

Republican Liberty

Free Enterprise, Individual Freedom & Limited Government

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Caucus Newsletter

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N.J. Gov. Christine Todd-Whitman and Va. Gov. George Allen

Free Marketeers Score in '93 Electoral Contests

by Eric Rittberg and Clifford Thies

Coming on the heels of victories in the Senate runoff in Georgia, the Senate race in Texas, the mayoral race in Los Angeles and the lieutenant governor's race in Arkansas, the Republican Party scored three out of three on Nov. 2, winning the gubernatorial races in Virginia and New Jersey, and the mayoral race in New York City. Overall, the results for GOP free marketeers proved surprisingly good, as well.

In Virginia, Republicans took two of three statewide offices, with George Allen, son of the former Washington Redskins head coach, at the top of the ticket winning with a 17-point margin. Allen, a self-described Jeffersonian conservative, ran on a platform of eliminating parole, replacing welfare with a jobs program, holding the line on taxes and privatizing government services. Republicans also increased their representation in the House of Delegates from 41 to 47 seats (out of 100) putting them in a stronger position in the state's lower house.

In New Jersey, Republicans captured the governorship to go along with their control of both houses of the legislature. Christine Todd-Whitman, a former town freeholder, beat Democratic incumbent Jim Florio 52 to 47 percent. Whitman, a moderate, ran on libertarian themes including a promise of a 30 percent income tax cut and support for school choice. Whitman, like Allen, stood up for gun rights, opposing a ban on so-called assault weapons.

Libertarian Republicans aided both the Allen and Whitman campaigns. The NJ Republican Liberty Caucus endorsed the Whitman campaign pre-primary in January. RLC State Chair Fred Stein among others contributed time and money and attended the victory celebration with his wife Verna. Libertarian Republican

(Continued on page 3)

Goliath Wins in California

Education Establishment Stomps Prop. 174

by Gene Berkman

Public education is in trouble in California. Students graduate from high school without the skills to get well-paying jobs. Many high school graduates have trouble with reading and writing. In nationwide tests of reading skills, fourth and eighth grade students in California tied with Mississippi public school students, scoring below students in 41 other states.

With the goal of providing an alternative to the failing public schools, more than a half million voters signed petitions to qualify a school voucher proposal for the California ballot. The school choice proposal appeared as Proposition 174 in the special election held Nov. 2, 1993.

On that day, almost 1.5 million voters backed school choice by voting for Proposition 174. This is the largest vote cast for choice in any referendum so far. However, more than 3 million voters rejected school choice, and Proposition 174 went down to defeat.

Behind the numbers is the story of an emerging grass roots coalition for choice facing an entrenched education bureaucracy.

Proposition 174 would have mandated that the state provide parents with a voucher to pay the cost of tuition at a private or parochial school. With a voucher, parents would become customers of the schools they choose. Schools would have to attract students by offering quality education; no longer would compulsory attendance laws turn students into a captive audience.

An End to the Public School Monopoly?

The school voucher proposal would have broken up the public school monopoly. In response to this threat to their position, the California Teachers Association spearheaded a \$17 million campaign to defeat school choice. The CTA provided \$13 million to the anti-choice campaign; millions more came from the California School Employees Association and the National Education Association. Government employee unions, the Democratic Party and Gov. Pete Wilson lined up against choice.

The anti-voucher campaign relied on fear-mongering, conjur-

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Feedback

Feedback runs in every other issue of Republican Liberty. Letters should be short and concise and are subject to editing. Letters from dues-paying members receive top priority.

YRs "Finally Coming Around"

Editor:

I was pleased to see Eric Rittberg's lead article last issue ["YRs Receptive to Libertarian Ideas"] because I was Young Republican national platform chairman in 1977 and had my very carefully drafted platform proposal thrown out because it was "too libertarian."

Roger Stone was incoming YRNF chairman and I think he was concerned about image?! Glad to see they are finally coming around.

**Roy Miller
Phoenix, AZ**

The Time Is Right for the RLC

Editor:

I think the time is right for groups such as yours - young, independent, principled, open-minded and truly committed to individual freedom - to reap the harvest of discontent both among undergraduate, graduate and professional students and among recent graduates of universities.

The totalitarians and authoritarians who dominate academic life, and their left-social-work model of human rights and human relations, have left a very bad taste in the mouths of so many of the brightest and most individuated students.

The culture conservatives may appeal to some of them, but most seem open precisely to libertarian notions of equal rights before the law, individual over group identities, education over indoctrination, free-thinking over orthodoxy, etc.

Such students and recent graduates, having lived through the obvious economic and moral catastrophes of central planning, are far more open to free-market and free-enterprise models of organization than any generation before them.

Political correctness has taught them something about the left; they wisely distrust similar impulses on the right. They will be open to Republican libertarian arguments and perspectives, and eager, I should hope, to help save the Republican Party from those who distrust human freedom.

I hope you reach this generation!

**Alan Charles Kors
Professor of History
University of Pennsylvania**

RL Survey Results

By mid-November, 82 *Republican Liberty* Reader Surveys from RL subscribers and RLC members had been returned.

Overall, readers rated *Republican Liberty* 7.53 out of 10. The appearance of RL was rated 7.48. Readers overwhelmingly said campaign coverage, election news and news of elected libertarian Republicans are the best things about RL. Another frequent response was "the fact it exists at all."

As for what is least liked, book reviews and policy analysis were most often mentioned. Others mentioned these as favorites. Complaints included "overwillingness of the editors to call undeserving Republicans 'libertarians,'" "too many swipes at the Religious Right," and lack of "nuts and bolts" on winning elections.

