

# Republican Liberty

Free Enterprise, Individual Freedom & Limited Government

1992 Outreach Issue

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## Protectionism is Us Against U.S.

by Mark Thornton

Democrats as of late have been bashing the president for his supposedly uncompromising free trade stance. If George Bush is the last great hope for free trade, we are in deep economic trouble.

In a world that is otherwise moving in the direction of free trade and prosperity, why is the United States moving in the direction of increased protectionism and a disastrous trade war with Japan?

Politicians tell us that international trade is a battle between us, the good guys, and them, the foreigners. Actually the battle is us against us and them against them. The average Joe, Hans and Yoshi takes it in the shorts while fat cat protectionists like Lee Iacocca live high off the hog.

Republicans have been attempting to shut off international trade since they first took power of the central government in 1860. Fortunately, the Reagan Revolution eased the Republicans off the tariff habit. Unfortunately, they since have developed a nasty addiction for quotas.

George Bush extended the quota on steel imports calling it a "steel trade liberalization program." This quota results in higher prices for steel, thereby putting our steel-using industries at a competitive disadvantage. For every job saved in the steel industry, 13 jobs are lost in the steel-using industries such as automobiles, ship building and farm equipment. Each job costs the equivalent of \$750,000 per year. Our protectionism is us against us.

Japan bashing has become a major sport in Washington. If you look at the facts, however, this jingoistic rhetoric and policy making is completely off base. Our exports are up 91 percent since 1985 and exports to Japan have more than doubled. The average Japanese actually buys more American-made goods than the average American purchases from Japan. Our exports would increase further if American manufacturers put the steering wheel on the correct side of the car. We should also remove restrictions on oil and timber exports to Japan.

Japan bashing conceals the real reason for our trade deficit - the budget deficit. When our central government borrows \$450 billion dollars it increases interest rates and makes our bonds and buildings more attractive to the Japanese than our goods and services.

Japan has its share of protectionism, but this is no reason for us not to immediately move to complete free trade. Japan prohibits imports of rice, for example, because Japanese farmers are a powerful interest group. The farmers are in league with the Japanese banks and real estate kings of Japan against the Japanese consumer. If rice could be imported, farmland could be used for housing and commercial development. This would greatly reduce

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The recent deportation of Haitian refugees was a tragic failure of U.S. immigration policy. (© Miami Herald/ Charlie Trainor)

## Toward 'Golden Borders' GOP Should Advocate Immigration Reform

by Mark Uncapher

America's immigration policy fails the test of our values and should be replaced with a policy that better identifies and assists new Americans. The current policy tries to shelter Americans from immigrant "competition," reflecting zero-sum thinking that treats success as inevitably coming at another's expense.

The Golden Borders immigration proposal would let private social service and heritage groups, employers and local governments sponsor individual immigrants for admission into the United States. These groups would take responsibility for the immigrant's job and language training, medical care, remedial education and other social services for a transitional period of 5 to 7 years. During this period the immigrant would not be entitled to government social or health assistance. In effect the program operates as a voluntary three-way contract among the immigrant, the sponsor and the U.S. government, with the purpose of identifying and helping new Americans achieve productive citizenship.

Perhaps because of the influx of illegal aliens many are unaware of the difficulty faced by potential immigrants in obtaining legal permanent admission to the United States. The existing admissions process is a bureaucratic maze. Permanent entry is limited under a tightly defined system of quotas, with most of the

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## Protectionism...from 1

the value of land which has reached \$1,000,000,000 per acre in downtown Toyko! Land is so scarce that part of the Pacific Ocean is being filled in order to build a new airport! Their protectionism is them against them.

Economists rarely agree on economic policy, but on international trade the free market economists of every stripe endorse free trade as a vehicle to prosperity and economic development.

Ludwig von Mises, the great free market economist who saw that communism was doomed to failure in 1921, also saw protectionism as a clear threat to domestic prosperity and world peace. "Either trade barriers are useful, then they cannot be high enough; or they are harmful, then they have to disappear completely . . . the interests of all individuals and of all nations are harmonious in a society of private property and free trade."

*Eds. Note - Mark Thornton is the O.P. Alford III Assistant Professor of Economics at Auburn University. He is the author of 'The Economics of Prohibition,' published by the University of Utah Press. His articles appear regularly in the 'Free Market.'*

*Students can receive a free subscription to the 'Free Market' by sending a photocopy of a valid student I.D. to the Ludwig von Mises Institute, Auburn University, AL 36849.*

## Borders...from 1

slots available each year reserved for family reunification. A minority of the entry slots are restricted by occupational quotas for either those of exceptional ability in the arts and sciences or with skills in short supply. Others qualify under a labor certification process that requires the alien and employer prove that no qualified American workers are available to fill the alien's job. Additional quotas restrict the number of resident immigrants from any one country.

Successful reform of our immigration system should begin with the admission process because family relationship is a weak basis for concluding that an immigrant will contribute to the United States. The Golden Borders immigration proposal would identify those potential Americans most likely to contribute to American life and creates a process likely to encourage their swift transition

to productive citizenship.

Many voluntary organizations already perform a diversified range of services for immigrants, so a sponsorship program is a natural extension of existing activities. A sponsor initially would present the Immigration and Naturalization Service with a plan of assistance for potential immigrants, demonstrating the necessary financial wherewithal to carry out their plan. Sponsors which have had continued success in assisting immigrants would be permitted to sponsor additional immigrants, while less successful programs would be denied further sponsorship opportunities.

Immigration reform should make Republicans take a long hard look in the mirror. The value of free markets and individual opportunity free from government intrusion requires support for less restrictive immigration laws. How can Republicans such as Pat Buchanan argue against racial quotas while at the same time advocating "nationality" preferences which make entry into the United States easier from northern European countries?

The Golden Borders proposal reflects Republican and libertarian values at their best by drawing upon the private and non-profit sector, rather than government and by treating people as individuals, rather than as members of groups. Yet few Republicans embrace the issue, perhaps because too many are only comfortable with their socioeconomic or ethnic peers.

Of course, considerable opposition to freer immigration also comes from many Democrats and labor leaders who fear competition. They apparently believe the best way to help the less advantaged is to deny opportunity to others. This opposition to freer immigration reflects their anti-market, pessimistic, paternalistic approach to economic and social policy.

Their opposition should be an opportunity for Republicans to emerge as the authentic advocates for millions of new Americans. Golden Borders can help define Republicans as the champions of expanded opportunity, not just as the party of white, upper middle class men. When Republicans and libertarians stand up for rights, we reaffirm our values. When we reaffirm our values, we are the most likely to attract others to share our politics.

*Eds. Note - Mark Uncapher is a New York broadcasting attorney and the president of the Ripon Society, the progressive Republican research and policy organization. (1987-90)*

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## Note from the Editor

Welcome to the first annual outreach issue of *Republican Liberty*. Produced and distributed at the beginning of each year, the outreach issue includes articles and editorials on various issues from a libertarian perspective. The purpose is to educate non-libertarian Republicans as to the benefits of a pro-liberty stance, and to reinforce the beliefs of RLC members and others already familiar with libertarianism.

The outreach issue also includes the annual Liberty Index of the U.S. Congress. It is hoped that this rating system will serve as an alternative to the tired old rating systems of the so-called left and right.

For those who are receiving *Republican Liberty* for the first time, I hope you will subscribe to learn more. (One year is \$10). For those already familiar with the RLC and are in general agreement with our goals and beliefs, I would strongly urge you to join us and to contribute to our cause. (Full membership is \$20).

