

# Republican Liberty

Free Enterprise, Individual Freedom & Limited Government

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## National Service: "A Season of Slavery"

by James S. Robbins

In his inaugural address, President Bill Clinton challenged young Americans to "a season of service." "We need each other," he said, "and must care for one another."

If we take the president literally, these statements may presage a drive for a national service program based on the make-work projects of the New Deal era.

The groundwork for national service is already being laid. The Commission on National and Community Service, established by the National Community Service Act to study various plans, delivered its conclusions at a hearing in December 1992.

Leading advocates of national service gave their prognoses, including Amatai Etzioni, editor of the pro-service journal *The Responsive Community*, Michael Brown of City Year (Boston), Rep. David McCurdy (D-OK) and Billie Ann Meyers of the Arkansas Department of Human Services. Meyers, who was appointed by then-Gov. Clinton and may find a home in the new administration, stated that "voluntary service is the rent we pay for the space we occupy." This sentence strikes at the crux of the service debate, because rent is not voluntary and national service may not be either.

The proponents of service stress its utilitarian benefits, especially the moral improvement which one derives from serving others. Through altruistic sacrifice, one attains a feeling which Brown referred to as "heroism."

While the moral benefits of service are debatable, the key question is whether or not people will be forced to participate. It is one thing to have the government underwrite a program of cheap labor for the character development of young volunteers. It is another for the state to impose a national system of involuntary servitude. It is at that point that "service" becomes "slavery," the moral value of which is exactly nil.

Proponents of national service deny that they desire an involuntary system, but their publications often imply otherwise. A common current, reflected in Billie Ann Meyers' "rent" comment, is that service is a civic duty, not an option.

Service plans are usually aimed at the young, presumably because they would benefit the most from them and their lives would be disrupted the least. Another important fact is that young people, especially under the age of 18, have fewer legal rights than adults, and can more easily be forced to "serve."

The state of Maryland, for example, has now made community service a prerequisite for high school graduation. Proponents argue that service fulfills part of the school's moral mission to create good

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Photo by Michael Holahan / Silver Image

*The Saratoga leaves Jacksonville, Fla., for the Persian Gulf.*

## Intervention Increasing Even As Cold War Ends

by Ron Paul

For more than 40 years, we have been heavily taxed and our liberties crushed by the welfare/warfare state. Untold wealth, freedom and young lives were spent battling the basket-case Soviet Union. Now it is over and instead of bringing the troops home, former President Bush sent armed social workers into Somalia.

It is dreadful that people are starving in that place, as well as Ethiopia, Sudan, Liberia and Zaire. It is tragic that the institutions that allow people to be fed - private property, free exchange, enterprise and the rule of law - have not taken root. But more than parchment and soldiers are needed to solve these problems.

The people of Somalia must respect each others' person and property. They must deal honestly with others and keep their contracts. They must think ahead and put off present consumption for future rewards. Without these cultural and moral foundations, which in the West have come from religion, there is little hope for democracy or any other foreign system to take root.

But because the Somali mission involves feeding people and not shooting them, it has received overwhelming support. It is an "altruistic" war, we are told.

The media helped stir up support for this intervention. But

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## National Service...from 1

citizens, but in fact the service promoters merely have devised a clever way to enslave a vulnerable population.

One plan currently being discussed would replace the Guaranteed Student Loan program with service. Students would spend a year in a service occupation, such as caring for the elderly or building "infrastructure," in return for which the government would pay their tuition. Considering the tuition costs at most colleges and universities, this will not be very cost-effective; and it will be even less so when one factors in the costs of supporting the students during their service year.

Furthermore, as William Evers, a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and a critic of national service, has pointed out, if the government offers such incentives as tuition to attract young people, they will not achieve the moral improvement from altruistic sacrifice that "real service" bestows.

President Clinton may also look at reviving the military draft, the traditional form of "community service," as a means of attacking the deficit. Manpower support is the single most expensive item in the defense budget, and conscripted soldiers are more cost-effective; they need not be lured with high pay and benefits, but merely sent a telegram.

Clinton's personal background as a draft avoider, as well as the end of the Cold War, may make reinstituting the draft politically difficult, but if a consensus for service programs develops, conscription may be sold as a way to "democratize" the armed forces, or as an alternative to civilian service.

National service may emerge as a major challenge to individual liberty in the 1990s. Opponents of service must bear in mind that service supporters are not motivated by reason, but by an emotional attachment to a communitarian concept which they wish to universalize. Arguing economic disutility or violation of one's 13th Amendment rights will not dissuade them. But a coalition of parents, students and unions may be effective in blunting the drive for service.

*Ed. Note - Dr. James S. Robbins is an adjunct Assistant Professor of Government at Bentley College and a contributing editor for 'Liberty' magazine.*

## Intervention...from 1

Americans have seen pictures of starving Africans since photography was invented. That cannot be the reason for the war. Nor is the U.S. Government a charitable agency. It is deliberately starving children in Iraq as it ships food to Somalia.

One of the purposes of the invasion is to prevent a real debate on U.S. foreign policy. Cold War or no, we are supposed to continue merrily along, meddling in other countries. Another purpose is to prop up the military budget, which should - like the rest of federal spending - be massively cut.

Worse, this armed food stamp program transfers power from America to the United Nations. Now, left and right hail the United Nations and call for it to have its own troops so it can intrude in any country at will.

In his farewell address, George Washington warned us of "frequent controversies" abroad, "the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns." If, as he said, we should not entangle "our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor or caprice," Africa can be no different. To John Adams, our foreign policy was to "stand in firm and cautious independence of all entanglement" in foreign politics. James Monroe said "it is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we risk injuries or make preparation for our defense."

As these leaders understood, foreign policy adventurism, whether for imperialism or altruism, is incompatible with limited government. No state that can, without even a vote in Congress, take over Somalia or enter bloody Bosnia will hesitate to aggress against our businesses, communities, families and incomes.

We must recognize anew that America's destiny is exclusive, not universalist. Our nation's purpose, as laid out by our founders, is to foster freedom and prosperity of Americans. We are to serve as an example to others, not as their social worker with a flamethrower.

It is time to return to first principles.

*Ed. Note - Ron Paul is a former Texas Republican congressman, chairman of the National Endowment for Liberty and distinguished counselor to the Ludwig von Mises Institute. Versions of this article appeared in the 'Houston Chronicle' and 'Free Market.'*

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## Note from the Editor

This is the second annual outreach issue of *Republican Liberty*. Distributed at the beginning of each year, the outreach issue includes articles and editorials from a libertarian perspective.

The issue also includes the annual Liberty Index of the U.S. Congress. It is hoped that the survey will serve as an alternative to the tired old ratings systems of the conservative and liberal establishments.

I urge those who are reading *Republican Liberty* for the

first time to subscribe. Our quarterly editions are loaded with timely news on the libertarian Republican movement, including coverage of elected officials, legislation, campaigns and activism. A one-year, five-issue subscription is only \$10.

For those who are supportive of our cause but have not yet made a commitment, I would strongly urge you to become a dues paying member! We absolutely need your financial support to build an exciting and increasingly effective force for political change: The Republican Liberty Caucus.

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# Slash (or Abolish) the Capital Gains Tax

by Philip Blumel

Just a few months into Bill Clinton's term, the new president is already reneging on explicit promises he made during the campaign, such as cutting the deficit, cutting taxes on the middle class and reversing Bush's Haitian policy.

