



The Illinois Libertarian

LIBERTARIAN PARTY OF ILLINOIS • BOX 1776 • CHICAGO 60690

VOL. NO.

MARCH-APRIL 1977

Gregg Vavra Runs for Chicago Mayor

The timely death of former Mayor Daley of Chicago created a golden opportunity for the Libertarian Party of Illinois. Daley, for the past twenty years, has presided over one of the most authoritarian city governments in the nation. Short of running for Commissar in Czechoslovakia, we could hardly find a better example of a non-libertarian government to run against.

But that is not the only factor that makes the Mayor's race an "offer we can't refuse": look at the mediocrities rushing in to fill the vacuum left by the death of Daley. Acting Mayor Bilandic is a lackluster machine hack. He will win, of course, but only because of the momentum of fifty years of power and patronage. The Republican opponent, Alderman Dennis Block, does not even want to run, and had to be "convinced" (bought?) before he would agree to run. Like Bilandic, he has nothing of substance to say about the problems facing Chicago. He is not a good campaigner. He is not a popular anti-machine crusader like William Singer or John Hoellen.

Consider the real issues facing Chicago. Then look at what the Republicratic candidates can be expected to say about them. There is a vacuum. The whole anti-machine, liberal protest vote has been left in the lurch. That protest vote numbers in the hundreds of thousands, and encompasses three or four complete wards. This is our chance to make inroads. The Vavra for Mayor Campaign has targeted these issues:

Education

The Chicago public school system is one of the worst in the nation. It has had financial problems for more than fifty years now, and the quality of the schools has deteriorated continuously, without regard to how much money is pumped into it. Despite this, neither Bilandic nor Block are proposing any fundamental changes in the school system. The best they can do is grab for range-of-the-moment funding schemes.

Vavra, on the other hand, will be proposing a sweeping change of approach in education; a change that places the control of the schools in the hands of the consumer. Starting with a voucher system to strengthen and expand non-governmental alternatives in education, Vavra would move to phase out

to page 6

NATIONWIDE TAX PROTEST

It's beginning to happen--the destructiveness of the government's power to tax is beginning to catch up with it. As the tax bite becomes an ever increasing proportion of our incomes, resentment grows in the populace. That taxation is becoming a bigger issue than ever is reflected in this year's tax protest. Once a local affair for a few hardy activists, the tax protest has bloomed this year into a nationwide effort. It could be the largest anti-tax event since the American Revolution.

The nationwide protest is coordinated by the National Taxpayers's Union. The Union, centered in Washington DC, will be working with over 300 taxpayer's groups across the nation on April 15th.

Between 10,000 and 20,000 taxpayers are expected to protest in Los Angeles and Trenton, New Jersey. Trenton witnessed an incredible outburst of tax resentment when a State income tax was created by the legislature in 1975. An estimated 100,000 people jammed the protest site, where an effigy of New Jersey's governor was hanged in effigy.

The effort in Cook County and nearby areas will center around the Main Post Office in Chicago, 433 W. Van Buren. The long line that gathers there every year for last-minute mailing of tax forms

to page 3

ISSUES 'ORGANIZATION'

by Milton Mueller

The organizational meeting of the issues committee established a rather loose structure for the handling of issue positions, research, and press releases related to the Party. While any Party member can still do practically anything they want to do, the establishment of the committee provides some coordination--that is, if people choose to utilize it.

The three Issues Committee coordinators, approved by the State Convention, are Milton Mueller, David Theroux, and Ken Jameson. It was decided that the Party chairperson should be an automatic member of the committee. The names and phone numbers of these coordinators will be printed each month in the newsletter. Thus, if something is happening in your community that demands a libertarian response of some sort, contact any one of the coordinators for guidance and/or information. If a press release seems called for, write one up and submit it to a coordinator for editing, or request help writing it. If someone in the press calls you up and wants information about the Party's stand on X, give him the number of a coordinator. If a speech or speaker is needed on a particular topic, call the committee for help in finding materials.

This touches upon another function of the committee: information has to go into it as well as come out of it. If you have done extensive research on a particular topic, please inform one of the coordinators. Although it doesn't always show, the Party has rather extensive intellectual resources. The trick is to utilize them in the right place at the right time. In order to do this, we have to know who knows what. As an example, Steve Nelson has a lot of materials concerning the RTA. A person in another county who wants to dump on the RTA could certainly use what Steve has. Therefore, the committee coordinators hope to build up a list of what people have research materials pertaining to specific topics.

Finally, the Issues Committee hopes to establish some sort of clipping service that can follow the day to day unfolding of issues interesting to libertarians. A full-scale clipping service is a long range goal, not fully realizable now. It requires a full-time headquarters with room for files. Nevertheless, everyone is encouraged to follow a specific newspaper, or a certain issue, and clip to their heart's content. The State Convention produced three people who volunteered to do some clipping for their communities: Marjie Kohl, for the Lake County area, Barbara Roth for Rockford, and Bill Mitchell for Benton. More volunteers are welcome, especially in the Chicago area. If you are willing to cover a newspaper during the Vavra campaign, please call me at 525-6231, or send a letter to the post office box.

