# Republican Liberty Free Enterprise, Individual Freedom & Limited Government

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# DC Bash Caps a Banner Year for RLC

by Mike Holmes

Outside the ill-fated 1992 Houston GOP national convention, the RLC's convention was held by two dozen young RLC activists in a noisy Rice University area beer joint. The ebullient aftermath of the GOP congressional Revolution in 1994 found

the RLC biannual convention in Gatlinburg, TN. In 1995 the RLC cosponsored the educational LibertyTree conference, enjoying the sunny splendor of the Santa Barbara, CA, coast.

But after these years of circling the big government monster in

# Paul Chosen for Banking, Education Committees

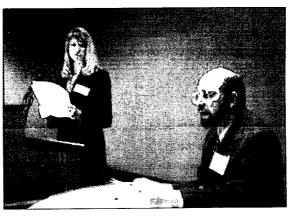
U.S. Rep. Ron Paul was chosen to serve on two of the most important Congressional committees, Banking and Education.

With four previous terms in Congress under his belt, Paul — who served on the Banking Committee during the 1970s and early 1980s — will retain his seniority within the House and on the committees.

Paul said that serving on the House Economic and Educational Opportunities Committee is an exciting prospect for him.

"After the spending of billions of dollars, our children are suffering from too much federal involvement in education. It's time to eliminate the Goals 2000 program and the Department of Education, and return control of our schools to the parents, school boards and states — where the power constitutionally belongs." In addition to educational issues, the committee also addresses the Occupational Safety and Hazard Administration (OSHA).

Paul was in Washington D.C., for orientation meetings in December. During that time he was given his office assignment and briefed on policies and procedures for the new Congress. His office will be at 203 Cannon Building, directly across from the Capitol. He was sworn into office with the rest of the 105th Congress on Jan. 7.



# Convention '96!

WA RLC Coordinator Mary Maas and RLC Chairman Clifford Thies at the 1996 RLC Convention in December.

its Washington DC lair, the RLC finally landed in 1996 just a stone's throw away from the Beltway, within direct sight of the Belly of the statist Beast and its tangled maze of marbled bureaucratic dens.

Nearly 100 RLC activists and guests gathered on Dec. 13-15 for the organizational business meeting and conference at the Sheraton National in Arlington, VA. The setting was an appropriate venue for what was the RLC's debut into the real world of Washington DC politics.

From the beginning the mood was upbeat, with the triumphant re-

turn of Ron Paul to Congress and the reelection of all but one of the RLC's Congressional Advisory Board. In this context, the RLC's convention themes of "assessing the elections, pushing the envelope and getting it done" were particularly appropriate.

Friday night led off with brief remarks by RLC Executive Director Mike Griffin and Birmingham City Councilman Jimmy Blake. RLC chair Clifford Thies presented Republican Liberty senior editor Mike Holmes with the Chairman's Award for service in the cause of liberty.

Former Vermont State Senator and Reagan administration policy advisor John McClaughry provided a heartfelt introduction to the featured speaker, newly elected Rep. Ron Paul of Texas. Paul provided a detailed outline of his political career, almost from the beginning, chronicling his earlier GOP congressional stint, his LP presidential campaign and his return to both the Republican Party and the U.S. Congress.

After the banquet many of the attendees joined former Virginia LP chair and new RLC member Rick Sincere at the Virginia RLC hospitality reception at his nearby Arlington townhome.

The Saturday morning business meeting was conducted effi-

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# **Index: Democrats Jettison Civil Libertarianism**

Once upon a time, so-called liberals prided themselves as defenders of civil liberties. The 1996 Liberty Index of the U.S. Congress demonstrates those days are only a memory.