But the biggest promise Clinton made - possibly the one that won him the election - was to create jobs. And guess what? He's not going to keep this one either.

Despite the rhetoric of the election, it is not within Clinton's power to *create* jobs. New jobs are created through private investment and its resulting economic growth; the best Clinton can do is stand aside and let it happen.

To some extent, Clinton promised to do that too. In a session with investors in September 1992, Clinton said he would cut the capital gains tax, recognizing it as an obstacle to job creation.

We should hold him to this one. Cutting the capital gains tax is one of the strongest moves the government can make to encourage the creation of jobs. In fact, some economists consider Reagan's 1986 hike of this tax (from 20 to 33 percent) to be a primary cause of the 1990 recession. Clark S. Judge reported in the *Wall Street Journal* that "Between May 1990 and this April [1991], the U.S. suffered a net loss of 879,000 jobs. It wouldn't have happened and there would be no recession today if the financing of small and young companies had not collapsed after 1986."

Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan agrees. When asked by Congress what the optimum capital gains tax rate would be, Greenspan answered "zero."

What is so destructive about this tax?

- Capital gains taxes discourage investment by reducing the reward for investing without reducing its risks.
- Capital gains taxes retard job growth. Reduced investment in new or expanding small businesses means that jobs which would otherwise have been created never come into existence. It is estimated that three-quarters of all new jobs come from this source.
- Capital gains taxes hurt American competitiveness. West Germany, Hong Kong, the Netherlands and other countries don't tax long term capital gains at all. Japan didn't tax them until 1989, and even now at a low rate indexed for inflation.
- Capital gains taxes immobilize capital. Since the tax is paid only when the investment is sold, taxpayers can avoid it by not selling assets. This means a lot of capital is not freed up as investments mature. The tremendous flood of asset sales just before the 1986 tax increase and just after the 1978 and 1980 tax cuts indicate the importance of these "lock-in" effects.
- High capital gains taxes reduce government revenues. That's right, the tax is not only bad for the economy, it isn't even very effective in raising money. Revenues increased after the tax cuts of 1964, 1978 and 1981 and decreased after the tax increases of 1969 and 1986. Why? A low rate permits investors to keep more of their gain - the best incentive to sell (and pay taxes).

Getting Clinton to keep his word about a capital gains tax cut (and not just a "targeted" investment tax credit) will require an intense effort on the part of Republicans. It was the Democrats in Congress, after all, that prevented President Bush from keeping this same promise.

# Keep Big Brother Out of the Labor Market

by Richard Vedder and Lowell Gallaway

President Clinton has made it clear that "doing something about jobs and the economy" is his top priority. His best strategy would be to end government programs that retard new job growth.

When labor markets are allowed to operate without interference, as after both world wars, the economy adjusts to changing circumstances. But when intervention and manipulation occur, such as by Presidents Hoover and Roosevelt during the Great Depression, the result is prolonged unemployment and low, or no, job growth.

The law of demand applies to labor markets in the same way it applies to all others. When labor is less expensive, more people are hired. When the cost of hiring workers rises, less hiring is done.

What turned a modest recession in the late 1920s into the Great Depression was a government-supported, high-wage policy that priced labor out of the market. Likewise, the 1990 recession was aggravated and partly caused by large wage increases.

During the impressive economic expansion from 1983 to 1989, hourly wage costs (including fringe benefits) rose slightly more than 4 percent a year. After adjusting for inflation and some increase in the productivity of workers, labor costs actually fell as a percentage of sales, making hiring more attractive. Beginning in 1989, however, hourly wage costs started to rise at a faster rate and then soared to an annual rate of 8 percent in the second quarter of 1990. Why? One major factor was the 13.4 percent increase in the federal minimum wage that took effect the first day of that quarter.

The result was that soaring labor costs reduced employment which, in time, led to smaller wage increases, setting the stage for a market-based recovery. Then, on April 1, 1991, another large increase in the federal minimum wage forced up labor costs at an annual rate of 5 percent, thwarting the potential recovery.

Other recent legislation also aggravated joblessness. On three occasions, for example, Congress extended unemployment insurance benefits, causing the unemployed to be more choosy about what work and wages they would accept.

To have both new job opportunities and a rising standard of living, labor productivity - the output per hour worked - must go up. In recent years, several pieces of legislation have retarded productivity growth, such as the 1990 amendments to the Clean Air Act, the Americans with Disabilities Act and the 1991 Civil Rights Act.

President Clinton's campaign promises do not bode well for an easing of unemployment. He favors indexing the minimum wage, allowing it rise on a continual basis. His health care proposals would lead to a huge increase in the cost of fringe benefits. And the higher income taxes he has in mind also will reduce labor inputs.

As for Clinton's proposed "investments" in infrastructure, the evidence is not at all encouraging. Massive public works spending in the 1930s was accompanied by an employment rate that languished in double digits for a decade.

Future significant job growth requires that labor markets be liberated from oppressive constraints imposed by government. If the Clinton administration fails to do this, his 1992 campaign rhetoric will come back to haunt him in 1996.

*Ed. Note - Richard Vedder and Lowell Gallaway teach economics at Ohio University. This article was distributed by the James Madison Institute in Tallahassee, Fla.*

# Liberty Index Proves Left/Right Labels Obsolete

by Clifford F. Thies

The 1993 Liberty Index contains a few surprises, such as a Republican (Sen. James Jeffords, VT) being among the lowest scorers. But, in the main, the index confirmed the shift of the political spectrum observed in the prior two surveys.

No longer can the political spectrum be described solely as "liberal" versus "conservative," where liberal implies a commitment to civil liberties and "conservative" a commitment to economic liberties. It now must include "libertarian" - implying a commitment to both personal and economic liberties. Because of the end of the cold war and the continuing degradation of liberalism, the political spectrum has clearly shifted to "authoritarian," i.e., the Democratic Party, versus "libertarian," which by default (if nothing else) means the Republican Party.

This year, as in the past, I identified 20 votes on personal and economic issues from among the 1991 roll call votes conducted in the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives. In the area of personal liberties, I included votes on gun control, rights of the accused, the drug war and political reform. In the area of economic liberties, I included votes on price controls and other regulations, spending, taxes, the budget deficit and industrial policy.

Among the most important votes of 1991 were votes to establish racial quotas for capital punishment, regulate credit card interest rates, lower the Social Security tax, re-establish preferential tax rates on capital gains and expand the federal death penalty to cover about 50 additional crimes.

Sometimes, in order to define the Libertarian position, I included two votes. For example, on the issue of abortion, I include both a vote to prohibit and a vote requiring parental notification. On particularly important issues, I often included several votes, such as one or more on amendments and/or substitutes, as well as a vote on the final bill.

To minimize bias, I took some care to balance the number of votes in which the Libertarian position coincided with the conservative position and the votes in which the libertarian position

coincided with the liberal one. Similarly, I intentionally included a number of votes in which the libertarian position differed from the administration's position, such as on extending most favored nation trading status to the People's Republic of China and on boondoggles such as the supercollider, the space



Top Scorer (82) in House  
Rep. Dana Rhorabacher (R-CA)



NJ Rep. Dick Zimmer scored a  
91 on economic issues

station, the B-2 bomber and the MX Missile.