With Election season upon us it is doubly important that we receive financial support for the day-to-day operations of the organization. So please contribute to America's newest and most exciting political movement: The Republican Liberty Caucus!

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# Pat Buchanan Challenges the GOP Establishment

by Roger MacBride

In the New Hampshire primary on Feb. 18, political commentator Patrick J. Buchanan won a stunning 37 percent of the vote against President George Bush.

That kind of showing by a challenger in either primary in New Hampshire has traditionally meant big trouble for the incumbent. For example, the strong showing against Gerald Ford by Ronald Reagan in 1976 forged the president's defeat in the general election. And of course we all remember Eugene McCarthy's similar showing in 1968 that led to President Johnson's decision not to run again.

That is unlikely to happen this time. Charles Black, one of the president's spin doctors, has already said that the president maintained a "comfortable" margin of victory and intends to campaign vigorously in ensuing primaries. But what news has he been handed and why?

Buchanan entered the presidential race in early December making clear that his core message is that the prevalent force in the world today is nationalism. His conviction is that with countries like Japan centering their policies on their own national economic interests, the United States would be foolish to adopt free trade practices. In one of his position handouts, Buchanan demands that the United States "play hardball in trade talks." Says he, "nations that adopt a closed-door policy to America's exports should not expect an open-door policy to America's markets." Shades of Dick Gephardt!

But as the campaign rolled along it began to be evident that even in hard times, protectionism wasn't selling in New Hampshire. In January, Democratic Sen. Kerry produced a protectionist political TV spot. The spot ran for about a week and a half. Kerry proceeded to fall in the polls to a single digit number, and the senator admitted his blunder. This was not lost on Pat Buchanan: in the skeptical electorate of New Hampshire, foreigner-bashing showed no appeal. Towards the end of his campaign his ads stressed other issues far more than trade.

But what are those other issues that so obviously did attract a large measure of Republican support? His campaign treasurer announced that in the first three weeks the Buchanan campaign direct-mail return was in excess of \$5 per piece mailed, an amazing feat for direct-mail prospecting.

Something appeals. What?

The centerpiece of his economic program, once protectionism faded, was to cut tax rates. He hammered hard for cuts in federal tax rates on investments, savings and income, with the object of making America extremely attractive economically, in turn creating millions of new jobs. Voters remembered George Bush pledging in the 1988 primary "read my lips: no new taxes." Then they saw him renege, and not only that, joke about it.

Buchanan sensibly calls for the elimination of the \$300,000,000 per week in foreign aid, in significant part to totalitarian states. He said that it's time that rich and prosperous allies like Germany and Japan start paying the bills for their own defense. Buchanan frequently pledged to freeze social spending, which he said "has soared faster than at any time in 60 years" and pledged to downsize the federal bureaucracy. He opposed quota systems in federal

agencies and programs in favor of the idea of excellence and merit in hiring. He favors term limits for politicians and takes the obligatory stand in favor of cleaning up environmental pollution.

Unfortunately, he unambiguously is also in favor of "cleaning up the pollution of America's popular culture." He is a supporter of the war on drugs, which has so greatly ravaged American civil rights. He would come down hard on what he deems as dirty books, movies and films. He is an abortion opponent.

He has described AIDS as "nature's retribution!" On occasion, he has suggested that the United States build a giant moat along the Mexican/American border, or stationing NATO troops at intervals along it to keep Mexicans out! No doubt these remarks were hyperbolic, but they underline Buchanan's conviction that American is for Americans and the door is closed. He is opposed to a free trade treaty with Mexico or anybody else.

Patrick Buchanan is no libertarian. Libertarian Republicans may want to weigh this all up in considering their response to the Buchanan challenge. On economic matters, Buchanan's philosophy is clearly in keeping with ours. But on social matters, I regret to say he is a troglodyte. Is it worthwhile to vote for Buchanan to send the president a message? Or is that message so deeply flawed that one should go fishing? Should we be more concerned with the 1996 GOP presidential race wherein we might have a genuine libertarian-leaning candidate like Gov. Weld of Massachusetts?

*Eds. Note - Roger MacBride is a former Republican state legislator from Vermont. In 1964 he ran for governor as a Republican and in 1976 as the Libertarian Party presidential candidate. He also co-produced the hit NBC television series 'Little House on the Prairie.'*

## Time for the Turkey Ballot

by John McClaughry

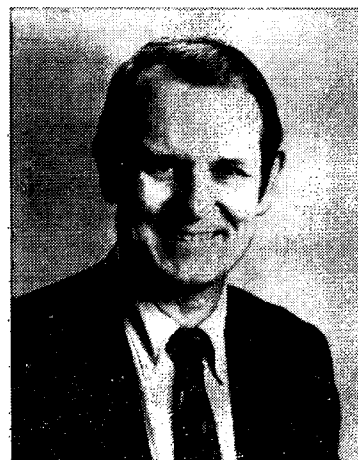
The people of Louisiana have just gone through an agonizing election campaign, concluded with what for most people appears to have been a truly dismaying choice. It seems clear that either "Anybody but Duke (other than Edwards)" or "Anybody but Edwards (other than Duke)" would have won a sizable majority by the day of the vote.

The wretched choice in Louisiana requires a re-thinking of state election laws. The voters do not have to face future elections in which their best choice is the lesser of two evils - which after all is still an evil. They can ask their legislators to approve the turkey ballot.

The "turkey ballot," so called because it gives the voters a chance to reject all the turkeys, is very simple. There is an option on the ballot for "None of the Above."

If a plurality of voters marks the box for "None of the Above,"

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State Sen. John McClaughry (R-VT)

## Turkey Ballot...from 3

all the candidates for that office are rejected. Depending on how a state's constitution reads, the office is then filled by special election, election by the legislature or other prescribed means.

The most common case would be a special election.

A NOTA statute could provide that the party committees nominate a candidate for the special election, or that all candidates file and run as independents, or whatever the legislature thinks makes the most sense.

The turkey ballot has been in effect in Nevada since 1976, but with a crippling difference: it is advisory only. If "None of the Above" prevails, the candidate with the greatest number of votes is nonetheless nominated or elected.

In 1976, "None of the Above" won the Republican primary for Congress against two live candidates, with 46 percent of the vote cast. Unfortunately the voters, despite their obvious preference, were still stuck with a turkey.

Interestingly, Poland has a creditable version of the turkey ballot. There, a candidate must garner 50 percent of the votes to be elected. In the June 1989 parliamentary elections, 33 of the 35 top (Communist) government officials running unopposed were in effect defeated by nobody. Among them was Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who was so embarrassed he chose not to run again in the ensuing second round elections.

So far the turkey ballot proposal has not been adopted anywhere except Nevada, although it has been introduced in Iowa and Vermont. The reason is simple. Politicians absolutely hate it. It is always embarrassing to be defeated for election by one's opponent, but it is positively humiliating to be defeated by nobody.

But the voting public loves the idea, by margins of close to 3:1. They are sick of politicians generally, but they especially hate having to choose to confer offices of public trust on candidates whose only redeeming grace is that they are less awful than the alternatives. The turkey ballot gives them an alternative they can unashamedly vote for. Isn't it time they had that choice?

