

# FREE LIBERTARIAN

MONTHLY NEWSLETTER  
 FREE  
LIBERTARIAN  
PARTY, INC.

## Vote Row "E" FLP

By Steven J. Schneider

One of the advantages of running a local race outside of New York City is that you can end up with a prominent spot on the November ballot. Here in Nassau we landed on row E, behind two of the major candidates, but ahead of the incumbent who is running as an independent. After six weeks of silence, Newsday has again let its readers know that the Libertarians are also running for County Executive. Having written a letter to the senior editor of Newsday, and having a number of people call the city desk inquiring about Savadel, the Free Libertarian candidate for County Executive, we were included in the major campaign article on October 16, 17, and 18th. Then, to my surprise, having been excluded from the first Newsday poll, we were included in the second poll, complete with a page one photo of the November ballot showing Richard Savadel, Free Libertarian candidate on row E. Inside on page three was a tabulation of the poll, giving Savadel an estimated one percent of the vote. As Newsday asked all the participants for their preference, at least 509 more people know that Savadel is running. We are continuing to hand out our literature. Already a number of ED's have been covered in the 13th AD and the 20th AD. Elsewhere in the county we have hit shopping center parking lots and railroad stations. With 2 weeks left to the campaign I still don't know if we will be able to hand out all 12,000 pieces of the Savadel brochure, but I am sure we will get out the 5,000 Libertarian position papers with the Savadel for County Executive imprint on the frontpiece. Unfortunately, due to Dick's work schedule, he will be unable to attend any candidates nights (or afternoons). The campaign must rest on the strength of our literature, our advertising, and Newsday's coverage of our campaign. I have found that the village

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## Greenberg Runs For Gov!

Gary Greenberg, a former State Chair of the Free Libertarian Party, has announced his intention to seek the FLP nomination for Governor of New York.

On Wednesday evening, January 11,

Gary addressed about two dozen libertarians at a meeting held at the Party's office in Manhattan. There he outlined his campaign objectives and took part in the discussion that followed his announcement.

Strengthening the Party organization is one important goal of the Greenberg bid for office and the candidate has a simple plan. There are four statewide offices being contested this year: Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Comptroller and Attorney General. Gary hopes to head the ticket and to have one running mate from either Nassau or Suffolk County, one from either the Poughkeepsie or Albany area and one from the Rochester-Buffalo area. Each major region of the state would then have its own standard-bearer to serve as a focal point for local campaign activity. The campaign would

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## NYC Campaign

By Len Rubin

At this writing (November 20th), the "minor party" vote totals in New York's mayoral election of November 8th have yet to be seen. The vagaries of the Board of Elections are a symptom, of course, of what we campaigned against here.

Mayoral candidate Bill Lawry, the most Lindsayesque Libertarian in his appeal to likely and unlikely voters (from

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# editor's notebook

BY GLEN ENGLAND:

This was a terrific issue--or would have been had it come out four months ago. Since it didn't, this issue is not only the Free Libertarian Quarterly, but also the Libertarian Historical Quarterly.

Some of the articles are current; most are not. But if you have been away for a few months, this could be one of the most useful newsletters you could read.

Some of the regular readers may notice that the editorial tone is odd. This is to be expected. This issue is the blend of three editors--a blend which will also end with this issue. This will be the last Free Libertarian I will be involved with as editor.

I am resigning--again--as editor of the newsletter. (Yes, Art, you were right) There are reasons for this--most of them personal. The sum of them is that I simply cannot afford the newsletter right now. (Nor, more widely, can I afford the party.) This is not a "leave of absence" like the last time became. This is a full resignation, and to the best of my knowledge and intent, a permanent one. It would be unfair to all for me to "resign" again, only to reappe ar a third time.

Two shots are enough. Nor do I want another.

First I want to apologise to both the readers and authors of this issue for its lateness. Secondly (though more properly, firstly), I want to express my deep appreciation to a bunch of people: Jesse Cardillo, for trying to business-ly manage an Aquarian; Duane Brodnick for lending an extra pair of hands where/when needed; Carl Hastings for getting three replacements; Jenny Graf for being, in part, one of the replacements; Dan Karlan for being a meticulous worker; Pete Wilson for patient advice, rarely followed; Larry Leff for emergency typing; Carolyn Keelen for \$5000 worth of free advice and lots of support; Len Rubin for always getting things, in on time, even when the deadline was an hour; John Caulfield for always getting articles in late, but beautifully written; Bill Costello for his warmth and his coolness in production crises; Berl Kaufman for making us all look beautiful in his photos; Steve Schneider for always being there in spite of excellent provocations to be elsewhere; and Mona Slota, for being.

My feelings about the party and newsletter are rather mixed up. They are rather like those for a former lover whom I still like, but no longer love deeply. The value--real and potential--is still there; the passion is not; I no longer wish to spend all of my hours with him.

I would like to invite all of you to cooperate with the new co-editors, Tom Fredrick and Fred Cookinham; they deserve your support--and your articles. Thank you all--and to all a goodnight.

Glen England

BY FRED COOKINHAM & TOM FREDERICK:

As the new co-editors of the Free Libertarian we intend to publish an informative and interesting newsletter. We will publish something each month. Sometimes, this may be simply a one page flyer informing the readers of upcoming events, but you will receive something every month. In terms of what appears in the newsletter, our first priority will be to inform our readers of upcoming events. Our second priority will be to report what has happened at recent past events. Our third priority will be articles and letters to the editor dealing with issues and tactics specifically related to the New York State FLP. Everything else will have low priority.

BY FRED COOKINHAM:

Tuesday night, Glen England, the outgoing editor, was showing Tom and me the ropes of newsletter editing. He mentioned that he and previous editors had waited in anguish and in vain for someone--anyone-- to contribute some article. I was surprised at that, and started to say that in my four years at Cortland State, sitting in my lonely cubicle reading the newsletters, I never dreamed that they were so desperate for contributions; I assumed that the editor had articles submitted to him regularly and had to decide among them which to fit in. By the time I had said this, I was noticing that Glen was reacting badly as what I was saying sank in. His eyes had rolled back in his head, and an unpleasant gurgling sound came from his throat. I went on, tho, to say that had I realised that, I would have submitted something. Carl Hastings jumped in to ask if my image had been of a heartless editor ruthlessly refusing writer after writer submitting his piece, hat in hand. As Carl and Tom roared with laughter, and the phlegmatic Pete Wilson shook his head, Glen sat, cradling his head in his hands and weeping quietly.

