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The Illinois Libertarian

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Cutting Edge For Liberty

More than 50 Libertarian Party members and friends gathered at the South Elgin home of Libertarian candidate for U.S. Senate Bruce Green Saturday, May 27. Temperatures in the 90s, under bright sun, made the event the best Libertarian picnic in Illinois LP history. Among the many participants included leaders of the recent defeat of a 25 percent school tax increase in Elgin, and representatives of the local news media.

The Bruce Green picnic served as a kick-off of Bruce's campaign against incumbent Senator Charles Percy, and also the re-kickoff of the Illinois Libertarian Petition Drive.

When George O'Brien left Illinois to take a position in California, LP Party leaders were faced with the job of finding a new candidate for State Comptroller, reprinting petitions, and starting the petition drive from scratch. Mark Wallace has agreed to run as the Libertarian candidate for State Comptroller. Mark is a computer analyst; well qualified for the job. New petitions have been printed and are now available.

Sunday, May 28, found petition drive coordinator Mike Hepple at his telephone in Libertarian Campaign Headquarters, 2745 N. Clark Street (second floor), Chicago, urging (begging) LP members to get the 40,000 plus signatures needed for ballot status in November's election.

Illinois law requires 25,000 signatures be submitted to the Illinois Board of Election Commissioners in early August. To guard against challenges, Hepple has set 40,000 signatures as an absolute minimum.

To achieve this goal requires the help of every LP member in Illinois. Outside Chicago, Hepple plans petitioning days bringing a major LP candidate to town, radio and TV interviews, coffees, and of course petitioning in major shopping centers and along main street. The day will wrap-up with a party for petition gathers.

In the Chicago area, Hepple urges all LP members to petition as much as possible. Saturday and Sunday are the best times to petition on Chicago's dynamic north side. So, Hepple will be at Campaign Headquarters from 10 am til 10 pm to handout and collect petitions. And you'll want to be there too.

Every Saturday and Sunday evening, beginning at dusk, will be a party for

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Campaign Dinner

The next campaign dinner will be Saturday, June 24, 7 pm, Red Star Inn, Irving Park Road and Kennedy Expressway (4179 W. Irving Park Rd.), Chicago. It will be a usual Red Star feast for \$10. Dinner is only \$5 if you bring two completed petitions. Bring more completed petitions than anyone else and win the prize.....dinner on the house....FREE!

Featured speaker after dinner will be Terry Quant, First Vice President, Illinois State Rifle Association, talking (you guessed it) about the evils of gun control. Quant will bring along a film-strip for visual entertainment. Quant promises to give Libertarians new ammunition to use against advocates of gun control.

To insure sufficient space and enough food at dinner, you're requested to send your reservation and \$10 per person to Libertarian Party, Box 313, Chicago, Illinois 60690, or at least call for a reservation 312/248-2250.

PCP: Threat or Menace?

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By WILLIAM KERR

An organization, like a living organism, generally reaches a point in its growth when it ceases simply to adapt to changes in its environment and begins to act upon that environment, altering the situation in ways which will increase its chances of survival. Bureaucracies often maneuver to ensure their continued existence and growth as ends in themselves. A conveniently heavy-handed example is the lack of objectivity shown by lower-level federal drug enforcement and education employees discussing the effects of drugs.

These discussions have historically been geared to creating a public sentiment favorable toward the agency's operations and justifying appropriations for those operations. A case of current interest is that of phencyclidine hydrochloride, known generally as PCP or "angel dust." PCP has had a bad press, conceivably deserved. Unfortunately, the competence and integrity of the agencies responsible for that press is so questionable that there is no reason for accepting their assessment of the dangers of PCP. There is no reliable source of information for the layman to evaluate PCP.

The government's record for accurately describing the effects of drug use is notoriously weak. The myths associated with marijuana are the most obvious examples, but almost every recreational drug has been subject to the same kind of distortion. Over the years the government has claimed that cocaine is physically addictive, that there is something inherent in the use of heroin that leads to violence, and that LSD causes chromosome damage and will cause blindness if one looks into the sun after ingesting it.

