

FREE LIBERTARIAN

MONTHLY NEWSLETTER
FLP FREE
LIBERTARIAN
PARTY, INC.

CELEBRATION!!

We're beginning our THIRD CAMPAIGN PETITION DRIVE and we're going to CELEBRATE our success in the past and our hopes for the future at the WILLIAMS CLUB, 24 East 39th Street, on July 14 (Bastille Day) at 4:00 P.M. and there's no doubt about it...

YOU SHOULD BE THERE

Why?

... First, to witness and experience a fantastic MULTI-MEDIA JOURNEY through the Libertarian Dream — 300 slides, hundreds of feet of film, special effects, and quadrophonic sound — the same presentation that brought the Dallas Convention to its feet... but not quite the same, for this is a constantly changing and growing show!

... Second, to meet THE CANDIDATES... the FLP is running the largest and most exciting slate of candidates in its history — here is your chance to meet them — Jerry Tuccille, our candidate for Governor of New York, and our ticket to a permanent spot on the ballot; Percy Greaves, our candidate for the United States Senate, whose name is already known to thousands of non-libertarians... and many other candidates, including some SURPRISE ANNOUNCEMENTS!!

... Third, to hear FRAN YOUNGSTEIN kick off our petition drive... the most crucial petition drive we have ever faced. Fran, whose success in exposing millions of people to libertarianism during her mayoral race is uncontested, wants to make sure our position on the '74 ballot is also uncontested.

... Finally, to ORGANIZE and prepare for the drive itself — it's going to be the most difficult task the FLP has ever faced, — but the stakes are so much higher; PERMANENT PARTY STATUS! Admission is free... almost... all you need donate is your dedication and your hard work to make this effort successful... no deposit, and up to six weeks to pay (beginning August 2, the first day of the petition drive).

This could be our LAST PETITION DRIVE EVER... we have an exciting opportunity to DO AWAY WITH PETITIONING forever, let's not waste it.

THE STATE COMMITTEE

The State Committee will meet at the Williams Club at 2:00 P.M., Sunday July 14th, immediately preceding the general meeting. The agenda includes the announcement and possible endorsement of new candidates, certification of new county organizations, appointment of temporary county chairpersons, and various discussions related to our ever-shrinking treasury. State Committee meetings are open to all members.

FLP GOES NATIONAL

Nearly 400 libertarians gathered in Dallas, Texas June 12-16 for the third annual national Libertarian Party Convention.

The convention delegates (162) chose Edward H. Crane III as Chairman for the coming year. Crane, a San Francisco investment counselor, won handily over his opponent, Eric Scott Royce of Virginia. Crane was Vice Chairman of the California LP for two years.

Elected unanimously as Vice Chairwoman was New York's Andrea Millen, former Chairperson of the FLP.

Bill Westmiller, currently Vice Chairman of the California LP, defeated Abby Goldsmith of Florida for the position as national Secretary. Many New Yorkers will remember Westmiller from last year's Ohio convention and his visit to New York during the Youngstein mayoral campaign.

John Kraft of Wisconsin was elected Treasurer without opposition.

The number of national Committeeman-At-Large was raised this year from 4 to 7. From a field of 14, the following were elected: Fran Youngstein of New York, also an FLP Committeeperson-At-Large; Ed Clark, California Chairman and former FLP Chairperson; Karl Bray of Utah, noted tax rebel; Frank Robinson of Oklahoma, re-elected to a second term; Bob Meier of Illinois, also re-elected and later chosen National Fund-raising Chairman; LP co-founder and former editor of the LP News, David Nolan of Colorado; and Eric Scott Royce of Virginia, last year's Region 7 Representative.

Newly chosen Region 8 Representatives (New York and New England) are FLP Secretary Leland Schubert and Massachusetts LP Chairman David Long.

The newly-elected officers and At-Larges will serve a one-year term.

The next Libertarian Party Convention will be held in the fall of 1975 to select our 1976 Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates. States have until August 10th to submit bids for the 1975 Convention.

Platform, By-Laws

The overwhelming sentiment of the delegates at the Convention was to amend the platform in such a way as to express a set of principles which both limited government advocates and anarchists could support.

Therefore, references to "the proper function of government" were replaced with phraseology such as "governments, where they exist, must not violate the rights of

individuals," and "governments may not morally intervene. . . beyond the defense of individual rights."

New planks were added to deal with issues like Energy and Indian Lands. Several planks were amended extensively.