Moral: Yes, YOU TOO can write an article, and get a byline. The next ish, our pre-convention ish, will be the first solo flight for Tom and me, and will be largely taken up with pre-con information, but with the ish following, you are exhorted to submit, submit, submit! Just keep it in the area of Libertarianism and New York state politics.



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(Schneider article-cont. from page 1)

weeklies are a total washout in terms of coverage for a countywide race. Next time we will concentrate on radio stations in the county and ignore the weeklies, except for the candidates home village paper. What has the campaign accomplished? A few thousand more people now know that the Libertarian party exists, and have at least seen our literature if not read it. We have picked up half a dozen more active members without losing the ones we already had. Those of us who worked actively on the campaign feel we have benefitted from this campaign. Our morale has been uplifted. We actually got on the ballot, having failed to do so in '76. The press coverage we received was better than last year when not once were we mentioned in Newsday, the major daily. This year we had a brochure, and, unlike last year, there was a campaign committee in existence this time which sort of organized things. Last year was a start. This year was a step in the right direction. Next year we have something to build on. How many votes will we get? That remains to be seen. However, I do anticipate that our votes will be counted along with the three major candidates and our results published right along with theirs in the following day's edition of Newsday.

#### NASSAU NEWS UPDATE

The campaign is over. Newsday continued to give us coverage right up until election day. In the Sunday, November 6th edition, we were included in the third Newsday county executive poll, this time scoring less than 1%, 894 people being polled. In addition, Newsday printed a voters' guide to the election, with Savadel's picture, bio, and stand on the issues prominently displayed along with the other candidates. To quote from the article:

The first Free Libertarian to run for county executive, Savadel says government not only is incapable of curing problems but actually causes them. His party, founded in 1971, preaches maximum personal freedom by curtailing government. Last year Roger MacBride drew 183,000 votes as the party's presidential candidate.

ISSUES: Savadel proposes radical changes: selling Mitchell Field and the coliseum to private business, eliminating compulsory education and levying school taxes only on parents of students, banning forced bussing for integration, repealing the 3 percent county sales tax and making unspecified but drastic cuts in county spending and property taxes.

As it turned out, we were only able to distribute a little more than half our literature; but at least 6,000 people have seen, if not read, our brochure.

Due to the fact that we only raised about \$700 for the campaign, we were only able to run two ads. The first one, a full pager (\$100) which went to all the college campuses, and elsewhere, on the back of a minicinema movie guide handout, generated a lot of attention on campus and a few requests for more information on the FLP. The second ad went into the Pennysaver as a large classified in the 13th AD, where we distributed most of our literature.

As anticipated, Newsday printed our election results the next day along with the other candidates for County Executive. We polled 1,249 votes, breaking a thousand for the first time in Nassau County. Last year MacBride received 890 votes, and in 1974 Tuccille scored about 450. Slow progress, but progress nonetheless. Now we have to find those 1200 people we don't know about and entice them into becoming active Libertarians. Bill Butkevich, campaign treasurer, has calculated that we spent only 52 cents a vote. Of course, our austerity budget was due to the fact that as Libertarians we only spend as much money as we take in, and we didn't take in all that much.

Still, for all its shortcomings, the campaign was a success in terms of what we were trying to accomplish: to reach thousands of Nassau County residents with the ideas of libertarianism and pick up a few more members to boost our ranks.

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(Rubin article-cont. from page 1)

American Legion Hall to political science forums), once thought a budget of \$100,000 and the disgust of fellow New Yorkers with hyper-bureaucracy could bring victory. In a way, our \$5,000 budget did. The closet libertarians crawled out of all the crannies of paternalism. An elderly lady, busy with neighborhood-improvement, agreed with us on drugs. A gay man who felt isolated turned to us after studying our whole platform. The roommate of one of Henry Stern's assistants voted for us.

Those are just some of the people I myself encountered in the course of my non-campaign for Council President.

Out on the hustings were Bill with his many broadcast appearances and perhaps 25 candidates' night stands; Lou Sicilia riding "third man" position in the Stein-Wagner race for Manhattan Borough President; Bob Flanzer, for Comptroller; Carl Hastings and the redoubtable Larry Leff as stand-in speakers and, last but not least, Harry Middendorf, the Conservative-Free Libertarian candidate for Supreme Court



Judge in the First District, who earned real support at Reform Democratic Club meetings beginning with the Village Independent Democrats that had spawned "what-can-we-regulate-now" Carol Greitzer and, yes, Edward I. Koch.

Their message would have been impossible to deliver if not for Roger Eisenberg, who raised a fortune (by our standards) on the phone, and Bruce Millard, who joined him in this thankless, but demanding work. When a Roger toils late in the office with nothing but that unspeakable radio station of his for company, one tends not to realize how much time, intelligence and organization go into the results achieved.

Carl ran a successful petition drive against the odds with Jenny Graf (den mother), Eleanor Rosenblatt (chief hustler), Bob Flanzer (chief doubter), Pete Wilson (chief kvetch), and various libertarians and non-libertarians. Pete put in additional long hours of work, still not over, as campaign treasurer. Carl's administrative contribution can be appreciated fully only by observing that we all avoided taking on the campaign chairpersonship while treating Carl as if he had.

Have I left out anyone? Good.

I had fun creating brochures and letters and so forth, no fun producing them, and the privilege of doing only two speaking gigs "you can't refuse" - one high

school, and the other on WNYC to kick the city agency I dislike most.

Carolyn Keelen was extremely helpful, being awakened in the middle of the night to do creative layout.

There is no adequate way to thank our financial contributors who provided the basis for all this. As promised in our mailings, those who gave most will receive the 1977 NYC Libertarian Campaign Award for Coming Through, which (in case this issue of the Free Libertarian beats it to the newsstands) will state:

"With Gratitude, The Free Libertarian Party of New York State acknowledges the substantial contribution of (you) To Spread Freedom's Fame throughout the City of New York by means of the 1977 Election Campaign. In warm appreciation of which, we set our hands..." (Signed by our Candidate for Mayor and our State Chairperson)

What did those who labored and those who gave accomplish?