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT in its August 8, 1977 issue ran an article on PCP heavily dependent upon HEW's National Institute on Drug Abuse (N.I.D.A.) research. Here's a representative quote, "Just a pinch of the stuff can cause uncontrollable rage, terrifying visions, numbness in the arms and legs, brain damage, and even fatal convulsions." Both the content and tone are typical of government research. The article also attributes very specific percentages of murders, suicides, accidental drownings, etc., to the use of PCP; percentages provided by N.I.D.A. and local police departments in smug disregard of the limitations of available methods for detecting the drug's presence in the

bloodstream.

Government agents are also fond of the story of a user pulling out his eyeballs while under the influence of PCP after being left unattended in a jail cell. The story is variously placed in cities from San Jose to Boston but seems to have its origin in a single incident reported in a READER'S DIGEST article in April, 1972. The emotional overkill and near hysteria is reminiscent of every anti-drug campaign ever waged. For example, Robert DuPont, director of N.I.D.A. says "everything people used to say about marijuana is true about angel dust." That may say more about the government's lack of imagination than it does about the dangers of PCP use.

If we assume that everything said about PCP is true, what can be said about the campaign to inform the public of the dangers involved? The current popularity of PCP stems from its relatively low price compared to competing drugs; low cost of materials and ease of manufacture. The high relative price of other drugs is due to government attempts to eliminate traffic in them. PCP has the advantage of being synthetic; capable of being produced domestically thus escaping the risks involved in importation. These risks are all government imposed. PCP is the creation of government. The drug is popular solely because of government interference with market mechanisms of substitute drugs.

Of even greater importance is the tendency among drug users to reject government warnings out of hand. The government's credibility with drug users is beyond repair, making it difficult to alert them to genuine dangers. This perhaps is the drug bureaucracies' greatest offense. They have built a wall of cynicism that cannot be penetrated by concerned individuals acting in a private capacity.

Keith Stroup, Director of the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws, and hardly an apologist for drug bureaucracies has warned publicly of the debilitating effects of PCP, particularly long-term adverse effects on concentration. Such testimony is perceived as having its source in police agencies simply because it agrees in part with police claims. Individuals prone to experiment with drugs are most prone to ignore such warnings. The government bears the responsibility for this.

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Laissez-Faire and Worker-Run Factories

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By GEORGE O'BRIEN

It is very difficult for many Libertarians to talk to so called "socialists". Libertarians have some fairly strongly held preconceived myths about what socialism is. All too often Libertarians attack people before clarifying what sort of socialist they are. (For example, charging them with theft.) The fact remains that there are different types of socialists and they must be dealt with differently.

One type of socialist is the totalitarian state centralist. These people cannot be reasoned with, and ordinarily it is a waste of time to try. While these people are conspicuous, they are not very popular. A second common socialist position is the democratic state centralist (often similar to the old Fabians). The best bet in talking to them is to stress our anti-government arguments (a good source here is Hayek's ROAD TO SERFDOM).

It is fairly easy to show that there is even less worker freedom with one employer than with many. (Bastiat's THE LAW is an excellent reference source.) The democratic centralist suggests that it is more efficient to have central planning; the refutation is Von Mises book SOCIALISM where he proves state centralism cannot be efficient because it does not have a real price system.

There is a third socialist position; democratic decentralism. This approach assumes the workers run their own factories democratically without state interference. This position can be spotted when the socialist refers to worker-run factories in Spain during the Spanish Civil War or to the increased worker control in Yugoslavia. Technically their position is syndicalism rather than socialism, and is the most common variant of "socialism" advocated by Communist Anarchists.

The crucial point in approaching a proto-syndicalist is realizing their biggest concern is "worker-management" relations. Their perception is that workers feel alienated from their jobs

because they don't have a stake in what happens. (Ironically, large numbers of management theorists such as Peter Drucker have come to the same conclusion.) The conclusion of the proto-syndicalist is that if the workers ran their own factories they would work better, be happier, and presumably earn more in relation to time spent working.

There is really nothing about worker-owned factories which is incompatible with laissez-faire. Sole proprietorships and partnerships are frequently owner operated with partners or family members the only employees. The United States is littered with cooperatives and other such worker/member groups including corporations, where the workers own all of the stock. Worker owned factories, businesses, farms, etc. are simply a logical expression of the diversity which economic freedom will bring.