ISSUES COMMITTEE COORDINATORS

| | | | | | |
|-------------|----------|----------------|----------|---------------|----------|
| KEN JAMESON | 528-6946 | MILTON MUELLER | 525-6231 | DAVID THEROUX | 955-2442 |
|-------------|----------|----------------|----------|---------------|----------|

NOTES ON THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

At the conclusion of the Southern Libertarian Conference at Miami, the National Executive Committee met on a day which Miami natives called the best this winter. The atmosphere was heated to a pleasant 80 degrees, while the EXCOM met in a stuffy room of Miami's Airport Hotel.

One task facing the EXCOM was to determine the delegate allotments the various State Parties will have at the forthcoming National Convention next July in San Francisco. Illinois was allotted 11 delegates and one platform committee member, all of whom were elected by the State Convention.

The EXCOM chose ten members to represent the National Committee on the Platform Committee. The 1977 platform committee will be chaired by Walter Grinder, Executive Director of the Libertarian Studies Institute. Murray Rothbard was also named to the Committee. From Illinois, the EXCOM chose Joe Cobb and David Theroux.

The EXCOM reinforced the concept that State Party members are not automatically members of the National Party. At the same time, National Membership dues were adjusted to the following schedule: Student membership, \$5; regular, \$10; sustaining, \$25; patron, \$100; life membership, \$250; life sustaining, \$1,000. Readers not familiar with Libertarian Party history, take note: if you are planning to attend the 1977 National Convention in San Francisco, it may be wise to join the National Party. At the 1975 National Convention, there was an attempt, though unsuccessful, not to recognize delegates not members of the National Party.

The EXCOM also decided to take a more active role in determining National Office policy, particularly as it affects the Party's appeals to special interest groups. The EXCOM decided to focus its attention on constituencies now considered Democratic-sympathizing, rather than the (alleged) prior policy of appealing to Republican-sympathizers.

It was the consensus that those states which were not on the ballot had a "contamination" effect on surrounding areas. This was due in part to the resulting lack of media coverage. For example, the LP ticket did not fare well in Southern Illinois, which can be attributed to a complete lack of activity in the St. Louis area. Libertarians were not on the ballot in Missouri, and the Illinois part of St. Louis has no real organization.

BOOKS FOR LIBERTARIANS

| | | |
|---|---------------------------|----------|
| <u>THE FEDERAL BULLDOZER</u> | Martin Anderson | 2.95 pb |
| The devastating critique of government urban renewal. Unparalleled elsewhere. | | |
| <u>THE UNHEAVENLY CITY REVISITED</u> | Edward Banfield | 4.95 pb |
| Sociological and economic critique of government urban planning, welfare, and regulations. | | |
| <u>LEARNING FROM LAS VEGAS</u> | Robert Venturi (& others) | 25.00 hc |
| Comprehensive, beautifully illustrated critique of government regulation of "public aesthetics"--landscaping, zoning, signs, and architecture. | | |
| <u>THE DEATH AND LIFE OF GREAT AMERICAN CITIES</u> | Jane Jacobs | 2.45 pb |
| A renowned sociologist presents the case for large cities, and shows that the problems of the big city are caused not by capitalism, but by its absence. | | |
| <u>THE ECONOMY OF CITIES</u> | Jane Jacobs | 2.45 pb |
| Sociological analysis of the operations of large cities. | | |
| <u>THE ART OF COMMUNITY</u> | Spencer MacCallum | 2.00 pb |
| Insightful presentation of the case for proprietary communities, where all goods and services are provided through private contract as opposed to political pull. | | |
| <u>CUT LOCAL TAXES</u> | Robert Poole | 2.00 pb |
| Vivid portrayal of how city taxes can be drastically slashed with "essential services" provided by less expensive, more efficient private means. Presents many recent examples. | | |
| <u>LAND USE WITHOUT ZONING</u> | Bernard Siegan | 10.00 hc |
| Carefully documented study of the effects of non-zoned community development. Compares Houston to major zoned cities. Monumental critique of government planning. | | |

These and other books are available from Libertarian Books, 5616 So. Blackstone, Chgo, IL 60637. Please include .50 for postage and handling.

NATIONWIDE TAX PROTEST from p. 1

is an event in itself. Libertarian protesters plan to gather there at 6:30 pm. Safe and inexpensive parking is available across the street from the Post Office.

If you can attend the Chicago protest but need a ride, call someone on the list below. If you are driving in and you are not on the list, make it a point to hustle up some people to go with you. We want to see all incoming cars packed with people willing to make some noise about taxation. Remember, the more protesters, the bigger the impact.

If you are nowhere near Chicago, and want to stage a protest in your own area, contact Jim Tobin of National Taxpayers United of Illinois, phone 312/ 287-0969.

A pre-protest dinner will be held April 15th at 5:00 pm, at Orlando's restaurant, 332 So. Wells (just east of the Post Office). To make reservations, call 763-5122 by April 14th.