First, they awakened thousands of New Yorkers in varying degrees to the truth that New York City's idiot government need not be worshipped as it stumbles about of its own weight, devouring so much of what we produce as it fails to keep order or provide community services. We may be a pebble, but we nicked Goliath.

Second, at a cost of under a dollar a vote, our pebble has kept momentum for next year's avalanche.

# Election Rapup

by Gary Greenberg

Nassau libertarians continued their growth with a record high total in Dick Savadel's race for Nassau County Executive. The Nassau FLP received 1249 votes, a gain of over 25% from the 1976 MacBride campaign, and almost double its 1974 vote for Jerry Tuccille in the governor's race. This result was achieved despite the presence of two strong establishment Republicans running as independents against the winner of the GOP primary, and a strong Democratic candidate.

In New York City, Henry Middendorf, our candidate for Supreme Court (also running on the Conservative line), received 3304 votes on the FLP line, running only in Manhattan and the Bronx. This averaged just about 1% of the total vote cast. Middendorf's vote in the Bronx was the highest total achieved by any FLP candidate, with the exception of Fran Youngstein. Middendorf, although leading the slate in total votes, just missed edging out Dolores Grande for the highest vote in Manhattan. Dolores Grande, running for New York County District Attorney, received 2404 votes, which was below the 1973 total for that race, but was enough to give her the highest vote in Manhattan for the 1977 campaign. Her total also exceeded 1% of the vote cast.

Of course, the major disappointment has to be the showing for mayor of New York. Bill Lawry, the FLP candidate, suffered from several factors, including 1) the minimal priority placed on this race by most FLP members, 2) lack of funds, and 3) an extremely crowded ballot position, with Bill being placed several rows away from most of the other candidates for mayor. The rest of the slate didn't have that severe a ballot problem. The non-citywide candidates had the best spot available for an independent candidate - the fifth column.

SPECIAL NOTES: 1) As in past elections, the 64th Assembly District in Greenwich Village continues to be our strongest AD of the sixty-five New York City AD's. Each candidate that was on the ballot in New York County (all seven candidates in this election) ran strongest in the 64th. Middendorf and Grande each received over 500 votes in that district.

2) For only the second time in thirteen citywide races by the FLP, New York County failed to place first among the five boroughs in a citywide election. In both cases, Kings County gets the gold star. In this election, Len Rubin received more votes in Kings than he did in New York

3) Bob Flanzer's citywide result exceeded the citywide MacBride total in 1976.



Greenberg for Governor-cont. from p. 1  
thus serve as a stimulus for continued local political organizing. Several FLP members have already expressed enthusiasm for this idea.

Gary also stressed the importance of running a "pure" campaign. "The Libertarian Party should function as a political conscience," he said, stating clearly his determination to avoid watering down his radical libertarian views. Asked what his first official act as Governor would be, if elected, he quickly replied that he would grant a pardon to all persons imprisoned for violating victimless crime laws.

Admitted to the Bar in 1968, Gary Greenberg is a criminal attorney working in New York City. Having served as both an Assistant District Attorney (Queens) and a Legal Aid Attorney (Manhattan and the Bronx), he has seen the criminal justice system -- with all its injustices -- as both a prosecutor and a defense attorney. (His experience has enabled him to see first-hand some of the harmful effects of victimless crime laws and, as an attorney, he has spoken before various groups and urged their repeal.)

Gary has also had first-hand experience with the legislative system, having served as a legislative assistant in the Washington, D.C. office of a New York Congressman. There he brought a free market orientation to his tasks of research and legislative drafting.

The first FLP member to throw his hat into the ring in 1978 was a libertarian activist before the Libertarian Party was founded. In the fall of 1969 and again in the spring of 1970, Gary organized two key libertarian conferences (co-sponsored by the Society for Individual Liberty). Milton Friedman, Murray Rothbard, Roy Childs and Jeffrey St. John were some of the speakers at the now famous Columbia Conferences. (Gary also ran for office in the pre-IP days, getting 20% of the vote as a Conservative Party candidate for judge in 1971.)

The Free Libertarian Party was founded in the spring of 1972 and conducted its first campaign in the fall of that year. Gary, one of the founding members, was also one of the candidates. Running for Congress against Ed Koch, he was knocked off the ballot by election law technicalities after a grueling petition drive. Congressman Koch challenged the FLP petitions, apparently worried that a Greenberg campaign would draw votes away from him. (After all, when you want to be Mayor in a few years, you have to prove your vote-getting

ability.) Nevertheless, Free Libertarians did get to see their candidate debate Koch and two other rivals at a public forum at New York University.

The following year Gary ran for office again, this time for Manhattan District Attorney, the only person to run against the incumbent Frank Hogan. Since Hogan had the endorsement of all four major parties -- Democratic, Republican, Conservative and Liberal -- he won by a landslide. Gary, however, managed to get more than 8,000 votes, the highest total ever received by any countywide Free Libertarian candidate.

Besides running for office himself, Gary was the campaign manager of the Fran Youngstein for Mayor Committee. That effort garnered almost 9,000 votes in New York City, more than any other Libertarian Party candidate has ever received in the Big Apple. His role in the Youngstein endeavor prompted Fran to say: "I can't imagine our campaign's having been a success without Gary. He advised me on issues, gave me pointers on style and kept me going through four grueling months. I depended on him more than on anyone else in the campaign."

In 1974 Gary was the Finance Chairman for the Tuccille for Governor Campaign and helped to raise one of the largest bankrolls for any Libertarian effort to date. In the spring of 1975, he was elected State Chair and served in that capacity as New York hosted the Fourth Annual National Convention of the Libertarian Party. More recently he has served as Chair of the Queens County Organization of the FLP.

With his announcement as a candidate for Governor, Gary Greenberg has signaled his willingness to take a giant step forward to help build up the Free Libertarian Party throughout New York State.