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|                                 |  |                 |                  |                  |                    |                       |         | r matty |
|---------------------------------|--|-----------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|---------|---------|
|                                 |  | House           | House            | House            | Sen                | ate                   | Senate  | Senate  |
|                                 |  | Ali             | Rep.             | Dem.             | All                |                       | Dom     | Dem.    |
|                                 |  | All .           | vch.             | Dem              | , Ann              | ***                   | rep.    | Doin.   |
|                                 |  |                 |                  |                  |                    | # ##                  |         |         |
| Econom                          | iics   | 54              | 76               | 688.22826.USS.10 |                    |                       | 55      | 28      |
| CONTRACTOR OF A SE              |  | 51              | 60               |                  | 51                 |                       | 52      | 38      |
| Civii                           |  | υι              | UV               |                  | 91                 |                       | 34      | Jo      |
|                                 |  |                 |                  |                  | 2000, 500, 124,000 | Microscopius (School) | *****   |         |
| T ihertar                       | ione   | 49              | 49               | n                | 2                  |                       | 2       | n       |
| Libertar                        | \$11,000 to 100,000 to |                 | 42               | 0                | 2                  |                       | 2       | 0       |
| Enterpri                        | sers   | 144             | 142              | 2                | 44                 |                       | 2<br>14 | 0       |
| 100 to 100 to 100 to 100 to     | sers   |                 | The state of the | A. Maria         | 1,500 SN2 -200     |                       | 3       | 2       |
| Enterpri                        | sers<br>atives   | 144             | 142              | 2                | 44                 |                       |         | 2       |
| Enterpri<br>Conserv             | sers<br>atives   | 144<br>51       | 142<br>47        | 2<br>4           | 44<br>5            |                       | 3       | 2       |
| Enterpri<br>Conserv<br>Liberals | sers<br>atives<br>tes  | 144<br>51<br>23 | 142<br>47<br>4   | 2<br>4<br>19     | 44<br>5<br>8       | į                     | }<br>1  | 2       |

The first two rows are averages; the last six rows are numbers of Congress members so classified.

by Clifford Thies

The 1997 RLC Liberty Index, which follows on pages 3-6, is based on 40 key votes, 20 in each of two components: economics and civil liberties.

In the area of economics, key votes include the balanced budget and tax super majority constitutional amendments, votes to override presidential vetoes of shareholder lawsuit and product liability reform, the farm bill, medical savings accounts, welfare reform, the minimum wage, entitlement reform, defense spending and the space station.

In the area of civil liberties, key votes include the term limits constitutional amendment, school choice, campaign finance reform, the immigration bill, same-sex marriage, repeal of the assault weapons ban, the antiterrorism bill and drug testing. The exact lists varies from one house to the other and can be found on page 7.

As in the past, there is a clear difference between Republicans and Democrats on economic issues. For the average member of Congress, this difference - on a scale of zero to 100 - is 30 to 40 points. Also as in the past, there was less of a difference between Republicans and Democrats on civil liberties. However, here, the gap that was formerly small appears to be widening. Democrats have been noticeably sucking up to foreign interventionism, the federalization of crime in the name of "antiterrorism," extending the war on drugs to tobacco and alcohol, regulating speech on television and in political campaigns.

In the Senate, Brown (R-CO) and Lugar (R-IN), the only two Senators who are classified as "libertarians," achieved the highest combined scores, 76 and 75. On economics, Brown got 90, and McCain (R-AZ) and Coats (R-IN) got 85s.

On the civil liberties component, Stevens (R-AK) and Bennet (R-UT) got 79s. The three lowest combined scores, 22, were set by Bingaman (D-NM), Byrd (D-WV) and Reid (D-NV).

In the House, the highest combined score, 89, was achieved by

McInnis (R-CO), followed by Scarborough (R-FL), 86, and by Chabot (R-OH), Inglis (R-SC), Portman (R-OH) and Souder (R-IN), 84.

On the economics component, there were two 100s: Bass (R-NH) and Hoekstra (R-MI). Bass is the first repeat 100-scorer, having gotten a 100 in economics in 1995. There were also six who had near misses, two due to wrong votes on the space station and one each to wrong votes on dolphin-safe labelling, shipbuilder subsidies and peanut price supports. The scattering of wrong votes resulting in near misses verifies that while many of the key votes in the economics area are tough, the votes are pretty much indicative of free-market sentiment.

There was one near miss for perfectly bad on the economics component. Rahal (D-WV) got only one vote right, and that one vote was a quirk. His one right vote was to oppose substituting the so-called "coalition" budget resolution for the Republican budget resolution. He opposed the substitution not because it would have authorized more spending than the Republican budget resolution (the presumed reason), but did because it did not contain enough spending.