Copies of the 1974 Platform should be available from national headquarters by August 1st.

In other business, a motion to change "sexist" references (e.g., Chairman to Chairperson) in the Constitution and By-Laws was narrowly defeated by two votes. Also voted down was a fundraising proposal that would have permitted convention delegates to be apportioned on the basis of dues paid to the national LP.

The FLP was amply represented in Dallas. In addition to our 15 delegates and one alternate, 18 other New Yorkers also made the trip.

Delegates	Lee Schubert	Art O'Sullivan
Sandy Cohen	Ray Strong	Jean Preece
Ellen Davis	Vivian Wadlin	Howard Rich
Delores Grande	Fran Youngstein	Ellen Rich
Gary Greenberg	Alternate	Gloria Rotunno
Sam Konkin	Ken Kalcheim	Tony Saglimbeni
Bill Lawry	Others	Mona Slota
Maria Martins	Bob Cohen	Andy Thornton
Andrea Millen	Mark Dane	Jerry Tuccille and
John Muller	John Doswell	Marie Tuccille and
Mike Nichols	Carolyn Keelen	their 2 children
Guy Riggs	Mike Moslow	Ann Weill

TUCCILLE IN DALLAS by GARY GREENBERG

With a thunderous standing ovation from the delegates at the national LP Convention in Dallas, Jerome Tuccille kicked off a campaign for national libertarian support in his race for Governor of New York. Tuccille gave one of the opening speeches at the Convention and the crowd reacted as enthusiastically as did the New York Convention that nominated him.

The following evening a Dallas TV station broadcast a two-minute interview with Tuccille on the evening news. Several New York radio stations and *Newsday* also carried stories on the Convention.

And later that night John Doswell and Adlib Communications produced a spectacular poolside fundraising show with songs, dances, speeches, poetry, skits, cocktails and lots of entertainment.

Jean Preece played a hotel maid living in a closet for security — a "closet libertarian" turned free spirit by Jerry Tuccille. Her performance left the audience wild with exhilaration.

Other featured numbers included "Sing Out Freedom" and "Leave Me Alone," originally composed by Doswell for the Youngstein Theatrical Benefit last fall.

Also appearing in the show were Andrea Millen as mistress of ceremonies and Tuccille himself in an acting performance, interspersed with speeches by Fran Youngstein, Gary Greenberg and Marjoe Schubert. Roger MacBride's original ode to Tuccille left the audience gasping enthusiastically.

The elaborate set, including a two-tier stage and rear screen projection, was assembled to Doswell's design by Bill Lawry, Mike Nichols, Maria Martins, Mona Slota, The Thornton, John Muller and Tony Saglimbeni. Carolyn Keelen created two huge cutout U.S. maps and an immense original sketch of Tuccille.

Following the entertainment portion of the party Howie Rich and Mark Dane spearheaded the fund-raising, aided

by other libertarians from around the country, including John Vernon of Oklahoma, Bob Meier of Illinois and Wain Dawson of Washington, D.C.

A telethon atmosphere prevailed as large numbers of libertarians contributed or pledged several thousand dollars to the Tuccille campaign. Bruce Evoy of Canada handled the tote board and donated for auction a tape of "Amanda," one of his most popular readings at the Youngstein benefit.

Several items of gold were auctioned off, thanks to the donations of Gary Shoemaker of Midas Money, Kathy and Bill White of K&W Enterprises, Dr. Jeremy Millitt and Anonymous.

Virtually everyone at the Convention sported the new "Tuccille for Governor" buttons designed by Hector Perez.

Also deserving thanks are Gloria Rotunno and Mona Slota of New York, Sandy McDonald of New Mexico, Bobbie Jahn of Kentucky, Jane Rehmke of New Jersey and Susy Mayer of Wisconsin who acted as hostesses for the party.

I would also like to extend my personal gratitude to all those libertarians from across the country whose spirit and help gave Jerry's campaign such a great boost. Jerry has said that, after this outpouring of support, he can do no less than put out his all. To everyone, our thanks.

CONVENTION DIARY by ANDREA MILLEN

TUESDAY NIGHT: Checked in, met old friends from last convention, ate, drank and talked until late.

WEDNESDAY: The 3 convention committees met: credentials, constitution and by-laws—platform. The first two finished before midnight but the platform committee, chaired by Ed Clark, worked until 5:30a.m., then broke into subcommittees. Non-committee members attended the New Country Project Reception, ILS lectures, or the Hospers Reception.