Below are the names and phone numbers of the people who are willing to take passengers downtown. Please make every effort to attend.

| <u>NAME</u> | <u>PHONE NO.</u> | <u>AREA</u> |
|------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Richard Latimer | 682-0619 | Wheaton |
| Don Parrish | 852-2844 | Lisle |
| Bob Randall | 815/459-4929 | Crystal Lake |
| Richard Suter | 736-9572 | NW Chicago |
| Alida Jatich | 523-5000 ext.79 | So Chicago |
| Ed May | 747-0481 | Richton Park |
| Joseph McCaffrey | 528-9083 | Chicago |
| Wayne Openlander | 283-1690 | NW Chicago |
| Mike Shlikas | 739-9386 | Bolingbrook |
| Steve Nelson | 969-1088 | Northlake |
| M. Cheak Yee | c/o Cobb 288-2270 | SE Chicago |

New LPI Leadership

Below are listed the complete set of officers, SCC representatives, delegates, etc. elected at the State Convention March 5. Those Congressional Districts still unrepresented contact Jeff Smith at 947-0129.

| | | | |
|--|----------------------------|---------------------|--|
| <u>Chairperson</u> Milton L. Mueller | 1864 N. Sheffield | Chicago 60614 | 312/ 525-6231 |
| <u>Vice-Chair</u> Jeffrey D. Smith | 5330 Harper #311 | Chicago 60615 | 312/ 947-0129 |
| James Dunkel | 5462 Rickwood | Rockford 61107 | 815/ 877-6321 (H) 815/ 398-0303 (W) |
| <u>Secretary</u> Joe Cobb | 1365 East 56th St. | Chicago 60637 | 312/ 288-2270 (H) 312/ 435-6622 (W) |
| <u>Treasurer</u> Laura M. Kroutil | 713 Wrightwood Ave. | Chicago 60614 | 312/ 929-0476 (H) 312/ 781-5011 (W) |
| <u>1st District</u> Alida Jatich | 5339 Kimbark #3 | Chicago 60615 | 312/ 288-0131 (H) 312/ 523-5000x79 |
| <u>2nd District</u> Edwin Smolik | 8322 S. Houston | Chicago 60617 | 312/ 221-9347 |
| <u>3rd District</u> Margaret McNamara | Postal Box 63 | Calumet City 60409 | |
| <u>4th District</u> Ed May | 5086 Euclid Lane | Richton Park 60471 | 312/ 747-0481 |
| <u>6th District</u> George O'Brien | Signal Delivery Serv. | Elmhurst 60126 | 312/ 834-7800 |
| <u>8th District</u> David H. Jones | 1609 N. Kilbourn | Chicago 60639 | 312/ 342-5636 (H) 312/ 562-7100 (W) |
| <u>9th District</u> F. Joseph McCaffrey | 1960 Lincoln Pk. West | Chicago 60614 | 312/ 528-9083 |
| Mark B. Wallace | 1455 N. Sandburg #2502 | Chicago 60610 | 312/ 664-2343 (H) 312/ 431-3285 (W) |
| <u>10th District</u> Jean McJohnston | 3045 Thayer | Evanston 60201 | 312/ 864-9490 (H) 312/ 922-7722 (W) |
| Everett Moffat | 861 Prospect | Winnetka 60093 | 312/ 446-3669 |
| <u>11th District</u> Wayne Openlander | 3132 N. Lowell | Chicago 60641 | 312/ 283-1690 (H) 312/ 966-4752 (W) |
| <u>13th District</u> Robert Randall | 91 East Street | Crystal Lake 60014 | 815/ 459-4929 (H) 312/ 276-8500 (W) |
| <u>14th District</u> Stephen P. Nelson | 4825 Linscott | Downers Grove 60515 | 312/ 969-1088 |
| <u>16th District</u> Barbara Roth | 2017 Oxford Street | Rockford 61103 | 815/ 965-9945 |
| <u>17th District</u> Anne McCracken | 10 South 100 Route 53 | Naperville 60540 | 312/ 739-6240 |
| <u>19th District</u> Loretta Swett | 16420 74th Avenue West | Taylor Ridge 61284 | 309/ 798-2675 |
| <u>21st District</u> Robert G. Fovell | 242 Forbes URH | Champaign 61820 | 217/ 332-0973 |
| <u>23rd District</u> William Brockus | P O Box 366, 117 S. Kansas | Edwardsville 62025 | 618/ 656-4351 |
| <u>24th District</u> William Mitchell | 1108 South Main Street | Benton 62812 | 618/ 439-6004 |

continued on page 9

By Jeff Smith

The LPI took another step toward the big time March 5-6 with its first two day convention and Conference. The gathering featured libertarian stars from across the country, workshops run by the LPI's rapidly growing stable of experts, and the next mayor of Chicago.