(The above article was written by Tom Avery)

NEXT ISSUE - SPECIAL REPORT  
"Victim's Guide to Victimless Crimes" by Gary Greenberg  
The FLP's 1973 candidate for District Attorney explains what you can expect when arrested for a victimless crime in New York City.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON GREENBERG CAMPAIGN CONTACT:

Gary Greenberg  
35-63 80th Street  
Jackson Heights, New York  
(212) 478-5619



(EDITOR'S NOTE: The following letter was submitted immediately after John Caulfield's article "Nightmoves" was printed.)

To The Editor:

Libertarians are frequently accused of not being able to apply their lofty principles to everyday realities that affect most people. Simple facile statements about free markets and voluntarism often masquerade as deep social analysis. Regrettably, John Caulfield's "Nightmoves" [August, 1977] falls prey to this unfortunate tendency.

Mr. Caulfield presents the thesis that, indeed, wide-scale looting can be acts of theft. Then he concludes that high prices set in a free market cannot justify mass looting.

Despite his careless economic analysis (e.g., he says consumers set prices), no Libertarian is going to disagree with such conclusions. Actually, almost no one in the entire United States is going to disagree with those conclusions (with the possible exception of the looters, their families and a few left wing fascists). Such conclusions are neither startling, original to Libertarians, nor interesting.

This is not to say that there isn't much that could be written about the looting that is insightful or interesting from a libertarian standpoint. There is. Although the Free Libertarian isn't a scholarly journal (no perjorative intended), it is a political journal, and publishing new political analyses of social issues from a libertarian perspective would be useful. Ideally, there could be articles that would be controversial enough to encourage Libertarians to thoughtfully discuss both sides of the issue.

Let me give a brief example of what I mean. Hopefully it will be different from the standard rhetoric about the looting, provide some libertarian analysis and be sufficiently controversial to promote additional discussion from differing viewpoints.

There are, in fact, few prices in the ghetto communities set by a free market. This is because the government provides massive subsidies to huge numbers of ghetto consumers. These subsidies include welfare payments, food stamps, government jobs, medicaid, rent payments and so on and so forth. These consumer subsidies substantially distort the free-market forces of supply and demand. The demand factor depends on real demand, i.e., money available for purchase. Consumer subsidies therefore force prices up higher than they would be in a free market. Hardworking people who do not receive these subsidies are required to pay higher than free-market prices for their purchases. Merchants who knowingly accept money from

welfare recipients or government employees or accept food stamps or other subsidies are contributing to the cheating of the nonsubsidized consumer. In effect, the merchants are acting as a tax collection agency for the government by collecting artificially high prices from nonsubsidized consumers and returning it to the government in tax payments.

Additionally, most store rents are extremely low in ghetto communities because the lack of insurance available, plus the crime rate makes the property less desirable. Since the merchant is receiving a low rent because of the likelihood of criminal invasion, the merchant is in a position similar to a person who purchases a house at a greatly depressed price because it is near an airport. One should feel no more sympathy for the burglarized merchant than one should feel for the new homeowner suffering overhead flights. It might even be argued that the merchant was no more a victim of crime than was the homeowner a victim of noise pollution. Through low rent and high prices, the merchant has discounted the cost of crime to his business operation. If the damage from rioting or looting was more than he planned on, the loss is his since he made a faulty business analysis in preparing his cost schedule.

Just as the homeowner is free to take steps against the overhead flight noise by shoring up the foundation, soundproofing or whatever, the merchant is free to take steps to insulate himself against crime. But under no circumstances should the merchant have received tax-supported extra police protection whether it be the National Guard, riot patrols, or beefed-up street forces.

Finally, given the fact that the prices were artificially high due to government-merchant collusion over publicly-financed consumer subsidies, and that the merchant has discounted the cost of crime through high prices and low rents, and further, that a statistical profile of the looting suspects arrested shows that they were, for the most part, hard-working, employed individuals with virtually no one on welfare, a whole range of options for libertarian analysis opens up.

I look forward to the revised edition of Walter Block's *Defending the Undefendable* with an added chapter on the Ghetto Looter as Hero.

Gary Greenberg

John Caulfield replies:

Despite disagreement with Gary's analysis, I am happy that my column succeeded in eliciting further thought on the blackout. However, I am somewhat at a loss to understand Gary's objections to the particular comments I chose to

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# STATE COMM MEETS

The most recent Free Libertarian Party state committee meeting was held Feb. 5 at Guy Riggs' home in Poughkeepsie. Steve Schneider reported on the latest developments with the state convention (see article in this issue). The state committee set the convention rates as follows: \$7.50 for members; \$5.00 for students and \$3.00 a day for non-members. The rate for the banquet will be set at the next state committee meeting. A By-Laws Committee (consisting of Dennis Schuman, Pete Wilson and Tom Frederick) was appointed. It was decided that Lou Sicilia, as state secretary, would handle the rules for the convention. Our new Vice-Chair, Roger Eisenberg, reported that the Image Committee intends to conduct a public opinion poll concerning the party name, what the party's image is and what the image should be. The state committee empowered Carl Hastings as Chair to appoint an interim Newsletter editor to serve until the state convention. Roger Eisenberg moved that the state office at 15 West 38 Street be sublet and the funds be used for other purposes. Roger argued that the office has failed to provide benefits commensurate with the various expenses involved. Carl, Mike Kessler and Steve Schneider argued that a state office is essential as a focal point for the FLP and in order for us to be taken seriously as a political party. There was also some discussion as to whether the office (being in New York City) served the interests of the upstate members. The motion to sublet the office was defeated 4 votes yes; 6 votes no and 1 abstention. The next state committee meeting will be held Sunday, March 12 at 12 noon at the FLP headquarters in New York City.

## EDITORIAL INFORMATION:

EDITORS: Glen England, Fred Cookinham  
and Tom Frederick

STAFF: Gary Greenberg, Steve Schneider,  
Mona Slota, Pete Wilson and others

## CHANGE OF FACE IN NASSAU

by Steven J. Schneider

On Sunday, November 13, the Nassau County FLP held its 4th annual convention. New officers were elected and plans for the future were discussed.

