



The Illinois Libertarian

LIBERTARIAN PARTY OF ILLINOIS • BOX 1776 • CHICAGO 60690

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Signature Drive Pushes LPI Toward Ballot

BY RICH SUTER

As you read this, it is approximately D-Day minus 30. D-Day, in case you can't remember, is the deadline that tells whether or not we are a real political force in Illinois. The Communist Party will be a real political force, the U.S. Labor Party will be, and so will the the Socialist Workers--all three of these outfits will be on the ballot for the November 2, 1976, general election. The question is: will we Libertarians be on the ballot?

You know that the Communists have absolutely no popular support; the U.S. Labor Party and the Socialist Workers have little more. Last week the Reader (North Side Chicago's leading "hip" life-style newsweekly) ran their front page feature on Rodger MacBride and our Libertarian Party. We Libertarians do have wide popular support....but the question remains: will we be on the ballot?

The answer to that question (ballot status in November) rests with you. Between now and the end of July, the Libertarian Party needs to collect 1,000 signatures daily to insure ballot status. Whether or not we

do it is up to you. 1,000 signatures daily equates to only four (4) signatures per day per Libertarian Party member. Just how long would it take to get four (4) signatures a day? The sorry fact is that some of our members have collected over 1,000 signatures to date, and others have not collected even one. Do you want to be considered a "free rider"--a Libertarian who does not carry his or her fair share? I'm sure each of you realize the importance of being on the ballot in November--it means massive publicity for our libertarian ideas. We all need to get into the swing of political activism--pledge to yourself to spend at least 20 hours between now and the end of July collecting petition signatures. In order to do your share as an Illinois Libertarian you need to collect 400 signatures to get the MacBride/Bergland ticket and the state slate led by F. Joseph McCaffrey on the November ballot.

To make your petition gathering more interesting, the Illinois Libertarian Ballot Committee has decided to award prizes to the three most successful signature collectors in the state. The top prize is a \$100 Federal Reserve Note, second prize is \$75, and third

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D.C. To Host 5th LP Convention in Sept.

The Fifth Annual Convention of the National Libertarian Party will be held in Washington D.C., September 24--26. The convention will be headquartered at the Statler Hilton Hotel and will feature Roger MacBride, Libertarian Party nominee for president, and David Bergland, our vice presidential candidate, along with a star-studded cast of leading Libertarians from around the world. This won't be a "working" convention, but a fun and game time to present our grievances to the powers that be at Washington for what's gone wrong with freedom in the 200 years that have passed since the first Libertarian Revolution! There'll be speakers, parties, debates, demonstrations, movies, tours and much much more. It will be the greatest Libertarian happening since 1776!

It's not too early to plan to attend the convention. If enough Illinois members want to attend we will be entitled to special discount airfares for our group. If you think you'll be attending the convention, please call Marybeth Kinney (312/736-9734, 10 a.m. to 6 p.m., Monday through Friday) and we'll add your name to the list to receive more details on discount flights and other convention information as it becomes available. Don't delay--participate in the 200th anniversary of the American Revolution--demand freedom now!



GOVERNMENT IS NOT REASON, IT IS NOT
ELOQUENCE - IT IS FORCE. LIKE FIRE IT IS
A DANGEROUS SERVANT AND A FEARFUL MASTER;
NEVER FOR A MOMENT SHOULD IT BE LEFT TO
IRRESPONSIBLE ACTION.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

THE AMERICAN

What's This All About, Anyhow?

BY KEN STURZENACKER

We are in the midst of a revolution the most complete, unexpected and remarkable of any in the history of nations.

John Adams
June 9, 1776

The men who shaped the debate toward independence 200 years ago did so tempered by the certain knowledge their action went beyond that place and time.

Tumultuous as their decision would be for the colonies, they acted in a context far wider than simply declaring the rights of a fledgling nation 3,000 miles from its motherland.

They approved the Declaration of Independence amid the exultations borne of libertyand the burden of setting a new course, a new example, for mankind.

There was an Aristotelian revolution: a change in the formative, energizing principles which provide a political community with its purpose.

John Adams and the others knew it in the months and days before the Continental Congress turned to Thomas Jefferson to draft its document proclaiming independence.