Festivities began on Friday night with a hospitality suite featuring the convention speakers. The party lasted into the wee hours. The success of the hospitality suite was repeated on Saturday morning when the business session actually ended on time. During this session, the convention rules were adopted, and a few minor constitutional changes were made. Then the assembly elected party officers, two new Judicial Committee members, National convention delegates, and the National Platform Committee representative for Illinois. Results are listed elsewhere in this issue.

Bob Meier, Executive Director of the National LP, led off the Saturday speakers program with a summary of national developments since the election, and his plans for the next several months. He emphasized the importance of raising money locally, running local candidates, and developing a statewide speakers bureau. Bob emphasized strongly the importance of single issue organizations with a libertarian bent. One such organization with which he has had success is a libertarian health care group. Because of the medical orientation of the group, Bob has been able to set up speaking engagements in places where an LP speaker wouldn't be let in the door: medical associations, doctor's groups, etc. Richard Suter followed Meier and spoke briefly about the 1976 Illinois campaign.

One new organization which fulfills Bob Meier's call for special-issue orientation is the Association for Rational Environmental Alternatives (AREA), which addresses land use problems from a libertarian perspective. Its co-founder Dick Bjornseth presented a very entertaining slide show, which showed the benefits of no zoning and no sign controls. The unzoned city of Houston --Bjornseth's home town--was compared to the results of regulation elsewhere. His conclusion was that market control of land use leads to vitality and flexibility, while government control leads to sterility and rigidity.

"We Won't Get Fooled Again", a short film produced by the Society for Individual Liberty, began the second half of the afternoon program. The film made visual comparisons between George III and the 38 supposedly non-monarchical American presidents to follow him. Then along came the New York crew, Roy Childs and Ralph Raico.

Child's talk was specifically oriented toward the poor as victims, not beneficiaries, of the Welfare State. He spoke eloquently of his experiences as a resident of Harlem, and of his realization that the poor are perfectly aware of how they are being manipulated by social engineers. Libertarians, then, have a unique opportunity to appeal to the poor by distinguishing themselves from the liberals--whose solution to poverty is the establishment of bureaucracies which rule every detail of poor people's lives--and from the conservatives, who actually believe that the poor demand and are delighted by their subjugation to the Welfare system.

Libertarian hero Karl Bray, main speaker at the Sunday Brunch, wisely turned his appearance into a question and answer session. As usual, there was too little time for all the questions. Paul Stout of Du Page County followed with his own story of IRS harassment. Paul's IRS audit and intelligence files--limited by law to materials directly related to the amount of tax he owes--contain letters to Chicago newspapers that are critical of IRS policy and procedure. Thus Paul felt justified in concluding that the IRS was making his criticisms a factor in his prosecution.

The Workshops began immediately afterwards. In these, libertarians learned the practical skills of petitioning, fund raising, and running campaigns; there were also seminars on public schools and Austrian Economics. Most people felt the highlight of the workshops to be Jeff Friedman's analysis of his High School and the values it inculcates. Jeff is a student at Glenbrook North High School. Roy Childs, who was on the panel with Jeff, was so impressed that he is reportedly offered to print an article by Jeff in Libertarian Review.

About 200 libertarians attended one event or another of the Convention. The next year will tell whether they can put the skills and other ammunition they gained there to work for the movement.

Ralph Raico's talk was more generally aimed at reminding us of the horrors of conservatism, with which some people confuse libertarianism. As usual, Ralph pulled no punches, hanging the conservatives with their own statements in support of the joys of militarism, censorship, and the suppression of alternative lifestyles.

David Bergland, the emcee of the afternoon program, was the keynote speaker at the evening banquet. His theme was "Heroes and Villians of the Revolution". To succeed as a libertarian movement, Bergland contended, we must be able to capture the imagination of people by talking strong, moral stands against the state...stands that will make large numbers of people perceive libertarians and libertarianism as heroic.

Last, but not least, the assembled were treated to the maiden appearance of Gregg Vavra, the Libertarian candidate for Mayor of Chicago. As a result of this appearance, the Chicago Libertarian Association (the political committee set up to back Vavra) raised \$2,000 for the ballot drive and about \$1,200 contingent upon ballot status. Details about the Vavra campaign are on the front page.

government involvement in education entirely. The voucher system is in good repute among liberals and conservatives alike, and has a special appeal to minorities seeking greater control over a huge, centralized school system. Thus, in education, Libertarians will be the only people proposing constructive alternatives to the obviously bankrupt status quo.

The Economy

Business is deserting Chicago, taxes are higher, obliterated neighborhoods can be seen everywhere. Yet Bilandic goes on mindlessly defending the status quo—he even feels obligated to defend the head tax, when people in his own Party are questioning its value.

Gregg Vavra will propose to deregulate the city's economy, and emphasize the restrictive nature of zoning laws in particular. These regulations not only restrict economic development, but also engender political corruption and deny people a basic human right. It is no secret that in Chicago those with "clout" can obtain rulings and regulations favorable to their business activity. And zoning has often been used to deny people the right to use their property as they see fit—especially the small businessman or minority enterprise, which can't afford to buy special favors from their alderman.