Fifteen people attended, six of them for the first time, although two of them had been active during the campaign. At the request of the Chair, Tom Ballou gave a talk on the philosophy and background of the Libertarian party for the benefit of the new people. I thought he did an excellent job. A lively discussion of libertarian issues followed until the meeting broke up around six o'clock.

The meeting had begun around 3:30 with the election of new officers, all unopposed, and elected with unanimous consent. The new county chairperson is William (Bill) Butkevich, the treasurer of the Savadel campaign and a student at Hofstra. Tom Ballou, ace petition gatherer, a student at Nassau Community College, and a political activist in the Conservative Party (he joined the FLP in 1974) was elected vice-chairperson. Our new secretary is Mary Jo Gross, former county chair and co-founder of the Nassau FLP. Mary was Dick Savadel's campaign manager this year. Elected treasurer was Greg Stark, an active member of the campaign and of the FLP for the last two years.

Last of all the county representative to the state committee. After serving in that position since March of 1974, I have finally persuaded someone to take over that post. As of November 20, Bill Butkevich will be the county representative from Nassau. Give 'em hell Bill.

The election was followed by a discussion of the campaign just completed, noting its good points as well as areas that need improvement in future campaigns. Plans for next year were also worked on. We debated the pros and cons of running a school board race (suggested by Tom). Other ideas were proposed as well, to be discussed at our next meeting to be held in January.

It was noted by two of the new people that they had great difficulty contacting the Nassau FLP since we are not listed in the phone book. In response to this I called the phone company the next day to arrange for a listing in the phone book. To do so is more complicated than one would think. You cannot add a business listing to a residential phone. We will decide at our next meeting whether we can afford a business phone. The official headquarters of the Nassau FLP is now P.O. Box 227, Woodmere, N.Y. 11598, 569-1725.



#### TO THE EDITOR:

I am dismayed by rumors of autocratic policies on the part of the LP National Committee. I hear, for example, that the Committee has passed a resolution that would attempt to prohibit state parties from cross-endorsing non-libertarian political candidates, even though the National Convention turned such a proposal down.

At the same time, I am dismayed by the silly-season drift of our party in New York City in particular. It is my understanding that an English-style "shadow government" was inaugurated, in the wake of the city elections, two days before a State Committee meeting at which it could properly have been discussed -- because astrologers in the party decided the time was right.

I am one of the real people here who have done work and are not silly. I am not alone. The National LP can succeed here or anywhere only through us real people. It must begin by informing us of its thoughts and actions. It must provide for our feedback.

It should avoid membership appeals like the one that called me a free-loader for not joining and got my libertarian hackles up.

Otherwise, I will be back where I was in '72 -- without a political party that represents and exemplifies my beliefs.

Leonard Rubin

[Editor's note: the "rumors of autocratic policies" referred to in Len's letter concern a report in the Massachusetts newsletter concerning proposals brought before the National Committee at its October meeting. Two paragraphs of this were considered very offensive, and of these, all but one sentence was apparently deleted. Although we have a copy of the original proposals, the minutes -- which would include votes, discussions, etc. -- are not yet available from National Secretary Greg Clark; he will be mailing these soon.

In a phone call from National Vice-Chair Mary Louise Hanson to Steve Schneider, she said that the meeting was not as "bad" as some reports would have it. For what it's worth, these proposals would be virtually unenforceable (in the opinion of the State Committee). As soon as we have all the pieces of this report, we will print all of it in the newsletter.

With reference to "the shadow government," readers should look at the article on it which appears elsewhere in this issue.]

**ANNOUNCEMENT:** Dori DeQuarto has been selected Queens County representative to the state committee.

#### 1977 ELECTION - FLP VOTE TOTALS:

William F. Lawry (Mayor) 1,068  
Robert S. Flanzer (Comptroller) 2,394  
Leonard Rubin (City Council President) 1,528  
Louis J. Sicilia (Manhattan Borough President) 1,829  
Dolores Grande (District Attorney) 2,404  
Henry S. Middendorf Jr. (Supreme Court Justice) 3,304  
Melvin Hirshowitz (Surrogate) 1,291

(Caulfield replies-cont from p. 6)

offer. Among the questions I attempted to raise were: (1) In what respect is libertarian opposition to looting different from standard condemnations? (2) How has that distinction manifested itself? (Presumably the contention that "lawlessness is often justified" and the defense of People's Park in Berkley are not among the passages that "almost no one in the United States is going to disagree with". (3) Might not this distinction be too facile, given possible sociological prejudices? (4) What fallacies seem inherent in the justifications proffered in behalf of the looters? (5) How do we convey the abstract but crucial distinction between injustices and their consequences?

The main point was to prune away what was "impure" from both the denunciations and defenses then current. In so doing, I no doubt betrayed such "unstartling" assumptions as that looting can be theft and that high prices can't justify looting. (As for consumers setting prices, I was emphasizing that consumer behavior does determine prices, given a particular set of supplier preferences.)

#### RANDOM NOTES:

Ann Jackson and Steve Schneider attended the New Jersey Libertarian Party state convention on Feb. 11. The speakers included Chris Hocker, National Director for the Libertarian Party. Chris explained why everyone should join the national LP as well as the state organizations. The convention also included lively discussions of tax resistance and marijuana laws... Lee Shubert and Jane Rehmke will be married on April 8 (thereby providing themselves with a good reason for missing the state convention)... Libertarian Review has moved from New York to 1620 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, CA. 94111



# Announcing: A plan to combat the new threat to your liberty.

A short time ago, America entered a new era of statism. It may prove to be unlike anything we've seen before.

Over the next four years, you can expect to see a massive increase in government power, more blatant violations of the rights of property and production, and an expansion of liberal "social experimentation" with our lives.

In short, we are rapidly being transported to the totalitarian world of "1984."

Since last November, you've probably been asking yourself: "Can anything be done to reverse this ominous trend?"

The answer—fortunately—is yes.

There is an organization that is working actively right now to combat the tide of statism and restore our liberties. An organization designed to actually accomplish what, until now, has been only dreamed about by other foundations, political parties and activist groups.

That organization is the Center for Libertarian Studies.

