

# Massachusetts

# LIBERTY

September 20, 1975

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NEWSLETTER OF THE  
MASSACHUSETTS LIBERTARIAN PARTY

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CYNICAL CYRIL

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THE CONVENTION by Steve Trinward

Editorial Note: Under normal circumstances, I try to print every submitted article without wholesale editing. Unfortunately, Steve Trinward managed to write fourteen (count em) pages of typed chronology. Since I simply can't publish this much stuff (David Long laid down the law on this point), I must apologize to both Steve and my readers for the butchering job that follows. We will however be able to print more convention comments (by David Brenner and Steve Trinward and Rich Kenney) in our next issue and readers always have the option of calling their delegates on the phone to get some of the details.

Thursday 9:00 A.M.

The first of five multi-media shows on "The Freedom Seekers". Shows how liberty was given more than lip-service even back in the Roman days. Platform debate opens. Almost immediately the battle lines are drawn. On the first plank, "Victimless Crime" it is evident that many people would like to see more definite language used. Instead of "We oppose the prohibition on", the plank is amended to read, "We advocate the repeal of all laws prohibiting...". It is evident that it's going to be a "No More Mr./Ms. Nice Guy/Gal" (damn this English language!) platform, if it takes a floor fight on every amendment.

Another plank on "Due Process for the Criminally Accused." There is added to the text an amendment on so-called "juvenile crimes", advocating the repeal of "all laws...applicable to minors for which adults would not be...answerable...."

"Freedom of Speech and the Press" produces the first solid roadblock in the path of the revolutionaries. A sentence calling for support of the right of any individual...to publish any information about government activities and operations," is just too much for the moderates to swallow and the radicals are even skeptical about the wording. Bob Nozick leaves the floor after the defeat of this point, to work on a separate plank on "Government Secrecy". This is the first of many instances where the Mass. delegation will play an essential role.

Thursday 1:00 P.M.

With the exception of an argument on, of all things, "Property Rights", the day ends smoothly. This battle deals with the substitution of "restitution" for "reversion" in terms of land (or other property) which has been expropriated from rightful owners (the battle is over the Indian Movement question--most of the U.S. belongs "rightfully" to the ancestors of the Indians from whom it was stolen). The radical idea of restitution emerged victorious.

FROM THE CHAIR by David Long (of course)

The Prezcon was a real whiz-banger, as all who attended can affirm. Many of you who couldn't make it to New York attended the get-together at Steve Trinward's home earlier this month, and for the rest of you, this issue of LIBERTY should give you some idea of the events, although probably not of the excitement of having been there.

Now that the smoke has cleared, the important events are beginning to emerge more clearly in our minds.

1. Changes were made to our rules, and important modifications were made to our party's platform.
2. Roger MacBride, as expected, was nominated for President of the United States.
3. David Bergland was nominated for Vice-President.
4. Party Officers and a new Executive Committee were elected.
5. And last, but hardly least, the Libertarian movement has been badly split by the actions of Roger MacBride towards two candidates for the vice-presidential nomination whose only sins were to have ignored the dictates of the state in deciding how (non-coercively) to live their own lives.

Several people have asked me if, based on these events, I will continue to support the MacBride ticket.

The answer is yes....for now. I have every intention of working as hard as I can to put Roger on the ballot, to bring him before the public, and to garner as many votes as possible for him. I think he can advance the Libertarian movement nationally and I think he can help the Libertarian Party in Massachusetts.

But, my support, and I hope yours, is not unconditional. No one yet knows for sure what kind of campaign Roger will be running. If it is a campaign of principle, befitting the party of principle, I think most of us will work to the utmost for the success of that campaign.

If, on the other hand, it is a campaign of evasion and pragmatism (a Republican campaign, if you will), where the candidate talks about ending inflation, but says nothing about taking the government out of the money printing business -- or where the candidate calls for lower taxes without ever stating that Libertarians view all taxation as theft -- where the candidate

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Thursday 8:00 P.M.