On the civil liberties component, we had three 80s: McInnis, 84, and Ensign (R-NV) and Scarborough (R-FL), 83. The lowest score, 18, was attained by Bryant (D-FL). And, by far the lowest score for a Republican, 21, was attained by Leach (R-IA). This low score was in addition to Leach's inept chairmanship of the house banking committee.

#### **Liberty Index Classifications**

Libertarians - Piscally conservative yet socially tolerant, libertarians favor limited government across the board. Strong advocates of free enterprise economics, civil liberties and noninterventionist foreign policy.

Enterprisers - Reaganite conservatives. They are actively pro-free enterprise but are inconsistent on personal liberties. They favor a strong military but are skeptical of interventionism.

Conservatives - Traditionalist. They are pro-business and oppose social welfare spending. On other social matters they favor a moralist view and take a tough law and order stance on crime. They are pro-military and generally interventionist.

Authoritarians - Believe in a strong state apparatus. They consistently support collectivist forms of economics and oppose most civil liberties. They are often strong nationalists.

Moderates - Moderates support government intervention as the primary means of solving social problems, but are less extreme than authoritarians. Moderates are often laconsistent voters - relying on polls, not principles.

Liberals - Pavor collectivist forms of economics. Proponents of a large welfare state with dependent welfare class. Generally opposed to tax cuts and cuts in social spending, but favors cuts in military spending. Tolerant on social issues and usually secular.

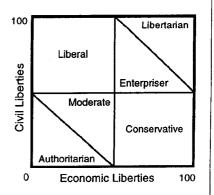
# The 1997 Liberty Index of the U.S. Congress

by Clifford Thies

he 1997 Liberty Index rates members of the U.S. Congress based on 40 roll call votes of 1996, 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 modified, two-dimensional New Political Spectrum.

In the index below, the letter "A" stands for authoritarian (or statist), "C" for conservative and "X" for liberal. The code letter "L" - or libertarian - indicate that a Congress member was clearly within the libertarian quadrant. The code letter "E" stands for enterpriser and "M" stands for moderate. See page 2 for a complete description of these classifications.

The roll call votes used to create this index are listed on page 7.