VICTIMLESS CRIMES

Chicago's official approach to victimless crimes is laced with hypocrisy. Police swoop down on pornographers to gather headlines, while murders and thefts go unsolved. Solicitation is banned to "keep prostitutes off the streets", when they are on the streets only because its illegal to open up a bordello. Narcotics are banned to "protect" people from them, yet the ban makes them so expensive that an addict must steal or even kill to support his habit. Marijuana is illegal, yet its use is so widespread and its effect so innocuous that it renews the deeply felt conviction of libertarians that "the law is a ass, a idiot." The candidates of the Republicrats can be expected to go on enforcing "official morality". Once again, it is only Gregg Vavra and the Libertarian Party who are making sense: if there is no victim, there can be no crime. Consensual activities should be left alone, and police should devote their resources to fighting real crimes.

We Libertarians have so much to say, and our opponents so little, that it is possible that the Party could draw 5% of the vote (about 35,000 votes) and become an established political party in Chicago. The ensuing publicity would be a tremendous boon to the movement. This opportunity is unique; we are unlikely to ever face such a boring pair of opponents again.

But there is one stumbling block. The ballot requirements for the Mayor's election were written by and for the Democratic machine, in order to protect it from competition. The petition requirements are blatantly discriminatory. While Democrats and Republicans must get 1/2% of the people who voted in their primary to sign, New Political Parties had to get 8%, and independent candidates 5%, of all the registered voters in the city. That translates into 2,600 signatures for the Republicans, 4,500 for the Democrats, 36,000 for Independents, and 64,000 for new parties. However, two legal rulings have successively lowered the requirements to 36,000, then 20,000 with the deadline extended two weeks. Even so, the requirements are steep. Remember, it took four months and the whole state organization to meet the 25,000 signature requirement for the state ticket in 1976. This time we have a month and a half.

We need your help, quickly. We know we can run an effective campaign—if we can get on the ballot. We need petitioners and we need money. \$20.00 is worth about 100 petition signatures. \$75.00 can pay for 2,000 pieces of handout literature. \$1,000 can bring us the legal help to lower the ballot requirements even further.



GREGG VAVRA

LIBERTARIAN FOR MAYOR

LIBERTARIAN PARTY OF ILLINOIS

Postal Box 1776, Chicago, 60690

PHONE 925-1111

VAVRA FOR MAYOR

A Libertarian Approach to Chicago's Problems:

THE ECONOMY

Revitalize the City, reduce corruption by repealing economic controls.

- abolish zoning land use restrictions
- repeal the head tax
- end restrictions on private transit and jitney cabs

EDUCATION

- Establish a system of educational vouchers as a first step towards the separation of education and State
- Give parents and students a choice — let private alternatives in education develop freely
- Phase out the government-operated schools

CRIME

- Repeal all laws forbidding victimless crimes, such as drug use, prostitution and gambling.
- Shift police resources to fighting murder, robbery, rape.
- End police spying and political harassment.
- End police shakedowns, abolish liquor licensing.

Paid for by the Chicago Libertarian Association
M. Mueller, Chairman; Wayne Openlander, Treasurer

Local Club News

CHICAGO

| | | | |
|---|--------------------------|---------------|--|
| <u>North Side</u> F. Joseph McCaffrey | 1960 Lincoln Park West | Chicago 60614 | 312/ 528-9083 |
| <u>Northwest Side</u> Wayne Openlander | 3132 North Lowell | Chicago 60641 | 312/ 283-1690 (H) 312/ 966-4752 (W) |
| <u>South Side</u> David Theroux | 5616 Blackstone | Chicago 60637 | 312/ 955-2442 |
| <u>Far South Side</u> James C. Jones | 11123 South St. Lawrence | Chicago 60628 | 312/ 468-8805 |

COOK COUNTY

| | | | |
|---|-----------------------|--------------------|--|
| <u>North Suburbs</u> Everett Moffat | 861 Prospect | Winnetka 60093 | 312/ 446-3669 |
| Jorie Julian | 190 E. Atteridge Road | Lake Forrest 60045 | 312/ 234-1825 |
| <u>West Suburbs</u> Tom Cain | 163 North Harvey | Oak Park 60302 | 312/ 383-8359 (H) 312/ 236-1996 (W) |
| <u>South Suburbs</u> see Chicago, Far South Side | | | |

SUBURBAN COUNTIES

| | | | |
|--|-------------------|---------------------|--|
| <u>Lake County</u> Marji Kohls | 1002 Valley Drive | Wildwood 60030 | 312/ 223-8417 (H) 312/ 546-8215 (W) |
| <u>McHenry County</u> Robert Randall | 91 East Street | Crystal Lake 60014 | 815/ 459-4929 (H) 312/ 276-8500 (W) |
| <u>DuPage County</u> Raymond K. Birks | 4718 Lee Avenue | Downers Grove 60515 | 312/ 968-6006 |