George Washington acknowledged what the signers had accomplished with the Greek *politeria*, the soul of the body politic, in his first inaugural address, "The sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican form of government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally staked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people."

The members of the Continental Congress believed King George wanted subservient colonies; a tax base to be exploited, drained....and otherwise ignored.

They had no place for the capricious, heavy-handed acts of an English king and Parliament in their view of the emerging American *politeria*: "these united colonies are, and of right ought to be free and independent states."

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the "Un" Patriot

BY MILTON MUELLER

On the eve of the coming orgy of patriotic hoopla, I find myself unenthused. As I cast a cool eye over the American scene, my reaction could be best described by slightly modifying an old patriotic saying into something like this: "My country--I can take it or leave it."

I would not burden the readers with these rather uninspiring sentiments unless I thought they had some libertarian significance. To wit, sooner or later libertarians, who count individualism and rationality among their most important traits, are going to have to face the fact that patriotism is an inherently collectivist attitude, and that the demands of loyalty to country always clash with the demands of rational evaluation.

I have no quarrel with those who are celebrating the birth of specifically defined ideals on July fourth--such as the Jeffersonian concept of government. But I do ask that no one confuse these ideals with some diffuse love of country, because "America" as such may or may not embody those ideals.

BICENTENNIAL

I even admit that there are specific, political reasons to value the government of the United States over that of other nations. But still, I recommend we avoid patriotism like the plague--for perhaps it is one. "Love of country" always seems to end up as a dupe, a way of rationalizing atrocities of the State. The draft, war, the rationing of commodities, the incarceration of the Japanese during World War II, even the regulation of wheat exports are things that have been sustained by fanning the flames of patriotism. During the '60's in good old, patriotic Kansas, I ran into many people who so loved the fact that the American government grants them freedom of speech, they thought it was immoral to actually use that freedom to criticize the government! Cliches such as "this is the freest country on earth" are major impediments to making it ten times freer.

So far, so obvious. But here's the fundamental question: what is "America," anyway? When someone "stands up for America," what exactly are they standing up for? When we pledge allegiance to the flag, what is it that commands our allegiance? If patriotism is love of country, then what's a country?

There is no way around the fact that "America" is a political entity. It is a unit only by the definition of the State. It is simply a specific bailiwick of coercion. Like every other country, our national boundaries are a product of wars and theft, and are maintained by the military, police, and customs officials. Thus it is no accident that patriotism ends up serving State interests. Standing up for America must reduce to standing up for the government.

Patriotism is just a nice word for nationalism, and nationalism is simply a politicized tribalism. We are deluded into giving allegiance to "America," just as people who live in the political boundaries of the U.S.S.R. are deluded into Russian patriotism, just as Ugandans are deluded into allegiance to the Ugandan state, Mexicans to the Mexican state, etc. All of us ought to be pledged to individual rights, not arbitrary national allegiances which only obfuscate the real issues. (Incidentally, "allegiance" is defined as "loyalty owed to a nation, sovereign, or cause." This has an ominous ring, but the second definition listed is even more pungent and more applicable: "the obligations of a vassal to an overlord.")

Unfortunately, the Statist concepts of nationalism and patriotism are ingrained in people's mentalities. National boundaries--political boundaries--seem real because they get confused with cultural and linguistic differences, though the two never correspond. The fact that "countries" are an ancient cover for political power grabbing is obscured once people's innocent differences are politicized and coagulate into a "nation."

I submit that the libertarian commitment to political individualism makes us the most fundamentally un-patriotic group on the political spectrum.

BY WILL KINNEY

One Bicentennial phenomenon which may be of more than passing interest to Libertarians is the emergence of counter-Bicentennial groups, most notably the Peoples' Bicentennial Commission. Groups such as the PBC have a lot in common with libertarianism. They have a fierce allegiance to individualism and a heartening distrust of Government. For the most part, the PBC agrees with the ethic of the non-initiation of force as well.

But there are two significant points which set the PBC apart from Libertarians. The most obvious point of difference centers on the free market issue. The other point is really the more important: the veiled use of fraud and the inherent hypocrisy of the PBC as a whole.

