

# Republican Liberty

Free Enterprise, Individual Freedom & Limited Government

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## Forget About Global Warming, Let's Heat Up the Economy

by Dana Rohrabacher

As they slog through an economic downturn that's likely to get worse before it gets better, Californians can be excused for looking with skepticism, if not outright scorn, at the Clinton Administration's plan to 'prevent' global warming.

I'm willing to acknowledge that President Clinton's so-called solutions, however misguided, are an attempt to address vexing problems. It's hard to ignore \$4 trillion of federal debt, after all. Similarly, it's hard to stomach spiraling medical costs that result from, among other systemic maladies, wasteful testing, insurance fraud and excessive litigation. These kinds of problems keep lawyers in good standing at the country club even as they suck the lifeblood out of the U.S. economy.

As I say, at least on those counts, Clinton is attempting to address real problems. Not so with his new plan to forestall so-called 'global warming' by reducing emissions of greenhouse gases like carbon dioxide and methane to 1990 levels by the year 2000. On this count, judging by the growing body of scientific evidence, there is no 'problem' because there's no global warming. Let me repeat that: there is no global warming. Thus, no reason exists for Californians to tolerate even a single job or a single penny of higher taxes or regulatory costs in the name of 'preventing' this eco-scam. This is one sacrifice, to use the vernacular of the president, that neither California nor the nation needs to suffer, because the problem does not exist.

As a member of the House Committee on Science, Space and Technology, as well as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee's subcommittee on international economic policy, trade and the environment, I am well positioned to discern where the scientific reality ends and the political posturing begins with regard to this controversial issue. I am also in a position to recognize the avenues along which our nation's businesses can best use their talents to help solve the world's real environmental problems.

First to the facts and the fiction of 'global warming':

- The observational data widely held to be the most accurate - namely that recorded by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration satellites since 1979 - shows no significant warming or cooling trend in recent years. As of last July, "the 14-year trend was slightly downward," says John Cristy, one of those who developed the new method for measuring global temperatures. Dr. Cristy is an assistant professor and global climate systems research

(Continued on page 2)



James Miller III

## Miller: Government Is Still the Problem

by Mike Holmes

James Miller III officially declared his candidacy for the U.S. Senate nomination in December. RL Senior Editor Mike Holmes

interviewed Miller shortly after the announcement. Miller is expected to face fellow Republican Oliver North in the primary.

**RLC: What kind of label do you use as a Republican?**

**Miller:** I'm a Reagan Republican. This encompasses the kind of philosophy which advocates strong free markets, self-reliant individuals and support for a strong national defense.

**RL: What kind of Reagan Republican are you, classical liberal, libertarian or conservative?**

**Miller:** Well, I'm more of a classical liberal than a libertarian; more of a conservative than a libertarian.

**RL: What about the direction of the Republican Party right now? It seems to be somewhat confused and uncertain in the wake of the '92 presidential defeat.**

**Miller:** We Republicans have a strong stable of emerging candidates for the upcoming 1996 election. They're all currently jockeying for position. As a result of this large number of potential candidates, we hear a cacophony of voices, which is why it seems unclear. This will all sort itself out in due course.

**RL: Do you think the Republicans in Congress, the House and Senate, have been doing a good job?**

**Miller:** Many people are looking for voices in government which speak the plain truth: that the government is the cause of most of our problems. The government is suffocating the economy, is suffocating the economic opportunity in the individual lives of our citizens. The government is intruding unnecessarily in the individual private lives of the citizens in this country.

If I can quote Arthur Finkelstein for a moment, on the notion of

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## Global Warming...from 1

scientist at the University of Alabama's Huntsville Earth Systems Science Laboratory.

- Atmospheric levels of greenhouse gases like carbon dioxide are increasing as a result of human activity. However, the impact of this increase on temperatures seems minimal at best in light of the fact that the measured gains in temperatures and carbon dioxide levels don't jibe. While average surface air temperatures have risen about one degree Fahrenheit over the past century, most of the temperature gain occurred before 1940, long before any significant rise in manmade emissions of carbon dioxide.

- As members of the administration have acknowledged in testimony before Congress, "the vast majority of future growth in emissions of carbon dioxide likely will come from developing countries and economies in transition," not from the U.S. Thus, without international action to curb emissions in places like Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union," even the most strenuous efforts in the United States would not mitigate climate change effectively."

- Witnesses testifying before my committee, even those advocates of policies aimed at combatting global warming, often admit under questioning that 'global cooling' is also a threat, and they aren't certain which one to fear most. This is the opposite stance taken by so-called experts a decade ago. Either way, it's a screwball.

In the face of facts like these, the general public should greet with caution the administration's Climate Change Action Plan. Last June, European Community finance ministers rejected a proposal for an EC energy tax. In so doing, they jeopardize the commitment that the EC made during last year's Earth Summit to reduce carbon dioxide emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000.

With the EC already backtracking on its commitment to curb emissions, it is senseless for the U.S. to impose "feel-good" environmental policies that will further damage our struggling economy.

The president's plan, though it emphasizes voluntary actions rather than governmental mandates to achieve greenhouse gas reductions, still calls for \$60 billion of private-sector "investment" and \$1.9 billion of federal spending. Throwing taxpayers' money at imaginary problems and urging businesses and industry to do the same thing isn't good governance.

Another flaw in this administration's strategy is the clear intent to commit U.S. taxpayers to subsidizing emissions reduction efforts in other nations. Just a few weeks ago, the State Department official who led the U.S. delegation to an international climate session in Geneva, Switzerland, returned from the trip to tell the environmental newswire "Greenwire" that one of the items on the agenda for a future conference is "financial support for developing countries."

This so-called global warming remedy is, in reality, more wasteful foreign aid in "green" clothing. I'll say it again: the idea that U.S. taxpayers are put on Earth to bankroll ever-expanding government largesse, here and abroad, is wrong. On environmental issues, like so many others, trade beats foreign aid.

One of the great things about emerging nations is that they are emerging. As their economies grow, they build the resources to purchase the technology that can improve their standard of living. This newer, cleaner technology will also reduce pollutants and greenhouse gases. Countless U.S. businesses have developed nations in this vein. President Clinton's gas reduction plan should reduce the barriers that stand in the way of technology exchanges and provide businesses with incentives to make that technology available worldwide. And that's all it should do.

*U.S. Rep. Dana Rohrabacher represents California's Dist. 45.*

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## Note from the Editor

Welcome to our third annual outreach newsletter. This issue highlights our strong belief in the market-based approach to public policy.

The Republican Liberty Caucus is unashamedly capitalist. Unlike other Republican groups who give good lip service to the market, the RLC is the GOP's most passionate defender of free enterprise on both utilitarian and moral grounds.

As demonstrated by economists Ludwig von Mises, Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman, capitalism is unquestionably the most efficient form of economy, vastly superior to collectivism in all its varieties.

Just as importantly, as demonstrated by individualist thinkers Isabel Paterson, Rose Wilder Lane and Ayn Rand, capitalism is morally superior as well.