Part II of "Freedom Seekers". More Platform. Most planks pass easily. Then we get to another which everyone should be united on: Taxation. Floor fight over amendments to enlarge grounds under which we support tax resistance (add "moral" to "legal and Constitutional"), which passes (because it says "and" instead of "or", so there's no legal liability for advocating disobedience of laws involved), and to add support of "unconditional amnesty" for those convicted or accused on tax charges (passed also, but bitterly).

Friday 9:00 A.M.

Platform resumes. "Medical Care" plank amended to include passage opposing mandatory licensing. "Land Use" amended to add both support of private land-use covenants, and expansion of opposition to government controls, to rhetorically condemn their racist, and more expensive results. "Social Security" got an extra clause, supporting the claim of "the victims of the S.S. tax" (wording intentionally ambiguous) against "government property". "Campaign Finance Laws" confirmed its opposition to the new statutes and expanded on the reasons therefor.

Friday 1:00 P.M.

"Freedom Seekers" on the Age of Enlightenment. Platform resumes. Little problem in passing planks, with exception of "Negotiation" under Diplomatic Foreign Policy, wherein it is pointed out that we should not recognize any government. That obstacle gone, all is peaceful.

Friday 8:00 P.M.

Platform concludes. Half a dozen minor skirmishes: whether to advocate support for the Sergeant Henry's of the world (openly declared his homosexuality; Army trying to cashier him) under "Amnesty and the Military"; "Right to Work Laws"; and ocean jurisdiction under "Law of the Sea. One big battle (last gasp?) over "Internal Security", resulting in the advocacy of "abolition of all federal agencies acting as secret police, in particular, we seek the abolition of the F.B.I. and the C.I.A." Now let's see 'em call us a bunch of conservatives! Otherwise three substitute and/or additional planks (all either actually or substantively written by Bob Nozick) dealing with "Government Secrecy", "Disarmament", and "Omissions" (reading "Our silence about any actions, agencies,... shall in no way be construed as approval.") round out the 1975 Platform.

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A MEETING OF THE STATE COMMITTEE WILL BE HELD SUNDAY OCTOBER 19 AT 1:00 AT NATHAN CURLAND'S HOME. CALL LEE NASON (864-6497) OR NATHAN (332-3184) FOR DIRECTIONS. ALL WELCOME.

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Saturday 9:00 A.M.

Gettin' down to it! More "Freedom Seekers", then the Nominations. A lot of high-flown speeches (on tape, as usual), then the balloting commences. From about the Michigan point in the balloting, it is quite evident that only a full-scale defection will derail MacBride's bid for first-ballot candidacy, and such a revolt is not to be. Final tally: MacBride 142, Harroff 62, Riggs 34, None of the Above 2, Abstentions 4. Band plays "Happy Days Are Here Again" with hoopla.

Saturday 1:00 P.M.

Vice-Presidential nominations. Speeches go smoothly. First ballot is cast, and Jim Trotter, ex-SDS member and gold dealer, is leading on although he is short of majority. Trotter 97, Klausner 85, Nathan 45, NOTA 1, Abstentions 10. Looks like a little work, but Trotter could win, or somebody anyway, on the next ballot.

But wait! What's going on back there? Trotter is shaking his head, the California radical caucus is trying to convince him of something, and here come the rumor wagons:

Trotter's a tax rebel! MacBride will veto him if he's chosen! If we override the veto, Roger will quit the ticket! If Manny is not chosen, Roger will bolt the party! If the Orioles don't win the pennant, Roger will....

Believe it or not, all of the above (with the exception of the last two) were absolutely true -- sort of. Jim Trotter is not a tax rebel; he just hasn't filed his tax forms in three years (two of which he was on a poverty budget and wouldn't have had to pay taxes anyway). He also smuggled gold. Roger will indeed, veto him if chosen, on the grounds that his legal liability will put the ticket in a bad light. Furthermore, Roger will not make this a "one-issue campaign". If the rules are suspended, and the veto is overridden, MacBride will indeed resign his nomination -- same reasons plus personal self-preservation.