Readers essentially said they wanted to see more of everything, including more issues per year, pages per issue, photos, letters, editorials and, in particular, candidate info, and Activist and Notable News. By a 5-to-1 margin, readers responded that they would be willing to pay an additional \$5 per year for more or bigger issues.

For overall effectiveness, the RLC received a 7.33 rating from readers. The RLC's PAC (RLFCF) received a 6.62 rating.

Working to elect libertarian Republicans to public office and raising funds for their campaigns were seen as the most important activities for the RLC.

Most respondents would be willing to attend an RLC conference or convention. Almost without exception though, respondents prefer a site close to their home. Washington DC was the only other location mentioned. As for possible activities at such an event, readers would most like to see campaign training and seminars.

Most members/subscribers described their philosophies as either libertarian (21) or mainstream libertarian (16). The remaining few described themselves as classical liberals (9), objectivists (7) and conservatives (6). The "other" category (6) includes: paleo-libertarians, patriots and an "anarcho-capitalist."

Not surprisingly, most RLC members are registered as Republicans (80 percent), though a larger number voted for Libertarian Party Presidential Candidate Andre Marrou in '92 than for Bush.

The issues of greatest concern to RLC members/subscribers are taxes, controlling government spending and reducing the size of the welfare state. Other issues of primary concern include drug prohibition, school choice, privatization and gun rights.

Gov. William Weld of Massachusetts was most often cited as the political leader most admired by readers with twice as many mentions as the second place finisher Jack Kemp. After Kemp, most often cited, in order, were: Ronald Reagan, Ron Paul, Barry Goldwater, Phil Gramm, Pete du Pont, Dana Rohrabacher, Margaret Thatcher and Dick Armey. Other lesser knowns cited included Roger MacBride, Ed Crane, Tom McClintock and Ed Clark.

Jack Kemp topped the list (29) of possible presidential candidates. Weld was second with 25. Others included Pete duPont and Phil Gramm. The least desirable were Pat Buchanan, followed by Pat Robertson, Bill Bennett, Dan Quayle and Bob Dole.

Publisher: Roger L. MacBride **Senior Editor:** Mike Holmes **Editor:** Eric J. Rittberg **Assistant Editor:** Philip Blumel **Contributing Editors:** Clifford Thies, Gene Berkman, T. Franklin Harris and Norman Singleton. **Contributing Writers:** Brian Doherty, Joseph Gentili, Jack Simons, Tom McClintock, Mark Uncapher, Fred Stein, Tom Walls, James Robbins, Laura Kotelman and Andrew Murphy.

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Michigan Slashes Property Taxes

67 Percent Cut Turns State Focus on Budget Cuts, School Choice

by Rep. Dave Jaye

Watch out what you ask for in life, because sometimes that's what you'll get.

This hard lesson was learned by a liberal Democrat who tried to embarrass Michigan Republicans into voting against elimination of property taxes. Happily, the Republicans called her bluff and acted in 24 hours to eliminate property taxes for local schools. This \$6.5 billion cut, without a replacement tax increase, cuts Michigan's property taxes approximately 67 percent across the board.

Democrat State Sen. Debbie Stabenow, a candidate for governor, tried to embarrass current Republican Gov. John Engler into opposing this huge tax cut. Ironically, the traditional Democratic support groups are now furious with Sen. Stabenow since her amendment passed.

Michigan's teacher unions, public employee unions, welfare advocates, UAW and AFL-CIO fear that Michigan's Republican leadership will insist on replacing most of the property tax cuts through containments on pay, pensions and health care and budget cuts.

Conservatives are seizing this opportunity to promote a

voucher system to allow parents to choose which public or private schools their child will attend. The Republican governor wants first to enact school accountability laws including teacher/student competency tests, merit pay and school consolidation before he even discusses replacement taxes.

Eliminating 67 percent of property taxes has also given Republicans courage to go after tax subsidies to big business. Strongly being considered are repeals of industrial and farmer property tax breaks, industrial equipment sales tax exemption and other corporate subsidies. Also targeted are Republican favorites: state support for rich school districts, elitist symphonies, the arts and local revenue sharing.

The prospect of school closings statewide or election defeat due to voting for higher replacement taxes will force the legislature to act on teacher containment, business subsidies and state budget cuts. Thanks to a liberal Democrat, conservatives are in the driver's seat for the first time in 30 years. The legislature must act by Dec. 31 or our schools close.

The gallows wonderfully concentrate the mind.

Ed. Note - Dave Jaye is the State Representative for the 26th District in Macomb County, Michigan.

Elections...from 1

Cong. Dick Zimmer (R-Dist. 12) served as Whitman campaign co-chair.

How GOP Libertarians Fared

Also in New Jersey, RLC Advisory Board member State Sen. John Scott won re-election with 53 percent. Scott may prove to be a key player in the fight for Whitman's promised tax cuts. In Sussex County, Scott Garrett won his re-election handily. The Libertarian Party chose not to run a candidate against him, recognizing his active opposition to asset forfeiture. But the news was not all good from New Jersey. RLC Advisor Sen. Randy Corman of Woodbridge lost his re-election bid with 48 percent.

In New York, while much of the attention was focused on the Dinkens-Guiliani battle, libertarian Republicans were watching three smaller races upstate. Libertarian Republicans scored a surprising victory in liberal Woodstock with the election of Rebecca Wilber to the Town Council. The 26-year-old Woodstock native ran as a Republican/Libertarian and finished second in a field of four. According to campaign coordinator and longtime Libertarian activist Dottie Lee Brokaw, Wilber was attacked by her Democratic opponents for holding "libertarian" views.