## Bringing Down Education's Berlin Wall

by Jeb Bush

*"Human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe." - H.G. Wells, 1920.*

How is our nation doing in the race? In the early '80s the severity of America's educational problem became apparent and the response was one typical of responses given to many other social problems: "It's not a problem more money can't solve." So America increased its spending on education to unprecedented levels. In the decade of the 1980s, constant dollar spending nationwide on education increased 28.7 percent per pupil.

According to a December 1990 report by the Florida Department of Education, in Florida constant dollar spending on education increased 49 percent per pupil. Test scores of Florida students over the same period of time remain pathetically low. A decade later, billions of dollars later, eight years before the eve of a new century, there is still no evidence that any noticeable improvement in the schools has taken place.

It is time to realize that in our rapidly changing world, the

solutions from yesterday cannot solve the problems of our day. In the 1990s trying to solve the educational crisis by pumping more money into the same educational system is like trying to cure a person of AIDS by giving them increasing doses of penicillin.

If our schools truly hope to become world class schools, the entire public school institution needs progressive 21st century reforms that will address the inherent problem of the current system: the bureaucratic, centrally controlled, state-run, monopolistic public school structure.

The current public school system is designed for failure because it is protected from freedom of competition between schools. The division of Germany after World War II represents a sad, but poignant example of the different outputs achieved between a state-run monopolistic economic system and a free market economic system. Unfortunately, America's schools today are run like the old East German system: centrally controlled, no competition, heavily laden with bureaucratic central planners. It should come as no surprise the quality of education in America's public schools is as poor as the quality of the old East Germany's products.

It is time to tear down the Berlin Wall of the American educational system and allow free competition between schools, public and private. Parents of school-age children should be given the choice to send their child to any public or qualified private school they wish. If the parent selects a private school, the state should fund the tuition up to 85 percent of the level of money that it would have spent educating that child in the public school system.

If a parent selects to send their child to a public school other than the one the school district appoints, the state money for that student will follow the student to the new school. Schools will compete with each other for students. Good schools will be rewarded with more students and more money, and bad schools, if unable to attract enough students, will shut down and then open up again under new management.

A school system based on choice would provide inherent incentives for educators to increase performance and reduce wasteful inefficiencies. David Kearns, former chairman of Xerox Corp., has remarked that public education "is the only industry we have where if you do a good job, nothing good happens to you and if you do a bad job, nothing bad happens to you."

Giving parents the power to choose their child's school will also help reduce the pernicious inequality that currently exists by providing all students equal educational opportunity regardless of the economic means of their parents. In today's stratified system, only the wealthy enjoy the freedom to select their child's school.

The concept of educational choice has been endorsed by a remarkable diverse group of citizens, organizations and corporations including Florida Gov. Chiles' Commission for Government by the People, Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander and Jesse Jackson's 1988 Wisconsin campaign chairperson, Wisconsin state legislator Polly Williams.

America cannot attempt to resolve the crisis in education in 1992 as if it were 1952, 1972 or even 1982. We must find new ways to reform the system. We can avert the catastrophe H.G. Wells described if we make immediate and dramatic changes in our educational system. If we refuse to change, fate will determine our future. But right now it's still our choice.

*Eds. Note - Jeb Bush is a Miami businessman who co-chairs Floridians for Educational Choice. For more information, write to F.E.C., P.O. Box 13894, Tallahassee, FL 32317.*

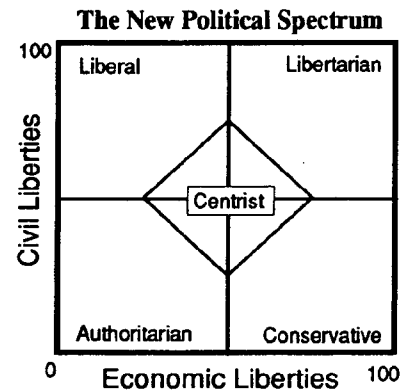
# The 1992 Liberty Index of the U.S. Congress

By Clifford Thies

The 1992 Liberty Index rates members of the U.S. Congress based on 40 roll call votes of 1990, divided evenly between economic and civil liberties issues. Once the economic and civil liberties indexes were calculated, the congress members were classified by plotting their scores on the five-part, two-dimensional New Political Spectrum.

In the index below, the letter "A" stands for authoritarian, "C" for conservative, "M" for centrist (or moderate) and "X" for liberal. The code letters "LL" indicates that a congress member, while in the libertarian quadrant, was nevertheless not far from the border shared by that quadrant and the liberal, centrist or conservative areas of the chart. The code letters "TL" indicates that a congress member was clearly within the libertarian quadrant, i.e., a "true libertarian." Only one Republican senator and 19 Republican representatives were awarded the code letter "TL". No Democrats were awarded the "TL" rating.

The Liberty Index is published annually by the Republican Liberty Caucus.



## THE U.S. SENATE

Senator	Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class	Senator	Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class
AL Heflin D	27	50	38	M	MT Baucus D	46	45	46	M
AL Shelby D	13	50	31	A	MT Burns R	72	60	66	LL
AK Murkowski R	56	60	58	M	NE Exon D	40	57	48	M
AK Stevens R	50	65	57	M	NE Kerry D	33	40	36	A
AZ DeConcini D	20	42	31	A	NV Bryan D	27	45	36	A
AZ McCain R	76	70	73	LL	NV Reid D	33	47	40	M
AR Bumpers D	36	45	41	M	NH Humphrey R	84	67	76	TL
AR Pryor D	20	45	32	A	NH Rudman R	76	55	65	LL
CA Cranston D	20	40	30	A	NJ Bradley D	54	35	44	M
CA Wilson R	58	50	54	M	NJ Lautenberg D	40	50	45	M
CO Wirth D	40	40	40	M	NM Bingaman D	30	60	45	X
CO Armstrong R	84	60	72	LL	NM Domenici R	60	52	56	M
CT Dodd D	40	37	39	M	NY Moynihan D	33	45	39	M
CT Lieberman D	33	40	36	A	NY D'Amato R	30	60	45	X
DE Biden D	46	45	46	M	NC Sanford D	17	50	33	A
DE Roth R	72	60	66	LL	NC Helms R	68	52	60	M
FL Graham D	27	35	31	A	ND Burdick D	20	45	32	A
FL Mack R	76	65	70	LL	ND Conrad D	27	55	41	X
GA Fowler D	20	42	31	A	OH Glenn D	27	45	36	A
GA Nunn D	27	52	39	X	OH Metzenbaum D	30	47	39	M
HI Inouye D	20	47	34	A	OK Boren D	54	45	49	M
HI Matsunaga/Akaka D	20	55	37	X	OK Nickles R	84	50	67	C
ID McClure R	62	60	61	M	OR Hatfield R	43	47	45	M
ID Symms R	72	47	60	M	OR Packwood R	64	45	54	M
IL Dixon D	27	35	31	A	PA Heinz R	40	45	42	M
IL Simon D	7	45	26	A	PA Specter R	50	45	47	M
IN Coats R	76	60	68	LL	RI Pell D	33	42	38	M
IN Lugar R	72	65	68	LL	RI Chafee R	76	42	59	C
IA Harkin D	27	50	38	M	SC Hollings D	20	45	32	A
IA Grassley R	76	60	68	LL	SC Thurmond R	56	50	53	M
KS Dole R	80	55	67	LL	SD Daschle D	20	45	32	A
KS Kassebaum R	72	55	63	LL	SD Pressler R	72	55	63	LL
KY Ford D	27	62	44	X	TN Gore D	13	45	29	A
KY McConnell R	60	55	57	M	TN Sasser D	27	45	36	A
LA Breaux D	33	47	40	M	TX Bentsen D	27	40	33	A
LA Johnston D	27	60	43	X	TX Gramm R	80	55	67	LL
ME Mitchell D	40	50	45	M	UT Gam R	68	57	63	LL
ME Cohen R	56	45	50	M	UT Hatch R	66	55	60	M
MD Mikulski D	17	45	31	A	VT Lehy D	13	45	29	A
MD Sarbanes D	33	40	36	A	VT Jeffords R	46	37	42	M
MA Kennedy D	33	45	39	M	VA Robb D	46	40	43	M
MA Kerry D	40	40	40	M	VA Warner R	52	60	56	M
MI Levin D	27	47	37	A	WA Adams D	40	35	37	A
MI Riegle D	27	37	32	A	WA Gorton R	76	65	70	LL
MN Boschwitz R	64	65	64	LL	WV Byrd D	20	50	35	A
MN Durenberger R	64	55	59	M	WV Rockefeller D	7	35	21	A
MS Cochran R	64	60	62	M	WI Kohl D	13	50	31	A
MS Lott R	56	60	58	M	WI Kasten R	64	70	67	LL
MO Bond R	64	57	61	M	WY Simpson R	78	52	65	LL
MO Danforth R	60	65	62	M	WY Wallop R	82	57	70	LL

## THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Representative		Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class	Representative		Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class		
AL	Callahan	R	77	64	71	LL	CT	Rowland	R	63	42	53	M
AL	Dickinson	R	77	62	70	LL	CT	Johnson	R	68	39	54	C
AL	Browder	D	41	45	43	M	DE	Carper	D	35	34	35	A
AL	Bevil	D	44	55	49	M	FL	Hutto	D	65	73	69	LL
AL	Flippo	D	47	47	47	M	FL	Grant	R	59	55	57	M
AL	Erdreich	D	35	51	43	M	FL	Bennet	D	57	28	42	C
AL	Harris	D	41	51	46	M	FL	James	R	74	51	62	M
AK	Young	R	65	60	63	LL	FL	McCullum	R	86	55	71	LL
AZ	Rhodes	R	83	60	71	LL	FL	Stearns	R	87	60	73	LL
AZ	Udall	D	25	36	30	A	FL	Gibbons	D	47	51	49	M
AZ	Stump	R	80	61	70	LL	FL	Young	R	82	51	66	LL
AZ	Kyl	R	91	69	80	TL	FL	Bilirakas	R	80	50	65	LL
AZ	Kolbe	R	83	62	72	LL	FL	Ireland	R	74	55	65	LL
AR	Alexander	D	7	35	21	A	FL	Nelson	D	47	0	24	A
AR	Robinson	R	75	61	68	LL	FL	Lewis	R	78	57	68	LL
AR	Hammerschmidt	R	70	60	65	LL	FL	Goss	R	87	51	69	LL
AR	Anthony	D	24	55	39	X	FL	Johnston	D	35	28	32	A
CA	Bosco	D	30	51	40	M	FL	Shaw	R	77	53	65	LL
CA	Herger	R	70	64	67	LL	FL	Smith	D	12	28	20	A
CA	Matsui	D	19	42	30	A	FL	Lehman	D	35	34	35	A
CA	Fazio	D	18	34	26	A	FL	Ros-Lehtinen	R	68	42	55	C
CA	Pelosi	D	24	34	29	A	FL	Fascell	D	25	24	24	A
CA	Boxer	D	19	34	26	A	GA	Thomas	D	41	55	48	M
CA	Miller	D	37	34	36	A	GA	Hatcher	D	31	55	43	M
CA	Dellums	D	24	45	34	A	GA	Ray	D	59	60	59	M
CA	Stark	D	35	39	37	A	GA	Jones	D	41	31	36	A
CA	Edwards	D	30	42	36	A	GA	Lewis	D	18	39	29	A
CA	Lantos	D	24	34	29	A	GA	Gingrich	R	74	62	68	LL
CA	Campbell	R	78	70	74	LL	GA	Darden	D	35	60	48	M
CA	Mineta	D	19	39	29	A	GA	Rowland	D	35	55	45	M
CA	Shumway	R	82	69	75	TL	GA	Jenkins	D	44	62	53	M
CA	Condit	D	24	39	32	A	GA	Barnard	D	73	69	71	LL
CA	Panetta	D	30	39	35	A	HI	Saiki	R	61	34	48	C
CA	Pashayan	R	54	55	55	M	HI	Akaka/Mink	D	0	32	16	A
CA	Lehman	D	12	28	20	A	ID	Craig	R	78	60	69	LL
CA	Lagomarsino	R	83	60	71	LL	ID	Stallings	D	61	51	56	M
CA	Thomas	R	57	60	58	M	IL	Hayes	D	18	39	29	A
CA	Gallegly	R	78	55	67	LL	IL	Savage	D	35	34	35	A
CA	Moorhead	R	78	60	69	LL	IL	Russo	D	30	39	35	A
CA	Beilenson	D	52	36	44	M	IL	Sangmeister	D	41	39	40	M
CA	Waxman	D	37	39	38	M	IL	Lipinski	D	35	67	51	X
CA	Roybal	D	19	39	29	A	IL	Hyde	R	68	62	65	L
CA	Berman	D	31	39	35	A	IL	Collins	D	21	42	31	A
CA	Levine	D	31	34	32	A	IL	Rostenkowski	D	46	50	48	M
CA	Dixon	D	24	34	29	A	IL	Yates	D	41	42	41	M
CA	Hawkins	D	32	44	38	M	IL	Porter	R	82	64	73	LL
CA	Martinez	D	12	30	21	A	IL	Annunzio	D	41	45	43	M
CA	Dymally	D	19	39	29	A	IL	Crane	R	91	65	78	TL
CA	Anderson	D	35	39	37	A	IL	Fawell	R	91	55	73	LL
CA	Drier	R	83	64	73	LL	IL	Hastert	R	74	69	71	LL
CA	Torres	D	12	28	20	A	IL	Madigan	R	70	62	66	LL
CA	Lewis	R	73	53	63	LL	IL	Martin	R	59	60	59	M
CA	Brown	D	25	39	32	A	IL	Evans	D	12	34	23	A
CA	McCandless	R	74	64	69	LL	IL	Michel	R	74	60	67	LL
CA	Doman	R	80	65	72	LL	IL	Bruce	D	12	39	26	A
CA	Dannemeyer	R	86	69	77	TL	IL	Durbin	D	25	45	35	A
CA	Cox	R	95	69	82	TL	IL	Costello	D	24	45	34	A
CA	Lowery	R	77	58	67	LL	IL	Poshard	D	24	45	34	A
CA	Rohrabacher	R	91	73	82	TL	IN	Viclosky	D	31	64	48	X
CA	Packard	R	86	60	73	LL	IN	Sharp	D	24	45	34	A
CA	Bates	D	35	34	35	A	IN	Hiler	R	83	55	69	LL
CA	Hunter	R	66	64	65	LL	IN	Long	D	35	51	43	M
CO	Schroeder	D	44	36	40	M	IN	Jantz	D	12	39	26	A
CO	Skaggs	D	35	51	43	M	IN	Burton	R	78	69	73	LL
CO	Campbell	D	41	34	38	M	IN	Myers	R	77	64	71	LL
CO	Brown	R	78	64	71	LL	IN	McCloskey	D	12	45	29	A
CO	Hefley	R	74	64	69	LL	IN	Hamilton	D	47	55	51	M
CO	Schaefer	R	57	64	60	M	IN	Jacobs	D	41	45	43	M
CT	Kennelly	D	31	39	35	A	IA	Leach	R	65	17	41	C
CT	Gejdenson	D	24	34	29	A	IA	Tauke	R	68	57	63	LL
CT	Morrison	D	9	40	24	A	IA	Nagle	D	24	51	37	X
CT	Shays	R	61	23	42	C	IA	Smith	D	33	60	46	X