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Next step: Trotter and MacBride speak before the convention. Roger affirms his convictions, gets some support back. Trotter withdraws in the interest of party unity, despite massive opposition to such a move. Delegates are plotting a cabal at this point; the conspiracy theories of Sam Conkin are being bandied about with the force of rationality. A second ballot, with Klausner and Nathan the only candidates, is cast. Thanks to a concerted effort on the part of a few, Tonie receives a plurality but not the necessary majority of votes. Thirty delegates had voted for "None of the Above".

Just as a third ballot is about to be called for, a motion is made to reopen nominations. This passed, Colorado places John Vernon, an Oklahoma City gourmet restaurateur, on the ballot. A further motion for a recess to Sunday morning, "to consider further candidates seriously" is carried. The proceedings adjourn and confusion reigns as everyone starts the search for a thirty-five year old libertarian (they are few and far between in our party).

Saturday 6:20 P.M.

CBS Evening News carries a three-minute segment on national TV about the convention and about MacBride. Presentation is excellent; the LP couldn't have sold its ideas better intentionally. Dave Reardon has a tape of this.

Saturday 10:00 P.M.

SIL Party. Free beer and booze. People packed like toothpicks at a restaurant cash-out counter. Inside people are guzzling the beer, watching TV for convention coverage, carrying on in general, and...wait, there are a few people here who aren't smiling! They are going from person-to-person trying to find someone who's thirty-five years old, and has not murdered anyone in the past hour. Rumors concerning everything from John Vernon's alleged gayness to Round Roger's prospective vetos to the Partyarchy flying in some hotshot lawyer from L.A. as the "party's choice" are all over the place.

Dave Reardon and Temperance Snow collar me and, along with whatever remaining Mass. delegates and stragglers can be rounded up, we adjourn from what appears to be a nice party in order to caucus the night away.

Saturday 11:00 P.M.

Dearly Beloved, we are gathered here today to determine whether or not one of our own, Brother Roger Lea MacBride has sinned against this Body....

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The words are flying furiously, from Rich Kenney (disturbed from the hope of a night's sleep) with a brief, "I told you so," and a lot of serious points for consideration, to David Long, with a rather contrite expression on his face, trying to hack through the underbrush and find a solution. Bob Nozick is found, and has the most concrete news of all: he has been in conference with MacBride and has discovered major problems. It seems that Roger, while not a bigot in any sense of the word, is so concerned with the presentability of the ticket that he would veto anybody whose private actions could prove unacceptable to the citizenry at large. Bob is most upset at this attitude, as are the assembled caucosians.

It is determined to contact as many of the persons in question as possible and emissaries are sent to fetch them. Our first victim is John Vernon himself, who impresses most of us with his calm, easy manner and his straightforward approach to the situation. He is asked whether he would back down to a MacBride challenge if his candidacy were advanced further. He says he would not. He is further queried on his feelings toward running, on the principled issue, and if elected, throwing the floor open to another election on the merits of the candidates, thus relieving the minds of those who would support his cause, but not his candidacy. He pauses, as anyone would, and then affirms his dedication to running the best possible ticket for '76. We thank him and move on--many of us feeling strongly in favor of the man.

Manny Klausner asks to speak with us; he enters with an entourage of Bill Susel and a lady who is silent. Manny is concerned about selling us on his candidacy, and it is not until much later that we finally have the heart to tell him he is not the main topic of the evening. When we finally do tell him about our revolutionary plans, he is outraged. "Irrational" he says. "Irresponsible" he says. "Impossible" he screams. Mild-mannered Manny looks apoplectic. A few more minutes of us relating complots de coup and conspiracy theories, and Manny has had enough. He leaves.

Jeremy Millet, a Louisiana delegate and party chairman is next up. Rich has talked him into considering the nomination, but Jeremy is not terribly sanguine about his or anyone else's chances of success; he feels that the California lawyer will carry the first ballot to a majority, and hence a nomination. He leaves us, having done little to straighten out our problems.