THURSDAY: Committees reconvened at 9:30a.m. and finished their reports. ILS lectures were given. Press conference. Tuccille spoke before the convention. First general session. Speeches by Holmes, Nolan, Steiner, Stone and keynote by MacBride. Credentials floor fight, ending in additions to delegations and seating of Tonia Nathan (1972 LP Vice Presidential candidate) and Roger MacBride (1972 Elector) as at-large delegates. Libertarian multi-media presentation by John Doswell resulting in vociferous standing ovation. Nathan Reception, ILS lectures, and dinner in Dallas (for some). Chairman candidates visited various delegations and opened hospitality suites till about 3:30a.m.

FRIDAY: Campaign techniques breakfast at 8:00a.m. featuring Youngstein and Greenberg, and starring the 1973 commercials. General session — constitution and by-laws. Tax issues seminar held by Bray, Hohenstein, and Kalcheim. Platform consideration began. Tuccille for Governor party 10p.m. to midnight. Platform consideration till 3:30a.m. Unwinding till 5a.m.

SATURDAY: 8:00a.m. Nathan breakfast address. General session — platform address by Louisiana state legislator "Woody" Jenkins. Election of LP officers. National Banquet. Talk by Sandy Cohen. Dinner Addresses by Willis Stone and John Hospers. Multi-media LP Convention presentation by John Doswell and crew. Midnight — reconvened for platform consideration (oy vay). 2:00a.m. Statement and principles amended. 6:00a.m. — floor fight over tax rebellion plank. 8:30a.m. Convention adjourns.

SUNDAY: 10:30a.m. National Executive Committee meeting, most others wake up in time for lunch.
5:30p.m. — flight back to N.Y. 11p.m. sound asleep.

COUNTER DIARY by MIKE NICHOLS

JFK, Wednesday, June 12. FLPer's are gathering for the group flight to Dallas. John and Jean, and their 16 pieces of luggage, make it with one minute to spare. Two other groups are sharing the plane and the waiting room is jammed. Marie Tuccille is told her reservations are lost but she and the two kids are crammed in and finally the plane takes off. Mona finds herself seated with a group of Iranian Fighter Pilots and runs to ask Ray if they're good guys or not. We arrive about 10:30 and go immediately to the Hospers Reception. Fran, who hadn't seen me for at least 48 hours, crushes me in a big hug. Separating, I find a Crane button on my lapel. I go over to greet Greg Clark but find out he's already on his way back to Michigan — his wife is about to give birth. Pipp Boyls planned better; he stayed in Colorado, just in case!

Thursday, June 13. The Credentials floorfight almost ground the Convention to an ugly halt before it really started. . . accusations, power plays, and the threat of a YAF-style walkout by one delegation. Fortunately, a parliamentary break made it possible for us to see John's multi-media show about our libertarian heritage. The atmosphere immediately changed and we all remembered what we were there for.

Friday, June 14. I spent the day by the pool, not swimming but carrying tons of scaffolding, scenery and lights for the Tuccille set. I'm in the middle of cutting out huge U.S. maps when Mona rushes up to pull me to the Convention floor for an important vote. I don't want to walk in just in cut-offs, so Jean lends me a shirt, but I still get a laugh from the delegates as I come in and rush over to the crazy NY delegation, just in time to hear the following exchange: "Gary, we've got to beat down this proposal." . . . "But Fran, I drafted it!" Confused, I abstain and return to the maps. The Texas sun is incredible (I'm still peeling from a 3rd-degree burn.) There was no Coors in the vending machines so I have to settle for Dr. Pepper. The Tuccille show is dynamite — especially when Jean strips to a bikini and does a finale worthy of Esther Williams. After working hard all day, I'm really ready to party about midnight when John reminds me we have to break down the set. I finish at 3:30 a.m., just in time for the end of Friday's convention session. I still want to party so Andrea and I convened with Porter Davis and the Oklahoma delegation to catch up on what's been happening in my home state. Porter is trying to project a conservative image now so he cut his hair to shoulder-length and has taken off his headband. Finally to bed at 5:30.