	Representative		Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class		Representative		Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class
IA	Lightfoot	R	74	64	69	LL	MO	Buechner	R	78	45	62	C
IA	Grandy	R	70	57	64	LL	MO	Gephardt	D	6	48	27	A
KS	Roberts	R	73	53	63	LL	MO	Skelton	D	35	64	50	X
KS	Slattery	D	44	48	46	M	MO	Wheat	D	12	39	26	A
KS	Meyers	R	70	28	49	C	MO	Coleman	R	65	55	60	M
KS	Glickman	D	35	45	40	M	MO	Hancock	R	96	69	82	TL
KS	Whittaker	R	61	60	60	M	MO	Emerson	R	52	64	58	M
KY	Hubbard	D	65	48	56	M	MO	Volkmer	D	30	60	45	X
KY	Natcher	D	35	51	43	M	MT	Williams	D	6	55	31	X
KY	Mazzoli	D	47	36	41	M	MT	Marlenee	R	70	64	67	LL
KY	Bunning	R	70	64	67	LL	NE	Bereuter	R	57	60	58	M
KY	Rogers	R	65	57	61	M	NE	Hoagland	D	24	34	29	A
KY	Hopkins	R	64	53	58	M	NE	Smith	R	68	57	63	LL
KY	Perkins	D	6	34	20	A	NV	Bilbray	D	47	51	49	M
LA	Livingston	R	87	69	78	TL	NV	Vucanovich	R	71	78	74	LL
LA	Boggs	D	26	61	43	X	NH	Smith	R	74	69	71	LL
LA	Tauzin	D	68	60	64	LL	NH	Douglas	R	78	76	77	TL
LA	McCrery	R	73	55	64	LL	NJ	Hughes	D	41	45	43	M
LA	Huckaby	D	61	69	65	LL	NJ	Pallone	D	47	39	43	M
LA	Baker	R	75	57	66	LL	NJ	Smith	R	52	51	51	M
LA	Hayes	D	59	55	57	M	NJ	Roukema	R	64	52	58	M
LA	Holloway	R	73	64	68	LL	NJ	Dwyer	D	26	46	36	A
ME	Brennan	D	39	34	37	A	NJ	Rinaldo	R	52	45	49	M
ME	Snowe	R	65	45	55	M	NJ	Roe	D	19	36	27	A
MD	Dyson	D	25	45	35	A	NJ	Torricelli	D	24	50	37	X
MD	Bentley	R	59	64	62	M	NJ	Payne	D	24	39	32	A
MD	Cardin	D	24	45	34	A	NJ	Gallo	R	74	55	65	LL
MD	McMillen	D	24	45	34	A	NJ	Couter	R	85	48	66	C
MD	Hoyer	D	18	45	31	A	NJ	Saxton	R	70	39	55	C
MD	Byron	D	52	51	51	M	NJ	Guarini	D	41	28	35	A
MD	Mfume	D	24	39	32	A	NM	Schiff	R	57	34	45	M
MD	Morella	R	46	36	41	M	NM	Skeen	R	65	64	65	LL
MA	Conte	R	41	39	40	M	NM	Richardson	D	19	39	29	A
MA	Neal	D	37	34	36	A	NY	Hochbrueckner	D	24	28	26	A
MA	Early	D	52	36	44	M	NY	Downey	D	35	34	35	A
MA	Frank	D	35	48	41	M	NY	Mrazek	D	25	34	29	A
MA	Atkins	D	35	34	35	A	NY	Lent	R	81	60	70	L
MA	Mavroules	D	19	28	23	A	NY	McGrath	R	44	39	42	M
MA	Markey	D	30	51	40	M	NY	Flake	D	14	30	22	A
MA	Kennedy	D	30	34	32	A	NY	Ackerman	D	12	45	28	A
MA	Moakley	D	24	39	32	A	NY	Scheuer	D	30	39	35	A
MA	Studds	D	35	34	35	A	NY	Manton	D	12	34	23	A
MA	Donnelly	D	41	36	39	M	NY	Schumer	D	30	28	29	A
MI	Conyers	D	24	34	29	A	NY	Towns	D	6	39	23	A
MI	Pursell	R	57	55	56	M	NY	Owens	D	21	39	30	A
MI	Wolpe	D	6	34	20	A	NY	Solarz	D	31	44	37	A
MI	Upton	R	74	55	65	LL	NY	Molinari	R	65	60	63	LL
MI	Henry	R	64	55	59	M	NY	Green	R	65	39	52	C
MI	Carr	D	30	36	33	A	NY	Rangel	D	25	30	27	A
MI	Kildee	D	6	51	28	X	NY	Weiss	D	24	45	34	A
MI	Traxler	D	0	48	24	A	NY	Serrano	D	25	31	28	A
MI	Vander Jagt	R	74	74	74	LL	NY	Engel	D	18	30	24	A
MI	Schuetz	R	59	66	63	LL	NY	Lowery	D	19	34	26	A
MI	Davis	R	44	30	37	A	NY	Fish	R	44	28	36	A
MI	Bonior	D	12	34	23	A	NY	Gilman	R	18	34	26	A
MI	Crockett	D	8	26	17	A	NY	McNulty	D	30	34	32	A
MI	Hertel	D	24	28	26	A	NY	Soloman	R	57	69	63	LL
MI	Ford	D	12	42	27	A	NY	Boehlert	R	30	39	35	A
MI	Dingell	D	19	51	35	X	NY	Martin	R	57	55	56	M
MI	Levin	D	24	45	34	A	NY	Walsh	R	61	45	53	M
MI	Broomfield	R	91	51	71	LL	NY	McHugh	D	41	51	46	M
MN	Penny	D	57	55	56	M	NY	Horton	R	35	39	37	A
MN	Weber	R	77	60	68	LL	NY	Slaughter	D	24	39	32	A
MN	Frenzel	R	96	45	70	C	NY	Paxon	R	73	60	66	LL
MN	Vento	D	24	34	29	A	NY	LaFalce	D	47	53	50	M
MN	Sabo	D	24	42	33	A	NY	Nowak	D	35	45	40	M
MN	Strangeland	R	57	69	63	LL	NY	Houghton	R	61	53	57	M
MN	Oberstar	D	18	50	34	X	NC	Jones	D	24	52	38	X
MS	Whitten	D	30	50	40	M	NC	Valentine	D	47	55	51	M
MS	Espy	D	12	51	32	X	NC	Lancaster	D	24	55	39	X
MS	Montgomery	D	61	69	65	LL	NC	Price	D	24	51	37	X
MS	Parker	D	64	73	68	LL	NC	Neal	D	50	42	46	M
MS	Taylor	D	61	64	63	LL	NC	Coble	R	74	60	67	LL
MO	Clay	D	13	45	29	A	NC	Rose	D	24	55	39	X