There is an interesting difference between the terms "worker-run" factories and "worker-owned" factories. "Worker-owned" factories are capitalist because each worker can sell their share to an outsider who can be an "absentee owner" or "capitalist." A "worker-run" factory that does not permit workers to sell their share or take it along when changing jobs is also compatible with laissez-faire, even though it looks like "socialism."

Could there be an economy of simply worker-run factories without the "absentee owners" or money lenders of enterprise capitalism, or without the central bureaucracy of state socialism? The answer is probably "no". The reason is that an economy made up entirely of worker-run factories would have very little flexibility in the allocation of capital.

In order to understand the concept imagine ten to fifteen years ago when the computer age began. Suppose there were a number of electronics expert-workers who wanted to build computers. The experts are young and poor, and cannot afford to buy the supplies needed to build computers. However, there are steel workers who have saved large sums of money because there was not sufficient demand for them to expand steel production. If the steel workers, as individuals, invested their extra money in the struggling

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ATTEND ONE OF OUR COOKED BY THE CONGRESSMAN DINNERS

For those of you interested in good food and good conversation, (in addition to a good tax deduction) we introduce our Cooked by the Congressman dinners.

Every month throughout this election year and throughout the Third District, we will be bringing you the best of events, a political dinner without Turkey a' la King: either on the plate or at the podium.

Take your choice! All dinners will be cooked by your very own Congressional candidate Craig Fisber, a fine chef in his own right.

Sunday, June 25 at Hudson Lake/New Carlisle. A day at the lake with swimming, sunbathing, skiing, etc. Lasts 11:00 A.M. 'til evening with fresh Polish sausage, kraut, chips, and pop or beer. \$5/plate donation

Saturday, July 29 in Elkhart. A spaghetti dinner featuring the Congressman's own sausage or clam sauces complete with fresh bread, caesar salad, and cheap Italian wine. \$5/plate donation

Saturday, August 12 in Michigan City. An authentic Chinese dinner featuring such delights as Mu Shu Pork, Peking Duck, Stir-fried Octopus, Eggrolls, along with many other dishes. The gastronomical delight of this election year. \$25/plate donation (limit 10)

Saturday, September 18 in South Bend. An Italian dinner featuring homemade ravioli, fresh bread, and cheap Italian wine. \$5/plate donation

Saturday, October 7 at Hudson Lake/New Carlisle. A steak dinner with all the trimmings! The best is saved for last. \$10/plate donation

Remember, all donations are tax deductible (even if you file short form). Details, (including maps) will be sent by return mail.

**HURRY AND SIGN UP TODAY!
A GOOD TIME IS GUARANTEED FOR ALL!**

Yes! I would like to attend the following Cooked by the Congressman dinners.
Enclosed is \$ _____ for _____ dinners indicated below.

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| <input type="checkbox"/> June 25 at Hudson Lake | <input type="checkbox"/> July 29 in Elkhart |
| <input type="checkbox"/> August 12 in Michigan City | <input type="checkbox"/> September 18 in South Bend |
| <input type="checkbox"/> October 7 at Hudson Lake | |

I can't make the dinners. Do, however send me:

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> more information | <input type="checkbox"/> literature |
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PCP: THREAT OR MENACE?

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Information released by organizations with a stake in continued or expanded anti-drug measures is heavily influenced by the desire to preserve their organizations and expand their scope. The broader question is whether it is possible for any bureaucracy to generate data that is free of such considerations. In other areas it has not been.

The American public's experience has been that the government is consistently less than candid about the nature of its involvement in foreign affairs and the activities of the intelligence agencies. Research economists do not use government data unless there is no other alternative. Laboratory experiments conducted by the FDA cannot, in many cases, be duplicated by outside researchers with even remotely similar results. The government is simply not a very reliable source of information and probably cannot be because of the dynamics of bureaucratic growth. If for no other reason than inaccurate results from the research function of the State, State research should be eliminated. N.I.D.A. and similar bodies should be among the first to go.