Saturday, June 15. I don't remember much of Saturday except taking the final pictures for the banquet show. After spending most of dinner sorting slides, I finally have a chance to sit down in time to hear the speeches. Almost immediately I have to get up again to collect money at the various tables for Sandy. Dr. Hospers' speech is the most emotionally stirring oration I've ever heard him give. Then comes the marathon — the all-night platform session. I'm encouraged by the fact that the two main factions of the LP were able to come to an agreement on the Statement of Principles. It's not perfect but it shows a willingness to work together for common goals. At some point during the night I became aware that the "state delegations" have split up and were sitting with each other; Fran was in California, Andrea

was in Arizona and I was in Michigan. We had become a committee of the whole. The whole split wide open on the question of support of the tax rebellion. As in the FLP Convention, the argument was over the implications for us and others who were not there. Neither side was willing to give in and at different points, both threatened walk-outs. Finally, we, in effect, suspended the rules in order to hammer out a statement which one person described as "sufficiently ambiguous to allow both sides to claim victory." After finally struggling through the only other crucial plank, on secession, we decided to adjourn at 8:30 a.m.

Sunday, June 16. In spite of how tired I was, I had experienced a revival of the good feeling I had last year in Cleveland. I had again met dedicated libertarians who had swayed me with their arguments and candidates from across the nation whose enthusiasm infected me with a belief in our potential, old friends from last year and new friends I look forward to seeing in the coming year. I think we convinced the Convention that despite our rampant factionalism, the FLP is one of the most exciting and productive libertarian organizations in the country.

DAVIS AND COHEN IN DALLAS

When Sandy and I left for Dallas, we had no idea of what to expect. It was our first national convention, and all we knew was that it was going to be exciting. We looked forward to meeting many of the libertarians who have corresponded with us during the last 18 months. We knew that the major business of the convention would be the party platform and the election of officers. But knowing this didn't prepare us for the experiences we had.

Undeniably, the outstanding feature of the convention was the quality of the people who were there. As we talk about it, we keep re-using adjectives like "dynamic," "dedicated," and "brilliant." The most gratifying thing to us was that most of these extraordinary people know who Sandy is; know about the progress of the campaign; and think he's doing an excellent job.

On Saturday night Sandy addressed the convention banquet. He talked about the campaign, and he spoke about the overwhelming array of capabilities and talents demonstrated by the delegates. He stressed the fact that it would be clear to any objective observer that the national Libertarian Party is a political force to be reckoned with — NOW.

After he spoke, people from all over the country helped us to collect pledges and money. We raised about \$2,000 in ten minutes. As I said, this is an outstanding group of people who are dedicated to the goal of freedom in our own time, and it's clear that most of them believe that the best way to achieve this goal is through effective political activity.

Ellen Davis, Campaign Mgr.
Citizens For Cohen

ADVERTISEMENT

YOUNGSTEIN FOR MAYOR YEARBOOK

Adlib Communications, Inc. has produced an exciting yearbook about the 1973 Mayoral Campaign. In addition to articles by Murray Rothbard, Jerry Tuccille, Dave Nolan, Fran Youngstein and others, there are reprints of some of the major newspaper stories, press releases, ads, promotional material, photos, letters to Fran, etc. The yearbook is only \$3.50 from Adlib Communications, 44 West 63rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10023.

CAMPAIGN NEWS

CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGNS

The Cohen Campaign

On Saturday, June 22, CITIZENS FOR COHEN opened their new Campaign Headquarters. It is located at the corner of Route 376 and New Hackensack Road, near the Dutchess County Airport.

STATE ASSEMBLY CAMPAIGNS

The Walker Campaign

The Libertarian Spring Festival held on June 2 was a huge success. The cocktail party and buffet raised money for the campaign, while all in attendance enjoyed a sparkling afternoon of Rothbard, Schubert, Tuccille and Walker on libertarian ideas in action, complemented with good food and fine fellowship.

Suffolk Life printed a full story on the fund-raising event. Both the *Long Island Press* and *Newsday* followed with brief articles on the Walker candidacy. The *Long Island Press* article mentioned the full slate of candidates on the statewide level.

We want to thank all who attended and contributed to the success of the first fund-raising event for the Walker campaign. In the wings, a Summer Jazz Festival to raise more campaign funds.

The *Long Island Advance* will soon run a feature article on Virginia Walker, emphasizing her stand on private property rights.

Virginia Walker is now the top contender for the Conservative Party endorsement. The endorsement of Perry Duryea (not acceptable to many in the party, but pushed by a powerful town leader in the 1st Assembly District) had to be scrapped when the cross-endorsement ban was reinstated by the Republicans and Democrats in Suffolk, in response to the Conservative endorsement of a D.A. candidate not picked by either major party. Ah, politics! There is a possibility of a primary fight between Virginia and the town leader who was for Duryea, but that may not come to pass. We are confident of Walker's name on two lines, come November.