The PBC prides itself on having started a movement that celebrates the "proper" aspects of the Bicentennial rather than the "crass materialism" of the current "Buy-centennial sell-eboration." Many Libertarians also loath the commercialism of the celebration because, in the words of the PBC, "it smothers the 'true spirit' of the Bicentennial." During his visit to Chicago in May, LP presidential candidate Roger MacBride expressed the same disgust: "I think we're being Bicentennial-ed to death."

Both groups cite the lack of any relation between the plastic eagle drinking mugs, the red-white-and-blue ashtrays, laundry detergents, starred-and-striped bedpans and automobile trim...and the anti-Government philosophy of the 1770's. The dislike for the current form of celebration is similar; but the roots to that sentiment are different...and so the blame is laid on different causes.

WHY DIDN'T YOU GET A BENNINGTON FLAG, BETSY?



The PBC blames the "capitalists" and advertising people for the "rape of our national heritage," claiming that if those people did not advertise their Bicentennial junk, we would not be forced to buy it. Anyone who is even nominally acquainted with free market principles can see the folly of this reasoning. It is neither the residents of Wall Street nor Madison Avenue who are responsible for such lovely items as star-spangled, coin-carrying toilet seats.

In answer to the question, "Who put the buy in Bicentennial," the Libertarian answer is simply, "The people." It is the desires of people acting as consumers in the marketplace that dictates what the "capitalists" will produce for sale. No one can be coerced to buy anything; and the lack of demand for particularly tacky and offensive Bicentennial products quickly removes them from store shelves and into musty warehouses.

Through the use of good examples, Libertarian free market solutions to problems become accepted by individual PBC'ers; and the ignorance of these economic principles shrinks to little more than a matter of publicizing our views.

But another problem exists within the PBC that is even more disturbing than its espousal of tired, Marxist dogma. The PBC has encouraged the hypocrisy inherent in the difference between the organization's words and its actions.

Recently, the PBC claimed in the news media it had sent half-hour cassette tapes depicting "crimes against society" committed by members of the "illuminati" to the wives of those suspect individual businessmen. That tape, according to the PBC, was followed by a mailing of a personal letter to the woman, asking for their help in restoring the PBC's concept of the original American society. Very few of the cassettes were actually sent; but many letters were.

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The Other Bicentennial

BY JOE COBB

On March 9, 1776, a book was offered for sale on the streets of London which was destined to change history. The power of the book lies in its ethical implications for liberty. In this book, a professor of moral philosophy argued that it is a common fallacy to believe that when two nations trade with each other, one necessarily profits and the other necessarily loses. The system of mercantilism which had dominated economic policy for two hundred years (indeed, if not for two thousand) was based on the idea that trade is a form of combat, with the big guys winning all the gold and the weak guys paying the price.

Adam Smith argued, on the other hand, that trade always benefits both parties, when it is voluntary, and therefore we need not worry about motives, such as greed and selfishness. If the economic system respects individual rights to liberty and property--that is, if nobody uses guns, knives, and threats of force--the little guy will always profit too.

The title of Adam Smith's book is An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations. The book is known today by the last three or four words of its title, but the first seven words better characterize it. Sometimes a libertarian is accused of "knowing all the quick answers" to economic and social problems. People like to believe that the world is "complex" and "doesn't work that way." Yet, the man who first argued popularly for the virtue of selfishness was not pedantically pushing a nostrum--he was inquiring, looking at the facts of the situation, noticing the ways in which the mercantilist policy failed to achieve what it was supposed to achieve.

One of Adam Smith's greatest delights was unmasking the claims of government monopolies, which supposedly were trading for the public good. His famous "invisible hand" idea is exactly the observation that direct actions have indirect effects as well as direct effects. The principle is as immutable as the conservation of mass and energy. What it says is: The real world is complex--always look for the secondary effects of policy, which seem to happen as if by an invisible hand. Sometimes they are more powerful than the direct effects, and sometimes they do exactly the opposite of what you desire.

The greatest tribute to a writer is always paid by those who denounce him as "wrong" and "out of date" while they, at the same time, advocate his ideas under their own labels. Today, the Ralph Nader and Hubert Humphrey types scream about the big monopolies; they advocate breaking up the oil industry and they believe that obscene profits are lurking everywhere. It was Adam Smith who sold the world on the benefits of a competitive society, because this is the only way the little guy can have freedom of choice.