LAISSEZ-FAIRE AND WORKER-RUN FACTORIES

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computer builders, they would be "capitalists." Conceivably the workers at a steel plant could vote to hire a whole bunch of computer expert-workers, and go into the computer business. But it is unlikely a single plant would have enough savings to meet the capital needs of a rising firm in an explosive new industry.

In Yugoslavia capital is allocated by the state, the same state which recently jailed a group of dissidents. The power to make capital allocation decisions is so great that the bureaucracy always has a stranglehold on the workers. (In Spain, the period of worker-run factories was so short that the allocation problem did not become apparent. The Franco problem came first.)

The net result is that syndicalism does not really provide a long term alternative to state socialism. To survive at all it would have to evolve either a capital market or a state bureaucracy.

The other major problem that syndicalism presents is that most workers would not choose worker-run factories without ownership rights, given other alternatives. The Kibbutzim (a form of worker-run factories without ownership rights) in Israel make up only about 6% of the country's population, in spite of access to recruits from all over the world.

Old Wine in New Bottles

By STEVE NELSON

Political parties in the United States are frequently dominated by a coalition of several more or less disparate factions, each seeking to mutually use the strength of unity to gain separate and often contradictory goals. This is so obvious that many political scientists argue that the tensions of coalition are necessary for political vigor; no party can hope for success unless it represents a coalition of many interests.

To the extent the analysis is true, it presents a problem for the ideological party because such parties seek a close agreement within themselves on fundamental policy. This need for ideological consensus often leads to schism rather than coalition; the formation of many ineffective little parties divided by minor differences of ideology. The classic example is the socialist left.

As in so much else, the Libertarian Party appears to be evolving a new answer; a relatively rigid ideological structure (compared with circus-tent parties) combined with a coalition of interests representing different social constituencies and favoring different tactics. With the exception of the anarchist/minarchist division which hopefully has been reduced to the level of over-the-beer debate, and abortion, where a very uneasy majority rules, all the burning issues are now tactical. Disagreements are now conducted strictly within the ideological framework.

Amidst the lush growth of individual variations, a major division is emerging; the age old questions of the perfectibility of man. Can the generality of the human race be brought to live in a wholly rational and moral fashion? The factions apply the classic arguments to Libertarian tactics.

The Libertarian Perfectionists argue that every human is capable of a rational and normal life, but few actually live that way. Since everyone knows that's the best way to live, it must be that people are forced into irrationality by their institutions.

Therefore, social institutions should be viewed with the greatest suspicions; they should be weakened or abolished, at the least retained only when they are clearly harmless. Government does more to corrupt people than any other institution, and therefore, must be minimized or abolished.

On the other hand, Libertarian

Imperfectionists argue that people are only rarely capable of living in a rational and moral way. People must be restrained by social institutions such as churches, clubs, and governments. Institutions that have stood the test of time probably meet fundamental human needs and should be generally accepted and only reformed or abolished when people have clearly corrupted them. At any given moment, some institutions in a society will be so hopelessly corrupt that they must be abolished and replaced with the expansion of existing institutions or new creations. The Imperfectionists agree that government is the most easily corrupted of all institutions, making it the perennial candidate for reform. If it can't be reformed, then abolish it.

So far the conflict between the Imperfectionists and Perfectionists does not seem to take on major proportions. But the Perfectionists' dislike for institutions extends to the Libertarian Party, and to direct conflict with the so-called Imperfectionists.

The Perfectionists imply that the major parties are handmaidens of corrupt government, and other similar, even remotely similar, institutions will have the same effect on people and should be viewed with suspicion. Accordingly the Libertarian Party should avoid becoming an institution.

Ways of insuring the noninstitutionalization of the Libertarian Party are avoiding financial endowments, therefore assuring that the party stays responsive to its membership; and selection of party officers who combine long-demonstrated devotion to libertarian principle (preferable rebellious), a long history of party or libertarian movement work, and an informal manner. The Party should conduct highly variable programs that include many activities that are not traditional to political parties to appeal to people afraid they will be corrupted by a conventional party.

Many of these activities should be at least critical of social institutions (not just political institutions) and in combination with the libertarian movement aim at reducing their effectiveness. The Libertarian Party must not appear to endorse the present social repression, for it is unlikely that the party will have any real political success as long as the present repression continues.