Elsewhere in the Empire State, Norma Segal, the 1992 Libertarian Party U.S. Senate candidate, ran for the Scarsdale Town Council. Segal's name appeared on the ballot as both a Republican and a Conservative. She reports that local GOP leaders enthusiastically recruited her to run. Segal finished third in a field of seven, with the top two vote-getters, both Democrats, winning seats. In Ithaca, RLC member Bill Kone also lost his race for City Council

741 votes to 344 (32 percent). Kone ran on a libertarian platform supporting the initiative process locally, privatization of garbage collection and gun rights. Kone appeared on the ballot as both a Republican and Libertarian in a city where Democrats outnumber registered Republicans 3-to-1.

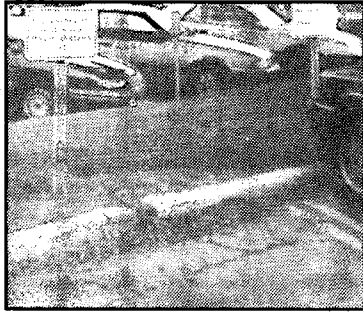
In Connecticut, libertarian Republicans lost races for Greenwich Town Council. The five candidates of the "Taxpayer's Slate," led by RLCer Peter Crumbine, were defeated by incumbents.

Initiatives & Referenda

Libertarian Republicans scored a direct victory in the nation's fourth largest city. Houston voters rejected zoning for the third time in 50 years by a margin of 52 to 48 percent thus preserving the city's distinction as the largest city in the country without zoning. Two RLC members were prominent leaders in the anti-zoning forces. Barry Klein, executive director of the Houston Property Rights Association, was viewed by the media as the leading opponent of the proposed ordinance. Kevin Southwick, former Ron Paul for President campaign staffer, served as HRP media director.

The voters of Maine and New York City both overwhelmingly approved term limits. Elsewhere, anti-tax measures won handily. Washington State voters passed a referendum which would require any statewide tax increase be approved by a "super majority" vote of two-thirds of the legislature. In Texas, voters passed a measure which requires a popular vote before a state income tax is enacted.

The great disappointment for libertarian Republicans was that California's Prop. 174 claimed only 30.2 percent of the vote. RLCers in the effort included RLC State Coordinator Gordon Mohr, Mike Griffin, Mike Iddings, Yes on 174 Riverside County Chair Gene Berkman and Yes on 174 Spokesman Manuel Klausner.



RLC Chair Eric Rittberg and Rep. Kaza in Lansing. Kaza has offered to share his parking space with constituents.

KAZA CORNER: State Rep. Greg Kaza, libertarian Republican legislator of Michigan's 42nd District, is an aggressive critic of political perks who practices what he preaches. In an Oct. 20 letter to constituents, Kaza listed perks he rejects, including Officeholder Expense Funds, travel money and a car phone. Add to this, his parking space:

"Despite all the rhetoric in Lansing about change and reform, there is an incredible amount of perks and privileges. I am offering constituents visiting Lansing use of my parking space next to the Capitol. This is a perk and a privilege and the least I can do is share it with my constituents. Please let me know if you would like borrow my parking spot if you visit Lansing. - Sincerely, Greg Kaza."

Weld Watch: True Grit On Taxes

by James S. Robbins

President Clinton thinks fiscal courage involves taking more money from taxpayers to fund increased federal spending. Gov. William Weld of Massachusetts has a different view - real fiscal courage means governing with less money.

In response to the Clinton tax bill, Gov. Weld has proposed a tax relief plan for his state which will offset some of the more onerous burdens being imposed by Washington. Stating that under Clinton's "vacuum economics" plan "our economic prosperity could be sucked dry," Weld seeks \$207 million in state tax reductions.

When implemented, the Weld Plan will:

- Reduce the personal state income tax to 5.85 percent from 5.95 percent.
- Cut the state gasoline tax by 4.3 cents per gallon, thereby cancelling the Clinton increase.
- Raise the 'no-tax status' threshold from \$12,000 to \$13,500 for married couples and from \$8,000 to \$9,000 for individuals.
- Raise exemptions for Massachusetts bank interest for elderly taxpayers.

The Weld plan would save the average household about \$89

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Prop 174...from 1

ing up images of cult schools led by David Koresh collecting vouchers. Democratic politicians who have backed every welfare state proposal attacked school vouchers as a "billion dollar entitlement program we can't afford."

The Pro-Choice Campaign

After spending more than one million dollars to qualify the initiative, the official Yes on 174 campaign was only able to raise about \$2.5 million dollars, of which about a half million went to television ads in Southern California. The *Los Angeles Times* reported in October that more than half the funding for the Yes on 174 campaign came from "business people who call themselves libertarians or are benefactors of the Reason Foundation and... the Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy in San Francisco."

The Yes On 174 campaign was managed by veteran Republican operative Ken Kachigian, most recently manager of Bruce Herschensohn's losing Senate bid. Under Mr. Kachigian's management, the Yes on 174 campaign failed to develop adequate campaign literature, and engaged in only limited direct mail promotion. Television advertising failed to make a case for the voucher proposal and failed to answer attacks made by the opponents in their TV commercials.

The pro-choice campaign was more effective at providing volunteer speakers at numerous public forums and debates.

Proposition 174 was backed by local taxpayers groups

throughout California, as well as several statewide taxpayers' organizations. The Republican Party, the Libertarian Party and the American Independent Party all endorsed 174, but did little in the way of public promotion. The Christian Coalition spent \$250,000 on radio ads and distributed voter guides through churches.

Most newspapers opposed Prop. 174, but the *Orange County Register* consistently publicized the case for school choice.