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UPPER LEFT: GENERAL VIEW OF  
THE CONVENTION FLOOR



UPPER RIGHT: OUR PRIDE, Massachusetts  
Caucus over the nomination of John  
Vernon. In picture are Bob Nozick,  
Steve Trinward, Rich Kenney, Dave  
Reardon, and Lee Webber (fuzzy head  
in foreground)

LOWER RIGHT: VEEP NOMINEE DAVID  
BERGLAND, California lawyer

LOWER LEFT: PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE  
ROGER LEA MACBRIDE, Virginia  
lawyer

Photos by David Long

Those of you interested in seeing more  
snapshots of the convention might ask  
David Long to show you his collection  
the next time you see him.





THE CONVENTION CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

Sunday 2:00 A.M.

After sending out for pizza, and summing up what we already have, the six-or-eight hardy (read insane) souls settle down to try to weed out the possible alternatives. Just when it begins to look like we may get some real work done, who comes barging in but Manny the Boy-Wonder, with Murry "Bubbles" Rothbard in tow.

Well, here we are, attempting to make some very serious decisions, and Manny is soap-boxing, and Murray is obfuscating and changing the subject. To our bone-weary eyes it had all the earmarks of two infiltrators trying to sabotage our little cabal. We adjourn to a neutral room to get away from the interlopers. Nothing more is accomplished, but we resolve to fight it out together.

Sunday 9:00 A.M.

The Convention reconvenes. Chairbeing Ed Crane announces that the floor is now open for nominations, there being two nominees thus far, Manny Klausner and Tonie Nathan. Immediate furor: what about John Vernon? Crane answers that he was not seconded. Ralph Raico challenges that he himself gave the second. Crane says: I didn't recognize you. Delegates on the floor are enraged. One of this number, Dave Reardon, realizes that Vernon may not have secured speakers for his nomination and seconds, and goes to the Oklahoma delegation and asks. Vernon has not done so. Dave scurries back to our lines and gets the ball rolling. Preparations have not been made when Mass. is called on to place names in nomination. It is now necessary to find some other state to yield to us. Sylvia Sanders gets her Washington mates to do so. Bob Nozick begins to scribble on the back of a leaflet.

Walter Block, a doctor from New York, and David Bergland (the lawyer from California) are nominated and seconded. The floor is still buzzing.

"Washington yields to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts"

"Massachusetts has a name to place in nomination"

"The chair recognizes Professor Nozick". Cheers, Standing Ovation. And Bob stumbles through his hastily scrawled speech nominating John Vernon.

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SPECIAL NEWS FLASH FROM JUDY VAN WAGENEN

U.S. Congress is this month debating the bill regarding the use of deadly weapons in self-defense of persons and property. Find a moment this week to write your local congressman against this bill. Contact Judy Van Wagenen for details (247-1940).

THE CONVENTION CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

At this point, Roger MacBride asks for the floor. This granted, he makes his way to the podium saying, "MiGod, I'm prouder of this convention than I have been of any time of this entire convention. I think John Vernon is a great guy. I think Bob Nozick has done an enormous service to this convention, in the very fair way in which he presented the picture. I'm glad things have developed the way they have; I know there's been a lot of talk and controversy, but...etc.

It is unclear whether Roger says he won't veto anyone we choose, or just anyone already nominated. It is also unclear whether the decision to make this statement comes from a conviction that he was wrong, or just a desire to still the waters of rebellion with some practicality-as-usual. We are still wondering about this two weeks later.

Sunday 10:00 A.M.

Vice-Presidential roll call. Early returns show big margin for Bergland; Vernon catching sympathy but little else. When tally gets to Massachusetts however, Chair Long announces that "the People's Republic of Massachusetts, which in 1972 rejected pragmatic conservative Republicanism, casts a unanimous seven votes for John Vernon." The convention cheers loudly, but the battle is over. The tally, before shifting around to get it over with and crown Bergland with his majority is Bergland 104, Vernon 42, Block 28, Nathan 26, Klausner 25.

Sunday 1:00 P.M.

Reconvene for national party officers and Exec-Comm proceedings. The Chair, Veep and Secretary are re-elected; Fran Youngstein joins Crane, Andrea Millin (Veep) and Greg Clark (secretary). All but Clark are named unanimously.