It appears that not all workers want worker-run factories. Management consultants have pointed out that sometimes workers complain they are being asked to do "managements' job" when asked to give input to decisions. Workers want to do their job and be done with it. Some workers do not want to stay with a firm or a single plant forever. These workers want a new climate, a new life style, a job near their friends, etc. Thus they are uninterested in the long term welfare of the other workers who wish to stay. Some workers would rather work for an individual they know and trust than work for anyone else, including their fellow workers. Under laissez-faire, workers can form worker-run or worker-owned factories. Under laissez-faire there would be far more savings banks and other capital allocation facilities to provide funds to worker-run and worker-owned firms. There would be no legal barriers to worker-run and worker-owned firms. There would be no economic bias against the smaller worker-run and worker-owned firms by regulatory

agencies, the tax system, and government subsidized competitors as exists in the current interventionist mixed economy. As long as people are given a choice between capitalist enterprise and worker firms, Libertarians have no disagreement with socialists. It is only when capitalists or worker-owned companies use force against the other that Libertarians oppose them.

When presenting the case for laissez-faire, Libertarians should keep in mind that worker-run factories and communes are perfectly libertarian if they are voluntary. It is even acceptable to show a little enthusiasm for various "partnership" schemes, since there is a case for improving "worker participation" as good management, even if the workers are often reluctant. Libertarians want a world of experimentation, creativity, and cooperation, which is only possible when people are free. Let them try their ideas as long as we can experiment with ours.

CUTTING EDGE FOR LIBERTY

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petitioners. Beer and other soft and hard beverages will flow freely, coupled with conversation among campaign workers. Hepple suggests "start your Saturday collecting signatures, party all Saturday night, on Sunday morn get more signatures then party till Sunday's wee hours."

Some observers indicate that only Mike Hepple can keep such a schedule, but it's worth a try by all conscientious Libertarian Party members. Libertarians must put out maximum effort petitioning between now and August.

Other important work for Libertarians is finding speaking engagements for candidates. Anyone knowing a possible speaking opportunity for an LP candidate should contact Campaign Headquarters as soon as possible. Speaking engagements are the most important part of the Libertarian campaign in 1978.

Keeping Libertarians off the streets at night is also an important function of the 1978 Libertarian Campaign. Beginning June 5, Campaign Headquarters will be open every evening. There is important work that needs doing to get maximum results from the 1978 campaign. After dark petitioning is not really feasible, but working in headquarters is. LP members are urged to participate in this very important activity as much as possible.

Illinois Libertarians working together will make 1978 the cutting edge



GEORGIA SHIELDS

CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR

"Trained in both economics and law, Georgia is the most qualified candidate running for Illinois Governor in 1978," says her campaign manager, Richard Suter.

— — — — —
 in Illinois history.....turning the State of Illinois into the Free Territory of Illinois. Do your part to free yourself.

The Imperfectionists take a completely different approach but start from the very same point. The Imperfectionists believe that the old political parties are hopelessly corrupt and should be replaced by new political parties, notably the Libertarian Party. But, since the Imperfectionists do not have any basic objections to society's institutions, they want to institutionalize the LP.

In order to be regarded as a plausible replacement for existing political parties, the Libertarian Party must become an institution as rapidly as possible, the Imperfectionists argue. Some ways to speed this process are financial stability; party officers who combine an outstanding reputation in the general community, a sound knowledge of libertarian theory and a dignified personal manner. Building an organization necessary to ready the LP to serve as a majority party in the governmental process, and to make sure that the public knows that the Libertarians are ready are goals of the Imperfectionists.

The Imperfectionists see the libertarian philosophy as radical by itself and don't want to get more people than absolutely necessary angry at any one time. The Imperfectionists believe that it's too easy to build a coalition against Libertarians, and therefore, the party should confine itself (as much as possible) to conventional political areas as perceived by the electorate.

In summary the Imperfectionists believe that libertarians are really after sweeping social change; millions of people becoming more tolerant of difference. Difference, at least to the extent of abandoning coercive repression if either the Libertarian Party or its members are to prosper. The Imperfectionists remember that progress of an idea, from the philosopher's study. Changing the ordinary person's conduct takes a minimum of a century. Contemporarily the best libertarians can hope for is to alter the political system enough to preserve the possibility for future change.