It is on the latter point where we libertarian Republicans part

company with many conservatives. Other Republican groups occasionally talk about the efficiency of the marketplace but cave in to the liberal crowd when it comes to defending its morality.

If you've been looking for an organization which aggressively supports capitalism on principle, we strongly urge you to join us!

Please fill out the membership form and send it in to us right away with a check for the highest membership level you can afford at this time.

A \$1000 Lifetime Membership goes a long way towards helping us to build a true appreciation for free enterprise within the GOP. A \$500 Patron Membership helps us to reach youth with the free market message. A \$100 membership helps us to sustain our ongoing efforts to promote market-based alternatives.

Please help us to spread the word of economic liberty! The cause of capitalism depends on you. Don't delay!!

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# Capitalism vs. Socialism

## at Heart of Health Care Debate

*Government has proved incompetent at solving social problems.*  
- Peter F. Drucker

by Murray Sabrin

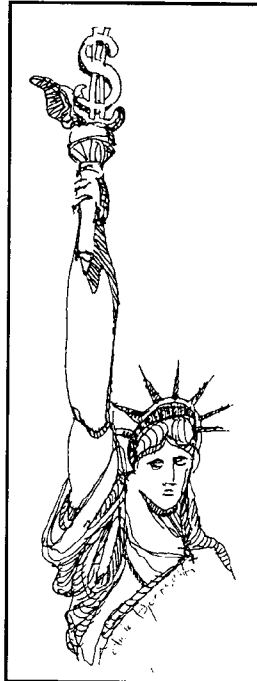
According to President Clinton, America faces a health care crisis. To solve it, the Clinton Administration proposes to cast the federal government's net far and wide to snare all Americans into Washington's web by creating the biggest entitlement program in the history of the world.

The president's health care proposals have clearly drawn the line between statism and liberty. Big government is on the march toward its final destination - total control of your income and wealth by the ruling elite in Washington.

We do not need medicine to be dispensed by the same institution that has been incompetent at solving social problems. There is, however, a better way - the free market.

The free market guarantees to increase the availability of all goods and services, including health care. The American people, not bureaucracies, must be in charge of spending for health care services. By elimination the health care middleman for most medical services, the American people will have more resources to purchase both health care directly, or the insurance they need to avoid financial ruin.

President Clinton's health care initiative is doomed to failure



because he did not address the supply of health care practitioners and medicine. Under the president's program the demand for health care will increase substantially, but without a corresponding increase in the supply of health care practitioners and medical products, prices will inevitably rise markedly in the future.

The health insurance industry must be reformed. Elimination of government intervention guarantees that health insurance will become more affordable for the overwhelming number of Americans who lack insurance today. How? By establishing sound criteria for pooling catastrophic risks. Instead of the government dictating to companies what illnesses must be insured and what rates to charge, the insurance industry will cover only financially ruinous losses.

Universal coverage may be a noble goal. But does that mean the federal government must coerce the American people in order to achieve it?

Think of how many more dollars would be available to the American people when the government reduces taxes and spending and thus frees up the American people's resources so they can solve their own problems in their own communities.

*Dr. Murray Sabrin is president of The Alliance For Monetary Education, coordinator of Americans for Health Care Freedom. He is chairman of the finance program at Ramapo College of New Jersey and host of On the Money, a local radio talk show.*

## Elections Mark Emergence of New Breed of Mayor

by William D. Eggers

November's elections produced the largest turnover of big-city mayors in three decades. New mayors took over in January in New York, Detroit, Atlanta, Boston, Buffalo, Miami and Minneapolis, among other cities. A new breed of baby-boom mayors, inspired by the successful streamlining of American business, are poised to transform big-city government by "rightsizing" city hall.

These include Los Angeles's Richard Riordan, Jersey City's Bret Schundler and Indianapolis's Stephen Goldsmith.

A roadmap to rightsizing city hall includes these key strategies:

**Competition.** Since taking office in January 1992, Indianapolis Mayor Stephen Goldsmith has shifted more than 50 government services into the marketplace by making cities compete with private firms to deliver public services. Savings: \$20 million annually.

**Performance-based budgeting.** Government typically rewards managers for poor performance: If student test scores go down, schools get more money. For performance-based budgeting to work, mayors must freeze or cap department budgets.

**Core Business.** Across the country, cities operate all kinds of enterprises far removed from the central mission of city hall. Does the city of Dallas really need its own classical radio station? Should New York be operating off-track betting parlors? City assets - such

as airports, water systems and parking garages - can be sold.

**Re-engineering.** In the private sector, companies are saving millions of dollars and increasing productivity by radically redesigning work processes. In the public sector, for example, installing document-imaging technology - whether in the courthouse, police station or welfare office - can eliminate the need to store millions of paper files. Dallas expects to save space and handle court document requests with 10 fewer employees through document imaging. Yearly savings: \$250,000.

**Reorganizing work structures.** The new mayors also need to reinvent their city's organizational structures. In most big cities, these structures are archaic: thousands of job classifications; rigid hiring and firing procedures; layers and layers of middle management; stifling bureaucratic rules and regulation; and myriad procedures that virtually ensure that no employee, no matter how incompetent, will ever be fired.

By focusing on performance, concentrating on essential tasks and redesigning structures and means, the freshman mayors can effect the most fundamental transformation of city hall since the Progressive Era ushered out Boss Tweed and Tammany Hall.

*Eggers is director of the Privatization Center at the Reason Foundation. A version of this appeared in the Wall Street Journal.*

# GOP Tops Index for Economic, Civil Liberties

by Clifford F. Thies

For the first time in the four-year history of the Liberty Index, we have repeat winners in both the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives. In the Senate, Robert Smith (R-NH) returned to the top spot, with an average score of 80; and, in the House, Dana Rohrabacher (R-CA) did likewise, with an average score of 84.

The Liberty Index consists of two scores: one in the area of economic liberties, and the other in the area of civil liberties. Twenty key votes were identified in each area from the "roll call" votes tracked by *Congressional Quarterly*.

In the area of economic liberties, key votes covered environmental, energy, industrial, labor and trade policies, taxation, regulation and spending.

In the area of civil liberties, key votes covered school choice, gun ownership, rights of the accused, privacy, freedom of association, immigration, drug policy, draft registration, interventionism and public financing of campaigns, broadcasting and the arts.

As would be expected, Republicans did much better than Democrats in the area of economic liberties. In the Senate, the

average Republican score was 66 (on a scale of 100, with the scores adjusted so the average of the entire House is about 50), whereas the average Democrat was 34. In the House, the average Republican score was 69, and the average Democrat score 36.

What may be surprising is that Republicans also did better in the area of civil liberties, although the superiority in this area of voting was smaller. In the Senate, the average Republican score was 56, and the average Democrat score 46; and, in the House, the average Republican score was 58 versus an average Democrat score of 42.

This does not indicate that contemporary conservatives have wholeheartedly embraced the libertarian philosophy. While many Republicans in both the Senate and House of Representatives are classified as libertarians, this is mainly due to the fact that the scale is a relative one, comparing members of Congress to each

other.

While there has been some encouraging movement, it's best to say that, although Republicans may now be somewhat better than Democrats in the realm of civil liberties, we who have libertarian sensibilities still have our work cut out for us.