|                               |        |                      | T        | HE U.S. | SENATE                  |        |           |          |       |
|-------------------------------|--------|----------------------|----------|---------|-------------------------|--------|-----------|----------|-------|
| Senator                       | Party  | Economics            | Civil    | Class   | Senator                 | Party  | Economics | Civil    | Class |
| AL Shelby                     | R      | - 55                 | 51       | E       | MT Burns                | R      | 55        | 56       | E     |
| AL Heflin                     | D      | 24                   | 49       | M       | MT Baucus               | D      | 45        | 37       | M     |
| AK Murkowski                  | R      | 53                   | 62       | E       | NE Exon                 | D      | 17        | 28       | Α     |
| AK Stevens                    | R      | 45                   | 77       | X       | NE Kerrey               | D      | 23        | 44       | M     |
| AZ Kyl                        | R      | 82                   | 56       | E       | NV Bryan                | D      | 45        | 23       | M     |
| AZ McCain                     | R      | 87                   | 62       | E       | NV Reid                 | D      | 34        | 9        | Α     |
| AR Bumpers                    | D      | 24                   | 31       | M       | NH Gregg                | R      | 78        | 62       | E     |
| AR Pryor                      | D      | 30                   | 37       | M       | NH Smith                | R      | 69        | 67       | E     |
| CA Boxer                      | D      | 28                   | 37       | M       | NJ Bradley              | D      | 42        | 44       | M     |
| CA Feinstein                  | D      | 28                   | 37       | M       | NJ Lautenberg           | D      | 28        | 32       | M     |
| CO Brown                      | R      | 91                   | 62       | L       | NM Domenici             | R      | 46        | 62       | X     |
| CO Campbell                   | R      | 42                   | 73       | X       | NM Bingaman             | D      | 6         | 39       | Α     |
| CT Dodd                       | D      | 11                   | 42       | M       | NY D'Amato              | R      | 42        | 66       | X     |
| CT Lieberman                  | D      | 34                   | 37       | M       | NY Moynihan             | D      | 45        | 54       | X     |
| DE Roth                       | R      | 64                   | 49       | C       | NC Faircloth            | R      | 73        | 56       | Е     |
| DE Biden                      | D      | 39                   | 42       | М       | NC Helms                | R      | 64        | 56       | E     |
| FL Mack                       | Ř      | 58                   | 71       | E       | ND Conrad               | D      | 23        | 32       | M     |
| L Graham                      | D      | 28                   | 46       | M       | ND Dorgan               | D      | 23        | 37       | M     |
| GA Coverdell                  | R      | 64                   | 62       | E       | OH DeWine               | R      | 55        | 67       | E     |
| GA Nunn                       | Ď      | 51                   | 37       | č       | OH Glenn                | D      | 34        | 32       | M     |
| HI Akaka                      | D      | 17                   | 42       | М       | OK Inhofe               | R      | 73        | 67       | E     |
| HI Inouye                     | D      | 12                   | 46       | M       | OK Nickles              | R      | 78        | 67       | Е     |
| n modye<br>D Craig            | R      | 69                   | 62       | E       | OR Hatfield             | R      | 66        | 70       | Ē     |
| D Kempthorne                  | R      | 69                   | 67       | E       | OR Wyden                | D      | 34        | 42       | M     |
| L Moseley-Braun               | D      | 17                   | 42       | M       | PA Santorum             | R      | 57        | 67       | E     |
| L Simon                       | D      | 23                   | 46       | M       | PA Specter              | R      | 51        | 51       | E     |
| N Coats                       | R      | 23<br>87             | 62       | E       | RI Chafee               | R      | 64        | 51       | Ē     |
| N Coals<br>N Lugar            | R      | 78                   | 73       | L       | RI Pell                 | D      | 24        | 42       | M     |
| A Grassley                    | R      | 73                   | 56       | E       | SC Thurmond             | R      | 60        | 56       | E     |
| A Grassiey                    | D      | 28                   | 37       | M       | SC Hollings             | D      | 34        | 23       | М     |
| A Harkin<br>KS Dole/Frahm     | R      | 70                   | 60       | E       | SD Pressler             | R      | 55        | 67       | E     |
| KS Dole/Franm<br>KS Kassebaum | R      | 70<br>72             | 49       | Č       | SD Daschle              | D      | 17 ·      | 37       | M     |
| KS Kassedaum<br>KY McConnell  | R      | 51                   | 62       | E       | TN Frist                | R      | 78        | 67       | E     |
|                               | R<br>D | 23                   | 42       | M       | TN Thompson             | R<br>R | 82        | 56       | E     |
| KY Ford                       | D<br>D | 2.5<br>34            | 42<br>34 | M<br>M  | TX Gramm                | R<br>R | 82<br>84  | 50<br>62 | E     |
| LA Breaux                     | ע<br>D | 3 <del>4</del><br>34 | 32       | M       | TX Hutchison            | R<br>R | 73        | 62       | E     |
| A Johnston                    | _      |                      | 52<br>51 | M<br>E  |                         | R<br>R | 73<br>64  | 77       | E     |
| ME Cohen                      | R      | 67                   | 51<br>67 | E<br>E  | UT Bennett              | R<br>R | 60        | 73       | E     |
| ME Snowe                      | R<br>D | 55<br>23             | 67<br>42 | E<br>M  | UT Hatch<br>VT Jeffords | R<br>R | 50<br>51  | 73<br>56 | E     |
| ID Mikulski                   | D<br>D | 23                   | 42<br>42 |         | 1                       | к<br>D | 23        | 50<br>51 | X     |
| MD Sarbanes                   | מ      | 23<br>39             | 42<br>44 | M<br>M  | VT Leahy                | R      | 23<br>51  | 51<br>62 | E     |
| MA Kennedy                    | _      |                      |          |         | VA Warner               |        |           |          |       |
| //A Kerry                     | D      | 34                   | 46       | M       | VA Robb                 | D      | 23        | 42       | M     |
| MI Abraham                    | R      | 64                   | 67       | E       | WA Gorton               | R      | 60        | 73       | E     |
| Al Levin                      | D      | 28                   | 32       | M       | WA Murray               | D      | 28        | 37       | М     |
| MN Grams                      | R      | 69                   | 71       | E       | WV Byrd                 | D      | 11        | 32       | A     |
| MN Wellstone                  | D      | 28                   | 51       | X       | WV Rockefeller          | D      | 28        | 32       | M     |
| MS Cochran                    | R      | 63                   | 67       | E       | WI Feingold             | D      | 28        | 51       | X     |
| MS Lott                       | R      | 60                   | 56       | E       | WI Kohl                 | D      | 51        | 42       | C     |
|                               | R      | 82                   | 62       | Е       | WY Simpson              | R      | 69        | 42       | С     |
|                               |        |                      |          |         | •                       |        |           |          |       |
| MO Ashcroft<br>MO Bond        | R      | 60                   | 67       | Ē       | WY Thomas               | R      | 87        | 51       | E     |