It'll be back!

In opposing education choice, the California Teachers Association did not argue that California public schools are successfully educating our children. The respected Field Poll reports that only 4 percent of California voters are satisfied with the public schools. Proposition 174 began the public debate on free market education and helped to identify the issues in this debate: empowerment of parents and students, the case against regulation and educational pluralism versus state monopoly schools.

Libertarians are credited with starting the campaign for school choice in California. The campaign brought conservatives, Christians, Muslims and black nationalists together in support of this libertarian initiative. Undaunted, the school choice coalition is already laying the groundwork for the next initiative.

Ed note: Gene Berkman operates Renaissance Book Service. For a catalog, write to Box 2451, Riverside, CA 92516.

Weld Watch...from 4

per year. Senior citizens potentially could save twice that much. The \$207 million in cuts would offset only a portion of the \$956 million in new federal taxes hitting Massachusetts. But Weld is moving in the right direction, and it shows that he, unlike Clinton, understands the punitive impact of taxes.

Furthermore, under the Weld plan the Massachusetts budget will shrink an additional .8 percent, in contrast to the federal budget, which will increase every year under the Clinton Five Year Plan. The budget cuts will amount to 2.7 percent of discretionary spending, mostly in shrinking the bureaucracy, with local aid, education and highway spending exempted.

Weld stated that the tax cuts "are intended to keep the Clinton taxes from derailing our economic momentum here in Massachusetts . . . If you think about it, \$1 billion is the equivalent of 67,000 new Ford Tauruses or 2 million refrigerators. That's an awful lot of economic activity that won't take place because the money is being siphoned away in the form of higher taxes."

Massachusetts Democrats were quick to denounce the plan. Senate Ways and Means Chairman Thomas Birmingham (D) decried the need to "gratuitously sacrifice \$200 million," which shows his opinion of who owns the taxpayers' money. State Rep. Mark Roosevelt (D), a likely '94 Weld challenger, showed his complete confusion about whom he serves by stating that the plan was "a shameless appeal to people's desire to have lower taxes." Roosevelt's lack of economic grasp was evident when he stated that the tax cut might damage the Massachusetts economy, since the money would not be "invested" by the state.

Predictably, the White House heaped scorn on the Weld tax-cut proposal. "It is what we expect from the Republicans," said Lorraine Voles, Clinton's deputy press secretary. Weld was accused of "peddling misinformation" when he suggested the Clinton budget will harm all taxpayers. White House Communication Director Mark Gearan stated that "Gov. Weld is factually incorrect" by claiming the state has to take steps to counter the federal tax hikes. (Gearan obviously has a big problem with the equation $4.3 \text{ cents} = 4.3 \text{ cents}$).

Gov. Weld also faces the charge that the plan is motivated by White House aspirations. Weld responded that his presidential plans were "Nowheresville," and he has no further political aspirations after running for re-election in 1994. But he may find that Clintonomics is taking the country to Nowheresville fast.

Notable Quote

Responding to a question by 'LA Libertarian' editor Mike Binkley, who compared the War on Drugs to alcohol prohibition, Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan told viewers of KCET's "Life & Times" in July that:

"I have an open mind on decriminalization of drugs. I agree with [Binkley] . . .

"I think we ought to at least have the guts to take a clear look at decriminalization and not have some ideological, knee-jerk reaction against it."

RL Perspective

GOP Congressmen Reject Selective Service

by Mike Holmes

Thirty-five Republican Congressmen broke ranks with 131 of their fellow GOP legislators and voted in June to defund the Selective Service System (SSS). Thirty-two GOP house members voted a second time on Oct. 19 to kill the SSS funds after a September Senate vote restored the funding to the VA/HUD/Independent Agencies appropriations bill.

In its second vote, the House restored the previously cut funding by a narrow 236-194 vote. In its Sept. 21 vote, 10 Republican senators joined 31 Democrats to oppose draft registration, but were defeated 58-41.

The 32 Congressmen included names familiar to Republican libertarians such as Walker from Pennsylvania, Rohrabacher, Cox, Huffington and Royce of California, DeLay of Texas, Zimmer of New Jersey, Hoke of Ohio and Crane of Illinois.

While the \$25 million proposed appropriation is not a major budgetary item, the symbolic recognition by the 35 House Republicans that the military draft and its remaining remnant — draft registration for all males reaching age 18 — is a military anachronism in the post Cold War age of high tech weaponry and an affront to everyone who believes that a free society shouldn't rely upon involuntary servitude for national defense.

The issue of the military draft was one of the principle factors leading to the birth of the modern libertarian political movement in the late '60s and early '70s and has long served as a key "litmus test" for Republicans who rejected the mindless "anything for national defense" mentality often found in conservative circles during the Cold War era.

"The ability of the federal government to dragoon young men off to fight in distant foreign wars, particularly in this age of 'New World Order,' where every Third World squabble seems to require U.S.-U.N. military intervention, is a dangerous and un-American practice," noted RLC Chair and veteran Eric Rittberg. "The draft is nothing less than slavery. We salute all Republicans who have the courage and principle to vote to end this affront to human liberty and support the honorable tradition of the all-volunteer U.S. military."

The RLC Honor Roll of GOP House Members voting to end draft registration is as follows: Huffington (CA-Dist. 22), Horn (CA-38), Royce (CA-39), Lewis (CA-40), Rohrabacher (CA-45), Cox (CA-47), Allard (CO-04), Sharp (CT-04), Johnson (CT-06), Miller (FL-13), Crane (IL-08), Leach (IA-01), Nussle (IA-02), Gilgrest (MD-01), Camp (MI-04), Upton (MI-06), Knollenberg (MI-11), Barrett (NE-04), Franks (NJ), Zimmer (NJ-13), Hobson (OH-07), Hoke (OH-10), Istook (OK-15), Shuster (PA-09), Walker (PA-16), Santorum (PA-18), Archer (TX-07), DeLay (TX-22), Klug (WI-02), Roth (WI-08) and Sensenbrenner (WI-09).