It's obvious that the above arguments are rigid and oversimplified. Most Libertarians take a position between these two extremes. Some of the most flexible political animals shift back and forth to meet the occasion.

What is interesting is the contrast between the areas of overlap and diversion. The overlap makes the coalition possible and the diversion gives tension to the coalition and, at least sometimes, vigor to the party. A large amount of party labor is performed by individuals who hope to capitalize by propagating one or the other of these views, and it would seem that thus far that labor considerably outweighs the divisive effects. The future, as always, remains in doubt. It's possible that one view or the other will triumph to the point of precipitating a schism. Such a schism might prove fatal to the hopes of both the Imperfectionists and Imperfectionists.

Local Club News

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& news & notes

Publication of a four page profile of Libertarian Roger MacBride in the June, 1978 issue of HUSTLER magazine brings the Libertarian message to a new audience or at least to a wider, mass media audience than our own publications are able to reach. The profile, by Paul Hoffman, features a brief biography of MacBride, an "extremist in the pursuit of liberty," as the article labels him. It also presents a concise history of the Libertarian Party from its beginnings in Colorado, through the 1972 campaign, to the Party's recent showing in the 1976 election, with MacBride's presidential race.

Opening with a rather flip treatment of the Party's objectives, the article concludes with a serious summary of the laissez-faire philosophy regarding legislated morality, current foreign policy, economic intervention, and national defense.

In the final paragraph MacBride looks to the future: "The Republican Party has totally collapsed, both as a political party and as a vehicle for freedom. Only one organization is ready and willing to pick up the fallen banner; our party. And we shall."

At the State Central Committee meeting on May 21, a new editor for the Illinois Libertarian was

selected. She is Eleanor McConnell, a freelance consultant and editor of textbooks and other educational materials. McConnell has edited books and articles by many well known Libertarian authors, including A New Dawn for America by Roger MacBride, Jimmy Carter's Betrayal of the South, by Jeffrey St. John, both published jointly by New York University and Hillsdale College. In 1962 she ran on the Conservative Party ticket in New Jersey, and she was a student of Ayn Rand and Nathaniel Branden in the late Fifties and early Sixties.

Also new to the newsletter staff is Jody Croley, newly arrived from Ohio.

Michael Ray has been named publisher of the newsletter and will continue to be indispensable in his many capacities as chief of design and layout and also as photographer.

Mike Hepple was voted in as the new Chicago area vice-chairman of the Libertarian Party.

On June 11, 2:30 pm at the Christ Church of Chicago, a NOTA meeting will be held with Milton Mueller as the speaker. His talk will be titled: "The Libertarian Party: An Inside View." At 5:30 pm there will be a dinner for those interested at the Matsuya Restaurant, 3429 N. Clark. The reservation is in the name of Bonnie Kaplan.

June 18, there will be a meeting of Libertarians

for Gay Rights. Contact Jim Edminster for the time and place at 477-4196.

Effective Monday, June 5, Jeff Friedman will be at the Libertarian Party campaign headquarters, 2745 N. Clark Street, Chicago, every weekday from 10 am til ?. On the weekends, Mike Hepple will keep the vigil from 10 am til 10 pm both Saturday and Sunday. Telephone at campaign headquarters 312/248-2250.

The next State Central Committee meeting will be held Sunday, June 18, 2 pm at Anne McCracken's, 10 S. 100 Route 53, Naperville, Illinois. For specific directions call 312/739-6240. Planning in advance, the July SCC meeting is tentatively scheduled for Dr. Jim Dunkel's in Rockford, July 15.



The Illinois Libertarian is published monthly by the Libertarian Party of Illinois. Subscription included with annual membership in the Libertarian Party of Illinois: \$25/ sustaining; \$10/ regular; \$8/student. Subscription for non-members: \$8/year. The views expressed herein are not necessarily those of LPI, its officers, or the editor, George O'Brien. Articles should be submitted to the editor, The Illinois Libertarian; membership and other inquiries should be submitted to the L.P.I., Postal Box 313, Chicago, IL 60690.