Speaking engagements, issue papers and recruitment of workers are the work at hand.

The Wanzer Campaign

June 5th found our candidate facing her first audience: the Long Island Chapter of the National Women's Political Caucus at the Garden City Unitarian Church. The majority of the candidates preceding Mary asked to be elected because, "I am a woman and I am being discriminated against." Ms. Wanzer introduced the Libertarian Party and its basic principle of *individual* freedom, citing the success women have achieved in the Party as individuals. The questions that followed, dealing with welfare and government subsidies, were directed only to Mary. If this is any indication of the interest we can generate, the upcoming campaign should prove exciting.

Thus far in the campaign, Mary has received one front page piece of publicity in a local West Hempstead weekly, and six articles either entirely about her or mentioning her in relation to other FLP candidates in the *Newsday* and the *Long Island Press* plus a picture in the *L.I. Press*. We expect more from the *West Hempstead Beacon* which has promised to feature her as much as possible.

The Riggs Campaign

Guy Riggs is running "a lean campaign — no buttons, bumper stickers, billboards, etc." He is distributing a 5 page letter contrasting liberal and conservative beliefs with libertarian ones. His letter ends, "Meanwhile, let me leave you with this positive suggestion: 'Send me to Albany in '74 so you'll have something to celebrate in '76.'" Copies of the letter are available at 25 cents each (10 cents each for ten or more) by sending your request to Guy Riggs, 32 Saddle Rock Drive, Poughkeepsie, N.Y. 12603, with a check made out to: Guy W. Riggs Campaign Fund.

NATIONAL NEWS

As of this writing, 8 different state parties of the LP are fielding a dozen Gubernatorial and/or Congressional candidates in 1974. New York and California head the list:

New York: Governor, Jerry Tuccille
Senate, Percy Greaves, Jr.
House, Sandy Cohen
Ken Kalcheim

California: Governor, John Hospers
Senate, Bill White

Wisconsin: Governor, Charles Mayer

Ohio: Senate, Kay Harroff

Colorado: House, John James

Louisiana: House, Jerry Millett

New Jersey: House, Bob Steiner

Utah: House, Karl Bray

COUNTY NEWS

BRONX

The Bronx Libertarian Club, which plans to become the Bronx County Organization, held its latest meeting on Sunday, June 9th, at the home of Bronx member Mona Slota. The meeting was attended by guest speaker Sharon Presley who led an informal discussion on the subject of libertarianism and feminism. More than a dozen people were present at this, the largest meeting the Bronx Club ever held. At least half of those present were not FLP members. (One of these guests joined and paid his dues after the group broke up.) The Bronx Club began inviting non-members to its meetings earlier this year and plans to have similar meetings, hopefully with guest speakers, in the future. Plans are in the making for chartering a Bronx County Organization sometime in the near future.

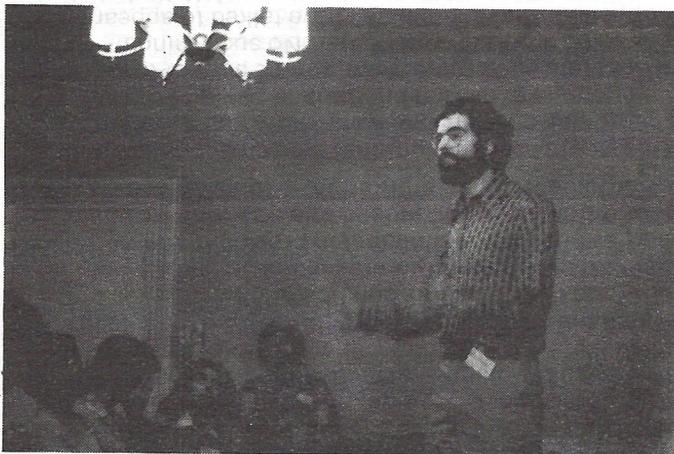
BROOKLYN

The time and place for the Organizing Convention for Brooklyn's County Organization has been set by temporary chairperson Elliott Capon (212-375-4860). The meeting will convene at noon on Saturday, July 13, 1974, at the Douglas MacArthur Republican Club, 5003 Ave M at Utica Avenue in Brooklyn. The Brooklyn Convention plans to endorse Joseph Gentili for Congress (16th C.D.), Stewart Feigel for State Senator (20th Senatorial Dist.) and Larry Penner for Councilman (24th Councilmanic Dist.). All three candidates have already received the Republican and Conservative Party endorsement for their respective offices.