In the Senate, these members voted against the SSS: Grassley (IA), Cohen (ME), Burns (MT), Gregg (NH), Nickles (OK), Hatfield (OR), Packwood (OR), Chafee (RI), Bennett (UT) and Jeffords (VT).

RL Bookshelf

RL Publisher MacBride Continues 'Little House' Chronicle

by Andrea Millen Rich

Little House on Rocky Ridge (New York, NY: HarperCollins, 1993, 361 pp., \$13.95) by Roger Lea MacBride is a heartwarming story about individualist Rose Wilder Lane.

If you are a fan of Lane, author of *The Discovery of Freedom* - or have enjoyed *The Little House on the Prairie* series written by her mother, Laura Ingalls Wilder - you'll want to read this book.

It is here that Roger MacBride continues her dramatic true story begun in the *Little House* books. He tells what happened to Laura, her husband Almanzo, and especially their young daughter Rose.

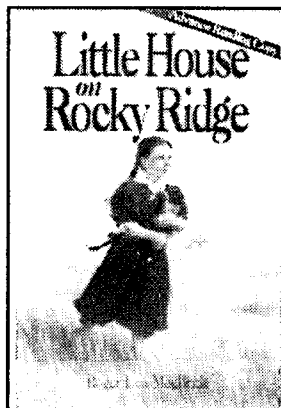
It is a delightful story of how young Rose and her parents moved by covered wagon from De Smet, S.D., to their new home in Mansfield, Mo.

Although she was only 7 1/2, Rose was already very resourceful. Life was tough in the Ozarks, and she had to learn the lessons of responsibility and self-reliance. There was a lot of work to do, but that didn't keep Rose from having fun with her dog Fido or making new friends like Alva.

MacBride was a longtime friend of Rose Wilder Lane and is now her legal and ideological heir. He utilized original diaries, unpublished manuscripts and memoirs, as well as the stories that Rose had told him to write this spectacularly entertaining story.

Although recommended for children 8 to 12, you don't have to be a kid to enjoy this tale of Rose's adventures. Any reader will relish discovering how this courageous little girl became one of the world's foremost individualists. It is truly inspiring to hear how she learned to value freedom on that Rocky Ridge.

Ed. Note - Andrea Rich is president of Laissez Faire Books, 938 Howard Street #202, San Francisco, CA 94103. You can order Little House through Laissez Faire Books for \$13.95 (cloth) by calling 1-800-326-0996. We are proud to announce that Roger MacBride's book reached the number 3 position on Publisher's Weekly's Young Adults best seller list. MacBride is the publisher of Republican Liberty, the RLC Advisory Board chairman and president of the RLFCF Board of Trustees.



Correction

In RL Vol. IV, No. II, the author of the article, "April 15 Elections," was misidentified as Wis. Rep. Scott Jensen. The actual author was Scott T. Jensen of Platteville, Wis.

New Books Explore Legacy of the Old Right

by T. Franklin Harris Jr.

The conservative movement, broadly defined, has always had its internal divisions. With the end of the Cold War, these divisions have become all the more apparent and, predictably, several books have been published exploring the conflicts between conservatism's various factions.

The most notable has been R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr.'s *The Conservative Crack-Up*. While Tyrrell does mention the part libertarianism has played within modern American conservatism, two new books make libertarianism a prime focus.

In Reclaiming the American Right: The Lost Legacy of the Conservative Movement (Burlingame, CA: Center for Libertarian Studies, 1993, 287 pp., \$15.95), longtime libertarian Republican activist and writer Justin Raimondo tells the story of the Old Right, which emerged as the market-oriented opposition to the New Deal after World War II.

As the title suggests, *Reclaiming the American Right* is more a call to action than a history. By chronicling the trials and tribulations of individualists respected by both libertarians and conservatives (figures such as H.L. Mencken, Albert Jay Nock, Frank Chodorov, Rose Wilder Lane and Isabel Paterson), Raimondo seeks to form a new alliance between so-called paleolibertarians — represented by Murray Rothbard and Lew Rockwell, both of the Ludwig von Mises Institute — and conservative isolationists represented by Pat Buchanan and the Rockford Institute.

Raimondo's account of the Old Right is well-written and compelling. His attempt to link libertarianism with conservatism, however, is controversial to say the least. While most agree that libertarians and conservatives of the Old Right were politically linked by their joint opposition to big government, Raimondo also contends that the two factions were linked intellectually. In order to bolster his argument, Raimondo maintains that libertarian icon Ayn Rand borrowed many of her literary ideas from conservative novelist Gareth Garrett. Raimondo makes his case well, but it would be stronger if he had responded to objectivist David Kelley's criticism of this thesis.

Also controversial is Raimondo's strategy of libertarians allying themselves with Pat Buchanan. While libertarians and conservatives have some common ground, most libertarians are hesitant to join with conservatives of Buchanan's stripe. Libertarianism may have roots on the Right, but it also harkens back to the tolerance of classical liberalism. Buchanan's brigades seem totally lacking such tolerance. Still, Raimondo is not uncritical of Buchanan. He not only attacks Buchanan's economic protectionism, he does so with wit and style.

Raimondo is also criticized for overstating the vote totals of Libertarian presidential candidates Ron Paul and David Bergland, while Ed Clark's vote totals are understated in the book.