DOWNSTATE

| | | | |
|--|---------------------------|--------------------|--|
| <u>Rockford Area</u> James Dunkel | 5462 Rickwood | Rockford 61107 | 815/ 877-6321 (H) 815/ 398-0303 (W) |
| <u>DeKalb Area</u> Marc Swanson | 807 Ridge Drive #1009 | DeKalb 60115 | 815/ 758-4073 |
| <u>Tri-Cities Area</u> Loretta Swett | 16420 74th Avenue West | Taylor Ridge 61284 | 309/ 798-2675 |
| <u>Peoria Area</u> William Scudder | 113 Pebble Street | East Peoria 61611 | 309/ 699-0922 |
| <u>Bloomington Area</u> Contact Jeff Smith at 312/ 947-0129 | | | |
| <u>Champaign Area</u> Jeff Dehn | 312 Edwin | Champaign 61820 | 217/ 359-3583 |
| <u>Springfield Area</u> Gary Burpo | 2528 Manchester Drive | Springfield 62704 | 217/ 787-1451 |
| <u>Metro-East</u> William C. Brockus | PO Box 366, 117 S. Kansas | Edwardsville 62025 | 618/ 656-4351 |
| <u>Southern Illinois</u> William Mitchell | 1108 South Main Street | Benton 62812 | 618/439-6004 |

Mayor Daley: Two Views

MAYOR DALEY: A CLOSET LIBERTARIAN?

by Richard W. Suter

The heart and soul of libertarianism is the philosophy that everyone should be able to "do their own thing" within the limits of their economic and personal ability. It isn't hard to argue that the late Mayor Daley, boss of Chicago, ran the city with that philosophy too.

To be sure, Chicago was the victim of the whole assortment of coercive legislation--zoning laws, victimless crime laws, regulations on just about every kind of commercial activity. For that matter, there's even a law which prescribes when Chicagoans can sprinkle their lawns. Despite these laws, everyone did just about what they chose, to the extent of their economic and personal ability.

When I was in sixth grade, a popular joke on the school lot was: "Does your father work for a living?...No, he's a cop." Even from a sixth grade perspective the all too real reality of Chicago was obvious. It was more obvious upon turning sixteen and receiving the State's permission to drive a car. Standard equipment became a driver's license with a five dollar bill. Every driver of that bygone era, before cops stopped accepting bribes openly, remembers a day when a red light was flashing from the squad and knowing that all that was in your pocket was a twenty...and twenty was more than a pass was worth!

Sure, Chicago had laws, but if you had money and connections, there was no law which stood in your way. Zoning laws faded, victimless crimes became wide-open victimless pleasure domes...with the local police captain one of the best customers. Need a business? Your alderman could quickly arrange a city contract doing almost anything. Just remember to make him a silent partner in your venture. All this was the day-to-day workings of the domain which almost literally belonged to King Richard J. Daley--the Boss.

Any economist worth his number crunching salt will promptly tell you that the reason Chicago has experienced an economic boomlet, when virtually all other major U.S. cities have been decaying, is because of the virtual free market conditions which exist in the city. Everything from zoning, building codes and real estate taxes can be fixed. Yes, this fixing process does lead to some inefficiency in the market, however, even though the amount of the payoffs may be large in an absolute sense, when taken as a proportion of the project as a whole, the economic effect is very small. In an economic sense, Chicago practices "good economics". Of course, it's not perfect, but it's close. There is only a small transactional cost disefficiency in the market.

In a similar vein, about a year ago in the "free-market economic rumor mill" there was a report that U of C economist and member of Roger MacBride's panel of consultants, Sam Peltzman, had prepared a paper on political morality. The purported outline of the paper was that society gets the amount of political morality which it buys at the ballot box and the political payoff game. Political morality had a demand and supply schedule just like everything else; people always got exactly what they paid for. It followed that in a market sense, there could be no such thing as a crooked politician, since he was fulfilling the morality dictated by the political marketplace which elected him to the job. For his part, Peltzman denied ever writing such a paper, characterizing it as a vicious world-wide attack to cast aspersions upon his character. That the rumor even existed gives an interesting insight into the thinking of professional economists about morality and the market place. Even presidents of the American Economics Association have gone on record saying that there is nothing wrong with slavery as long as the slave can buy his freedom.

Such rhetoric leaves a paradox for libertarians. If any kind of activity that maximizes an individual's control over his own life through the use of his own resources is a "good" philosophy, Mayor Daley's Chicago is a fine example of a libertarian society. However, if the argument is made that maximizing personal freedom must be weighed against the use of coercion, the definition of libertarianism is much changed. If opposed to coercion, libertarians are not opposed to the State per se, but are opposed to the coercive powers of the State. If people want to voluntarily pay taxes, that's their business. Within the spectrum of political rhetoric the analysis has important implications--are libertarians against a government army, government schools, or any of the host of government "services"--or only their coercive elements. Is the argument for the abolition of these services an argument for efficiency? If so, how does this fit in with the libertarian forswearing of coercion? May it not be coercion to "force" the elimination of the government school, government hospital, etc.? May people not decide to organize themselves into political units, and voluntarily collect taxes and operating services? The answer to these questions will determine libertarian political rhetoric. What is a libertarian?