## Average Scores

### Senate

	Sen	Rep	Dem
Economic	48	66	34
Civil	49	58	42

### House of Representatives

	Hse	Rep	Dem
Economic	49	69	36
Civil	50	56	46

## America's Race to Racial Conflict

by Pete du Pont

Could America become another Bosnia, with ethnic and racial divisions tearing our society apart? Not likely, you say. But we are sliding towards this abyss as our Congress and our courts adopt policies emphasizing ethnic differences and racial divisions.

For a while we seemed to be rising above these divisions and seeking solutions in a policy of color-blind, ethnically neutral decisions in all areas of our governmental judicial and private-sector actions. Prohibitions against discrimination are embedded in our Constitution and in virtually every facet of the law. The 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision ordering integration of our schools rejected the pernicious "separate but equal" doctrine and reached toward Dr. King's goal of a nation in which all are judged, "not by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character."

No longer. A disturbing pattern of decisions is leading us away from a color-blind society towards an insistence on racially and ethnically balancing our institutions. It began with busing to achieve racial balance in school classrooms. The 1991 Civil Rights Act extended racial quotas to the workplace. Now proportionality creeps in its pernicious way into legislative redistricting, jury selection and the composition of our courts.

The 1964, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down a Louisiana statute requiring a candidate's race to be noted on the ballot. Now that same court blesses state redistricting plans that concentrate blacks into single legislative districts to ensure election of black candidates and the U.S. Department of Justice requires local jurisdictions to maximize the number of such minority districts.

The same emphasis on race is now extended to the summoning of juries, exemplified in the recent case of Harold E. Ford, a black Tennessee congressman, accused of involvement in bribery. Congressman Ford insisted he was entitled to a jury with black repre-

sentation; the Justice Department supported his position. This represents a fundamental change from the Constitutional guarantee that a jury panel must be impartially selected without regard to race or gender, to an insistence that the jury must be "a fair cross-section of the population." Justice Clarence Thomas stresses in *Georgia v. McCollum* that "securing representation of a defendant's race on a jury" is important in ensuring a fair trial.

Miami lawyer Gary Siplin argues in the same case that the defendant "has a right to a fair jury, but so does the black community. We have a right to be on that jury." How quickly has the individual right to a fair trial been turned into a community "right" of representation on a jury.

Lani Guinier, President Clinton's first nominee to lead the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, would radically transform America's constitutional principles to achieve an even bolder goal. "Proportionate interest representation" in legislatures is needed, she writes, to give minority groups a "'minority veto' for legislation of vital importance to minority interests."

Thus is race becoming the talisman in obtaining "fair representation," raising the ugly proposition that only blacks can represent the interest of blacks, only Hispanics can represent Hispanics, and only whites the interest of whites. But propagating separate racial enclaves in classrooms, jury boxes, election districts and legislatures will create further division, animosity and prejudice. It turns our constitutional repugnance for "separate but equal" on its head: it is apartheid, by legislative and judicial fiat. We must reverse this course and return to the concept of race-blind impartiality and fairness for each individual, and firmly reject the heavy emphasis on ethnic divisiveness toward which we are being driven.

*Ed. Note - Pete du Pont is chairman of the Committee for American Leadership in Wilmington, DE.*

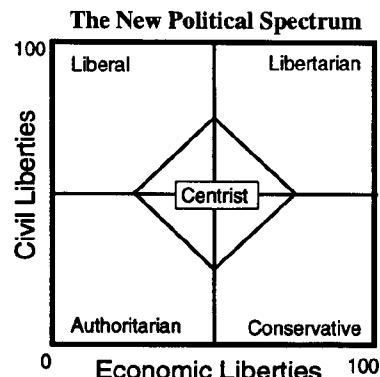
# The 1994 Liberty Index of the U.S. Congress

by Clifford Thies

**T**he 1994 Liberty Index rates members of the U.S. Congress based on 40 roll call votes of 1992, 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 "L" - or 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	35	49	42	M	MT	Baucus	D	17	33	25	A
AL	Shelby	D	52	49	51	M	MT	Burns	R	74	44	59	C
AK	Murkowski	R	58	54	56	M	NE	Exon	D	35	33	34	A
AK	Stevens	R	63	54	58	M	NE	Kerry	D	32	52	42	M
AZ	DeConcini	D	44	38	41	M	NV	Bryan	D	52	47	49	M
AZ	McCain	R	67	44	56	M	NV	Reid	D	44	52	48	M
AR	Bumpers	D	49	56	53	M	NH	Smith	R	87	72	80	L
AR	Pryor	D	38	54	46	M	NH	Rudman	R	58	77	68	LL
CA	Cranston	D	29	41	35	A	NJ	Bradley	D	54	47	50	M
CA	Seymour	R	74	63	68	L	NJ	Lautenberg	D	47	38	42	M
CO	Wirth	D	26	52	39	X	NM	Bingaman	D	20	49	35	A
CO	Brown	R	80	70	75	L	NM	Domenici	R	56	49	53	M
CT	Dodd	D	35	44	39	M	NY	Moynihan	D	23	44	34	A
CT	Lieberman	D	52	44	48	M	NY	D'Amato	R	61	56	58	M
DE	Biden	D	38	41	39	M	NC	Sanford	D	35	49	42	M
DE	Roth	R	63	68	65	LL	NC	Helms	R	71	59	65	LL
FL	Graham	D	35	44	39	M	ND	Burdick	D	35	44	39	M
FL	Mack	R	78	68	73	L	ND	Conrad	D	44	54	49	M
GA	Fowler	D	52	49	51	M	OH	Glenn	D	23	44	34	A
GA	Nunn	D	29	38	34	A	OH	Metzenbaum	D	35	41	38	M
HI	Inouye	D	17	41	29	A	OK	Boren	D	44	41	42	M
HI	Akaka	D	17	38	28	A	OK	Nickles	R	74	56	65	LL
ID	Craig	R	78	63	71	L	OR	Hatfield	R	38	63	51	X
ID	Symms	R	78	61	70	L	OR	Packwood	R	41	59	50	M
IL	Dixon	D	29	38	34	A	PA	Wofford	D	38	41	39	M
IL	Simon	D	29	38	34	A	PA	Specter	R	47	54	50	M
IN	Coats	R	78	68	73	L	RI	Pell	D	29	38	34	A
IN	Lugar	R	82	59	71	LL	RI	Chafee	R	52	49	51	M
IA	Harkin	D	52	38	45	M	SC	Hollings	D	65	59	62	M
IA	Grassley	R	74	44	59	C	SC	Thurmond	R	69	59	64	LL
KS	Dole	R	74	59	66	LL	SD	Daschle	D	23	44	34	A
KS	Kassebaum	R	63	59	61	M	SD	Pressler	R	65	59	62	M
KY	Ford	D	35	25	30	A	TN	Gore	D	29	47	38	M
KY	McConnell	R	65	72	69	L	TN	Sasser	D	23	38	31	A
LA	Breaux	D	23	49	36	A	TX	Bentsen	D	23	36	29	A
LA	Johnston	D	15	30	22	A	TX	Gramm	R	69	56	63	LL
ME	Mitchell	D	29	38	34	A	UT	Garn	R	71	59	65	LL
ME	Cohen	R	56	66	61	M	UT	Hatch	R	76	52	64	LL
MD	Mikulski	D	35	38	37	A	VT	Leahy	D	32	41	37	A
MD	Sarbanes	D	17	38	28	A	VT	Jeffords	R	47	36	41	M
MA	Kennedy	D	29	38	34	A	VA	Robb	D	29	38	34	A
MA	Kerry	D	35	38	37	A	VA	Warner	R	82	56	69	LL
MI	Levin	D	35	38	37	A	WA	Adams	D	17	38	28	A
MI	Riegle	D	35	38	37	A	WA	Gorton	R	65	77	71	L
MN	Wellstone	D	32	41	37	A	WV	Byrd	D	35	49	42	M
MN	Durenberger	R	32	36	34	A	WV	Rockefeller	D	26	33	30	A
MS	Cochran	R	67	49	58	M	WI	Kohl	D	41	38	40	M
MS	Lott	R	71	63	67	LL	WI	Kasten	R	63	33	48	C
MO	Bond	R	71	49	60	M	WY	Simpson	R	69	63	66	LL
MO	Danforth	R	49	68	59	M	WY	Wallop	R	71	68	70	L

# THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

	Representative		Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class		Representative		Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class
AL	Callahan	R	63	54	59	M	CT	Franks	R	70	66	68	L
AL	Dickinson	R	54	76	65	LL	CT	Johnson	R	56	61	59	M
AL	Browder	D	38	36	37	A	DE	Carper	D	47	36	42	M
AL	Bevil	D	27	41	34	A	FL	Hutto	D	66	56	61	M
AL	Cramer	D	44	47	46	M	FL	Peterson	D	36	44	40	M
AL	Erdreich	D	38	47	43	M	FL	Bennett	D	49	52	51	M
AL	Harris	D	33	41	37	A	FL	James	R	77	52	65	LL
AK	Young	R	59	54	57	M	FL	McCollum	R	79	56	68	LL
AZ	Rhodes	R	68	59	64	LL	FL	Stearns	R	77	61	69	L
AZ	Pastor	D	47	44	46	M	FL	Gibbons	D	38	47	43	M
AZ	Stump	R	77	56	67	LL	FL	Young	R	61	44	53	M
AZ	Kyl	R	68	61	65	LL	FL	Bilirakas	R	63	47	55	M
AZ	Kolbe	R	72	66	69	L	FL	Ireland	R	75	56	66	LL
AR	Alexander	D	25	34	30	A	FL	Bacchus	D	36	39	38	M
AR	Thorton	D	16	36	26	A	FL	Lewis	R	75	61	68	L
AR	Hammerschmidt	R	66	49	58	M	FL	Goss	R	77	61	69	L
AR	Anthony	D	36	47	42	M	FL	Johnston	D	41	39	40	M
CA	Riggs	R	79	59	69	LL	FL	Shaw	R	72	56	64	LL
CA	Herger	R	72	61	67	LL	FL	Smith	D	30	47	39	M
CA	Matsui	D	14	44	29	A	FL	Lehman	D	27	54	41	X
CA	Fazio	D	18	47	33	A	FL	Ros-Lehtinen	R	63	56	60	M
CA	Pelosi	D	36	47	42	M	FL	Fascell	D	11	44	28	A
CA	Boxer	D	36	47	42	M	GA	Thomas	D	54	49	52	M
CA	Miller	D	38	49	44	M	GA	Hatcher	D	41	54	48	M
CA	Dellums	D	33	49	41	M	GA	Ray	D	54	41	48	M
CA	Stark	D	36	44	40	M	GA	Jones	D	36	39	38	M
CA	Edwards	D	22	47	35	A	GA	Lewis	D	25	49	37	A
CA	Lantos	D	33	47	40	M	GA	Gingrich	R	75	59	67	LL
CA	Campbell	R	70	69	70	L	GA	Darden	D	36	41	39	M
CA	Mineta	D	19	52	36	X	GA	Rowland	D	54	44	49	M
CA	Doolittle	R	86	61	74	L	GA	Jenkins	D	41	54	48	M
CA	Condit	D	68	52	60	M	GA	Barnard	D	54	54	54	M
CA	Panetta	D	36	52	44	M	HI	Abercrombie	D	27	41	34	A
CA	Dooley	D	47	52	50	M	HI	Mink	D	33	56	45	M
CA	Lehman	D	52	49	51	M	ID	LaRocco	D	47	52	50	M
CA	Lagomarsino	R	77	69	73	L	ID	Stallings	D	47	31	39	M
CA	Thomas	R	72	71	72	L	IL	Hayes	D	27	52	40	M
CA	Galleghy	R	68	56	62	M	IL	Savage	D	30	41	36	A
CA	Moorhead	R	77	66	72	L	IL	Russo	D	38	56	47	M
CA	Beilenson	D	52	39	46	M	IL	Sangmeister	D	49	41	45	M
CA	Waxman	D	33	49	41	M	IL	Lipinski	D	41	64	53	M
CA	Roybal	D	22	47	35	A	IL	Hyde	R	68	59	64	LL
CA	Berman	D	33	49	41	M	IL	Collins	D	27	54	41	X
CA	Levine	D	25	56	41	X	IL	Rostenkowski	D	36	44	40	M
CA	Dixon	D	22	49	36	A	IL	Yates	D	38	52	45	M
CA	Waters	D	22	54	38	X	IL	Porter	R	91	56	74	LL
CA	Martinez	D	19	56	38	X	IL	Annunzio	D	25	44	35	A
CA	Dymally	D	30	49	40	M	IL	Crane	R	82	66	74	L
CA	Anderson	D	30	47	39	M	IL	Fawell	R	91	66	79	L
CA	Drier	R	84	61	73	L	IL	Hastert	R	77	56	67	LL
CA	Torres	D	27	49	38	M	IL	Ewing	R	79	54	67	LL
CA	Lewis	R	70	54	62	M	IL	Cox	R	38	47	43	M
CA	Brown	D	22	36	29	A	IL	Evans	D	33	41	37	A
CA	McCandless	R	77	64	71	L	IL	Michel	R	72	61	67	L
CA	Dornan	R	84	69	77	L	IL	Bruce	D	38	44	41	M
CA	Dannemeyer	R	75	59	67	LL	IL	Durbin	D	33	36	35	A
CA	Cox	R	75	69	72	L	IL	Costello	D	27	36	32	A
CA	Lowery	R	70	56	63	LL	IL	Poshard	D	44	31	38	M
CA	Rohrabacher	R	91	76	84	L	IN	Viclosky	D	38	47	43	M
CA	Packard	R	79	59	69	LL	IN	Sharp	D	33	47	40	M
CA	Cunningham	R	72	61	67	LL	IN	Roemer	D	54	31	43	M
CA	Hunter	R	72	69	71	L	IN	Long	D	49	56	53	M
CO	Schroeder	D	49	47	48	M	IN	Jantz	D	33	52	43	M
CO	Skaggs	D	38	54	46	M	IN	Burton	R	75	66	71	L
CO	Campbell	D	49	52	51	M	IN	Myers	R	70	49	60	M
CO	Allard	R	72	49	61	M	IN	McCloskey	D	38	47	43	M
CO	Hefley	R	72	61	67	LL	IN	Hamilton	D	33	36	35	A
CO	Schaefer	R	68	47	58	M	IN	Jacobs	D	44	47	46	M
CT	Kennelly	D	30	44	37	A	IA	Leach	R	72	39	56	C
CT	Gejdenson	D	27	47	37	A	IA	Nussle	R	77	52	65	LL
CT	DeLauro	D	27	44	36	A	IA	Nagle	D	27	56	42	X
CT	Shays	R	72	31	52	C	IA	Smith	D	25	52	39	X