Controversy aside, Raimondo's book is an enjoyable and informative read.

The same cannot be said for the second book. In contrast to Raimondo's generally polite work, historian Paul Gottfried's *The*

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Activist News

Martin Anderson Joins Advisory Board

Distinguished Economist Martin Anderson has agreed to serve on the Board of Advisors of the Republican Liberty Caucus.

Anderson hails from academe as a professor at Columbia University. He served in the Nixon White House and then on President Reagan's senior White House staff as chief domestic and economic policy advisor. Anderson is the author of several books on national policy, urban renewal, welfare reform and the military draft. He is currently senior fellow of the Hoover Institution, a think tank at Stanford University in California.

"Martin Anderson is a very welcome addition to our board. He is a towering figure in the free market economic community," said RLC Vice Chair and Shenandoah University Economics Professor Clifford Thies.

The RLC is also proud to announce the addition of two state legislators to the RLC Advisory Board. Former Michigan Rep. Steven Dresch of Hancock has joined. Dresch, who has a Ph.D. in economics from Yale University, is a principled advocate of free enterprise. He lost a Congressional bid in 1992 but is very likely to be a candidate for re-election to his former State House seat in '94. New Hampshire Rep. Andy Borsa has also joined the RLC Advisory Board. Borsa, who represents Pelham, was first elected in 1992. He appeared on the ballot as both a Libertarian and a Republican, and serves as one of the four members of New Hampshire's Libertarian delegation in the House. He has been a vocal critic of Gov. Merrill's proposed Business Enterprise Tax and of federal mandates on local government.

Conventions & Conferences

The Conference for a Republican Majority convened in Washington, DC, this past July 16-18. Alabama RLC Chair T. Franklin Harris was on hand as the RLC's official representative. The conference was presented as a gathering for "mainstream" GOP

groups. It was sponsored by the Ripon Society, the Republican Mainstream Coalitions and the National Republican Coalition for Choice. Other groups participating included Republicans for Choice, WISH List, Council of 100 and the National Organization of Black Republicans. The Log Cabin Federation, representing gay and lesbian Republicans, was not invited, a decision which created considerable controversy during the three-day-long event.

Conference participants discussed strategy to build a lasting coalition of fiscally conservative/socially moderate organizations that could work at a grass roots level to counter the influence of the Religious Right. Most attendees, however, proved to be unabashed fiscal moderates as well, expressing support for the Clean Air Act and opposing privatization proposals from the small libertarian faction led by Harris and Ann Stone. However, Harris managed to make contacts and build awareness of libertarian Republicans.

The Michigan Young Republicans convened for their annual convention Aug. 15-16 in Lansing. An organized contingent of a dozen libertarians were on hand. Two libertarians, John Rollo of Redford Township and Patrick Robb of Romeo, managed to win seats on the platform committee. They introduced a resolution questioning the War on Drugs. On the full floor, after lobbying by libertarians, Resolution I passed by a 54-to-36 vote. The Michigan YRs are now on record as supporting "alternatives to criminal penalties to drug users." The libertarians also managed to get passed Resolution H opposing state certification and licensure laws in order to increase competition and economic opportunities.

After the votes, RLC National Chair Eric Rittberg who was attending the event, convened the libertarians for an RLC meeting to officially organize the Michigan affiliate. Rollo was elected Michigan RLC Chairman and Robb was elected Vice Chair.

California RLC Coordinator Gordon Mohr attended two conventions recently. At the GOP state convention held in Anaheim Sept. 2-6, Mohr passed out RLC literature and stickers at hospitality suites and on the convention floor. An organized "Draft Tom McClintock for Governor" drive was in evidence. Mohr spoke with

(Continued on page 8)

Bookshelf...from 6

Conservative Movement, Revised Edition (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1993, 214 pp., \$13.95 paper) is full of veiled attacks and insults. This fact is ironic given that Raimondo's work is the polemic while Gottfried's masquerades as an objective history.

Gottfried's book is a history of American conservatism from the days of the Old Right and Bill Buckley's fusionism to the rise of the neoconservatives and the subsequent counterattack from Pat Buchanan and the "paleoconservatives." Of particular interest to libertarians is Gottfried's account of how the alliance between the paleolibertarians (Rothbard, Rockwell, and Raimondo) and the paleoconservatives (Buchanan, Joseph Sobran, Thomas Fleming, and others) came together after the end of the Cold War. Here, Gottfried's narrative is good enough.

However, when it comes to accounts of libertarians who do not subscribe to the "paleo" alliance, Gottfried resorts to little more than name calling. Whether or not the paleolibertarians are correct in pursuing their alliance, there is no reason to believe

that libertarians who reject such a strategy have "sold out" in order to gain respectability with the neoconservatives who, according to Gottfried, control intellectual conservatism and support the welfare state.

Indeed while it is obvious that some neoconservative foundations support libertarian organizations, it is also obvious that neoconservatives and libertarians share some goals: free trade, privatization, etc. There is little evidence, however, that any libertarian group (The Cato Institute, Institute for Humane Studies, etc.) that receives neocon funds — or respect — has given up opposition to the welfare state.

On the subject of Rand, while Raimondo respectfully makes his case that Ayn Rand was not as an original a thinker as she claimed, Gottfried — drawing entirely upon earlier research by Raimondo — cannot help but add irrelevant insults, calling into question Rand's intellectual ability.

The *Conservative Movement*, quite simply, is an infuriating little book. Thankfully, we have Raimondo to tell us the same story, but with much more respect — and style.