And, as in the past, I adjusted gross scores so that the average of both House and Senate would be about 50. Therefore, scores are only relative.

Finishing at the top were Sen. Robert Smith (R-NH) and Rep. Dana Rhorabacher (R-CA). Although there were no perfect scores, there were three who posted scores in the 90s on economic issues. These were Rhorabacher, Rep. Mel Hancock (R-MO) and Rep. Dick Zimmer (R-NJ).

It is also nice to see that two of our past winners, Rep. Dick Armey (R-TX) and Rep. Phil Crane (R-IL) placed near the top again this year with 78 and 77, respectively.

Because there has been some misunderstanding about the Liberty Index, two things should be mentioned. First, while there is a clear difference between Republicans and Democrats in the economic liberties area, there isn't such a clear difference in the personal liberties area. Republicans tend to defend certain personal liberties (e.g., freedom of religion, freedom of association, the right to keep and bear arms) while Democrats defend other personal liberties (e.g., freedom of speech, the rights of the accused, the right to privacy). Libertarians defend these personal liberties and other "orphan" personal liberties, such as drug use and immigration.

Second, it should be noted that the Liberty Index simply reflects voting records of Congress members. It does not reflect attitudes or rhetoric!

Many libertarian purists have criticized the index for making some congress members appear more libertarian on social matters than they actually are. These critics are aghast that a Jesse Helms or a William Dannemeyer would fall into the libertarian quadrant.

The issue of federal arts funding provides a good example of how a Helms or Dannemeyer voting record can be viewed as libertarian. Both, of course, consistently vote against federal funding for the arts. At times, these individuals use horrific rhetoric in denouncing the National Endowment for the Arts which may be deeply offensive to libertarian sensibilities. While the social conservative opposes the art that is being funded, which they view as offensive and immoral, the libertarian opposes the government funding of art altogether. Thus, the libertarian is an ally of Helms and Dannemeyer in opposition to the NEA, and their votes would be identical.

The Liberty Index makes no attempt to get inside the mind of the individual congress member as he or she casts votes. With its emphasis on voting records, the Liberty Index hopes to serve as a more reliable indicator of how our elected Representatives and Senators stand on issues important to libertarians.

*Ed. Note - Clifford F. Thies is the Durrell Chair of Money, Banking and Finance at Shenandoah University and vice-chairman of the Republican Liberty Caucus.*

## Average Scores

### Senate

	Sen	Rep	Dem
Economic	48	60	40
Civil	49	65	36

### House of Representatives

	Hse	Rep	Dem
Economic	47	71	32
Civil	49	61	42

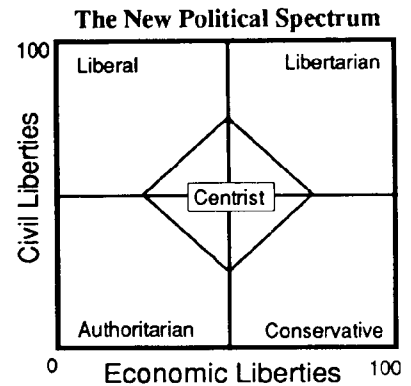
# The 1993 Liberty Index of the U.S. Congress

by Clifford Thies

The 1993 Liberty Index rates members of the U.S. Congress based on 40 roll call votes of 1991, 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" - or leaning libertarian - indicate 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" - or true libertarian - indicate that a congress member was clearly within the libertarian quadrant.

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



## THE U.S. SENATE

Senator						Senator							
Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class	Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class						
AL	Heflin	D	29	44	36	A	MT	Baucus	D	23	38	31	A
AL	Shelby	D	23	54	39	X	MT	Burns	R	56	72	64	LL
AK	Murkowski	R	56	77	67	L	NE	Exon	D	35	44	39	M
AK	Stevens	R	52	72	62	M	NE	Kerry	D	41	33	37	A
AZ	DeConcini	D	52	41	46	M	NV	Bryan	D	52	44	48	M
AZ	McCain	R	65	72	69	TL	NV	Reid	D	29	38	34	A
AR	Bumpers	D	46	38	42	M	NH	Smith	R	74	89	81	TL
AR	Pryor	D	46	44	45	M	NH	Rudman	R	52	59	55	M
CA	Cranston	D	44	22	33	A	NJ	Bradley	D	52	30	41	M
CA	Seymour	R	56	66	61	M	NJ	Lautenberg	D	46	27	37	A
CO	Wirth	D	38	27	33	A	NM	Bingaman	D	35	27	31	A
CO	Brown	R	60	72	66	LL	NM	Domenici	R	60	68	64	LL
CT	Dodd	D	35	33	34	A	NY	Moynihan	D	46	33	40	M
CT	Lieberman	D	46	27	37	A	NY	D'Amato	R	60	72	66	LL
DE	Biden	D	56	22	39	C	NC	Sanford	D	41	33	37	A
DE	Roth	R	63	54	58	M	NC	Helms	R	71	79	75	TL
FL	Graham	D	23	38	31	A	ND	Burdick	D	23	38	31	A
FL	Mack	R	60	72	66	LL	ND	Conrad	D	46	44	45	M
GA	Fowler	D	49	44	47	M	OH	Glenn	D	32	38	35	A
GA	Nunn	D	56	54	55	M	OH	Metzenbaum	D	41	27	34	A
HI	Inouye	D	29	33	31	A	OK	Boren	D	54	38	46	M
HI	Akaka	D	29	27	28	A	OK	Nickles	R	65	72	69	TL
ID	Craig	R	69	77	73	TL	OR	Hatfield	R	52	49	51	M
ID	Symms	R	74	82	78	TL	OR	Packwood	R	56	41	49	M
IL	Dixon	D	41	44	42	M	PA	Wolford	D	38	38	38	M
IL	Simon	D	29	33	31	A	PA	Specter	R	56	56	56	M
IN	Coats	R	82	72	77	TL	RI	Pell	D	49	33	41	M
IN	Lugar	R	76	63	70	TL	RI	Chafee	R	49	38	44	M
IA	Harkin	D	41	30	35	A	SC	Hollings	D	56	63	60	M
IA	Grassley	R	52	72	62	M	SC	Thurmond	R	52	68	60	M
KS	Dole	R	60	63	62	M	SD	Daschle	D	52	27	40	M
KS	Kassebaum	R	60	44	52	M	SD	Pressler	R	69	72	71	TL
KY	Ford	D	41	44	42	M	TN	Gore	D	29	27	28	A
KY	McConnell	R	65	72	69	TL	TN	Sasser	D	41	27	34	A
LA	Breaux	D	41	63	52	M	TX	Bentsen	D	29	52	40	M
LA	Johnston	D	41	59	50	M	TX	Gramm	R	67	72	70	TL
ME	Mitchell	D	52	27	40	M	UT	Garn	R	65	82	73	TL
ME	Cohen	R	52	44	48	M	UT	Hatch	R	71	68	70	TL
MD	Mikulski	D	29	33	31	A	VT	Leahy	D	41	38	40	M
MD	Sarbanes	D	35	27	31	A	VT	Jeffords	R	44	11	27	A
MA	Kennedy	D	52	33	42	M	VA	Robb	D	29	38	34	A
MA	Kerry	D	52	27	40	M	VA	Warner	R	56	54	55	M
MI	Levin	D	41	27	34	A	WA	Adams	D	29	27	28	A
MI	Riegle	D	41	33	37	A	WA	Gorton	R	52	59	55	M
MN	Wellstone	D	41	36	38	M	WV	Byrd	D	23	49	36	A
MN	Durenberger	R	46	38	42	M	WV	Rockefeller	D	29	22	25	A
MS	Cochran	R	56	68	62	M	WI	Kohl	D	41	33	37	A
MS	Lott	R	54	72	63	LL	WI	Kasten	R	65	68	66	LL
MO	Bond	R	58	68	63	LL	WY	Simpson	R	56	70	63	LL
MO	Danforth	R	49	44	47	M	WY	Wallop	R	71	86	79	TL

# THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

	Representative		Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class		Representative		Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class
AL	Callahan	R	76	68	72	TL	CT	Franks	R	83	54	69	LL
AL	Dickinson	R	76	63	70	TL	CT	Johnson	R	61	44	53	M
AL	Browder	D	33	52	43	M	DE	Carper	D	30	33	32	A
AL	Bevil	D	27	59	43	X	FL	Hutto	D	48	50	49	M
AL	Cramer	D	30	54	42	M	FL	Peterson	D	30	39	35	A
AL	Erdreich	D	36	54	45	M	FL	Bennett	D	42	39	41	M
AL	Harris	D	24	59	42	X	FL	James	R	78	54	66	LL
AK	Young	R	42	68	55	X	FL	McCollum	R	70	63	67	LL
AZ	Rhodes	R	87	66	77	TL	FL	Stearns	R	83	59	71	LL
AZ	Udall/Pastor	D	45	36	40	M	FL	Gibbons	D	42	36	39	M
AZ	Stump	R	78	68	73	TL	FL	Young	R	66	50	58	M
AZ	Kyl	R	78	68	73	TL	FL	Bilirakas	R	68	59	64	LL
AZ	Kolbe	R	78	63	71	TL	FL	Ireland	R	72	59	66	LL
AR	Alexander	D	30	39	35	A	FL	Bacchus	D	24	39	32	A
AR	Thorton	D	30	39	35	A	FL	Lewis	R	71	63	67	LL
AR	Hammerschmidt	R	57	56	57	M	FL	Goss	R	83	50	67	C
AR	Anthony	D	50	41	46	M	FL	Johnston	D	33	28	31	A
CA	Riggs	D	66	59	63	M	FL	Shaw	R	74	59	67	LL
CA	Herger	R	87	73	80	TL	FL	Smith	D	33	28	31	A
CA	Matsui	D	39	22	31	A	FL	Lehman	D	30	44	37	A
CA	Fazio	D	18	36	27	A	FL	Ros-Lehtinen	R	72	44	58	C
CA	Pelosi	D	24	44	34	A	FL	Fascell	D	24	33	29	A
CA	Boxer	D	36	22	29	A	GA	Thomas	D	36	54	45	M
CA	Miller	D	24	33	29	A	GA	Hatcher	D	42	36	39	M
CA	Dellums	D	18	41	30	A	GA	Ray	D	45	56	51	M
CA	Stark	D	24	30	27	A	GA	Jones	D	36	39	38	M
CA	Edwards	D	12	44	28	A	GA	Lewis	D	30	41	36	A
CA	Lantos	D	15	25	20	A	GA	Gingrich	R	74	70	72	TL
CA	Campbell	R	63	52	58	M	GA	Darden	D	42	47	45	M
CA	Mineta	D	21	30	26	A	GA	Rowland	D	50	50	50	M
CA	Doolittle	R	83	73	78	TL	GA	Jenkins	D	45	54	50	M
CA	Condit	D	30	39	35	A	GA	Barnard	D	48	54	51	M
CA	Panetta	D	24	33	29	A	HI	Abercrombie	D	21	33	27	A
CA	Dooley	D	30	33	32	A	HI	Mink	D	21	33	27	A
CA	Lehman	D	27	44	36	A	ID	LaRocco	D	24	44	34	A
CA	Lagomarsino	R	76	59	68	LL	ID	Stallings	D	42	50	46	M
CA	Thomas	R	68	50	59	M	IL	Hayes	D	24	39	32	A
CA	Gallegly	R	78	59	69	LL	IL	Savage	D	24	44	34	A
CA	Moorhead	R	87	73	80	TL	IL	Russo	D	36	54	45	M
CA	Beilenson	D	42	44	43	M	IL	Sangmeister	D	39	52	46	M
CA	Waxman	D	18	44	31	A	IL	Lipinski	D	42	54	48	M
CA	Roybal	D	36	50	43	M	IL	Hyde	R	70	59	65	LL
CA	Berman	D	33	33	33	A	IL	Collins	D	24	41	33	A
CA	Levine	D	33	33	33	A	IL	Rostenkowski	D	48	36	42	M
CA	Dixon	D	21	44	33	A	IL	Yates	D	24	47	36	A
CA	Waters	D	24	44	34	A	IL	Porter	R	78	59	69	LL
CA	Martinez	D	36	36	36	A	IL	Annunzio	D	24	47	36	A
CA	Dymally	D	36	47	42	M	IL	Crane	R	85	68	77	TL
CA	Anderson	D	24	17	21	A	IL	Fawell	R	83	44	64	C
CA	Drier	R	83	68	75	TL	IL	Hastert	R	83	63	73	TL
CA	Torres	D	18	22	20	A	IL	Madigan/Ewing	R	70	56	63	LL
CA	Lewis	R	66	63	65	LL	IL	Cox	R	33	39	36	A
CA	Brown	D	15	28	22	A	IL	Evans	D	24	33	29	A
CA	McCandless	R	78	63	71	TL	IL	Michel	R	66	50	58	M
CA	Dorman	R	76	68	72	TL	IL	Bruce	D	30	54	42	M
CA	Dannemeyer	R	81	75	78	TL	IL	Durbin	D	36	33	35	A
CA	Cox	R	83	63	73	TL	IL	Costello	D	30	59	45	X
CA	Lowery	R	81	59	70	LL	IL	Poshard	D	36	59	48	M
CA	Rohrabacher	R	96	68	82	TL	IN	Viclosky	D	30	44	37	A
CA	Packard	R	83	63	73	TL	IN	Sharp	D	42	28	35	A
CA	Cunningham	R	74	68	71	TL	IN	Roemer	D	42	39	41	M
CA	Hunter	R	74	70	72	TL	IN	Long	D	24	39	32	A
CO	Schroeder	D	30	33	32	A	IN	Jantz	D	24	39	32	A
CO	Skaggs	D	30	50	40	M	IN	Burton	R	83	73	78	TL
CO	Campbell	D	24	44	34	A	IN	Myers	R	66	68	67	LL
CO	Allard	R	83	63	73	TL	IN	McCloskey	D	36	33	35	A
CO	Hefley	R	83	73	78	TL	IN	Hamilton	D	48	33	41	M
CO	Schaefer	R	74	68	71	TL	IN	Jacobs	D	30	41	36	A
CT	Kennelly	D	27	33	30	A	IA	Leach	R	74	39	57	C
CT	Gejdenson	D	30	33	32	A	IA	Nussle	R	66	63	65	LL
CT	DeLauro	D	24	28	26	A	IA	Nagle	D	33	56	45	M
CT	Shays	R	74	22	48	C	IA	Smith	D	36	44	40	M