The average person has never read Adam Smith's book, and probably never will. It is written in the style of the eighteenth century, and much of the writing is not about modern trends. Some passages are downright funny, however. The average person today believes that Adam Smith is a doctrinaire advocate of laissez faire capitalism. This is not true. Like a subtle advocate of any point of view on policy questions, he was willing to entertain an exception to a general rule. His purpose was to persuade and clarify for the reader that the general rules are the underlying forces which make human society function. Government policy in harmony with the underlying forces will succeed and policies contrary to them will lead to frustration and perverse results.

The focus was more of "try it, you'll like it" rather than "capitalism is good and mercantilism is evil." Indeed, the fantastic success of Smith's book led, as if by invisible hand, to the growth of a sort of dogmatic, knee-jerk point of view toward social problems. Within one generation, every educated person knew that Smith's "system of natural liberty," as he called it, was generally superior to government control. By making a dogma out of this, however, the classical liberals stimulated the growth of Tory socialism because they forgot how to use Adam Smith's technique of "Inquiry into the Nature and Causes" of situations. Fabian socialists, above all, were subtle and witty in their attacks on the laissez faire capitalism which followed from Smith's influence.

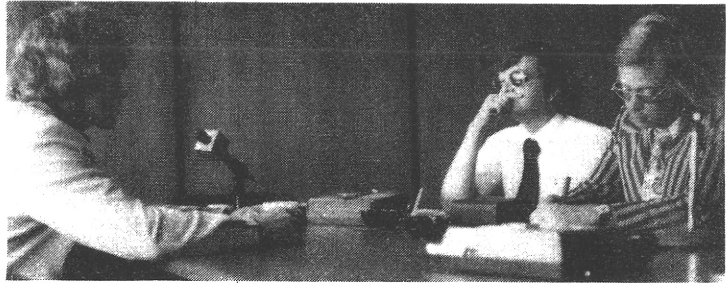
Dogmatism, even today, remains the arch-enemy of libertarianism--and libertarians would do well to keep this in mind. As if by an invisible hand, dogma turns off the very people who have the most to contribute to the influence of economic, political and moral ideas. Most open minded people distrust someone with "all the answers," and by definition, Libertarians cannot attempt to force their philosophy on anyone. Adam Smith's approach stands us in much better stead in both the short and long runs.

A REMINDER: THE FORUM TOPIC FOR AUGUST IS VICTIMLESS CRIME.

THE FORUM TOPIC FOR SEPTEMBER WILL BE GUN CONTROL.



Bernadette McCaffrey



Ken Jameson



Michael Ray



(more photos on page 11)

SIGNATURE DRIVE/LPI BALLOT (from page 1)

prize is \$25. Every Libertarian in the state is eligible, expect members of the State Central Committee and the officers of the Illinois Libertarian Ballot Committee.

In addition to signatures we need money. All Illinois Libertarians recently received a mailing begging them to help collect signatures. This mailing went to over 2,000 identified Libertarians in the state. Such a mailing costs over \$600, after paying the ever increasing tribute to the United States Postal Service. Luckily we did not have to pay for mailing service since these were donated by hard working LPI'ers--in the case of the petition mailing, Joe Cobb, Milton Mueller, Marybeth and Will Kinney, George Muha, and Glen Olofson helped out. However, we still need dollar (\$) contributions to cover the cost of the mailing.

Another mailing was sent to all 4,500 Illinois contributors to the National Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms. Included in this mailing was a reprint from Gun's magazine which featured the Libertarian Party in the July issue, the Libertarian Gun Control position paper, and an appeal to help the Libertarian Party. Even if many of these people do not financially support us now we

hope that this exposure will remind gun owners to vote Libertarian on November 2. The mailing cost approximately \$800.

The Libertarian campaign needs your continuing and generous financial support. During July, when the Libertarian state platform is published (now being prepared by the candidates) there will be state-wide tours of all state candidates, which costs still more Federal Reserve Notes. Please help to popularize your beliefs--keep your maximum contributions rolling in.

