spectrum and be able to influence political events.

WHAT CAN YOU DO FOR THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM IN BRAZIL? A LITTLE (AND A LOT).

by JOSE STELLE

What hinders the growth of libertarianism in Brazil? Just about everything. For instance, our meager heritage of liberty, which has resulted in a state-controlled "capitalist" economy the like of which cannot be found this side of the Iron Curtain. Also, the almost-complete unavailability of libertarian literature in Portuguese -- coupled, most unfortunately, with the fact that many of the young Brazilians who have shown interest in freedom (and very likely most of those who will do so in the future) do not know English. Thus they are kept from reading libertarian literature published in the English-speaking countries and from attending summer seminars on political economy in the United States, such as those offered by the Cato Institute and by the Foundation for Economic Educations.

This seemingly-minor language barrier slows down the growth of the libertarian philosophy to a fraction of what it could otherwise be. And, among other things, it puts a strain on the few libertarian leaders we have, by requiring information to be passed on to the newcomers by word of mouth, as in study groups. This diverts much energy all around from the more effective uses to which it could be put.

The translation problem is being addressed: a modest, high-quality translation program will begin this year. Its results, however, will be slow to come (especially as regards influence in the universities, the bastion of present interventionist and socialist thought) and cannot be relied upon to furnish as quickly as possible a group of intellectuals and scholars needed to carry out our work here in the years to come. The following example will explain why. Translation and publication being as expensive and time-consuming as they are, the rate of publication can be at best three basic volumes a year. This means that an introductory library cannot be completed in less than five years. Add a few volumes like Murray N. Rothbard's The Great Depression and the time span would grow to fifteen years. More money would help and we plan to raise it, but the difficulty of such a task should be apparent.

A description of present social, political and economic conditions would run on to unnecessary length. Suffice it to say that a socialist victory (there is no liberal or conservative opposition, as these are interventionist or socialist sympathizers) is very likely here in 1984 (!). Regardless of the outcome, the state will continue to grow, with all that can mean.

We believe that the threat to liberty in our country must be faced with as much dedication as possible. And here's where you may be able to help.

Brazilians interested in liberty must achieve that proficiency in English that will allow them to read, attend seminars and, most importantly, qualify for admission to libertarian programs in American universities. Our young people generally come from middle class and lower middle class families. They would be able to afford the air fare

to the States and the language school tuition, but most of them cannot afford room and board.

Won't you help by offering room and board to these future libertarian intellectuals and scholars for a period of three, six or nine months, depending on the person's time of training, in exchange, for example, for house and garden work evenings and weekends? (A bed in a corner of the basement will do just fine). That is all they need. You would have the pleasure of knowing libertarians from abroad and the opportunity to develop a feeling of kinship with people who will later be able to offer you their hospitality should you wish to spend your vacation in Brazil. The libertarian movement is growing, however slowly, in many countries; it is not unlikely that the intellectual and political impact of libertarianism in the future may depend to a considerable extent on the depth of friendship between libertarians of different continents. The French and German socialists and American and European labor unions must have an intimation of this, as they have stepped up their efforts here since the relaxation of political tensions began a few years ago.

If you live in or within commuting distance from any of the major American cities, such as Chicago, and are willing to invest in the future of liberty in Brazil, can you please let us know? Or if you are interested in helping and the city in which you live has a school or college that offers intensive course in English for foreigners, can you please let us know? If you are away at college, perhaps your folks back home might consider this project?

Classical liberalism had some influence here in the last century and even up to 1932, when the constitutionalists rebelled against the fascist dictator. (They were crushed a few months later and Brazilians have lived since then in the shadow of institutions and labor legislation set up by the fascists and their heirs, many of whom still run two of our three labor parties). In fact, two of our most dedicated libertarians are sons of a man who fought on the side of the constitutionalists exactly fifty years ago!

But most of all, classical liberalism failed to catch on because the few liberal leaders never made a systematic effort to defend the philosophy of freedom. This happened also in the United States and in England, but the collapse of the old liberal order was much more spectacular here than elsewhere, and its effects much more long-lasting.

But we need not repeat the mistakes of the past. As one thinker put it, "Ideas have consequences." Won't you help? If you do, you may not only partake of that joy that comes from what the great libertarian Albert J. Nock termed "doing the right thing", you will also contribute toward a future of life and liberty for millions of people. Your small investment can yield a most wonderful profit.

Answers to this letter may be sent in care of Jose Stelle, Alameda Santos, 1343, Sao Paulo, SP 01419, Brazil.

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