	Representative		Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class		Representative		Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class
IA	Lightfoot	R	70	68	69	TL	MO	Clay	D	18	44	31	A
IA	Grandy	R	83	63	73	TL	MO	Horn	D	30	33	32	A
KS	Roberts	R	68	56	62	M	MO	Gephardt	D	33	28	31	A
KS	Slattery	D	57	54	56	M	MO	Skelton	D	36	56	46	M
KS	Meyers	R	57	44	51	M	MO	Wheat	D	12	44	28	A
KS	Glickman	D	48	33	41	M	MO	Coleman	R	57	54	56	M
KS	Nichols	R	74	68	71	TL	MO	Hancock	R	83	73	78	TL
KY	Hubbard	D	18	44	31	A	MO	Emerson	R	63	63	63	LL
KY	Natcher	D	24	50	37	A	MO	Volkmer	D	21	54	38	X
KY	Mazzoli	D	24	39	32	A	MT	Williams	D	21	50	36	A
KY	Bunning	R	87	68	78	TL	MT	Marlenee	R	63	68	66	LL
KY	Rogers	R	57	63	60	M	NE	Bereuter	R	74	68	71	TL
KY	Hopkins	R	61	66	64	LL	NE	Hoagland	D	42	33	38	M
KY	Perkins	D	6	50	28	A	NE	Barrett	R	66	63	65	LL
LA	Livingston	R	70	70	70	TL	NV	Bilbray	D	27	63	45	X
LA	Jefferson	D	21	25	23	A	NV	Vucanovich	R	63	63	63	LL
LA	Tauzin	D	68	50	59	M	NH	Zeliff	R	83	68	76	TL
LA	McCrery	R	68	66	67	LL	NH	Swett	D	36	59	48	M
LA	Huckaby	D	57	68	63	M	NJ	Andrews	D	33	33	33	A
LA	Baker	R	68	73	71	TL	NJ	Hughes	D	42	50	46	M
LA	Hayes	D	68	73	71	TL	NJ	Pallone	D	30	39	35	A
LA	Holloway	R	63	70	67	LL	NJ	Smith	R	42	54	48	M
ME	Andrews	D	18	44	31	A	NJ	Roukema	R	61	41	51	M
ME	Snowe	R	48	68	58	M	NJ	Dwyer	D	30	28	29	A
MD	Gilchrest	R	78	59	69	LL	NJ	Rinaldo	R	42	54	48	M
MD	Bentley	R	53	63	58	M	NJ	Roe	D	12	41	27	A
MD	Cardin	D	30	33	32	A	NJ	Torricelli	D	24	33	29	A
MD	McMillen	D	30	39	35	A	NJ	Payne	D	30	44	37	A
MD	Hoyer	D	33	33	33	A	NJ	Gallo	R	76	59	68	LL
MD	Byron	D	48	59	54	M	NJ	Zimmer	R	91	54	73	LL
MD	Mfume	D	24	39	32	A	NJ	Saxton	R	70	63	67	LL
MD	Morella	R	59	33	46	C	NJ	Guarini	D	39	33	36	A
MA	Vacant/Olver	R	36	47	42	M	NM	Schiff	R	57	59	58	M
MA	Neal	D	18	39	29	A	NM	Skeen	R	57	59	58	M
MA	Early	D	45	44	45	M	NM	Richardson	D	12	50	31	A
MA	Frank	D	42	28	35	A	NY	Hochbrueckner	D	18	39	29	A
MA	Atkins	D	36	28	32	A	NY	Downey	D	24	39	32	A
MA	Mavroules	D	33	39	36	A	NY	Mrazek	D	36	44	40	M
MA	Markey	D	27	33	30	A	NY	Lent	R	66	56	61	M
MA	Kennedy	D	12	28	20	A	NY	McGrath	R	48	63	56	M
MA	Moakley	D	24	33	29	A	NY	Flake	D	24	39	32	A
MA	Studds	D	24	39	32	A	NY	Ackerman	D	9	39	24	A
MA	Donnelly	D	42	22	32	A	NY	Schuer	D	30	39	35	A
MI	Conyers	D	24	47	36	A	NY	Manton	D	27	44	36	A
MI	Pursell	R	70	47	59	M	NY	Schumer	D	30	39	34	A
MI	Wolpe	D	36	33	35	A	NY	Towns	D	24	44	34	A
MI	Upton	R	78	50	64	C	NY	Owens	D	24	39	32	A
MI	Henry	R	70	44	57	C	NY	Solarz	D	33	39	36	A
MI	Carr	D	30	39	35	A	NY	Molinari	R	57	54	56	M
MI	Kildee	D	24	44	34	A	NY	Green	R	30	33	32	A
MI	Traxler	D	33	44	39	M	NY	Rangel	D	18	39	29	A
MI	Vander Jagt	R	78	66	72	TL	NY	Weiss	D	33	44	39	M
MI	Camp	R	78	54	66	LL	NY	Serrano	D	18	44	31	A
MI	Davis	R	45	68	57	M	NY	Engel	D	27	44	36	A
MI	Bonior	D	27	39	33	A	NY	Lowery	D	36	33	35	A
MI	Collins	D	18	41	30	A	NY	Fish	R	53	44	49	M
MI	Hertel	D	18	39	29	A	NY	Gilman	R	42	50	46	M
MI	Ford	D	36	39	38	M	NY	McNulty	D	30	44	37	A
MI	Dingell	D	30	50	40	M	NY	Soloman	R	78	68	73	TL
MI	Levin	D	24	33	29	A	NY	Boehlert	R	42	50	46	M
MI	Broomfield	R	72	54	63	LL	NY	Martin	R	76	59	68	LL
MN	Penny	D	78	54	66	LL	NY	Walsh	R	61	52	57	M
MN	Weber	R	78	68	73	TL	NY	McHugh	D	36	50	43	M
MN	Ramstad	R	63	63	63	LL	NY	Horton	R	27	59	43	X
MN	Vento	D	21	44	33	A	NY	Slaughter	D	24	33	29	A
MN	Sabo	D	30	44	37	A	NY	Paxon	R	81	63	72	TL
MN	Sikorski	D	30	28	29	A	NY	LaFalce	D	24	54	39	X
MN	Peterson	D	24	44	34	A	NY	Nowak	D	24	33	29	A
MN	Oberstar	D	27	56	42	X	NY	Houghton	R	66	59	63	M
MS	Whitten	D	36	52	44	M	NC	Jones	D	24	47	35	A
MS	Espy	D	36	54	45	M	NC	Valentine	D	66	39	53	C
MS	Montgomery	D	57	54	56	M	NC	Lancaster	D	57	39	48	M
MS	Parker	D	61	59	60	M	NC	Price	D	48	39	44	M
MS	Taylor	D	55	54	55	M	NC	Neal	D	59	50	55	M