Besides dollars, we also need additional volunteer workers. People to make telephone calls from home, more people to come to Party Headquarters to stuff and seal envelopes, do typing and a host of other clerical and campaign coordination jobs which require our immediate attention if we are to make a significant impact in this election year. Call MaryBeth Kinney at State Party Headquarters to get your work assignment. Call 312/736-9734 between 10 a.m. and 6 p.m., Monday thru Friday to ask how you can help.

It's vital--get signatures through the end of July, give dollars, and volunteer your time for the Libertarian campaign. If everyone helps, our vote total in November will amaze you.

Local Clubs are the Key to LPI Strength

The local clubs of the Libertarian Party of Illinois are the foundation for the strength and growth of the Libertarian movement in this state in recent months. In the last several weeks, local club members have led the drive to gather enough petition signatures in the LPI's efforts to qualify its full slate of candidates for a position on the ballot in November. As we complete that effort late this month, the local clubs will be shifting their attention to organizing for the fall campaign. Beyond that, the local clubs will have a major role in preparing for a statewide convention next spring...and perhaps the national LP convention late next summer.

As much as the state LPI office needs your time and your contributions to conduct this year's campaign for permanent ballot status and massive voter recognition, the "nuts and bolts" work must be done at the local club level in the months between now and the election.

We urge you to join the local LPI club in your area...as well as joining the state and national LP organizations. For information about the local LPI club nearest your home or the place you work, contact:

CHICAGO: North Side -- Joe McCaffrey, 528-9083, or Milton Mueller, 337-6700, ext. 804.

Northwest --- Marybeth Kinney, 736-9734 days, or Will and Marybeth Kinney, 774-4105 evenings;
George Muha, 431-2481 days; or Glenn Olofson, 625-2328 evenings.

South Side -- Jeff Smith, 947-8121.

SUBURBAN: DuPage ----- Don Parrish, 852-2844 evenings.

Kane ----- Rich Suter, 736-9734 or 736-9572, until a new local club organizer is found.

North ----- Dave Diamond, 835-1699 days or evenings.

South ----- Jeff Smith, 947-8121.

West ----- J.D. Webster, 366-5779 or 386-6148.

DOWNSTATE: Carbondale -- Ed Zeman, 512 S. Hays St., Carbondale 62901.

Central ----- Ed Monger, 309/453-0577.

DeKalb ----- Marc Swanson, 815/758-4073.

Lake County - Jorie Julian, 312/234-1825.

McHenry Co. - Robert and Carolyn Randall, 815/459-4929.

Metro-East -- John Schlafly, 314/993-1249 weekdays or 618/462-5415 weekends.

Moline ----- Richard Wetzel, 309/764-7049.

Rockford ---- Dr. James Dunkel, 815/877-6321.



(photos: Bernadette McCaffrey)

As the desire for reconciliation with England lessened, and the acceptance of independence as the alternative grew, Thomas Paine's "Common Sense" brought the issues clearly into focus. Gently, persuasively, he chided those of his contemporaries who blurred the lines between society and government.

To Paine, they were different: they had different origins.

"Society is produced by our wants and government by our wickedness; the former promotes our happiness positively by uniting our affections, the latter negatively by restraining our vices....The first is a patron, the last a punisher.

"Society in every state is a blessing, but government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil; in its worst state an intolerable one."

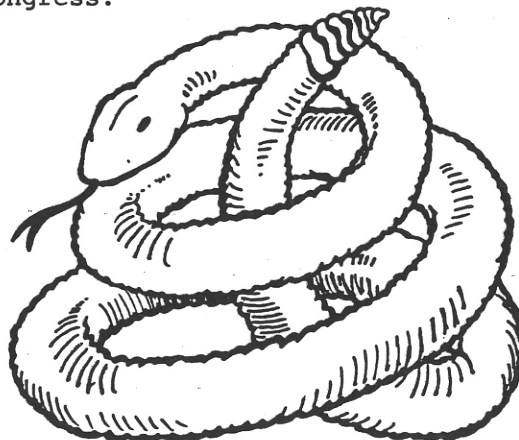
When the colonists could no longer reconcile themselves to the English view of the American polis, the body politic itself, the prospect for continued relations with England became intolerable.

To the signers of the Declaration of Independence, the issue was clear: surrender into generations of slavery, or fight to secure forever the blessings of independence and liberty.