One fundamental principle guides the Center: the principle that *ideas are the key to social change*. The Center's founders are convinced that a free society can be created only if the ideas of freedom are preserved, developed, and communicated to the widest possible audience.

These are precisely the tasks of the Center for Libertarian Studies.

Advising and directing the Center are some of the world's best-known libertarians. Among them are Nobel Prize-winner Friedrich A. Hayek, Pulitzer Prize-winner Felix Morley, and National Book Award-winner Robert Nozick. Plus Mrs. Ludwig von Mises, Henry Hazlitt, Robert D. Kephart, Arthur A. Ekirch, Yale Brozen, Robert Nisbet, Thomas Szasz and many others.

## The Center's program.

After many years of careful thought and deliberation, the founders of the Center for Libertarian Studies have developed the following program:

- **The Journal of Libertarian Studies.** Edited by renowned economist Murray N. Rothbard, the *Journal* is a forum for the best in libertarian scholarship. Distributed to hundreds of university libraries, it provides an alternative—finally—to the seemingly endless stream of liberal and socialist publications now influencing America's intellectuals and college students.
- **The Libertarian Scholars Conference.** An annual event that significantly helps to shift the climate of intellectual opinion in the direction of freedom.

- **A Research Fellows Program.** To arm young students of liberty with the knowledge they need to fight for a free society.

- **Seminars.** To develop the principles of liberty and apply them to today's social and economic problems.

- **An Educational Project.** To grant wider circulation to the ideas of individualism and the free market.

- **"In Pursuit of Liberty."** Our newsletter, a vehicle for keeping our supporters informed about libertarian ideas and events.

Directed from the Center's national headquarters in New York City, these activities combine to form a strategic program to create a free society.

It should be evident that there is no other organization of any kind like the Center for Libertarian Studies. It is the truly indispensable element in the counterattack against statist oppression.

## How you can help.

But to continue this vital program in defense of freedom, the Center needs *your* support. And we need it *now*.

The conferences and seminars, the Research Fellows Program, the publications

and Educational Project, the headquarters and staff—all of these cost money.

By helping to support the Center with a contribution, you'll be taking the *single most immediate and important step in the struggle to restore individual liberty* and establish a truly free society.

Your tax-deductible contribution of \$50 or more qualifies you as a "Center Donor." In addition to knowing that you're supporting this vitally important crusade, you'll receive a complimentary subscription to *In Pursuit of Liberty*, our lively and informative newsletter.

The Center for Libertarian Studies—long only a vision of a small group of dedicated scholars—is now a reality. We have the facilities. We have the people. We have the determination to win. Now all we need is *you*. Your support is the final link that will make it all possible.

The next years could prove decisive. For America—and for the world. For your life—and that of your children.

Freedom... or dictatorship? The choice rests with those who make up their minds to *join the battle of ideas for liberty*.

The stakes are high, and there is not a moment to lose. Clip the coupon, and write a check for your maximum contribution, today.

## Join the battle of ideas for liberty.



**Center for Libertarian Studies**

200 Park Avenue South, Suite 911, New York, N.Y. 10003

YES! I want to join the battle of ideas for liberty. Enclosed is my tax-deductible contribution of:

☐ \$1000   ☐ \$500   ☐ \$100   ☐ \$50   ☐ Other \$ \_\_\_\_\_

☐ My contribution is at least \$50, qualifying me as a "Center Donor." Begin my subscription to *In Pursuit of Liberty*, the Center's newsletter.

☐ I want to know more about the Center. Send me your Information Packet. (Enclosed is one dollar to cover postage and handling.)

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**All contributions to the Center are tax-deductible.**

A copy of the most recent Center for Libertarian Studies annual financial report may be obtained by writing to either the New York State Board of Social Welfare, Office Tower, Empire State Plaza, Albany, New York 12223, or the Center for Libertarian Studies, 200 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10003. An annual subscription to *In Pursuit of Liberty* costs \$6. Therefore, that portion of your contribution to the Center of \$50 or more which exceeds \$6 will qualify as tax-deductible.

HP



# Call to Convention

The 1978 FLP State Convention will be the weekend of April 7th-9th. Keep the date in mind.

The theme of the convention is "Libertarian Answers to Local Problems." So far we have William Burt as our keynote speaker and Jim Tobin of the Illinois NTU to talk to us on property tax resistance. Mr. Burt is the author of the booklet "Local Problems, Libertarian Solutions" which was written for the National Libertarian Party. If you have any suggestions for speakers and workshops, or if you would like to work on the convention in some capacity, please let me know. You can get in touch with me at 516-569-1725 or P.O. Box 227, Woodmere New York 11598.

Steven J. Schneider  
State Convention  
Coordinator

# Building Alternatives

On November 18th, several FLP members, led by Bill Lawry, the FLP's most recent mayoral candidate, started a group to bring free market competition to the area of government. The "Alternatives to Government Project," which will be separate from the FLP, was originally conceived as a sort of "shadow government" like those in Britain, but developed into something more. Programs will be started to show individual people and local groups how they can get services on their own without relying on the government.

Specifically:

1) Going to neighborhood groups and block associations and show them the advantage of putting private guards on their street. When some groups did that a few years ago, their mugging rate fell 90%.

Project members could also contact private detective agencies and help them to market private guard programs.

2) Contacting private schools and parent groups to help devise ways to take kids out of the state's education monopoly. Helping parents to start their own schools would be one way to begin.

3) Contacting private insurance companies and help them to devise alternatives to government health programs.

With definite programs under way, the libertarian cause will get publicity all year long that can translate into vote in the next election. An libertarians will no longer have to go into theoretical explanations when someone asks "What will you people do if you're elected?" The answer will be "come on down and take a look because we're doing it already."

# ALF has panel on pornography

On Feb. 3 the Association of Libertarian Feminists hosted a panel on Feminism, Pornography and Freedom of Speech. Sharon Presley moderated the discussion before a crowd of over 100 people of every political stripe. Joan Kennedy Taylor (associate editor of Libertarian Review) gave an historical review of the ludicrousness of pornography laws. Pete Wilson (activist in Libertarians for Gay Rights) and Betty Dodson (author of Liberating Masturbation) argued that pornography has great therapeutic value. Nat Hentoff (Village Voice columnist) pointed out that the First Amendment protects all forms of speech even pornography. During the discussion period after the panelists presentations there was some dissatisfaction in that the panel did not include any anti-pornography advocates. Sharon pointed out the anti-pornography view has been well represented in other feminists groups and that the purpose of this panel discussion was to show an alternative viewpoint.