	Representative		Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class
NC	Coble	R	83	68	76	TL
NC	Rose	D	36	28	32	A
NC	Hefner	D	39	41	40	M
NC	McMillan	R	74	59	67	LL
NC	Ballenger	R	78	68	73	TL
NC	Taylor	R	74	73	74	TL
ND	Dorgan	D	36	59	48	M
OH	Luken	D	57	44	51	M
OH	Gradison	R	83	54	69	LL
OH	Hall	D	30	44	37	A
OH	Oxley	R	87	54	71	LL
OH	Gilmor	R	74	68	71	TL
OH	McEwen	R	76	73	75	TL
OH	Hobson	R	78	54	66	LL
OH	Boehner	R	78	68	73	TL
OH	Kaptur	D	30	28	29	A
OH	Miller	R	74	63	69	TL
OH	Eckart	D	18	33	26	A
OH	Kaish	R	83	63	73	TL
OH	Pease	D	33	44	39	M
OH	Sawyer	D	36	33	35	A
OH	Wylie	R	74	52	63	LL
OH	Regula	R	53	54	54	M
OH	Trafficant	D	12	44	28	A
OH	Applegate	D	18	44	31	A
OH	Feighan	D	24	33	29	A
OH	Oakar	D	18	28	23	A
OH	Stokes	D	21	44	33	A
OK	Inhofe	R	81	66	74	TL
OK	Synar	D	36	39	38	M
OK	Brewster	D	30	50	40	M
OK	McCurdy	D	50	39	45	M
OK	Edwards	R	78	63	71	TL
OK	English	D	36	50	43	M
OR	AuCain	D	21	30	26	A
OR	Smith, B.	R	61	63	62	M
OR	Wyden	D	30	22	26	A
OR	DeFazio	D	18	44	31	A
OR	Kopetski	D	21	44	33	A
PA	Foglietta	D	18	33	26	A
PA	Gray/Blackwell	D	39	44	42	M
PA	Borski	D	18	44	31	A
PA	Kolter	D	15	50	33	X
PA	Schulze	R	78	68	73	TL
PA	Yatron	D	27	41	34	A
PA	Weldon	R	66	54	60	M
PA	Kostmayer	D	27	33	30	A
PA	Shuster	R	89	70	80	TL
PA	McDade	R	42	54	48	M
PA	Kanjorski	D	42	54	48	M
PA	Murtha	D	15	33	24	A
PA	Coughlin	R	61	50	56	M
PA	Coyne	D	24	39	32	A
PA	Ritter	R	78	59	69	LL
PA	Walker	R	83	73	78	TL
PA	Gekas	R	74	63	69	TL
PA	Santorum	D	70	63	67	LL
PA	Goodling	R	83	59	71	LL
PA	Gaydos	D	15	47	31	A
PA	Ridge	R	66	68	67	LL
PA	Murphy	D	55	41	48	M
PA	Clinger	R	66	77	72	TL
RI	Machtley	R	53	56	55	M
RI	Reed	D	36	22	29	A
SC	Ravenel	R	70	63	67	LL
SC	Spence	R	66	61	64	LL
SC	Derrick	D	61	33	47	C
SC	Patterson	D	61	39	50	M
SC	Spratt	D	53	36	45	M
SC	Tallon	D	42	44	43	M
SD	Johnson	D	30	39	35	A
TN	Quillen	R	66	56	61	M
TN	Duncan	R	91	63	77	TL
TN	Lloyd	D	48	39	44	M

	Representative		Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class
TN	Cooper	D	48	39	44	M
TN	Clement	D	42	44	43	M
TN	Gordon	D	36	33	35	A
TN	Sundquist	R	76	56	66	LL
TN	Tanner	D	45	59	52	M
TN	Ford	D	33	39	36	A
TX	Chapman	D	36	41	39	M
TX	Wilson	D	48	47	48	M
TX	Vacant/Johnson	D	74	66	70	TL
TX	Hall	D	57	54	56	M
TX	Bryant	D	27	33	30	A
TX	Barton	R	61	68	65	LL
TX	Archer	R	83	68	76	TL
TX	Fields	R	83	68	76	TL
TX	Brooks	D	21	50	36	A
TX	Pickle	D	33	50	42	M
TX	Edwards	D	27	54	41	X
TX	Geren	D	50	44	47	M
TX	Sarpalius	D	45	54	50	M
TX	Laughlin	D	24	39	32	A
TX	de la Garza	D	27	39	33	A
TX	Coleman	D	18	44	31	A
TX	Stenholm	D	57	50	54	M
TX	Washington	D	21	44	33	A
TX	Combest	R	70	63	67	LL
TX	Gonzalez	D	24	39	32	A
TX	Smith	R	66	73	70	TL
TX	DeLay	R	83	70	77	TL
TX	Bustamente	D	21	36	29	A
TX	Frost	D	18	39	29	A
TX	Andrews	D	42	50	46	M
TX	Arney	R	87	68	78	TL
TX	Ortiz	D	24	52	38	X
UT	Hansen	R	78	63	71	TL
UT	Owens	D	36	47	42	M
UT	Otron	D	53	59	56	M
VT	Sanders	I	21	54	38	X
VA	Bateman	R	66	54	60	M
VA	Pickett	D	48	50	49	M
VA	Biley	R	83	59	71	LL
VA	Sisisky	D	55	44	50	M
VA	Payne	D	61	39	50	M
VA	Olin	D	48	63	56	M
VA	Slaughter/Allen	R	63	61	62	M
VA	Moran	D	42	39	41	M
VA	Boucher	D	24	54	39	X
VA	Wolf	R	66	63	65	LL
WA	Miller	R	63	63	63	LL
WA	Swift	D	27	39	33	A
WA	Unsoeld	D	36	54	45	M
WA	Morrison	D	48	54	51	M
WA	Dicks	D	27	36	32	A
WA	McDermott	D	30	39	35	A
WA	Chandler	R	59	59	59	M
WV	Mollohan	D	18	59	39	X
WV	Staggers	D	30	54	42	M
WV	Wise	D	24	54	39	X
WV	Rahall	D	18	33	26	A
WI	Aspin	D	27	41	34	A
WI	Klug	R	70	50	60	M
WI	Gunderson	R	57	68	63	M
WI	Klecicka	D	33	33	33	A
WI	Moody	D	33	39	36	A
WI	Petri	R	83	77	80	TL
WI	Obey	D	30	59	45	X
WI	Roth	R	83	68	76	TL
WI	Sensenbrenner	R	81	63	72	TL
WY	Thomas	R	81	63	72	TL

*Ed. Note - Clifford F. Thies is Durrell Chair of Money, Banking and Finance at Shenandoah University and vice-chairman of the Republican Liberty Caucus. For a copy of the votes used, send \$2 to Rt. 2, Box 313, Boyce, VA 22620.*



# **GOP Doldrums**

## **Libertarian Wing Offers A Way Out**

by *Mike Holmes*

There is a silver lining in the recent GOP defeat at the polls. No longer are principled Republicans, particularly libertarian Republicans, constrained by the political necessities that come with a Republican president from unleashing the full impact of our comprehensive anti-statist critique against the ever-expanding cancer of modern bureaucratic government.

But before we can concentrate our full attention to our main enemy, the state, we must first deal with the perceived division of the GOP ranks between the Religious Right and the moderates.

While GOP factionalism has been exaggerated by pundits, there is some reality in their critique. Take the Christian Coalition and other family values conservatives. Their most articulate spokesman Pat Buchanan effectively tore up Bush during the primaries for lacking principles and ignoring issues which affected the traditional Republican voter. Pit bull Buchanan flushed Bush out into the open where he wimped, withered and died.