A full year before the Declaration of Independence was approved, John Hancock already knew honor, justice and humanity, could "find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery....We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them." He was, even then, writing on behalf of the Continental Congress.

THIS COUNTRY, WITH ITS INSTITUTIONS,
BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE WHO INHABIT IT.
WHENEVER THEY SHALL GROW WEARY OF THE
EXISTING GOVERNMENT, THEY CAN EXERCISE
THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT OF AMENDING
IT, OR THEIR REVOLUTIONARY RIGHT TO
DISMEMBER OR OVERTHROW IT.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN



Paine saw it as far more than "the concern of a day, a year, or an age." To him, the struggle for independence and liberty was an issue in which "posterity....will be more or less affected even to the end of time."

By June of 1776, the members of the Continental Congress were united and resolute enough to ask Jefferson and several others to draft a declaration.

Working virtually alone, Jefferson decided the only recourse was to "appeal to the tribunal of the world" for justification, not because the Declaration of Independence contained new arguments or new principles, but simply "to place before mankind the common sense of the subject, in terms so plain and firm as to command their assent, and to justify ourselves in the independent stand we are compelled to take."

What Jefferson worked to eliminate from the emerging American experience is the form of government the colonists saw engulfing them: one that allows virtually no inter-action between individuals without the government's prior consent, permit, license and a follow-up formal report....all, of course, subject to the payment of an appropriate tax or fee.

Jefferson was proposing a nation based on a new vision of government: one that acts only to protect the rights of the individual when called upon to do so; one that in all other instances ignores the voluntary, non-coercive acts of individuals.

The men gathered in Philadelphia 200 years ago did virtually all they could to insure the end of the first view....and the perpetuation of the second. By holding as self-evident truth that certain rights are inalienable rights, the framers of American independence were indeed in the midst of the most complete and remarkable revolution in the history of nations.

Jefferson's view of government was not diminished by the passing years, though it was sorely tested.

Bergland Meets Central Illinois Media

BY KEN JAMESON

David Bergland played very well in Peoria, thank you.

The Libertarian Party's candidate for vice president stopped in that central Illinois city Thursday, June 17thwhich just happened to be the fourth anniversary of the discovery of the Watergate break-in.

Bergland was in central Illinois most of the day, holding news conferences in Springfield, Peoria, Bloomington/Normal and Champaign/Urbana.

The tour was organized quickly, just a few days before his arrival....as Bergland headed to Ohio from the West Coast.

His arrival at O'Hare late Wednesday evening led to several hours of out-guessing "Smokeys" on the way to a 4:20 a.m. arrival in Springfield....not leaving much time before a 9 a.m. news conference in the state capital. Reporters from one TV and two radio stations asked questions so long the exchange had to be broken off in order to meet Bergland's schedule in Peoria.

There, reporters from three TV stations, one radio station and a newspaper quizzed Bergland on a number of topics. Most were interested in comparing the Libertarian positions with the apparent positions held by Democratic front-runner and near-certain nominee Jimmy Carter.

Bergland easily pointed out the differences between Carter's public anti-Washington, anti-bureaucratic, and anti-big government image....and his real positions, in favor of mandatory national health insurance, and the like.

From there, Bergland, tour organizer and advance man Will Kinney and Ken Jameson sped and sweated across the Prairie State to Bloomington/Normal and the day's third news conference. Two radio newsmen and a reporter for "The Pantagraph" asked Bergland many of the same questions he had been answering all day....and again, Bergland's answers quickly established the clear-cut differences between Libertarians....and everyone else. Bergland's comment, "We aren't on anyone's traditional conservative-liberal scale," took a bit of explaining....but when he finished, everyone understood the party's philosophy on the ultimate value of the individual.

On to Champaign/Urbana, and a news conference where reporters concluded the question and answer exchange by signing an LP ballot petition; one of them promising to vote for the LP candidates when we achieve ballot status.

Finally, it was off to the Champaign/Urbana airport ...and Bergland's flight into Ohio for a reception and two days of campaigning....in one of the ten states where the LP has already qualified to be on the ballot.

LPI JUDICIAL POSTS OPEN

BY JEFF SMITH

Now that a State Central Committee has been chosen, the next step in the organization of the LPI is the selection of a Judicial Committee.