	Representative		Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class		Representative		Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class
IA	Lightfoot	R	63	56	60	M	MO	Clay	D	27	54	41	X
IA	Grandy	R	79	52	66	LL	MO	Horn	D	33	56	45	M
KS	Roberts	R	66	54	60	M	MO	Gephardt	D	19	44	32	A
KS	Slattery	D	22	41	32	A	MO	Skelton	D	44	36	40	M
KS	Meyers	R	63	61	62	M	MO	Wheat	D	33	52	43	M
KS	Glickman	D	33	36	35	A	MO	Coleman	R	54	59	57	M
KS	Nichols	R	68	56	62	M	MO	Hancock	R	72	66	69	L
KY	Hubbard	D	38	39	39	M	MO	Emerson	R	63	56	60	M
KY	Natcher	D	22	47	35	A	MO	Volkmer	D	30	36	33	A
KY	Mazzoli	D	33	21	27	A	MT	Williams	D	49	36	43	M
KY	Bunning	R	61	61	61	M	MT	Marlenee	R	77	56	67	LL
KY	Rogers	R	52	52	52	M	NE	Bereuter	R	72	56	64	LL
KY	Hopkins	R	70	49	60	M	NE	Hoagland	D	27	49	38	M
KY	Perkins	D	30	49	40	M	NE	Barrett	R	72	49	61	M
LA	Livingston	R	66	64	65	LL	NV	Bilbray	D	33	41	37	A
LA	Jefferson	D	33	52	43	M	NV	Vucanovich	R	68	56	62	M
LA	Tauzin	D	59	47	53	M	NH	Zeliff	R	84	71	78	L
LA	McCrery	R	61	61	61	M	NH	Swett	D	59	41	50	M
LA	Huckaby	D	33	49	41	M	NJ	Andrews	D	38	52	45	M
LA	Baker	R	72	59	66	LL	NJ	Hughes	D	38	47	43	M
LA	Hayes	D	54	49	52	M	NJ	Palone	D	54	47	51	M
RLA	Holloway	R	63	64	64	LL	NJ	Smith	R	52	34	43	M
ME	Andrews	D	33	52	43	M	NJ	Roukema	R	66	59	63	M
ME	Snowe	R	59	47	53	M	NJ	Dwyer	D	36	47	42	M
MD	Gilchrest	R	63	56	60	M	NJ	Rinaldo	R	63	39	51	M
MD	Bentley	R	59	61	60	M	NJ	Roe	D	25	26	26	A
MD	Cardin	D	38	47	43	M	NJ	Torricelli	D	33	47	40	M
MD	McMillen	D	38	41	40	M	NJ	Payne	D	25	52	39	X
MD	Hoyer	D	33	41	37	A	NJ	Gallo	R	68	54	61	M
MD	Byron	D	47	56	52	M	NJ	Zimmer	R	86	61	74	L
MD	Mfume	D	27	52	40	M	NJ	Saxton	R	61	41	51	M
MD	Morella	R	54	47	51	M	NJ	Guarini	D	38	49	44	M
MA	Olver	R	36	47	42	M	NM	Schiff	R	63	56	60	M
MA	Neal	D	27	56	42	X	NM	Skeen	R	63	56	60	M
MA	Early	D	47	61	54	M	NM	Richardson	D	25	52	39	X
MA	Frank	D	38	52	45	M	NY	Hochbrueckner	D	16	41	29	A
MA	Atkins	D	38	49	44	M	NY	Downey	D	22	39	31	A
MA	Mavroules	D	25	47	36	A	NY	Mrazek	D	38	54	46	M
MA	Markey	D	33	56	45	M	NY	Lent	R	72	54	63	LL
MA	Kennedy	D	38	49	44	M	NY	McGrath	R	54	47	51	M
MA	Moakley	D	33	49	41	M	NY	Flake	D	33	52	43	M
MA	Studds	D	36	52	44	M	NY	Ackerman	D	41	59	50	M
MA	Donnelly	D	41	61	51	M	NY	Scheuer	D	38	44	41	M
MI	Conyers	D	38	49	44	M	NY	Manton	D	25	41	33	A
MI	Pursell	R	84	52	68	LL	NY	Schumer	D	41	44	43	M
MI	Wolpe	D	33	52	43	M	NY	Towns	D	30	52	41	M
MI	Upton	R	72	56	64	LL	NY	Owens	D	33	52	43	M
MI	Henry	R	82	61	72	L	NY	Solarz	D	41	54	48	M
MI	Carr	D	54	56	55	M	NY	Molinari	R	79	52	66	LL
MI	Kildee	D	33	47	40	M	NY	Green	R	47	52	50	M
MI	Traxler	D	44	52	48	M	NY	Rangel	D	25	47	36	A
MI	Vander Jagt	R	66	54	60	M	NY	Weiss	D	38	41	40	M
MI	Camp	R	72	47	60	M	NY	Serrano	D	27	39	33	A
MI	Davis	R	56	54	55	M	NY	Engel	D	25	49	37	A
MI	Bonior	D	25	39	32	A	NY	Lowery	D	27	41	34	A
MI	Collins	D	22	52	37	X	NY	Fish	R	56	47	52	M
MI	Hertel	D	25	44	35	A	NY	Gilman	R	33	47	40	M
MI	Ford	D	38	49	44	M	NY	McNulty	D	22	47	35	A
MI	Dingell	D	27	56	42	X	NY	Soloman	R	77	61	69	L
MI	Levin	D	38	49	44	M	NY	Boehlert	R	38	36	37	A
MI	Broomfield	R	66	49	58	M	NY	Martin	R	61	41	51	M
MN	Penny	D	66	36	51	C	NY	Walsh	R	63	49	56	M
MN	Weber	R	72	39	56	C	NY	McHugh	D	22	52	37	X
MN	Ramstad	R	77	52	65	LL	NY	Horton	R	59	41	50	M
MN	Vento	D	27	47	37	A	NY	Slaughter	D	38	54	46	M
MN	Sabo	D	44	52	48	M	NY	Paxon	R	72	61	67	LL
MN	Sikorski	D	41	52	47	M	NY	LaFalce	D	33	36	35	A
MN	Peterson	D	44	28	36	A	NY	Nowak	D	41	41	41	M
MN	Oberstar	D	33	36	35	A	NY	Houghton	R	56	49	53	M
MS	Whitten	D	33	44	39	M	NC	Jones	D	36	39	38	M
MS	Espy	D	33	39	36	A	NC	Valentine	D	52	47	50	M
MS	Montgomery	D	54	41	48	M	NC	Lancaster	D	49	54	52	M
MS	Parker	D	59	36	48	M	NC	Price	D	38	41	40	M
MS	Taylor	D	44	52	48	M	NC	Neal	D	52	52	52	M