"Believe me, the whole economy profits, we rob someone of five grand. Then we buy some stuff from a fence. He gives his cut to the mob. They pay off the cops. . . ."

REPLY

by Will Kinney

I don't understand why Richard wrote this article. Most libertarians believe that machine government is the antithesis of a free society. At first I thought the article to be "tongue in cheek", but its not funny enough to be satire. It must be just "foot in mouth".

to next page

I disagree with most of Mr. Suter's contentions in the article, but the major points he errs on are 1) his definition of libertarianism; 2) his assertion that individuals were not hindered by Daley's Chicago; 3) his belief that political corruption as a way of life is admirable and efficient; 4) his failure to understand the common "initiation of force" definition of libertarianism; and 5) his entire final paragraph.

Richard's definition of libertarianism is so fuzzy it almost appears to be a good one. However, it is a loaded definition. What does he mean by "the limits of one's personal and economic ability"? Certainly he means the physical and mental limits to each individual's capacities. But what about the government limits on individuals? Aren't government controls on how much money you can keep, what activities you can do, and what places you can visit, limits on your ability?

But Suter conveniently ignores about half of the "all too real reality of Chicago" by neglecting to discuss both sides of Chicago's political and economic corruption. For every "fix" obtained by those with enough wealth and political pull, there are at least as many smaller or newer ventures which go under because they are not able to buy the right to exercise their economic and personal ability. Richard's assertion that "despite these laws, everyone did just about what they chose" is clearly false. It would be interesting to hear him say that to one of the former residents of a neighborhood liquidated by Daley for his Chicago Circle Campus, or his expressway system, or various shopping malls and parking lots. Not once does Richard mention the harm done to the people who attempt to buck the tide of graft and favoritism. Nor does he ever question the right of "King Richard Daley, the Boss" to interfere with the actions of peaceful individuals.

I certainly question Mr. Suter's use of the term "free market" in referring to Chicago. Libertarians are for a market unhampered by favoritism and pork-barreling, and Mayor Daley's Chicago is the antithesis of that. The only element in the Chicago political system remotely resembling a free market is the bidding done to purchase favors. But this is no more libertarian than the bidding of southern slave owners was.

I fail to see the purpose of Richard's idle gossip concerning Sam Peltzman, nor do I understand how the amoral "floating value" economists he refers to relate to the moral positions of libertarianism.

In his last paragraph Richard attempts to set up a false dichotomy between his "dollars make rights" definition of libertarianism and the more commonly accepted "non-initiation of force" definition. Speculations as to his motives for this will be left to the reader; I'll confine my comments to the last paragraph. In it, he makes an absolutely embarrassing attempt to use the Aristotelian method of argument. Suter states: "if opposed to coercion, libertarians are not opposed to the State per se, but are opposed to the coercive powers of the State." This is patently untrue. The State, like taxes, is coercive by nature. "Coercive government" is a redundancy. "Voluntary taxes" is a contradiction in terms. To illustrate the point more clearly, think of taxes as opposed to voluntary donations. If you decide not to donate money to someone, then nothing happens. If you decide not to pay taxes... To be opposed to coercion is to be opposed to the State since all government activities are financed by taxation.

As for the question, "May it not be coercion to "force" the elimination of the government school..." this shows a complete failure to grasp what initiating force means. One may as well say it was coercion to stop the Federal government from regulating investment advisors--a subject which Richard has discussed in another issue of the Illinois Libertarian.

"What is a libertarian?", Richard asks. In response, I would say that his article illustrates some of the fine points of what a libertarian is not.

NEW LPI LEADERSHIP continued from p. 4

In addition to Party officers, two Judicial Committee posts were filled at the state convention. Names, addresses, and the date their term expires are listed below.

| | | | | |
|--|--|--|---|---|
| Don Parrish (78) 5536 Lake Dr. Lisle, 60532 312/ 852-2844 | Robert Osterlund (78) 5301 Kimbark #3D Chicago, 60615 312/ 752-6866 | Marybeth Kinney (79) 5704 N. Mango Chicago, 60646 312/ 774-4105 | Alan Neumann (80) 2324 N. Sheffield Chicago, 60614 312/ 871-3164 | Will Kinney 5704 N. Mango Chicago, 60646 312/ 774-4105 |
|--|--|--|---|---|

Also elected were Illinois' representatives to the National Convention in San Francisco in July. The ten Convention delegates elected were Will Kinney, Marybeth Kinney, Joe McCaffrey, Don Parrish, Steve Nelson, Ed Moffat, Joe Cobb, Marji Kohls, Jeff Smith, David Theroux, and Richard Suter. Milton Mueller was elected to serve on the Platform Committee.

& news & notes

VAVRA PETITION DRIVE IN FULL SWING.