NASSAU

Nassau County will hold an Organizing Convention and picnic on July 21st at 2:00 P.M. Ten FLP members must be present in order to enable the county to charter an official FLP Organization. There will also be an explanation of the petition drive by libertarian campaign experts. IT IS URGENT FOR ALL TO ATTEND! The Convention-picnic will be held at Belmont Lake State Park, Exit #38, Southern State Parkway. Meet at the boat rental area. Bring your own food.

FROM THE CHAIR



Sometimes, when I'm reading an article in another state LP newsletter, on how the increase in the world tulip population is a serious threat to the Libertarian Party, I catch myself thinking that those Californians or Virginians or Washington Statists or whatever are a bunch of crazies. Then I realize I'm making the mistake I hope nobody who reads these pages makes. Of course we all know we're a bunch of crazies here in New York. But this newsletter prints the opinions of a variety of individuals.

We have at least twice as many individual opinions as we have individual members; but only a few reach the stage of newsletter articles or letters to the editor. Every once in a while I think it's a good idea to remind readers of the *Free Libertarian*, that contributions to this newsletter might represent anything from a consensus of party members to the opinion held by one individual on Tuesdays and Thursdays only. This is especially important when many of our readers receive other publications with mailing labels from the same source. (Our computerized mailing labels are provided through an arrangement with John Muller of Laissez-Faire Books; and we provide them to FLP candidates at cost and to other FLP members at prices set by the State Committee.)

While we are an organization of diverse opinions and rampant individualism, there are some goals toward which we are all working. This year the first step toward those goals is getting our candidates on the ballot. It's going to take a lot of work — a lot more than last year. To get it started in the New York City area, we're going to have a general meeting Sunday, July 14th at the Williams Club. One of the attractions will be a Doswell multi-media show on libertarianism that we put on for the national LP Convention in Dallas. I hope it gets you as fired up as it got me. Then we get down to work, finding 50,000 votes for this fall.

Yours in liberty,
Ray Strong

ON THE ISSUES

CHARITY BEGINS AT HOME?

by SANDY COHEN

A boost of 25% to \$53,125. . . that's the prospect for U.S. Congresspeople unless voter reaction stymies the proposal. While politicians and bureaucrats demand that you conserve energy; drive smaller cars; eat fish instead of meat; and tighten your belt because of the increased financial pressures of inflation — they seek higher salaries and generous fringe benefits.

That \$10,625 raise in Congressional salaries, if approved, would amount to a 25% increase. Remember, we are talking about those same individuals who are always concerned about the "public interest" and "consumer protection."

On top of a base salary of \$42,500 a year, now, members of the House and Senate also receive —

Liberal retirement benefits after five years' service.
Top pension: \$34,000 a year after 32 years of service.

Rent-free offices: one in Washington, D.C., as many as three at home.

Salary allowance for staff, based on number of constituents. Top allowance: \$586,160 for Senators, \$165,168 for House members.

Free mailing privileges on "office business" mail, plus allowances for airmail and special delivery.

More than 300 hours of free long-distance calls.

Telegram allowance based on number of constituents — as high as \$20,000 a year for Senators from largest states.

Up to \$3,000 a year tax deduction for living costs in Washington.

Free drugs if prescribed by Capitol physicians.

Medical care in any military hospital at a flat fee of \$61 a day, regardless of the type of treatment.

Government-subsidized health-insurance plan.

Free swimming pools and gyms — one for Senators and one for House members.

Free steam rooms, masseurs, physiotherapy.

Free haircuts for Senators, \$2 for Representatives, at special barber shops; beauty shops at reduced rates for female members.

Free flowers for offices; entertaining.

Reduced rate meals, free of sales tax, at private rooms in Capitol.

Complete TV and radio-studio service, at discount rates.

Free access to congressional research service for help on speeches, answering constituents' queries.

If we continue to elect Republicans and Democrats who are basically interested in securing their positions and insulating themselves from America's problems — we have only ourselves to blame. It is time for a new direction. We must elect persons of character, integrity and dedication, who want to solve America's problems — not cause them. We must elect people who are willing to give the individual citizen the power to decide where, when, and how he or she should spend his or her hard-earned dollars.