	Representative		Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class
NC	Coble	R	86	66	76	L
NC	Rose	D	27	47	37	A
NC	Hefner	D	41	47	44	M
NC	McMillan	R	61	61	61	M
NC	Ballenger	R	82	61	72	L
NC	Taylor	R	61	64	63	M
ND	Dorgan	D	38	47	43	M
OH	Luken	D	54	26	40	C
OH	Gradison	R	70	59	65	LL
OH	Hall	D	33	34	34	A
OH	Oxley	R	68	66	67	LL
OH	Gilmor	R	63	47	55	M
OH	McEwen	R	63	49	56	M
OH	Hobson	R	63	61	62	M
OH	Bochner	R	66	56	61	M
OH	Kaptur	D	30	39	35	A
OH	Miller	R	77	56	67	LL
OH	Eckart	D	36	52	44	M
OH	Kaish	R	68	47	58	M
OH	Pease	D	22	41	32	A
OH	Sawyer	D	38	52	45	M
OH	Wylie	R	75	41	58	C
OH	Regula	R	59	56	58	M
OH	Trafficant	D	38	56	47	M
OH	Applegate	D	38	44	41	M
OH	Feighan	D	44	54	49	M
OH	Oakar	D	27	41	34	A
OH	Stokes	D	27	52	40	M
OK	Inhofe	R	72	69	71	L
OK	Synar	D	33	49	41	M
OK	Brewster	D	49	47	48	M
OK	McCurdy	D	44	39	42	M
OK	Edwards	R	75	56	66	LL
OK	English	D	54	36	45	M
OR	AuCain	D	30	56	43	X
OR	Smith	R	68	49	59	M
OR	Wyden	D	38	49	44	M
OR	DeFazio	D	38	59	49	M
OR	Kopetski	D	22	47	35	A
PA	Foglietta	D	30	44	37	A
PA	Blackwell	D	36	49	43	M
PA	Borski	D	27	36	32	A
PA	Kolter	D	36	64	50	X
PA	Schulze	R	68	64	66	LL
PA	Yatron	D	22	49	36	A
PA	Weldon	R	54	52	53	M
PA	Kostmayer	D	38	56	47	M
PA	Shuster	R	77	61	69	L
PA	McDade	R	54	47	51	M
PA	Kanjorski	D	33	41	37	A
PA	Murtha	D	22	44	33	A
PA	Coughlin	R	70	64	67	LL
PA	Coyne	D	38	47	43	M
PA	Ritter	R	77	56	67	LL
PA	Walker	R	86	52	69	LL
PA	Gekas	R	70	54	62	M
PA	Santorum	D	66	49	58	M
PA	Goodling	R	72	56	64	LL
PA	Gaydos	D	36	34	35	A
PA	Ridge	R	63	59	61	M
PA	Murphy	D	33	52	43	M
PA	Clinger	R	63	56	60	M
RI	Machtley	R	59	47	53	M
RI	Reed	D	38	41	40	M
SC	Ravenel	R	59	61	60	M
SC	Spence	R	68	52	60	M
SC	Derrick	D	38	52	45	M
SC	Patterson	D	54	47	51	M
SC	Spratt	D	33	36	35	A
SC	Tallon	D	38	41	40	M
SD	Johnson	D	49	52	51	M
TN	Quillen	R	68	54	61	M
TN	Duncan	R	82	61	72	L
TN	Lloyd	D	49	41	45	M

	Representative		Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class
TN	Cooper	D	38	56	47	M
TN	Clement	D	54	44	49	M
TN	Gordon	D	47	41	44	M
TN	Sundquist	R	66	54	60	M
TN	Tanner	D	49	47	48	M
TN	Ford	D	49	47	48	M
TX	Chapman	D	30	39	35	A
TX	Wilson	D	33	54	44	M
TX	Johnson	D	77	56	67	LL
TX	Hall	D	49	47	48	M
TX	Bryant	D	25	47	36	A
TX	Barton	R	70	54	62	M
TX	Archer	R	77	59	68	LL
TX	Fields	R	72	61	67	LL
TX	Brooks	D	16	44	30	A
TX	Pickle	D	30	49	40	M
TX	Edwards	D	38	47	43	M
TX	Geren	D	49	49	49	M
TX	Sarpalius	D	49	39	44	M
TX	Laughlin	D	36	44	40	M
TX	de la Garza	D	30	23	27	A
TX	Coleman	D	14	34	24	A
TX	Stenholm	D	44	49	47	M
TX	Washington	D	25	44	35	A
TX	Combest	R	72	61	67	LL
TX	Gonzalez	D	16	47	32	A
TX	Smith	R	66	66	66	LL
TX	DeLay	R	75	61	68	L
TX	Bustamante	D	22	34	28	A
TX	Frost	D	25	41	33	A
TX	Andrews	D	22	39	31	A
TX	Arney	R	75	52	64	LL
TX	Ortiz	D	22	23	23	A
UT	Hansen	R	68	49	59	M
UT	Owens	D	54	44	49	M
UT	Oron	D	63	44	54	M
VT	Sanders	I	27	52	40	M
VA	Bateman	R	63	47	55	M
VA	Pickett	D	49	47	48	M
VA	Biley	R	72	59	66	LL
VA	Sisisky	D	49	44	47	M
VA	Payne	D	38	39	39	M
VA	Olin	D	41	59	50	M
VA	Allen	R	68	66	67	LL
VA	Moran	D	36	54	45	M
VA	Boucher	D	22	36	29	A
VA	Wolf	R	68	56	62	M
WA	Miller	R	70	54	62	M
WA	Swift	D	27	52	40	M
WA	Unsoeld	D	36	52	44	M
WA	Morrison	D	41	59	50	M
WA	Dicks	D	22	52	37	X
WA	McDermott	D	38	47	43	M
WA	Chandler	R	68	59	64	LL
WV	Mollohan	D	14	28	21	A
WV	Staggers	D	41	41	41	M
WV	Wise	D	38	36	37	A
WV	Rahall	D	25	31	28	A
WI	Aspin	D	22	49	36	A
WI	Klug	R	72	47	60	M
WI	Gunderson	R	68	56	62	M
WI	Klecza	D	30	39	35	A
WI	Moody	D	36	52	44	M
WI	Petri	R	72	52	62	M
WI	Obey	D	38	56	47	M
WI	Roth	R	82	56	69	LL
WI	Sensenbrenner	R	91	64	78	L
WY	Thomas	R	70	59	65	LL

*Ed. Note - Clifford F. Thies is Durell 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.*



# Hyping the Head Start Program

by John Hood

The Head Start program is, in the words of founder Edward Zigler, "America's most successful education experiment." Zigler is exactly right, if success is measured by good public relations.