Activist News...from 7

the former assemblyman and RLC advisor briefly about his plans. McClintock, who has been touted as a possible Wilson primary challenger, was noncommittal but thankful for the support.

The Western Conservative Political Action Conference held in L.A. Oct. 22-24 was promoted as a gathering to bring together "conservative leaders and activists to unify, coordinate, stimulate and propel conservative and libertarian activity." The RLC was invited to represent the libertarian movement. RLC member Sergio Picchio arranged for former Congressman Ron Paul (R-TX) to be a guest speaker. His speech on the Federal Reserve and the gold standard was well received. Also, Mohr with a little help from Dr. Paul manned a libertarian literature table. *Reason* magazines, copies of Ron Paul's speeches and RLC literature were passed out and numerous prospect names were collected.

Libertarian Republicans Launch '94 Campaigns

Community activist Elizabeth Michael of Los Angeles is exploring a run for Congress in California's District 27 (Burbank, Montrose and Pasadena). Michael would face longtime incumbent GOP Congressman Carlos Moorhead if he seeks re-election. Moorhead is one of the most conservative members of Congress representing an increasingly liberal district. Michael describes herself as a libertarian Republican, "generally conservative in the economic arena, and moderate to liberal on social issues." She supports Second Amendment rights, educational choice and extreme reductions in foreign aid.

State Senator and RLC Advisor Brent Richards of Riverside, Utah, is exploring a run for the powerful three-member Salt Lake County Commission.

Former State Sen. and RLC Advisor Bob Hedlund is tentatively planning to run for re-election to his old seat. Hedlund, who was first elected in 1990, lost his seat in a close contest in 1992. The largely Democratic district includes Weymouth on the Eastern shore of Massachusetts. Lately, Hedlund has become active in the movement for the right to jury nullification. He recently spoke to a crowd of over 3,000 on Fully Informed Juries (FIJA), at the Massachusetts Cannabis Reform Rally.

RLC member and former Libertarian Party State Chair Dave Bozeman of Fayetteville will be running as a Republican for the North Carolina House of Representatives.

In Georgia, RLC state coordinator Jay Taylor of Suwanee is considering a run for the state house.

Bill Greene, an RLC member from Hialeah, Fla., has been aggressively running for the State House. Greene is an adjunct instructor of political science at Florida International University. He is running in the GOP primary as a Christian libertarian on a platform of "reducing government, reducing taxes, reducing regulations and reducing the amount of unethical and unprincipled behavior of elected officials."

RLC Press Mentions

The RLC is starting to receive a little bit of media attention. RLC Chairman Eric Rittberg was quoted in a recent article of the *Christian Science Monitor*, "Outsider Republicans Regroup," on Jack Kemp's presidential aspirations. Rittberg, described as a "libertarian from Tallahassee," commented that "Kemp can forge together the different sides of the Republican coalition."

Rittberg and RLC Vice Chair Clifford Thies have had op-eds on libertarian Republicanism printed recently in the following publications: *Capital & Liberty*, *the Independence* and *The Pragmatist*. Meanwhile, the RLC has received mentions in articles in the *Panama City Herald*, *Boca Raton News*, *Ft. Lauderdale's XS* and a number of Republican newsletters including *First Tuesday*, *the Logger*, *Young Republican Press* and *MCOR* (Macomb Coalition of Republicans).

Republican Liberty has recently received favorable reviews in the alternative publication *Blue Ryder* out of New York and *Claustrophobia*, a libertarian publication out of Ohio. Wrote *Claustrophobia* reviewer Milo T. Savage, "It is an excellent source of information for election news, RLC activities, book reviews, and political opinion . . . Read this one and you'll walk away thinking there might be hope for the GOP after all."

But not everybody loves the RLC. *Republican Liberty* received the most unfavorable review out of 250 publications covered in the leftist *Factsheet Five* (Summer '93) out of San Francisco. Reviewer Jarrod Pore wrote of RL Vol. IV No. I, "Latest propaganda from Republicans who seek to pollute the Libertarian movement with their twisted ideas of civil liberties . . . Civil rights for straight, white, male, Christian fetuses, who discretely cover their protogenitalia from the sonograms seems to be the goal of the RLC. I have one thing to say to Republicans who pretend to be Libertarians: 'Burn in hell, you fucking hypocrites!'"

RLC Briefs

The Indiana RLC is currently organizing under the leadership of newly appointed Coordinator Bill Soards of Indianapolis. Soards, the son of Republican State Sen. William Soards, is looking for young energetic libertarians to do outreach to College Republicans at campuses throughout the state.

The reins of the New York RLC have been passed over to Young Republican activist Dave Warren of New York City. Brian Block at Penn State in Philadelphia is currently reorganizing the Pennsylvania RLC affiliate.

Mike McCroskey, a GOP County Chair and YR from Gatlinburg, Tenn., has been appointed to fill an at-large vacancy on the RLC National Committee. McCroskey, and TN RLC Coordinator Andrew Murphy have been working to build a libertarian presence within the party across the state, attending various GOP functions, and meeting with GOP candidates.

RLC activist Jack B. Slack has been elected Rusk County Republican Chairman in Texas.

Notable Quote

Former U.S. Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-AZ) in *Parade*, Nov. 28, 1993.

On Lyndon Johnson: "Probably the worst president we ever had! I despised him . . . When he came to Washington, he was absolutely broke, spent his life on the public payroll and died worth \$40 million."

On Richard Nixon: "I've never forgiven him. I've always said a man who would lie to his country, to his wife and to his children is no good. That about sums it up."