OPEN FORUM

DECENTRALIZATION AND ANARCHY: THE QUESTION OF STRUCTURE

by HOWARD KATZ

(This article is the second in a two part series. The first part appeared in the last issue of the *Free Libertarian*. In the next issue a rebuttal will be printed and thus will end the use of this newsletter for publishing polemical articles. Henceforth, this will be a newsletter, not a battlefield. . . soon-to-be-editor, Thomas Avery)

Dr. Rothbard has expressed the view that structure is a one dimensional concept starting with pure democracy on one end and proceeding to a more and more centralized system (meaning fewer people make the decisions) up through one man rule as the most centralized form. This is an oversimplified view. Pure democracy is almost as bad a form of structure as one man rule. The art or science of structure is far more complex than this and cannot be communicated in a single article such as this one. For this reason I recommend to people that they read "The Federalist Papers." The authors of that work are experts in the science of structure, and one may learn much that is applicable to our present problems with the FLP.

(For example, there seems to be a lack of understanding in the Party as to what kind of decisions should be made by the majority and what kind should be made by one or a few people. The structural principle is that the important decisions should be made by the larger group while detailed decisions should be made by a few.)

In this regard I must say that I have not found the anarchist contingent either knowledgeable or open minded on the subject of structure. One short year ago they preached harmony and expected us to be open to their point of view. But I have not found them open to our point of view. Qua anarchists they are ignorant of structure, and most of them seem proudly and defiantly intent on remaining ignorant. Dr. Rothbard has said:

"What the form or structure of our organizations may be, however, is purely a matter of tactics, and hence of efficiency and practicality."

—*Libertarian Forum*, Feb. 1974, "What Kind of 'Purity'?"

This is wrong. Questions of structure can be matters of principle. If Dr. Rothbard studies "The Federalist Papers," he will find certain principles of structure enunciated and defended. It was the disregard of some of these principles which led to the problems that racked the Party in 1973.

The idea of structure bridges the gap between the internal Party matter of decentralization vs. centralization and the ideological question of anarchy vs. government. Some of these principles of structure, when applied to an organization possessing the ability to use force (such as a government or a defense agency), lead to the conclusion that a structure of competing defense agencies would be very bad. It would result in intermittent warfare and standing armies (which are dangerous to liberty). I have been distressed that Murray Rothbard in his anarchist proselytizing has not seen fit to rebut these arguments but ignores them as though they did not exist. In particular Federalist Papers 3-11 discuss the superiority of a single, united agency of force as opposed to several smaller (competing) ones.

A year ago I believed that anarcho-capitalism was merely a harmless heresy propounded by people whose theoretical ideas had no relation to practical reality. But I have come to see that anarcho-capitalism is opposed to some of the most important principles of liberty, principles such as decentralization, checks and balances and written restrictions on the ruling power. There is no question in my mind that a fully anarchist society would almost immediately be plunged into conflict and tyranny with each of the various factions contending that *it* was using *retaliatory* force.

In short to be a libertarian it is not enough to promise not to initiate force. It is also necessary to uphold certain principles of structure. These principles of structure have proven their ability to maintain freedom over a large society through a long period of time. Does anyone seriously maintain that a dictator who swore not to initiate force would give us a libertarian society or long respect his oath? If we believe that, then we might as well adopt Plato's idea of the benevolent despot. But in that case we are not libertarians.

We have all witnessed the case of Walter Block, noted anarchist, who was so foolish as to enter into a business arrangement with several other anarchists with the stipulation that none of them was to have recourse to the government courts. (I have been informed that recently anarchist theory has shifted, and the ideological leaders are now granting dispensations to use government courts. But Walter's agreement was made in the old days when the anarchist movement was more vital and had the courage of its convictions, more — shall I use the words — hard core.) Having had a serious falling out with his former partners Walter sought arbitration, as per the terms of their agreement; this he was unable to obtain.

What is shocking about this is not so much Walter's failure to obtain arbitration but the total lack of concern this failure of anarchist theory has occasioned among its proponents.

If arbitration is to work, as the anarchists claim it can, then surely it had no better chance than this. All of the parties to the dispute were ideologically committed anarchists. In addition to all of the normal arguments which the anarchists tell us will motivate people to arbitrate there was this consideration: The eyes of the libertarian community were on this dispute. All of the parties had a strong interest in proving to the world that arbitration can work. Indeed this was used by Walter as an argument urging arbitration — to no avail.