# N Y County

The latest meeting of the New York County FLP was held on Feb. 7. S. William Green, the Republican candidate for the 18th Congressional District, was scheduled to speak. Mr. Green was unable to attend. Luckily, Ann Jackson had invited David Ramsay Steele, a British libertarian economic scholar currently staying in New York on a grant from the Center for Libertarian Studies, to attend the meeting. David made certain suggestions concerning the tactics of political propaganda. David advocated that the FLP widen its audience by distributing cheap literature on a mass basis (on street corners, at political meetings, on college campuses, etc.). David also suggested that libertarians attend non-libertarian political meetings in order to expose people to the libertarian philosophy. He stressed that we should not expect to establish a libertarian society in the next five or ten years or even in our lifetime. He argued that we must start doing the grassroots work now and, if we are very lucky, we may prevail in five years but it will more likely take 100 years. In any case it is time to redirect our focus to the grassroots.



# Libertarianism's Most Controversial Book??

## SUPPORTERS

"Looking through *Defending the Un-defendable* made me feel that I was once more exposed to the shock therapy by which, more than 50 years ago, the late Ludwig von Mises converted me to a consistent free market position. Even now I am occasionally at first incredulous and feel that 'this is going too far,' but usually find in the end that Block is right. Some may find it too strong a medicine, but it will still do them good even if they hate it. A real understanding of economics demands that one disabuses oneself of many dear prejudices and illusions. Popular fallacies in economics frequently express themselves in unfounded prejudices against other occupations, and in showing the falsity of these stereotypes Block is doing a real service, although he will not make himself more popular with the majority." **FRIEDRICH A. VON HAYEK**

"Judging from the outraged responses in many libertarian quarters, many of 'our people' are not ready for this exciting and shocking adventure. Since libertarians are, or are supposed to be, on the forefront of thought, since their whole lives have been an intellectual adventure in many ways, the hostility becomes even more mysterious." **MURRAY N. ROTHBARD**

"There are things that I strongly agree with and things that I strongly disagree with, but the book throughout is amusingly and sharply reasoned, courageous and always provocative." **HENRY HAZLITT**

"Many years ago Hazlitt's little masterpiece, *Economics in One Lesson*, demonstrated how, in order to measure the consequences of economic activities, one must look beyond their immediately obvious effects to their secondary effects. Here Professor Block sets out highly specific, and sometimes shocking examples of Hazlitt's thesis. By concentrating on the positive economic contributions of extreme cases, he forces the reader's consideration and greater appreciation of these principles." **ROBERT D. KEPHART**

"It is a magnificent book, a trailblazer. I would call it 'Drano for Clogged Minds,' except that Drano is neither amusing nor stimulating, and this book is both. I suggest buying two copies: one for yourself and one for the person you want most to catch up with you." **ROGER LEA MacBRIDE**

"... More than almost any current book, *DTU* will wake the reader from his dogmatic slumbers. It is eminently readable, challenging, and provocative." **JOHN HOSPERS**

"Startling and illuminating! Block's lucid defenses often convince; sometimes they lead us to sharpen our attack. In either case, the reader cannot fail to be instructed and challenged by this mind-stretching, provocative, and occasionally infuriating book." **ROBERT NOZICK**

"What the critics have missed is that as a book of *libertarianism*, not Objectivism, not Christianity, *DTU* used the most effective method for illustrating and teaching moral principles. Shock your friends and educate them." **DON ERNSBERGER, S.I.L.**

"This witty and wonderful book is a veritable manual of the 'joy of freedom.' If we were only half as interested in liberty as in lust, we would not have half the problems we have." **DR. THOMAS S. SZASZ**

"The most entertaining and one of the most instructive economics books I've read. Block's unique style helps you see what's going on around you quickly and clearly. The book is terrific. Taking the most extreme examples possible and clarifying them will do more to bend the reader's economic thinking than a slow steady course in good economics." **HARRY BROWNE**

"We can congratulate Dr. Block for some iconoclastic and courageous interpretations." **ALBERT ELLIS**  
*psychologist*

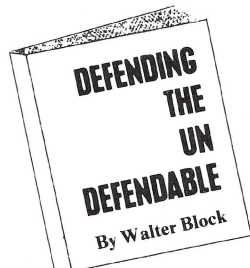
"After reading Block's book, we recognize the pimp as an honest broker and the uncorrupted cop as the Nuremberg defendant who always followed orders. We are reminded that strip-mining of coal allows miners to escape black-lung disease and cave-ins... Block gives the reader succinct yet penetrating criticisms of the Federal Reserve System, and the Keynesian paradox of savings. His chapter on charity is the best modern defense of social Darwinism that I have ever read." **WILLIAMSON EVERS**

"It is a brilliant, relentlessly argued book, pushing the libertarian case to its extreme limits... takes seriously Ayn Rand's dictum that one should be willing to defend the *least attractive* instance of a principle, and has done precisely that." **ROY CHILDS**  
*Editor, Libertarian Review*

"Shatters, one by one, each of our liberal stereotypes. It's a pleasure to read and a treasure trove of ammunition for the defender of the free market." **TOM G. PALMER, The New Guard**

"Toleration of unpopular religious and cultural groups has always been one of the chief tenets of classical liberalism... Block carries this libertarian principle to its logical and radical conclusion: toleration of *all* non-aggressive pursuits." **LAWRENCE WHITE**  
*Harvard Political Review*

"A remarkable book. I found myself agreeing with Block for most of the time, and his argument is often ingenious. Spend a pleasant evening reading aloud some of his chapters (they are all quite short)." **HENRY MEULEN, The Individualist**



## DETRACTORS

"There can be no question of my writing a testimonial on behalf of this book." **NATHANIEL BRANDEN**

"*Defending the Un-defendable*—A doomed attempt, one would say. Like thinking the unthinkable, uttering the unutterable, or calculating the incalculable. As the philosopher remarked, where one cannot speak, thereabout one had better keep quiet.