The function of this committee is to arbitrate disputes between local clubs and over the constitution and by-laws. The Judicial Committee is also responsible for determining when a member has violated his or her oath against the initiation of force, so extreme care is advised in the selection of committee members.

If you plan to be a candidate for the Judicial Committee, let the editor know by July 10th, in time for the August issue of the Illinois Libertarian. LPI members will vote in the August meeting of their local clubs (Take note, local chairs.) and the results will be sent to and tallied by the State Central Committee. Joe Cobb and Don Parrish have already announced their candidacy.

The final LPI office to be filled is that of Downstate Vice-Chairperson. The main duty of this officer will be to travel around the state to organize local clubs outside the six-county Chicago area. Since there will be less than six months left in the term of office by the next State Central Committee meeting, the Committee is empowered to fill the office itself without requiring confirmation through local clubs. So if you're interested in running for this office, contact the State Central Committee members directly. James Dunkel has already announced his candidacy.

Judicial Committee terms are for three years and will probably be staggered with the candidates receiving the most votes starting with the longest terms. No one may serve simultaneously on the State Central Committee and on the Judicial Committee.

SCC members so far:

North Shore----Jorie Julian, 190 E.
Atteridge, Lake Forest,
60045.

NW Side-----Wayne Openlander, 3132 N.
Lowell, Chicago, 60641

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At Gettysburg 87 years later, Abraham Lincoln believed it the fundamental issue in the war raging around him. He spoke of "a nation conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men were created equal," and arguing Gettysburg was only one battlefield in "a great civil war, testing whether this nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure."

Lincoln was perhaps the last president to comprehend the force and magnitude of the libertarian heritage behind his office. In 1861, after taking the oath to uphold the laws, the 16th President told his small inaugural audience he would perform that duty, "unless my rightful masters, the American people," withheld the requisite means, or directed him to the contrary in some authoritative manner.

Lincoln recognized himself as simply the holder of the office, a transient official elected by the people and responsible to them, directly. He knew, far better than any of his recent successors, the differences between the definition of "president" and the "presidency." He never assumed a government had any right to hold authority merely because individuals acquiesced and submitted, de facto, to the power it might be able to exert over them. He believed the only permissible right to govern in any nation "conceived in liberty" is a government of, by and for the people.

Jefferson's Declaration supports that view; it, rather than the Constitution, is the foundation for Lincoln's entire governmental philosophy.

TO SEE IT IN OUR POWER TO MAKE A WORLD HAPPY - TO TEACH MANKIND THE ART OF BEING SO - TO EXHIBIT, ON THE THEATRE OF THE UNIVERSE, A CHARACTER HITHERTO UNKNOWN - AND TO HAVE, AS IT WERE, A NEW CREATION INTRUSTED TO OUR HANDS, ARE HONORS THAT COMMAND REFLECTION AND CAN NEITHER BE TOO HIGHLY ESTIMATED NOR TOO GREATLY RECEIVED.

THOMAS PAINE

The two men believed government holds legitimate, genuine authority only when and to the extent such authority is granted to it by individuals acting as voluntary, consenting constituents. Jefferson was emphatic about the inalienable right of individuals to determine how they will be governed. According to him, governments are instituted solely to secure those rights the Declaration of Independence considers inalienable.

He provides no guarantees, acknowledging governments themselves to be virtually as transient and impermanent as office holders. He goes to a great deal of trouble to emphasize man's right and duty to alter or abolish any form of government that ceases to secure those rights, and thus begins to destroy them. Lincoln, too, made that point, saying the country and its institutions belong to the people who inhabit the nation. Rights, not governments, are paramount.

Their concept of the right to govern has suffered constant attacks and steady erosion through the years. At Gettysburg, Lincoln felt compelled to exhort the crowd toward "a new birth of freedom" so governments of, by and for the people would not perish from the earth. But the government they fought to build and preserve now seldom even concedes the pretext of legitimate authority: the consent of the governed. The only "right" it seeks to secure is its own self-aggrandized perpetuity.

Politicians, commentators and clergy alike will offer splendid lip service to Jefferson, Lincoln, Adams and others in the days ahead. They will praise the thirst for independence, the spirit of liberty and the courage that motivated those early, radical Americans.