One would have thought that here anarcho-capitalist theory was on trial; one would have expected delegations of neutral libertarians going to the other disputants and urging them, for the sake of the anarchist cause, to arbitrate with Walter. No such things happened. And anarchists I have talked to appear totally unconcerned about the implications of Walter's failure to achieve arbitration.

This is the real error of anarcho-capitalism. It is an abstract theory with no tie to reality. The real fact in the real world of Walter's failure to achieve arbitration does not shake their faith in their theories because their theories are not connected to the real world in any way. It is a pure fantasy which maintains itself by a smear against its opponents (i.e., anyone who is not an anarchist wants to initiate the use of force). It purchases a cheap form of moral superiority by made up definitions and disregards the long, painful experience of the human race in creating structural forms to advance the cause of liberty.

The great advances in liberty — trial by jury, a written constitution, republicanism, checks and balances, etc. — are all devices of structure. To say that structure is unimportant is to write off libertarianism. To contend that competing defense agencies are superior in preserving liberty to a constitutional republic is to fail to understand the rudiments of structure. This is an important matter, both for the way we operate our Party and for our theory of government.

If the Party wants to deserve the title which it so assuredly claims, the title of libertarian, then more of its members will have to understand the distinction between unlibertarian structures and libertarian ones. If the Party wants to survive and not be racked by the splits which have so crippled the American right, it will have to do the same thing.

LETTERS

Dear Editor:

I could not agree more than I do with Howard Katz' discussion of Party Structure. Unfortunately, paid organizers invariably take over the Organization, and run it for their own benefit. We see this in the American Association of Retired Persons, the American Automobile Association, the National Wildlife Association, and many, many others. In fact, it would not be too much to say that it inevitably occurs in every organization. Look at our governments; paid to serve the people, they serve only the special interests.

Perhaps the best example of the power of an idea is the early Christian Church. Unpaid, unorganized; they swept the World in 100 years. The "Plain" churches thrive right up to the present time, without the services of paid "professionals".

The key word in Mr. Katz' paper is "plan". Our party is the only one that has a set of Principles. These act both as a beacon and an anchor to guide us all. They should be made permanent; changeable only by 95% voting majority of the membership. Next, every candidate in every district in every election needs a Program, in writing. (I use the word program because the word platform has been so much abused by the major parties.) In other words, we need a National program, a State program and a Local program; each tailored to the specific time, place and situation. But always consistent with the Party Principles. Finally, we need a strict policy that, if any of our candidates fail to do their best to implement the party program, they will not be endorsed again.

All of our candidates so far have done an outstanding job in this respect, and I feel confident will continue to do so. Like Dr. Rothbard, I often feel impatient at my failure to get the fire going. What we need most are outstanding men and women willing to run. I would do it myself if I were ten years younger. But the time will come, of that I am sure. Our principles are right, and they will succeed wherever they are tried. All we need do is keep working, and I have no fear of the outcome.

Sincerely,
John E. Erb
Northville, N.Y.

Dear Editor:

So far the response to the Libertarian Clearing House, notwithstanding the enthusiasm of a handful of people, has been rather slow. To date only about 20 people have

returned applications (fewer than 10% of the members). We will send out another mailing of flyers and applications in an upcoming issue of the *Free Libertarian*. In the meantime, if you haven't filled out your application, please do so. (And send it in.) If you have misplaced your application, please write to the party office, Att: Bill Roth or Tom Avery, for another.

Impatiently,
Thomas Avery

The following letter was sent by Senatorial candidate Percy Greaves to the management of Radio Station WQXR on May 14, 1974:

Gentlemen:

RE: Art and Culture

To date, each of your current series on art and culture has included a rhapsody on the recent assaults launched against the American taxpayers in general and the New York State taxpayers in particular.

No doubt you intend in due course to give our down-trodden taxpayers equal time to defend themselves against this onslaught. It would seem, however, that justice would require that the time given to the advocates of this form of theft and the time given to the innocent victims should be interspersed and that it is now time to grant time to those being gulled.

Last night and again this morning, Senator Javits actually used your facilities to boast that he was responsible for introducing the bill which became the first unconstitutional assault of this type on the Federal taxpayers.

As the candidate of the Free Libertarian Party for the Senate seat for which Senator Javits is now campaigning, I hereby request a copy of his remarks and at least equal time to reply on behalf of those who can find nothing in our Constitution which permits the expenditure of taxpayers funds for such purposes.

Yours for Constitutional Government,
Percy L. Greaves, Jr.,

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