	Representative		Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class		Representative		Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class
NC	Hefner	D	35	51	43	M	TN	Gordon	D	30	45	37	A
NC	McMillan	R	70	55	62	M	TN	Sundquist	R	82	69	75	TL
NC	Ballenger	R	86	62	74	LL	TN	Tanner	D	31	55	43	M
NC	Clarke	D	35	51	43	M	TN	Ford	D	13	40	27	A
ND	Dorgan	D	44	60	52	M	TX	Chapman	D	24	53	38	X
OH	Luken	D	18	46	32	A	TX	Wilson	D	18	33	25	A
OH	Gradison	R	87	64	76	TL	TX	Bartlett	R	91	60	75	TL
OH	Hall	D	12	48	30	A	TX	Hall	D	78	63	71	LL
OH	Oxley	R	74	60	67	LL	TX	Bryant	D	18	30	24	A
OH	Gilmor	R	59	60	59	M	TX	Barton	R	82	55	68	LL
OH	McEwen	R	76	69	72	LL	TX	Archer	R	96	69	82	TL
OH	DeWine	R	65	62	64	LL	TX	Fields	R	91	64	78	TL
OH	Lukens	R	78	70	74	LL	TX	Brooks	D	25	45	35	A
OH	Kaptur	D	0	34	17	A	TX	Pickle	D	54	34	44	M
OH	Miller	R	83	64	73	LL	TX	Leath	D	54	68	61	M
OH	Eckart	D	30	45	37	A	TX	Geren	D	57	51	54	M
OH	Kaish	R	70	64	67	LL	TX	Sarpalius	D	68	63	66	LL
OH	Pease	D	35	34	35	A	TX	Laughlin	D	54	58	56	M
OH	Sawyer	D	35	45	40	M	TX	de la Garza	D	12	45	29	A
OH	Wylie	R	76	55	66	LL	TX	Coleman	D	19	36	27	A
OH	Regula	R	61	60	60	M	TX	Stenholm	D	70	78	74	LL
OH	Traficant	D	12	17	14	A	TX	Washington	D	12	39	26	A
OH	Applegate	D	12	45	28	A	TX	Combest	R	78	64	71	LL
OH	Feighan	D	24	39	32	A	TX	Gonzalez	D	18	45	31	A
OH	Oakar	D	18	42	30	A	TX	Smith	R	65	64	65	LL
OH	Stokes	D	12	45	28	A	TX	DeLay	R	91	73	82	TL
OK	Inhofe	R	73	60	66	LL	TX	Bustamente	D	19	30	24	A
OK	Synar	D	20	39	30	A	TX	Frost	D	7	46	26	A
OK	Watkins	D	36	46	41	M	TX	Andrews	D	35	45	40	M
OK	McCurdy	D	54	48	51	M	TX	Arney	R	100	69	84	TL
OK	Edwards	R	76	63	69	LL	TX	Ortiz	D	19	39	29	A
OK	English	D	52	45	49	M	UT	Hansen	R	90	60	75	TL
OR	AuCain	D	18	31	25	A	UT	Owens	D	50	50	50	M
OR	Smith, B.	R	61	64	63	LL	UT	Nielson	R	95	64	80	TL
OR	Wyden	D	30	28	29	A	VT	Smith	R	46	51	48	M
OR	DeFazio	D	31	36	33	A	VA	Bateman	R	74	55	65	LL
OR	Smith, D.	R	71	55	63	LL	VA	Pickett	D	52	69	60	M
PA	Foglietta	D	24	34	29	A	VA	Biley	R	70	60	65	LL
PA	Gray	D	24	30	27	A	VA	Sisisky	D	54	45	50	M
PA	Borski	D	30	45	37	A	VA	Payne	D	35	51	43	M
PA	Kolter	D	12	50	31	X	VA	Oiln	D	41	60	50	M
PA	Schulze	R	68	44	56	M	VA	Slaughter	R	61	64	63	LL
PA	Yatron	D	35	51	43	M	VA	Parris	R	70	64	67	LL
PA	Weldon	R	65	55	60	M	VA	Boucher	D	35	45	40	M
PA	Kosunayer	D	35	39	37	A	VA	Wolf	R	83	51	67	LL
PA	Shuster	R	64	73	68	LL	WA	Miller	R	76	53	64	LL
PA	McDade	R	50	53	51	M	WA	Swift	D	12	55	33	X
PA	Kanjorski	D	24	51	37	X	WA	Unsoeld	D	18	45	31	A
PA	Murtha	D	12	51	31	X	WA	Morrison	D	57	60	58	M
PA	Coughlin	R	82	38	60	C	WA	Dicks	D	25	28	27	A
PA	Coyne	D	24	34	29	A	WA	McDermott	D	25	51	38	X
PA	Ritter	R	54	60	57	M	WA	Chandler	R	71	53	62	M
PA	Walker	R	78	69	73	LL	WV	Mollohan	D	30	51	40	M
PA	Gekas	R	74	64	69	LL	WV	Staggers	D	12	39	26	A
PA	Walgren	D	35	34	35	A	WV	Wise	D	24	39	32	A
PA	Goodling	R	61	60	61	M	WV	Rahall	D	19	45	32	A
PA	Gaydos	D	30	45	37	A	WI	Aspin	D	35	39	37	A
PA	Ridge	R	47	51	49	M	WI	Kastenmeier	D	18	39	29	A
PA	Murphy	D	24	55	39	X	WI	Gunderson	R	65	55	60	M
PA	Clinger	R	64	60	62	M	WI	Klecza	D	19	39	29	A
RI	Machtley	R	57	28	42	C	WI	Moody	D	37	30	34	A
RI	Schneider	R	61	28	45	C	WI	Petri	R	78	78	78	TL
SC	Ravenel	R	61	51	56	M	WI	Obey	D	24	53	38	X
SC	Spence	R	65	62	64	LL	WI	Roth	R	78	60	69	LL
SC	Derrick	D	47	45	46	M	WI	Sensenbrenner	R	83	60	71	LL
SC	Patterson	D	61	34	47	C	WY	Thomas	R	77	69	73	LL
SC	Spratt	D	41	45	43	M							
SC	Tallon	D	41	51	46	M							
SD	Johnson	D	18	34	26	A							
TN	Quillen	R	54	73	64	LL							
TN	Duncan	R	78	69	73	LL							
TN	Lloyd	D	52	51	51	M							
TN	Cooper	D	50	45	47	M							
TN	Clement	D	35	39	37	A							

*Eds. Note - Clifford Thies is a professor of Economics at the University of Baltimore and Vice Chair of the Republican Liberty Caucus. For a copy of the votes used in the index, send \$2 to 2432 Eutaw Place, Baltimore, MD 21217.*



# Liberty Index Confirms Political Realignment

by Clifford F. Thies

The 1992 RLC Liberty Index of the U.S. Congress confirms the dramatic shift in the political spectrum, observed in last year's index, from liberal versus conservative to libertarian versus authoritarian. While it must be pointed out that the classifications merely indicate relative tendencies, this voting pattern strongly supports the RLC strategy of working within the Republican Party.

For both the Senate and House of Representatives, the index is based on 40 roll call votes from 1990, divided evenly between economic and civil liberties issues. Economic votes covered issues such as a market versus regulatory approach to environmental protection, a balanced budget constitutional amendment, tax increases, privatization of government enterprises, free trade and a number of farm programs.