But it is just as well the founders of liberty cannot be around Boston Harbor, Concord and Philadelphia for the celebration. Today's polis and politeria bear no resemblance to the one they envisioned. Indeed, the generations since Jefferson have lost most of his vision...and reverted myopically to the acquiescent subservience he feared and rejected.

Still, the signers of the Declaration of Independence would recognize what they saw: the existing government structure is far more onerous than the one the colonists fought for eight years to overthrow before the victory at Yorktown.

And they would understand, as most individuals in this society do not as yet: government is not reason, it is not eloquence - it is force.

If we, as Libertarians, do not ignite another revolution like theirs, history's most complete, most remarkable revolution will perish from the face of the earth. Then, all the Bicentennial rhetoric will be nothing more than the eulogy for freedom.

While decrying the "capitalist perversion" that has ruined this country, the PBC used expensive, purchased, computerized mailing lists and unsigned, robot-typed "personal" letters to the wives of the "capitalist elite" telling the women it is their duty to the country to reform their husbands' evil ways. The use of such modern advertising, mass-mail techniques while criticizing others for not remaining true to what it considers America's "anti-industrial heritage" is, at least, hypocritical, and borders on fraud.

Both Libertarians and the Peoples' Bicentennial Commission recognize that Government is not the solution to the nation's problems. Libertarians, however, have managed to avoid the holier-than-thou elitism that wishes to restrict an individual's right to free purchasing and/or bad taste, which, after all, happens to be a basic right of people living in a free society.

TRAVELS WITH FARLEY



LPI JUDICIAL POSTS OPEN

(from page 9)

South Side-----Elaine Theroux, 5616 Blackstone #2, Chicago, 60637

W Suburban-----J. D. Webster, 222 Forest, River Forest, 60305

DuPage-----Richard Latimer, 27 W 058 Warrenville Ave., Wheaton, 60187
Steve Nelson, 4825 Linscott, Downers Grove, 60515

Central IL-----Jeff Dehn, 320 Stadium Drive #6, Bourbonnais, 60914

The SCC now has 11 elected reps, the 4 existing LPI officers, and will eventually include the Downstate Vice-Chairperson.



NEWS AND NOTES

The Illinois Libertarian encourages the use of the monthly mailing of the newsletter to advertise activities which will unify Libertarians and promote libertarian ideas. The publisher reserves the right to determine what is appropriate for inclusion and what is not. If the material is suitable, the following conditions must be met:

--all copy must be delivered to the IL envelope ready.

--the advertiser should be ready to stuff envelopes on a schedule set by the editor.

--a charge of 11¢ per envelope to cover the extra postage must be paid.

New York City Police watched calmly as 1,500 marijuana smokers marched from Greenwich village up Fifth Avenue to Central Park, May 15, celebrating the sixth annual marijuana day.

Admitting they were outnumbered, police said they were not there to incite people. "As long as they stay in the main group, we just ignore them," one said.

Two young officers from a Brooklyn precinct leaned against a building and watched the parade go by, saying, "If they're smiling, we'll leave them alone."

An interesting scenario...especially in the light of the fact that New York has some of the nation's toughest antidrug laws.

It's a solid demonstration of the fact that law enforcement agencies cannot--and will not--attempt to enforce victimless crime laws if it becomes evident to the bureaucracies that no one is hurt by the so-called offense.

Did anyone tape record Roger MacBride's remarks at his Bismarck Hotel dinner on May 26? We have a pressing need for such a tape recording. If you made a tape recording, please call Marybeth Kinney (312/736-9734, 10 a.m. to 6 p.m., Monday through Friday) immediately. We want to make a copy of the tape, and will return your original to you. This is urgent, please call if you made a tape recording.

Which is the shining political star? Ford, Reagan, Carter, Udall, Wallace? ATCOM, Inc. (publishers of some 11 business newsletters) asked that question of executives all over the United States. Surprisingly, these business leaders seemed totally uninterested in any presidential would-be. Instead, business people are now talking constantly about "governmental interference."

This feeling of political complacency contrasts greatly with business leaders' feelings just a few months ago, in January, when the primary

GRIN AND BEAR IT



"Gentlemen, the bad news is the company is in a state of bankruptcy. . . . The good news is we have complied with federal rules and regulations."

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, Ken Jameson. 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.