Notable News

Northern "Exposure" for Libertarians

The hit CBS television series *Northern Exposure* is set in Alaska's southern Kenai Peninsula, home to many libertarian residents and a rugged individualist spirit. For many years in fact, the mayor of the Kenai, Stan Thompson, was a Libertarian Party member (1982-88), and many libertarians have served in various elected bodies throughout the borough and have been elected to the State Legislature. The producers of the Monday Night program seem to have caught on to this fact.

In an episode which aired on Oct. 18, Chris the radio d.j. (played by John Coburn) conversed with Maurice the wealthy retired astronaut on the subject of tax avoidance. Chris relayed to Maurice that he hadn't paid his income tax for 10 years. Maurice responded that that wasn't such a bad thing since the government wastes so much money to begin with. Chris responded, "Well, I'm not a libertarian or anything like that, Maurice."

GOP Campaigns for U.S. Senate Under Way

A showdown is in the works for the Virginia Republican Senatorial nomination. Lt. Col. Oliver North is the favorite of many social conservatives. But libertarians and economic conservatives are lining up behind former Reagan Budget Official and Citizens for a Sound Economy past Chair James Miller III. Miller appears to have the edge on respectability and electability. But "Ollie" has fervent grass roots support. The winner will face either incumbent Democrat Chuck Robb or Gov. Doug Wilder, or possibly both (Wilder may run as an independent) in the general election.

Fred Thompson has played the politician role in countless movies over the years including the recently released *In the Line of Fire* starring Clint Eastwood. Now Thompson may have a shot at the real thing. The actor and former Nixon White House attorney is running for the open U.S. Senate seat from Tennessee. In a recent fundraising letter he wrote, "Our problem as a nation is not that our taxes are too low; it is that government spending is too high. More importantly, we've got to get government out of our private lives and out of our wallets! Government shouldn't be making our health care decisions for us, or telling us how many guns we can own, or regulating small business into extinction."

Congressman Chris Cox of Orange County, Calif., has dropped out of the race against Sen. Diane Feinstein. Before dropping out, Cox was slammed by fellow candidate Bill Dannemeyer in a brochure on the subject of abortion. Cox was quoted in the brochure as saying "I'm basically a libertarian on this issue," favoring choice but opposing government funding.

Gov. Campbell Opposes 'Sin Tax'

Lately, South Carolina Gov. Carroll Campbell has been raising his political profile. Pundits speculate that he might be planning a run for the GOP presidential nomination in '96, or at least making himself available for the VP slot. He added fuel to the fire of speculation in October by appearing as a guest speaker at a major fundraising dinner in New Hampshire broadcast nationwide on C-SPAN's *Road to the White House*.

Campbell has established a record of strong fiscal conservatism, balancing state budgets and holding the line on taxes. But

more recently he showed a tolerant side as well. The governor vetoed a proposed "sin tax" which would have added an extra dollar on the rental or sale of videos, films or recordings which depict sexual activity or nudity. For the move, Republican Campbell won praise from both the entertainment industry and civil libertarians.

C-SPAN Update

The term "libertarian" has been popping up a great deal lately on C-SPAN. On a Monday morning *Viewer Call-In* program in early October, in response to a caller's question on libertarian Republicans, Congressman Steve Gunderson (R-WI) said, "I've always considered myself to be somewhat of a libertarian."

On *Booknotes* of Oct. 31, William F. Buckley Jr. was the guest, discussing his new book *Happy Days Were Here Again: Reflections of a Libertarian Journalist*. Buckley and interviewer Brian Lamb spent the first five minutes of the hour-long program discussing Buckley's "libertarian" beliefs.

A funny thing happened on election night. During the 7-hour long C-SPAN elections coverage, the graphic used every 15 minutes or so for the New York mayoral race listed Rudy Guiliani underneath his photo as the "Republican/Libertarian" candidate. In actuality, Guiliani was running under the Republican/Liberal banner. Finally, at the end of the program near 2 a.m. a viewer called in to inform C-SPAN of their mistake and it was corrected.

GOP Leaders Address LP Meetings

The Libertarian Party held its biennial National Convention in Salt Lake City, Utah, Sept. 2-6. A special guest speaker was U.S. Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-UT). Hatch was there to talk about The Dietary Supplementary, Health and Education Act, S784. In his remarks he blasted the FDA for "trying their darnedest to stifle the right . . . to use safe vitamins, minerals, herbs and amino acids to improve our health." At one point, after a standing ovation, Hatch remarked jokingly to the Libertarians, "This is bad, you're starting to act like conservative Republicans." His overall presentation was warmly received by the capacity crowd. But he was called on the carpet during the questions and answers about his inconsistent stance against private consumption of illicit drugs.

During the last four months three other Republican leaders have addressed Libertarian audiences. Congressman Mel Hancock (R-MO), spoke to a gathering of the St. Louis Libertarian Party on the subject of taxes. Congressman Henry Hyde (R-IL), spoke on Clinton's economic package at the monthly supper club meeting of the Northwest Libertarians.

New Hampshire Gov. Steve Merrill addressed the Libertarian State Legislative delegation on Sept. 8, the first time a sitting governor has addressed a Libertarian Party meeting. Merrill stressed areas of cooperation between GOPers and LPers. Then a few days later, he surprisingly appointed Libertarian Mirian Luce to the powerful three-member statewide Liquor Control Board.

Taking Infighting to a New Extreme

The *Houston Post* reported on Oct. 6 that lawyer Thomas Stevens, president of the New York Young Republicans, has been arrested for "allegedly trying to arrange the murder of a political rival" who he said accused him of molesting teen-age members of the club.

Stevens, 39, of Fresh Meadows, N.Y., was accused of meeting with a confidential informant to arrange the murder.

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