Votes regarding civil liberties included both the civil liberties usually defended by liberals (e.g., freedom of speech and rights of the accused) and the civil liberties usually defended by conservatives (e.g., freedom of association and the right to keep and bear arms). In addition, votes regarding civil liberties rarely defended by anyone, such as immigration reform and the war on drugs, were included.

Separate indexes are constructed for each senator and representative for economic and civil liberties. These indexes are adjusted so as to force the average for each house of the Congress to be about 50 points (out of 100), while preserving each member's relative score. Therefore, the average for either house of the Congress conveys no meaning; the index merely ranks senators and representatives relative to each other. While the average for a house of the Congress necessarily equals about 50 points, Republican senators and representatives score somewhat higher than Democrats in the area of civil liberties. This may come as a surprise to those expecting Democratic congress members to be more committed to civil liberties than Republican Congress members. It bears repeating that many liberals do not defend all the civil liberties enumerated in the Constitution. In particular, liberals do not defend freedom of religion as guaranteed by the 1st Amendment, the right to keep and bear arms as guaranteed by the 2nd or equal rights as protected by the 14th.

Once the full range of civil liberties is considered, not just those valued by liberals, Republican congress members compare favorably to Democratic congress members. To be sure, Republican congress members did relatively poorly on some of the particular civil liberties votes, e.g., flag burning. But, to treat these as the only civil liberties votes of the 1990 session would be prejudicial.

As expected, Republican senators and representatives scored significantly better than the average in the area of economic liberties. The size of the difference was enormous. Republican Congress members scored about 40 points higher than Democratic congress members. While Republican and Democratic congress members appear to have different sensitivities regarding civil liberties the real difference between them is economics.

Once a congress member's economic and civil liberties indexes were calculated, they were classified according to the five-part, two-dimensional New Political Spectrum. Only a handful of Congress members were classified as either "liberal" or "conservative." All the liberal representatives, and all but one of the liberal

senators were Democrats; and, almost all the conservatives were Republicans.

Most Congress members were classified as either "libertarian," most of whom were Republican; "authoritarian," most of whom were Democratic; or "centrist," both Republicans and Democrats. It appears that a new political axis is taking shape in America since almost all Congress members fall about an axis that begins in the southwest, authoritarian quadrant of the chart, and proceeds through the middle, centrist area, in the general direction of the northeast, libertarian quadrant.

Each of the top five senators and the top ten representatives were Republicans, and each of the bottom five senators and the bottom 12 representatives (there being a three-way tie for the 422nd best) was Democratic.

The clear winners, for the 1990 session, were Sen. Gordon Humphrey of New Hampshire and Rep. Dick Armey of Texas. Rep. Armey had the only perfect score recorded for the 1990 session: a 100 in the economics component of the index.

Sen. Connie Mack of Florida, the top Senator for the 1989 session, again finished in the top five. Rep. Phil Crane of Illinois, one of the two top representatives for the 1989 session, again finished in the top ten.

The other 1989 co-winner, Rep. Ron Marlenee of Montana, while still classified as libertarian may not have done so well because of the many farm votes included in this year's index.

## A Libertarian Spin on Gay Rights

by John Dentinger

The last grievance for gays - the incident that precipitated months-long rounds of gay protests - was the California governor's turnabout on signing a bill banning job discrimination for gays. It's ironic because the bill would have banned a small amount of private discrimination, but the biggest discriminator against gays - and the focus, rightly, of all the gay protests - is now and always has been the government.

A network of "Bruce Crow" laws entangles gays and gives special legal privileges to straights.

- Sodomy laws allow undercover police to enter gay businesses and entice others into soliciting them for an entirely private - but illegal - activity.

- Witch hunts are conducted against gays in the armed services, usually by telling one service member that he or she has been identified as gay, and will be given an honorable discharge only if he or she names names of other homosexuals.

- Gay people are often denied security clearances - and thus barred from entry into a profession for which many gay persons have spent many years training.

- Gay marriages have exactly the same legal status as interracial marriages under Jim Crow: they're illegal.

- Gay people can be and are deported merely because of their sexuality.

(Continued on page 10)

## Gay Rights...from 9

- Gay people are virtually automatically denied child custody in divorces.

- A gay person isn't entitled to visit his or her lover in a hospital intensive care unit, as a legal spouse is automatically entitled to do; a gay person cannot automatically make medical and legal decisions for an incapacitated lover, as a heterosexual spouse can do.

- Inheritance between lovers is taxed more heavily than for legally married couples. Heterosexual spouses automatically inherit everything in case there is no will. In the case of gay lovers, the family swoops in and takes over.

- Gifts between lovers are subject to gift tax; those between legal spouses are not.

- It's illegal in Virginia to serve alcohol to homosexuals.

The biggest enemy of gays - as protesters have rightly recognized - is the state. Attempting to outlaw the most penny ante private discrimination is hardly worthwhile next to the value - and ease - of stirring up public ire at the litany of manifest injustices at the hands of the state. Surely straights can be persuaded that their lifestyle can compete in the marketplace instead of relying on Big Brother to put competing lifestyles out of business.

*John Dentinger is a columnist in Los Angeles.*

## Libertarian Republicans Support Gun Owners' Rights

by Norm Singleton

Political ads aren't known for their accuracy, so when one actually conveys a truthful message, it sticks in the mind. One poignant political ad of recent years featured the Chinese student staring down the tanks at Tiananmen with the caption, "If the Chinese could arm themselves, the government could not have massacred innocent students."

Predictably, the ads were attacked as "opportunistic" and a "gross distortion." But the ads made a simple common sense point: an armed citizenry cannot be easily oppressed.

Tyrants have always recognized the need for gun control. When Gorbachev decided to crack down on the Baltics, his first move was the confiscation and vigorous enforcement of firearm regulations. Defenders of liberty also recognize the importance of an armed citizenry. It is no coincidence that the right to bear arms is in the Second Amendment, preceded only by the rights to

### Notable Quote

"There's a hardy perennial bill pending in the State Senate in Massachusetts that would legalize the medicinal use of marijuana to combat diseases such as glaucoma and to relieve the pain associated with cancer treatments. I find it hard to see the argument against that... So I associate myself with that bill... The word 'libertarian' has been applied to me, and I think it's basically accurate... I'm concerned about what I see as an erosion of our most basic right - the right to be left alone by government."  
- Governor William Weld (R-MA) at a Cato Institute Policy Forum in Boston, October 16, 1991.

freedom of speech and assembly.

As with many liberal policies, gun control has unintended consequences. With gun control, the black market in guns will continue to thrive. Criminals will have access to weapons denied the general public, leading to increased terrorism of the unarmed citizenry by the criminals.

Unable to defend themselves, the citizen will call for an even stronger government to protect them, leading to the further erosion of our safety and liberty.

Libertarians recognize that the root cause of crime lies in social decay caused by the welfare state, not in gun ownership. Unlike liberals, socialists, conservatives and other statist, libertarians have no problem imagining evil men gaining power over the bureaucratic state. In terms of practical politics, libertarians are the natural allies of those seeking to protect gun owners' rights.

The libertarian efforts on their behalf come at a time when gun owners' traditional representatives - the Republican Party - have seemingly abandoned gun owners in order to pass a crime bill to nationalize law enforcement. Former Attorney General Richard Thornburg let gun owners know the disdain the Bush establishment holds for them, and the U.S. Constitution, when he offered to trade congressional Democrats "the Fourth for the Second," as if our constitutional right can be traded away in a slimy political deal.