With over 8,000 signatures already, Gregg Vavra's ballot drive for mayor of Chicago is gaining momentum. Gregg appeared at the Lincoln Park Lagoon's Winter Carnival at the Aragon Ballroom. The elaborate affair attracted over 5,500 people, and libertarian activists got 1,000 signatures from them. In addition to the petitioning success, several thousand of Ralph Raico's booklet "Gay Rights-A Libertarian Approach" were handed out to the appreciative crowd.

Gregg has also appeared at a meeting of the Metropolitan Lesbian and Gay coalition; a coffee hour hosted by "Integrity", a gay Episcopal group, and was interviewed on WLS and a radio program "Around Midnight."

Any persons interested in helping with the petition drive call Mark Travis at 528-6919.

SCOTT OTTENBERG RUNS AGAINST TAX INCREASE IN ROCKFORD. Scott Ottenberg, LPI candidate for the Rockford School Board, has campaigned hard against any tax increase and for a tax credit system to replace the compulsory government-run school system. So far the campaign has featured 45 thirty-second TV ads, and 50 radio spots. Many hundreds of signs and libertarian pamphlets have been distributed. The April 5th election has 13 candidates running for three positions. Scott is one of only 2 running against a tax increase--in a city which has rejected two tax increases in the past 18 months.

WAKE UP OUT THERE! The editor would like some indication that people actually read the newsletter. Letters to the editor, reactions to articles, and unsolicited articles are welcome. Send all mail to the Party mailbox c/o the Illinois Libertarian.

NEW EDITOR FOR ILLINOIS LIBERTARIAN. George L. O'Brien has been named Editor of the Illinois Libertarian by State chairperson Milton Mueller. George O'Brien is the former county chairman for the LP of Columbus, Ohio, as well as chairman of the Columbus Area Libertarian Alliance, and a variety of other education oriented groups. He served as speech-writer for "Citizens for Deweese", a libertarian/Republican campaign for State Representative in Columbus. He has spoken on libertarianism to various civic groups and universities. His articles have appeared in Rightly So, Starboard, The Miami Student, and The Majority Speaks. A publisher and typist are still needed for the newsletter; volunteers can call George at 595-4277.

CHICAGO RESIDENTS: If you can work up a speaking engagement for Gregg Vavra's Mayor campaign in your area, the person to contact is Jim Edminster. Jim can be reached at 477-4196. If Jim cannot be reached at that number, call Milton Mueller at 929-0476; Mark Travis at 528-6919; or Joe Cobb at 288-2270.

MENSA MEMBERS. Libertarian Special Interest Group forming. Organizational meeting will be held at Wayne Openlander's, 3132 N. Lowell, Chicago. Call 283-1690 for directions. The date is May 25th at 8:00.

THE VAVRA PETITION DRIVE CAN ACQUIRE THE 20,000 SIGNATURE REQUIREMENT TO ASSURE US OF BALLOT STATUS IN CHICAGO. FULL TIME PETITIONERS ARE BRINGING HUNDREDS OF SIGNATURES DAILY; WEEKEND AND EVENING VOLUNTEERS ARE GETTING ABOUT 800 EVERY WEEKEND. BUT WE ARE RUNNING OUT OF MONEY. PLEASE DON'T LET THIS VALUABLE OPPORTUNITY TO RUN A CAMPAIGN IN CHICAGO SLIP AWAY. YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS ARE NECESSARY TO KEEP THE BALLOT DRIVE GOING.

ENCLOSED IS MY CONTRIBUTION FOR _____ \$500 _____ \$100 _____ \$50 _____ \$25

MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO "CHICAGO LIBERTARIAN ASSOCIATION". SEND TO PO BOX 1776, CHICAGO, 60690.

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____ CITY _____
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NOTA TALK APRIL 17TH features French political journalist Danielle Brison. The French news media and its subject- tion to government control will be the topic. Danielle, who has been observing American life, journalism and politics for the past two months, will offer her comparisons of the American and French governmental systems, institutions and bureaucracy, explaining how regulation affects them. Location is Christ Church of Chicago, 701 W. Buckingham, at 2:30 pm. Dinner at Ann Sathers follows at 5:30.

SCC MEETING FOR APRIL is April 24th at 2:00. The meeting will be held in the party room of George O'Brien's apartment complex, 120 E. George St. in Bensenville. Call George at 595-4277 for directions. The meeting is open to the public as usual.

The new newsletter staff is badly in need of a typist. Volunteers will use an IBM Selectric (correcting). Anyone interested please call George O'Brien at 595-4277, or Laura Kroutil at 929-0476.

POSTER PARTY FOR THE TAX PROTEST will be hosted by Bob and Carolyn Randall April 11 and 12. The address is 91 East St. in Crystal Lake. Call 815/459-4929 for directions. Poster materials will be furnished, but contributions will be welcome.

The Illinois Libertarian is published monthly by the Libertarian Party of Illinois. Subscription included with annual membership in the Libertarian Party of Illinois: \$12/sustaining; \$8/regular; \$6/student. Subscription for non-members: \$6/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 directed to the LPI, P.O. Box 1776, Chicago, Illinois 60690.