This assemblage of defenses cannot (can it?) be facetious since it is ushered in by the author's pious reference to a 'passion for justice'...

Rather non-persuasive are the cases made out for the Dishonest Cop, the Speculator in food, the Non-Contributor to Charity, the Stripminer, the Drug Pusher, the Denier of Academic Freedom, and the Person who yells 'fire' in a crowded theatre. A passion for justice ought to inspire one to greater efforts." **D.J. ENRIGHT**  
*London Times Literary Supplement*

"... A positive menace to the libertarian movement. His smart-alecky, sensationalist style, the silly and false social and psychological assumptions he uses to back up some otherwise (mostly) valid political and economic points, the frivolous and insensitive attitudes he displays toward serious human problems all serve to confuse and distract from the valid points. Most people will be difficult to convince on rational political grounds without obscuring the issue with other half-baked, offensive, and unnecessary arguments. The book will be offensive to people not just because they disagree with the political arguments but because his general attitude will be interpreted as callous, asinine, and an affront to human dignity. It will surely reinforce the worst stereotypes people have about capitalists." **SHARON PRESLEY**  
*Laissez Faire Books*

"... The wrong book at the wrong time... An absolutely mad way of introducing someone to libertarianism... I am convinced that it is probably a short run strategic disaster. One needs not only a steel will based on solid libertarian premises to accept Professor Block's message, but one needs a cast iron stomach as well. Those whom he defends are often, if not usually, the dregs of society; we could even say the very scum of the earth." **WALTER GRINDER**  
*Libertarian Review*

"*DTU* is a work of unrealized potential. The editing is sloppy. And the quality of the writing varies from chapter to chapter. Many good arguments, and indeed the book itself, founder over a simple misconception: Block is misusing the word *hero*... He is not consistently attentive to detail, nor is he very ambitious in enriching his rich thesis with examples and anecdotes. If he had attended better to the art of writing and spared us the silly insistence of making all of society's rogues into heroes, then his very important thesis might well have become a very important book." **JAMES D. DAVIDSON**  
*Libertarian Review*

"Not only does he *defend* prostitutes, pimps, counterfeiters, ticket scalpers, slumlords, blackmailers, libelors, stripminers, letterers, and scabs (among others), he actually has the temerity to call them *heroes*! Block even has the gall to challenge the most enduring shibboleth of higher education, academic freedom!" **DAN C. HELDMAN, Universitas**

"The polarization of opinions on Block's book should not be surprising. It is a reflection of the book's schizophrenic nature—a bizarre combination of both excellent and horrible elements. Apparently the endorsers chose to consider only the Dr. Jekyll side of *DTU* and either ignored or failed to take seriously Mr. Hyde." **SHARON PRESLEY, Reason**

"Political and economic defense of the voluntary activities of society's 'scapegoats'—pimps, slumlords, moneylenders, etc. Done in a sensationalistic style, much of the reasoning is questionable and unnecessarily offensive. Not a good introduction to libertarianism." **LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS CATALOGUE**

"Block defends some of the silliest ideas in support of an essentially good cause... He raises some stimulating issues, even if in an intellectually inadequate fashion... A foolish consistency may be the 'hobgoblin of little minds,' as Emerson said, but serious inconsistency (as in this book) is the downfall of many theories about morality and law." **TIBOR MACHAN**  
*World Research Ink*

## Who's right? Make up your own mind!

### Order this provocative book today.

Send me a copy of Walter Block's *DEFENDING THE UNDEFENDABLE*.

Enclosed is my check or money order for \$9.95.

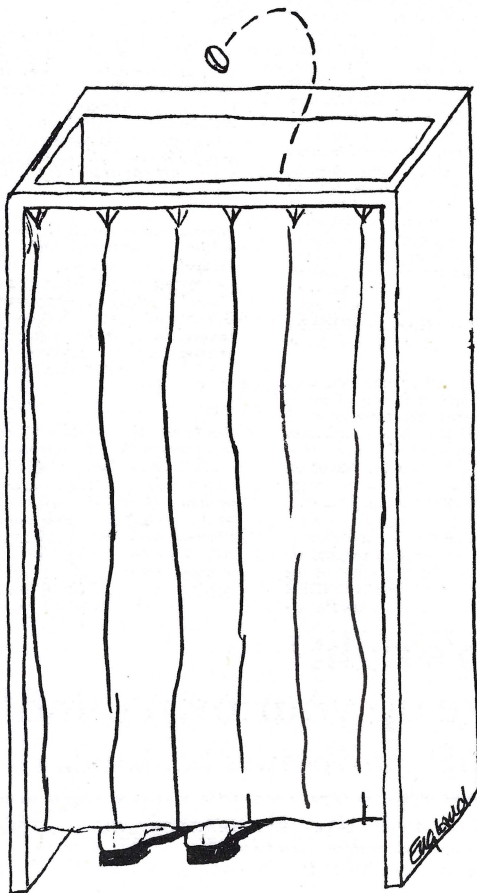
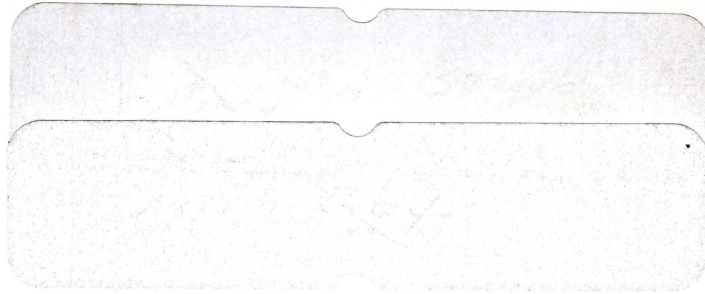
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Include full name, address and phone number. If possible, come to the office on Wednesday or Thursday evening to type. If not, try to use single spacing, a 4-1/4 inch column, Courier 72 type, and a one shot carbon ribbon. If not, do the best you can.

Letters or articles with personal attacks, ad hominem arguments, or just plain nastiness need not apply. Always good to keep a copy of what you send

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