What is it about this 30-year-old, \$2.2 billion dollar program that so many find attractive? Without a doubt, it is the widely held belief that investing a public dollar now in the Head Start program will save more dollars in the future. It's a nice thought, but there's a snag in the sales pitch: There is virtually no evidence that Head Start has any significant impact on children's lives in the long run.

Head Start children tend to score better than their peers when they enter first grade. But after about two years of public school, the disadvantaged Head Start students tend to perform at the same level as others - that is, poorly. A 1985 analysis by the Department of Health and Human Services found that ambitious claims for Head Start's long-term effects were exaggerated. "In the long run," the department's report noted, "cognitive and socio-economic test scores of former Head Start students do not remain superior."

The source of all the hype about Head Start is really the experience of special programs whose designs include a great deal of parental involvement, funding and staff training. The most famous of these is the Perry Preschool in Ypsilanti, Mich. In 1962, Perry selected 123 poor children to take part in an experiment. Half the group was given two years of preschool instruction and services. The other half took part in no preschool program. The children were then tracked throughout their academic careers into adulthood.

The first group demonstrated not only significant short-term gains - higher I.Q. scores on year into the program, for example - but long-term gains as well. About two-thirds of them graduated from high school, compared to 50 percent of the control group. Similarly, whereas 51 percent of the control group had been arrested by age 19 for some crime, less than a third of the others had.

Studies of the long-term effects of the Perry program made a big splash in the '80s. Advocates of Head Start were ecstatic. Ever since, they've used the findings to argue for more federal money.

The problem is that studies of the Perry project don't tell policymakers very much about Head Start. The performance of a Ford Escort is not judged by test-driving a Lincoln Continental. "These programs were conducted under ideal circumstances," writes Ron Haskins, a staff member of the U.S. House Ways and Means Committee, in an influential article in *American Psychologist*. "It seems unwise to claim that the benefits produced by such exemplary programs would necessarily be produced by ordinary preschool programs."

If we're all going to be good "public investors," we must examine the rate of return of the options that compete for our limited resources - Head Start vs. school vouchers, for example - and then set priorities. After all, the \$2.2 billion in the Head Start program budget for 1992 could have been funded \$2,000 school vouchers for over 1 million kids. Even returning the \$2.2 billion to the taxpayers might be an option with more lasting benefit than Head Start, if the result is more jobs and a healthier economy.

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the current situation in the Republican Party, he made the argument that what bound the social and economic conservatives in the Republican Party was anti-communism and the Cold War. And once that was gone, once we had won the Cold War, the problems between the economic and social conservatives in the Republican Party would surface. The way I see it, and what I believe, is that both social and economic conservatives have to adopt a new way of looking at the situation. I think for their mutual benefit they have to adopt a common viewpoint.

The social conservatives have to accept the economic conservatives' promotion of markets and market solutions because without a growing, vibrant economy, all of our social problems, problems for families and their children, will grow much worse. Without economic growth, the problems of social decay, family disintegration and the rest, will simply compound and worsen.

But economic conservatives need to look at the issues that preoccupy the social conservatives as well. Particularly the issues of education, the family and the acquisition of moral values in society. These things, particularly moral values, are very significant. The values such as honesty, thrift, hard work and getting useful skills, these are essential conditions to even have a functional market economy.

My central theme, and that applies to the Republicans currently in Congress, is that we have to speak out plainly. Our message is that the government is too large, it restrains the economy and growth, and that it is suffocating the private institutions in society which generate the moral guidance necessary to create prosperity for all.

**RL: Regarding President Clinton, what do you think is his greatest success to date, his high-water mark?**

**Miller:** Without a doubt, the passage of NAFTA.

Of course, originally he was asleep at the switch, even though he supported it during his election. He had to play a lot of catch up ball after all the problems he had during his first spring and summer.

And of course, most of the votes, the key support, came from the Republicans in Congress, not the Democrats in Clinton's own party. The Republican support was critical.

**RL: What about Clinton's low-water mark?**

**Miller:** He got off to a terrible start at the beginning of his term,

(Continued on page 10)

## Notable Quote

Charles Murray on the abolition of welfare for single mothers, as quoted by William Raspberry in the *Washington Post* in December 1993:

"The ethical underpinning for the policies I am about to describe is this: Bringing a child into the world is the most important thing that most human beings ever do. Bringing a child into the world when one is not emotionally or financially prepared to be a parent is wrong. The child deserves society's support. The parent does not."

"How does a poor young mother survive without government support? The same way she has since time immemorial. If she wants to keep a child, she must enlist support from her parents, boyfriend, siblings, neighbors, church or philanthropies. She must get support from somewhere, anywhere, other than the government."

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a terrible start. He should have asked Reagan's advice, to look at what Reagan did in 1981. To focus on the pocketbook issues, the economic bread-and-butter issues. Instead, Clinton brought up this social experimentation, gays in the military and so on, his appointments to various posts. He confused his priorities and got caught up in pushing his social agenda.

A real low point also came with the disastrous summer budget bill, which narrowly passed in the Senate, only because of the tie broken by Gore. He almost lost that, his first budget, a very weak performance. The BTU tax, which was part of that, was very bad, a bad idea. Fortunately we defeated that. The Citizens for a Sound Economy (CSE) organization, which as you know I work with, was heroic in that effort. We almost defeated the

budget, and we did succeed in killing the BTU tax. In the foreign policy area, in particular, there has been no one of stature. Very disappointing. No one like George Schultz or Jeanne Kirkpatrick or Jim Baker. No one like Dick Cheney or Al Haig. This is a very worrisome development. Even though the old Cold War divisions are cranking down, the world is still a very dangerous place.

**RL: Speaking of foreign policy, would you consider yourself more of an isolationist or more of an internationalist?**

**Miller:** More on the internationalist side, I would say. I'm not an internationalist on the issue of sovereignty, not in that sense. The U.S. government must be sound and represented in international matters on its own terms. But in the sense that I am pro-trade, and anti-protectionist, I have to favor the international responsibilities of the United States. The trade issue is central. I strongly believe that the safest world is one in which more trade is made possible.

**RL: Given the current situation for the GOP Senate nomination in Virginia, and your likely major opponent former Col. Oliver North, can you see any differences with him on the subject of foreign policy?**

**Miller:** I couldn't really answer that. I don't know North's position on 99 percent of the issues, including his views on foreign policy. I've challenged him to a series of 11 debates recently so we can really explore the differences between his views and mine. I'd like to debate across the state. But so far, he hasn't responded, he hasn't accepted my challenge. I've heard him about 30 times, in various speeches, and from what I can tell he mostly tells stories. He trashes the news media and tells stories about himself. But I haven't heard a philosophy. I don't know what his philosophy is on that or any other issue, other than attacking the media.

**RL: Well this raises a major question, perhaps the major question. Why are you running for U.S. Senate?**

**Miller:** I see a lot of things broken that can be fixed. I can work to get them fixed. I want to change the rules of the Congress. I want to change the incentives for Congress so that they can do what is right for the country, not just what is expedient for their careers.