Exec-Comm becomes another dogfight, with no less than sixteen candidates in the running for the seven at-large positions. The upshot of it is that of the seven, Rich Kenney and Phil Manger (Maryland) were chosen because of their hard-line radicalism. On the other hand, someone by the name of Hathaway is among the others. (Ed. Note: See CYNICAL CYRIL) The election method was thoroughly confusing--one might say designed for deceit. When the smoke cleared, joining the aforementioned Kenney, Manger, and Hathaway were Ed Clark (Calif.), Dave Nolan (Col. founder of the party), Bill Susel (Calif.), and Jim Blanchard (Louisiana organizer of the NCLG Gold Seminar which netted the LP \$30,000 this spring).

OPEN LETTER TO JACK WALDRON by David Long

Dear Jack,

I received your resignation from the party with great regret. Some persons unfortunately made the entirely unwarranted assumption that there was a personality clash between us, and (even worse!) a few thought that some sort of internecine power struggle had taken place, with you ending up vanquished.

As to the first conjecture, I would like to say publicly (as I have long repeated privately) that I never experienced any problem working with you within or outside of the party. I have long had the greatest respect for your many talents, your intelligence and, above all, your integrity. We have sometimes disagreed on philosophy or tactics, but you have always impressed me with your deliberate, reasoned approach to considerations affecting the libertarian movement. Your withdrawal from the party was a great personal loss to me, as well as a substantial loss to the party.

The second conjecture need not even be dignified by any disclaimer, as I find the suggestion personally insulting and demeaning. Anybody who joins the Libertarian Party seeking power has come to the wrong place.

The core of your rationale for leaving the party seems to be your objection to the "majority rule" system. Specifically, you feel it is unfair and unjust for those members (unfortunately, a majority) who take no active participation in the workings of the organization to show up at membership meetings or conventions and vote down the suggestions of those who are doing the day-to-day work of making the party a viable political alternative.

During a recent conversation, you cited the specific example of the proposal brought before the membership last January to amend our rules to permit more latitude in scheduling our annual convention. This was hardly a fascist suggestion, given that April (the month in which we are currently required to hold our convention) is also the month of Easter, Patriot's Day, and Federal Theft Day. But the proposal was voted down amidst mutterings of "Power to the Membership" or something similar. And then everyone went home, leaving you and me and the rest of our power-hungry partyarchy to find the least inconvenient date in April and do the work of setting up a convention.'

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OPEN LETTER TO JACK WALDRON CONTINUED FROM PAGE 12

I agree with many of your gripes. If I could think of a better way of structuring our party, I would propose it. If I felt strongly enough about such a proposal, I might even start a new party based on this new structure. (For what it's worth, I might point out that our party is not based simply on majority rule. Many proposals, such as additions to our platform or constitution, must be approved by two-thirds majority. And the statement of principles in our state platform cannot be changed without a seven-eighths majority!)

In any group of more than one person, there are bound to be occasional disagreements. If the group is to be an on-going one, there must be some provision for the arbitration and settlement of disagreements. If the party were organized along corporate lines, one person or one small group of persons would make all the decisions, and everyone else would have to follow along, or quit. While this structure may be efficient for competitive organizations like corporations, many Libertarians tend to frown upon monarchies and oligarchies in the political arena. Many Libertarians feel that any state in which a majority -- even a 99% majority -- can coerce a minority is unjust and evil.

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#### REGRO FIGHTS INCREASED TAXATION

Regro (Republicans for an Effective Grass Roots Organization) are organizing a referendum vote to repeal any increases in state taxes voted by the legislature. Any Libertarians interested in this project should contact Tony Conte or Reid Morrison (two Libertarian Party Members who are involved with this effort) at Regro Headquarters, 330 Dartmouth St. Boston 02116 or call 247-2512 in Boston.

FROM THE CHAIR CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

speaks of personal freedoms, but hesitates to advocate legal, over-the-counter sale of, say, heroin -- if this is the sort of campaign which emerges, I will have no part in it. I would much rather spend my time, money, and efforts in promoting local Libertarian candidates and in building a state party of which I can continue to be proud to belong.