Bush's willingness to abandon gun owners for this fascistic crime bill demonstrates that, despite the lip service paid gun owners' rights by "Mr. Read My Lips" on the campaign trail, the president and others care more about expanding federal power than about our constitutional rights. Fortunately, not all Republicans are willing to abandon gun owners for quick political gain.

*Eds. Note - Norm Singleton, 26, is a Pittsburgh attorney.*

## Libertarian - and Damn Proud of It!

by Eric Rittberg

*"The resurgence of libertarianism was one of the less noted but most remarkable developments of recent years". - E.J. Dionne Jr., 'Why Americans Hate Politics.'*

Liberal hearts beat faster when a John F. Kennedy retrospective is shown on PBS, or while singing *We Shall Overcome* at a civil rights rally. Tears come to the eyes of conservatives when the flag is hoisted on Veteran's Day and the Star Spangled Banner is sung.

In contrast, libertarians appear to be a much more modest crowd. Libertarians rarely show a sense of pride in being libertarian. Symbols are played down. The award ceremonies honoring contributions to the movement are few and far between. Unlike liberals and conservatives, libertarians rarely express a sense of pride in their beliefs to family, friends, co-workers and the general public. In fact, many libertarians seem almost ashamed to carry the label.

- Libertarians in the think tank community and academic world pass themselves off as "classical liberals" or "market liberals" among their colleagues.

- Some Libertarian Party candidates choose to run in non-partisan races, to avoid the perceived stigmas associated with the label.

- Many Libertarian Republicans attend GOP functions under-

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## Pride...from 10

cover. They avoid talking about issues for fear of being identified as "one of those libertarians." Or, they simply pass themselves off as "just another conservative."

As much, if not more, than liberals and conservatives, libertarians have every reason to be proud. Libertarians have a long list of accomplishments which are worth bragging about.

At the top of the list is the libertarian heritage. Both liberals and conservatives have desperately tried to associate themselves with America's Founding Fathers. But it is the libertarians who are the true sons and daughters of Jefferson, Madison and Payne.

In a more contemporary sense, libertarians have a host of reasons to be proud. Many of the great writers of the 20th century were libertarians. H.L. Mencken, although once again claimed by the other two camps, was an unabashed libertarian. Ayn Rand is one of the top novelists of our time. Her novels still appear on the shelves of B. Dalton and Waldenbooks, nearly 40 years after publication. Philosophers? The libertarian movement has more than its share. Beyond Rand, the works of Nozick, Machan, Lefevre and Hospers are highly revered.

Other libertarian greats in various fields include: journalist and author Rose Wilder Lane; science fiction author Robert Heinlein; Speech writer Karl Hess; Columnists Alan Bock, Tim Ferguson, John Fund and Joseph Sobran; Broadcasters Gene Burns and Irv Homer; humorists P.J. O'Rourke and Dave Barry; musician Frank Zappa; and actor Clint Eastwood.

In the area of economics, libertarians have made an enormous contribution. With the collapse of communism, the Austrian economist Ludwig von Mises is now viewed as one of the most insightful economists of the century. In his tradition, Hazlitt, Hayek and Rothbard are now beginning to receive great respect from outside of the libertarian community. Other libertarian economic giants include: Friedman, Buchanan, Williams, Senholz, Skousen, Anderson, Sowell, and Roberts. The list of libertarian economists includes no less than three Nobel Prize winners.

Two libertarian institutions have gained great prominence. The Washington-based Cato institute's seminars, studies and publications have earned a reputation for being "on the cutting edge" of public policy. Out of Los Angeles, *Reason* magazine, with over 50,000 subscribers is now America's fourth largest ideological periodical, behind only the *National Review*, *New Republic* and *The Nation*. Reason Foundation President Bob Poole, through the Foundation's Local Government Center, virtually single-handedly popularized the word "privatization" not only in the U.S., but throughout the world.

But it is in the political realm, where libertarians have made their greatest achievement. For years, critics have attacked the Libertarian Party for ineffectiveness. But the Libertarian Party is one of the two most effective third parties in the 20th century. Like the Socialists of the 1930s, who were co-opted by the Democrats and influenced their agenda for decades, the Libertarians have entered what Dionne calls "the classic second-stage approach of third party movements."

While America's third largest party has scored minor electoral victories over the years, the real victory has come through its influence on the Republican Party. And that influence has been great.

Today, the GOP contains a growing and increasingly influen-

tial libertarian wing. The party's mostly younger, fiscally conservative/socially tolerant faction is now taking its cue from the more principled libertarians, both within the party and without. Candidates running for office under the GOP libertarian banner are becoming commonplace. It has become just as common for GOP officeholders to co-opt the label to describe their views and to institute libertarian programs.

Although it has not yet reached critical mass, the libertarian faction has even reached the White House administration, and the prospect of a viable libertarian Republican presidential contender for '96 is not a pipe dream.

With so many accomplishments, libertarians should feel pride in being libertarian. The label should be used at every opportunity: at social gatherings in speeches, in writings, at political events and especially in campaigns. Buttons should be worn, bumper stickers applied and banners hoisted, all proclaiming "Libertarian, and damn proud of it!"



Florida RLCers at a meeting in Naples. From L to R: Tim Conden, Rex and Susan Curry and Barbara and Eric Ritberg. Roger MacBride is seated.

## About the RLC

The Republican Liberty Caucus was founded in Raleigh, N.C. in 1988 by a small group of libertarians working to help elect a Republican candidate to the state legislature. Soon afterwards, the RLC expanded its activity to other Southern States, and in August 1990, the organization went nationwide.

Today, the RLC is organized in 25 states, and is the fastest growing libertarian political organization.

The purpose of the RLC is to help elect libertarian and libertarian-oriented Republican candidates to public office at all levels. The organization provides both funds and volunteer support to endorsed candidates. In addition, the RLC seeks to move the GOP towards greater support for libertarian ideals through education and outreach efforts.

Libertarian Republicans believe that "government is best, which governs least." Accordingly, RLC members support:

- Less taxes!
- Educational choice
- Balanced budgets through spending cuts
- Alternatives to the drug war
- Protection of property rights
- Freedom of speech
- Privatization
- A rational policy on abortion
- Deregulation
- The right to keep and bear arms
- Free trade
- Free immigration
- Reductions in foreign aid
- All-volunteer armed forces

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**Membership Form**

\_\_\_\_ Subscription/Student \$10.00      \_\_\_\_ Patron \$500.00  
 \_\_\_\_ Regular \$20.00 (Couple \$25.00)      \_\_\_\_ Lifetime \$1,000.00  
 \_\_\_\_ Sustaining \$100.00      \_\_\_\_ Other Contribution \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Members/subscribers receive five issues of *Republican Liberty* (published quarterly plus annual outreach issue). Members also receive regular Activist and Election bulletins. Members at Sustaining and above levels receive all minutes of RLC National Committee Meetings and have delegate status at national RLC conventions. Please send this form to the RLC administrative office.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Phone/fax \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_  
 City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

**How to Get Involved**

- 1) Become a state or local RLC coordinator.
- 2) Attend your state GOP convention and meetings of GOP groups (local Republican clubs, executive committees, Young Republicans, College Republicans and others). Pass out literature and/or give a short talk.
- 3) Get involved in campaigns.
- 4) Run for party or public office.

Note - State Republican Party and/or State Division of Elections requirements must be met in order to start an RLC chapter.

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