For example, I favor a line item veto. I favor a balanced budget amendment. I favor tax limitations procedures, such as having a super-majority vote requirement for tax increases. I favor having a

regulatory budget, which itemizes the costs of regulation. I'm in favor of government reforms which will reduce the undermining of private institutions in our society. I'm in favor of state vouchers to replace public schools. This is crucial to our future. We need to break the court controls over moral training of our children. If we are to solve these social problems, we have to end the position of moral neutrality. If we are going to do anything about the welfare problem, we have to change the welfare rules dramatically, the rules that keep people from getting off welfare.

**People are looking for voices  
in government which speak the plain truth:  
that the government is the cause of most of our  
problems. The government is suffocating the  
economy . . . The government is intruding  
unnecessarily in the individual lives of our citizens.**

JAMES MILLER III

We have a whole generation of kids without fathers, welfare is bringing us that. And studies are showing that this is leading directly to increased crime.

The deterrence to crime and criminal behavior is far too low. No deterrent at all really. Only about 6 percent of all convicted murderers are incarcerated.

**RL: One of the favorite arguments and proposed remedies to fight crime — both nationally and in Virginia — is increased gun control. What are your thoughts about that?**

**Miller:** The Second Amendment is very clearly written. It is very important, very important, that citizens have and preserve the means to prevent government tyranny. That's why we have the Second Amendment. Here in Virginia, we have a requirement (for gun purchases) to have an instant background check. It works well and fast. It is a reasonable, low-cost measure. This is a reasonable cost/benefit type of thing, and it has prevented criminals from buying guns. But going beyond this is very questionable. The major proponents of gun control usually lose sight of the real causes of crime - the lack of economic opportunity, the lack of moral values, the problems of welfare we've been discussing.

**RL: Given your past tenure as White House budget director, and your years of Washington policy experience and observation — particularly those "five years from now" balanced budgets that never seem to materialize — have you become more cynical about the possibility of political change?**

**Miller:** I am somewhat cynical, I have to admit. But I have also seen some important reforms succeed. When I was still a graduate student at the University of Virginia, my first book was written about the all-volunteer military, about ending the draft. And three years later, the all-volunteer military was enacted. My second area of research was on airline deregulation, in the '70s. I can remember going to a CAB hearing (Civil Aeronautics Board) in Washington, testifying about the benefits of deregulation. I can still remember that during my testimony laughter broke out in the hearing room - literally laughing - about the idea of airline deregulation. Yet nine years later, I can also remember the signing of the airline deregulation reform act. Similar experiences have occurred with communications and trucking deregulation.

So I suppose I can say I'm not too cynical about trying to change the system because I have seen the political process respond to change, to successfully respond to good ideas. I think by running for Senate, I can improve the accountability of the system. This is why I haven't given up, why I'm running for the Republican U.S. Senate nomination from Virginia.

# Our Libertarian Heritage

## The Leading Ladies of Liberty

by Roger L. MacBride

In those days - the '20s to the '50s - the battle of ideas was quite simply between individualists and liberal collectivists. In the



Rose Wilder Lane

Congress, for example, there were the anti-collectivist likes of Ralph Gwinn and Howard Buffett (father of Nebraska billionaire Warren Buffett). In the Senate there were Kenneth Wherry and others who on principle opposed the expansion of state authority in any area. In the private world, there were Garrett Garrett, Frank Chodorov and Albert J. Nock. Nock coined the phrase "the Remnant," referring to those intellectual descendants of the Founding Fathers who had not been corrupted by Woodrow Wilsonism or Franklin Delano Rooseveltism.

And of course there were the leading ladies. These were Isabel Paterson, who in the 1940s was book editor for the *New York Herald Tribune*, and Rose Wilder Lane, novelist and the author of both popular and serious works on the theory of individualism. I did not know Ms. Paterson, whose extremely important book *The God of the Machine* is being re-released after 50 years. Rose Lane's important *Saturday Evening*

A young Roger MacBride

*Post* treatise "Give Me Liberty" has been on and off in print in pamphlet form since the 1930s. Her book *Discovery of Freedom* has been available since it was first published in 1943 - 50 years!

Now, these women were feminists and fierce individualists. They, in concert with a few of their friends, including Nock, George Schuyler and H.L. Mencken, came to the realization in the 1940s that the upcoming generation's minds were being almost wholly co-opted by the collectivist school and university system. Together they made a conscious decision to recruit and promote the efforts of younger people to compete in the world of ideas. One of the first and most successful of their efforts was to discover and nurture the Russian emigre Ayn Rand, author of *Anthem*.

Rand was then in New York City struggling to earn a living and write her first epic novel. Lane, Paterson and the others raised funds to enable Rand to devote full time to writing. When Rand had finished her novel it proved unsalable. All the major publishing houses fiercely rejected anything that was individualistic. Paterson, as books editor of the *Herald Tribune*, was finally able to persuade an obscure publishing house in Indianapolis to bring out Rand's book. It was Bobbs-Merrill, and the book was *The Fountainhead*.

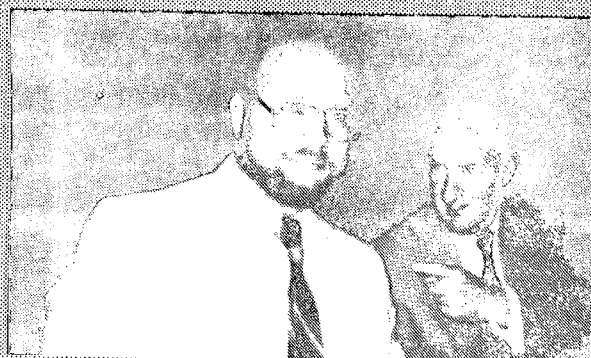
The degree of its success needs no elaboration here; it burst like

a bomb in the minds of young people across the country, and justified and romanticized individualism. Rand went on to found her own cult, and unhappily later refused to recognize what Lane and Paterson had done for her. In any case, her philosophy of objectivism remained a mainstay of individualist thought from the '40s to the '70s and perhaps even now.

Unhappily, in the mid-1950s the older individualists in society at large and in the U.S. Congress began to retire or disappear. In their place came the "collectivist right," as perhaps best exemplified by the magazine *National Review* and "conservatives" like Russell Kirk and William Buckley. These thinkers extolled tradition and upheld the right of the state to enforce "good" behaviour.

Today's individualists - including the RLC - reject the idea of the use of state power to enforce standards decided upon by conservatives quite as much as we reject the use of state power by so-called liberals. Both groups want to herd us around to achieve ends not freely adopted by ourselves.

Ed. Note - MacBride is a former Vermont state legislator, author of seven books, co-producer of the NBC TV series *Little House on the Prairie* and the 1976 Libertarian presidential candidate.



RLC Vice-Chair Clifford Thies and RLC Advisor Mark Skousen at a 1993 free market convention in Houston.

## 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.

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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### 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.
- 3) Get involved in campaigns.
- 4) Run for party or public office!

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

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