But alas, there's a such a thing as too much. The abortion issue, for instance, only attracts nuts from both extremes. As a political issue, it's been dead for years. The American people have decided that individuals, not the state, will decide for themselves the question. End of story.

As for the issue of family values and the "culture war," these questions have been turned into grotesque parodies of themselves. Many Americans see "family values" as code for small town prejudices writ large - the smirking jokes by Buchanan at the Houston convention being proof positive.

Aside from stirring up historic American Puritanical prejudices, Buchanan and his brigades manifest a xenophobic strain which erupts in blatant calls for protectionism and closed borders. Like Mother Goose's little girl with the curl, Buchanan when good is very good but when he's bad, he's horrid.

Now that the prospects of power and influence have dimmed considerably, perhaps the instinct for moral values and individual responsibility will come to the fore. To their credit, the family values wing have grasped the essential distinction libertarians recognize: the difference between society and state. They see that the institutions of family, religion, commerce and education provide the proper foundation for a just and moral life.

The so-called moderates are easily distinguished from the Religious Right, but this is their sole salient characteristic. Lacking any other convictions it is difficult to see their appeal.

On the issues of abortion and social tolerance, of course, the moderate positions are correct in the sense that they are inclusive. This, however, is hardly an ideological or philosophical outlook worth all the fuss.

There are two identifiable organizations currently claiming the

mantle of "moderation."

The first, Tom Campbell's Republican Majority coalition, is centered around the issue of abortion (on the pro-choice side) and is, as previously mentioned, irrelevant in terms of the future of the GOP. An organization set up in response to the issue is doomed to become a prisoner of an increasingly narrow spectrum of special interest voters.

The second more interesting group sports the artificial moniker Empower America, which was launched with much Beltway media fanfare. Viewed by some as merely a front for the Kemp in '96 presidential effort, this group claims the endorsement of such politicians as Jeanne Kirkpatrick, neocon queen of foreign policy,

and the thuggish Bill Bennett, former drug czar.

The problem with this approach is that it assumes all of the premises of the

welfare-warfare state and merely dresses them up in soothing rhetoric about individual choice and freedom.

"Empowerment" comes with a heavy bureaucratic overhead, since the objects of this government largess must be carefully guided and nurtured by their benevolent overseers. It's no accident that in Kemp's tenure as HUD secretary - in a Republican administration no less - the agency's budget grew from 1.1 to 2 percent of federal outlays.

Not surprisingly, with this basically pro-government outlook and neo-conservative presence in the top ranks, Empower America is promising to support "an activist, interventionist foreign policy." The guns-and-butter promises invented while LBJ was Great Society-ing and flattening North Vietnam have been repackaged and now are peddled as a new, improved Republicanism.

**So what's a party to do?**

If the GOP is to survive and prosper, it must develop into a politically astute, finely tuned opposition machine, cranking out noisy and politically potent dissent at every opportunity.

The American public doesn't want to "empower" self-righteous TV evangelists or their intolerant flocks any more than they are buying into the kinder and gentler GOP social welfarist, foreign interventionist rhetoric peddled by alleged moderates.

The public does however respond to the traditional vision of the smaller is better, private property protecting limited government which stays off their backs, out of their wallets and away from their bedrooms. This was the underlying appeal of the Reagan revolution which ousted Jimmy Carter and company the last time the Democrats came to Washington. And this libertarian vision remains the only real alternative to the smothering embrace of Clinton and his tax-happy congressional allies.

It's time to arm GOP political warriors with suitable weapons of the best of American philosophy and ideas: good old-fashioned in-your-face chain saw anti-State libertarianism.

# 'Super IRA' a Better Deal for Retirees

by Andrew J. Murphy

When Sen. Barry Goldwater ran for president in 1964, he was pilloried for suggesting the Social Security system was heading toward Chapter 11 and was, in essence, a bad deal for American retirees. Well, Goldwater's warning is becoming a reality.

Since Goldwater, few beside Gov. Pete du Pont has had the courage to admit the obvious, that Social Security can no longer be a sacred cow for the Republican Party. For the baby boomers and the younger generation, Social Security is a curse, not a blessing. As Lincoln said, "It's time to think and act anew."

In the last 15 years, the government has had to rescue the system twice. In 1977, President Jimmy Carter, after an enormous tax increase, promised the system was solvent until 2030. But in 1983, the Reagan administration had to save the system again from financial collapse by abolishing the "pay-as-you-go" principle and siphoning \$250 billion a year more from an overtaxed middle class.

The tax burden is still going up. In the 1950s, \$189 a year was taken from both employee and employers and in the 1960s it crept up to \$348 a year. Today, the maximum Social Security tax taken every year is over \$5,600. Clearly, something is amiss here.

This becomes more staggering when one looks at the negligible return Americans are receiving from this New Deal anachronism. According to Peter Ferrara of the CATO Institute, those currently working are receiving a return of roughly -2 percent to +2 percent.

So what is the solution? Anybody who has mutual funds or an Individual Retirement Account (IRA) knows what it is: Make Social Security into a "Super IRA."

Under this reform, Americans would be, to begin with, free to choose retirement programs. They can stay with the current system or decide to put their F.I.C.A. money into an IRA under their name. Those who choose the former will have a 100 percent dollar-for-dollar tax credit equal to the amount they put into their IRA, along with their employer. Therefore, their income tax would be reduced for every dollar they put into their account. Thus, those who are currently receiving Social Security (or are about to) will not have one cent taken away from their benefits.

The Super IRA would be an enormous change from the current system. First, contributors would earn a much better return on their savings. Second, the Super IRA would allow couples to will their remaining benefits to their spouse or loved ones, unlike Social Security benefits.

Besides enriching the lives of all Americans, the reform would be of tremendous profit to the American economy. It would eliminate payroll taxes and permit employers to hire more people.

And, of course, banks, insurance companies and mutual fund industries would boom, plus unions could benefit by developing retirement programs with pooled IRAs by union members.

The Republican Party is going to have to face the problem of Social Security. By the end of the decade, the system is looking at a 2-to-1 ratio of retirees to workers. Trying to sweep the issue under the carpet will not suffice. By offering a radical and popular solution which will more than double the retirement income of all Americans, the Republican Party can dominate the debate in the future.

*Ed. Note - Andrew J. Murphy is a political science student at Memphis State University.*

## RL Bookshelf

# Libertarian Ideas, Politics Focus of New Books

by T. Franklin Harris Jr.

No one has ever accused libertarians of being light readers. So, as usual, there is a plethora of new books out about libertarian philosophy, politics and policy analysis.

The most outstanding of recent releases is James T. Bennett and Thomas J. DiLorenzo's *Official Lies: How Washington Misleads Us* (Alexandria, VA: Groom Books, 1992, 320 p., \$19.95). This book would be hilarious if not for the fact that it is all true. *Official Lies* details the various ways in which the government uses misinformation in order to give the public a false image of its capabilities and to manipulate public opinion so as to increase support for government programs and agencies.

The authors cite various examples of such abuses, with a wit worthy of P.J. O'Rourke, but the most startling is how government propagandizes in the public schools.

The authors write: "[Civics textbooks] portray government in saintly hues. Its servants are selfless, public-spirited politicians and bureaucrats whose greatest desire is to serve others." All government agencies are seen as working in the "public interest," when in fact they spend most of their time looking out for their own interests.