We keep telling people that we are neither conservatives nor liberals. We keep telling people we are different -- and better. Let's tell it like it is. Let's put our campaigns where our mouths are.

OPEN LETTER TO JACK WALDRON CONTINUED FROM PAGE 13

But today, here, now, the State is what we are stuck with. And it's not any 99% rule, either. Usually a simple majority can work its will on all the rest of us. And you can't drop out. When was the last time you tried not to pay your income taxes?

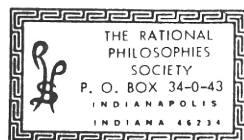
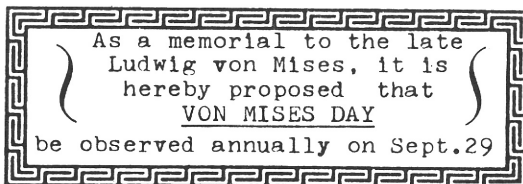
Since we are stuck, we must play the game according to the rules dictated by the majority, and that means: if we want to change the system via the political process, we'll have to engage in that process. And that means: political Libertarians must try to attain public office. It is not at all clear to me how you would propose to change the system that has been foisted upon us. It is very well to speak of changing social attitudes by means of education (although in the long term, no movement can succeed without such a process), but somebody will have to do the work of repealing repressive legislation, somebody will have to obstruct the passage of more bad laws, somebody will have to man the guns of state while the state is phased out.

This is what the Libertarian Party is all about. If you don't like political activity; if you don't wish to accomodate yourself to the views of other Libertarians; if you are quite certain that only your views are the correct ones; if you don't mind being a "free rider", as those who care about liberty begin to make it happen; if you want to drop out -- no one is forcing you to support the Libertarian Party. That's a statement no governemnt can make.

What I have said may not convince you, but if you ever change your mind, I for one would be glad to have you back among us.

With best wishes,

David E. Long



CYNICAL CYRIL

This is intended to be a sporadic column dedicated to gossip which Libertarians might find interesting. If you run across any juicy tidbits, send or phone them in to Lee Nason, 929 Mass. Ave., Apt. 11-D, Camb., 864-6497 (I have asked her to be a collection node and she's reluctantly agreed).

It seems strange indeed that one of our new ex-com members voted in at the National Convention was so naive about Libertarian Philosophy that he didn't even know what the black flag of anarchy stood for. However, I suppose it should be expected considering he had only joined the party five days prior to his election! But then, one begins to wonder about the principles of those who publicly supported his bid: Murray Rothbard, Joe Cobb, Bill Westmiller, et alia. Hey, you big shots, what kind of leadership are you handing us?

Our big star at the convention, Bob Nozick, was a real surprise to us all. Mostly he behaved like a ten year old kid at the circus for the first time-- he actually seemed to enjoy it all. Let's have more of Nozick's optimistic political naivete and less of Rothbard's manipulations.

One thing we all learned at the convention: personalities don't count when principles are at stake. Kay Harroff is beautiful compared to the rest of the partyarchy; Rich Kenney is a doll compared to the compromisers.

We are informed that both the Webe's (from Kay's machine in Ohio) and Bill Hurst (how many years have you been around now?) intend to join at long last. Congratulations both to them and to the Party.

In case anyone is wondering why Paul Knapp is not hanging around much any more, it's because he has found his true love, a lady named Pat Galbraith whom he intends to wed in October.

David Narlee has moved to New Hampshire and Janice Russell has moved to Yuma, Arizona. L.P. of Mass has lost two fine people.

Well, ole' Rog is off and running--and he's already lost 250,000 votes! Seems that Lloyd Tylor, Chairman of California's libertarian-dominated Peace and Freedom Party, couldn't stomach MacBride's threatened vetoes of Trotter (tax problems, gold smuggling) or Vernon (gay). Taylor is actively looking for a libertarian to head the P&F ticket, but he can't accept Roger. Too bad, considering the P&F has ballot status, while California LP does not.

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