Whether it is the environmental scare tactics used by the EPA or the Drug War's campaign of deception, *Official Lies* is there to provide the truth. Such a service has never been more valuable. *Official Lies* is highly recommended.

While *Official Lies* aptly shows what is wrong with our present system, *Healing Our World: The Other Piece of the Puzzle* by Dr. Mary J. Ruwart (Kalamzoo, MI: SunStar Press, 1992, 308p., \$14.95) is an attempt to show how we can make things right. Ruwart's book in many ways is a typical libertarian primer in that it succinctly outlines basic libertarian principles and gives concrete examples of what such principles mean for the real world - in Ruwart's words "a world of peace and plenty."

As a primer, the book succeeds. Where *Healing Our World* fails, however, is as an intellectual defense of liberty. Ruwart attempts to ground libertarianism in the broader philosophy of the New Age. The purpose is to link both philosophies' concern for the individual. The result, however, is that liberty is simply asserted to

### Notable Quote

"You know, some people think we lost this election. We didn't lose it. Some people we know ... people we like personally ... people whose politics we can just barely tolerate ... They lost this election. We've been in opposition for four years already. And opposition is where we belong."

— P.J. O'Rourke, *American Spectator*,  
February 1993.

be good; no other defense is supposedly necessary.

Still, *Healing Our World* is an interesting read. Its political content is simple and concise. And its political philosophy is, at least, different. It is an interesting contrast to traditional New Age political thought - which is far left to say the least.

Philosophy, however, is useless unless it is put into action. The Libertarian Party has been around now for over 20 years, yet it has never been given serious study. *The Libertarian Party And Other Minor Political Parties in the United States* by Joseph M. Hazlett II (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company Inc., 1992, 181p.) is the first scholarly look at Libertarian politics. Hazlett traces the formation of the Libertarian Party as both a political and ideological institution. He is careful to outline the philosophies of the various thinkers (Rothbard, Hospers, Nozick and Rand) who gave birth to the modern libertarian movement.

Even more interesting, however, is Hazlett's analysis of where the libertarian movement is going. He sees the Libertarian Party on the brink, forced to decide whether or not to enter the real world of politics or continue down the road of internal squabbling until the party is winnowed down to nothing. Hazlett concludes that the Libertarian Party must become more "pragmatic" in order to have any influence at all.

Of particular interest is Hazlett's discussion of the attempts of libertarians to gain political influence through the major parties - the Republican Party in particular. Hazlett notes that "some of the issues that could be labeled as libertarian - such as privatization of government services - are appearing on the Republican Party agenda. It is logical that voters who support these ideas will vote for the party that has a better chance of being elected and putting these issues into policy. Therefore, they vote Republican."

For those interested in a scholarly look at libertarian politics, *The Libertarian Party* is informative reading.

For a more specific look at libertarian principles in practice, there is *Victim: Caught in the Environmental Web* by Bruce G. Siminoff (Lakewood, CO: Glenbridge Publishing Ltd., 1993, 264p., \$19.95). Although limited to the specific case of New Jersey, *Victim* is a telling case study of the threats rabid environmentalism poses to our basic freedoms. Most everyone is aware of the dangers environmentalism poses to property rights, but Siminoff gives startling personal accounts of how peoples' lives have been ruined simply because they own property. He writes that New Jersey's environmental regulatory process "when combined with federal wetlands regulations and other overly zealous enforcement, can destroy the property of any citizen who owns real estate near fresh or salt water." The answer is clear: now more than ever, new solutions are needed for our environmental problems if we are to protect the right to private property. The old regulations, enforced by agencies who seek only to expand their power, must be abandoned.

The following books are highly recommended:

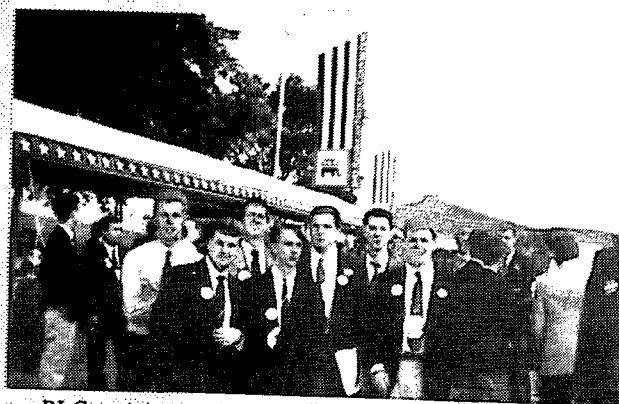
*Prosperity Versus Planning: How Government Stifles Economic Growth* by David Osterfeld (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992, 273 p., \$19.95). An excellent look at how economic planning by various governments across the globe results in poverty, stagnation and poor living conditions for all - except the planners, of course.

*The Meaning of Ludwig von Mises: Contributions in Economics, Sociology, Epistemology and Political Philosophy*, edited by Jeffrey M. Herbener (Norwell, MA: Kluwer Academic Publishers,

1993, 350p.) Brilliant essays by Murray Rothbard, Israel Kirzner and many others. Of particular importance is a groundbreaking essay on ethics by Hans-Hermann Hoppe.

*Market Liberalism: A Paradigm for the 21st Century*, edited by David Boaz and Edward H. Crane (Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1993, 352p., \$15.95). A collection of essays on how libertarian ideas can reform education, protect the environment and enliven the U.S. economy.

*Welfare Economics and Externalities in an Open Ended Universe: a Modern Austrian Perspective* by Roy E. Cordato (Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1992, 140p., \$55). A groundbreaking work that admirably shows why government planning in the name of economic efficiency is an oxymoron. Cordato destroys the argument that taxes are necessary to account for the social costs of pollution and says the real answer is strictly defined property rights. Cordato should get a Nobel Prize.



RLC activists at the '92 GOP Convention in Houston. From L to R, Louisiana Chair Scott Schneider, National Chair Eric Rittberg, Joel Delafave (FL), Troy Phares (LA), Tennessee Chair Andrew Murphy, Troy Carrol (FL) and Matt Taylor (MA).

## About the RLC

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 through its political action committee, the Republican Liberty Federal Campaign Fund.

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                          | •Ending victimless crime laws    |
| •Deregulation                           | •The right to keep and bear arms |
| •Free trade                             | •Free immigration                |
| •Phaseout of foreign aid                | •All-volunteer armed forces      |

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\_\_\_\_ Sustaining \$100.00      \_\_\_\_ Other Contribution \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Members/subscribers receive five issues of *Republican Liberty* (published quarterly plus annual outreach issue). Members also receive occasional Activist and Election bulletins. Members at Sustaining and above levels also receive all minutes of National Committee Meetings, Internal bulletins and RLC press releases. Please cut out or copy this form and send to the RLC administrative office.

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Phone \_\_\_\_\_ Fax \_\_\_\_\_ E-Mail \_\_\_\_\_

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City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

### How to Get Active

- 1) Become a state, local or campus RLC coordinator.
- 2) Serve as a delegate or on a platform committee of a GOP convention.
- 3) Attend GOP meetings such as local Republican executive committees, Young Republicans, College Republicans and GOP auxiliary groups. Pass out literature and/or give a short talk on liberty.
- 4) Get involved in campaigns.
- 5) 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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