| Representative              | Partv   | Economics | Civil    | Class  | Representative                   | Party  | Economics | Civil      | Clas |
|-----------------------------|---------|-----------|----------|--------|----------------------------------|--------|-----------|------------|------|
| L 01 Callahan               | R       | 71        | 63       | Е      | CO 03 McInnis                    | R      | 94        | 84         | ]    |
| L 02 Everett                | R       | 41        | 69       | X      | CO 04 Allard                     | R      | 77        | 58         |      |
| L 03 Browder                | D       | 39        | 56       | X      | CO 05 Hefley                     | R      | 77        | 69         |      |
| L 04 Bevill                 | D       | 34        | 51       | Х      | CO 06 Schaefer                   | R      | 77        | 69         |      |
| L 05 Cramer                 | D       | 39        | 48       | M      | CT 01 Kennelly                   | D      | 26        | 33         |      |
| L 06 Bachus                 | R       | 57        | 58       | E      | CT 02 Gejdenson                  | D      | 22        | 33         |      |
| L 07 Hilliard<br>K 01 Young | D<br>R  | 18<br>61  | 38       | M      | CT 03 DeLauro                    | D      | 26        | 29         |      |
| Z 01 Salmon                 | r.<br>R | 71        | 56<br>63 | E<br>E | CT 04 Shays                      | R      | 83        | 38         |      |
| Z 02 Pastor                 | D R     | 32        | 38       | E<br>M | CT 05 Franks<br>CT 06 Johnson    | R      | 88        | 53         |      |
| Z 03 Stump                  | R       | 71        | 63       | E      | DE 01 Castle                     | R      | 53        | 56         |      |
| Z 04 Shaddegg               | R       | 83        | 58       | E      | FL 01 Scarborough                | R<br>R | 88<br>88  | 38         |      |
| Z 05 Kolbe                  | R       | 83        | 69       | Ľ      | FL 02 Peterson                   | D R    | 28        | 83<br>38   |      |
| Z 06 Hayworth               | R       | 83        | 63       | E      | FL 03 Brown                      | Ď      | 13        | 33         |      |
| R 01 Lincoln                | D       | 33        | 34       | М      | FL 04 Fowler                     | R      | 75        | 63         |      |
| R 02 Thorton                | D       | 31        | 50       | M      | FL 05 Thurman                    | D      | 18        | 48         |      |
| R 03 Hutchinson             | R       | 88        | 69       | L      | FL 06 Stearns                    | Ř      | 65        | 63         |      |
| R 04 Dickey                 | R       | 88        | 63       | L      | FL 07 Mica                       | R      | 71        | 63         |      |
| A 01 Riggs                  | R       | 88        | 61       | E      | FL 08 McCollum                   | R      | 77        | 48         |      |
| A 02 Herger                 | R       | 77        | 63       | Е      | FL 09 Bilirakis                  | R      | 69        | 53         |      |
| A 03 Fazio                  | D       | 18        | 38       | M      | FL 10 Young                      | R      | 73        | 65         |      |
| A 04 Doolittle              | R       | 71        | 74       | E      | FL 11 Gibbons                    | D      | 28        | 24         |      |
| A 05 Matsui                 | D       | 14        | 33       | Α      | FL 12 Canady                     | R      | 71        | 43         |      |
| A 06 Woolsey                | D       | 18        | 43       | M      | FL 13 Miller                     | R      | 87        | 69         |      |
| A 07 Miller                 | D       | 26        | 30       | M      | FL 14 Goss                       | R      | 82        | 48         |      |
| A 08 Pelosi<br>A 09 Dellums | D       | 31        | 38       | М      | FL 15 Weldon                     | R      | 77        | 69         |      |
| A 10 Baker                  | D       | 31        | 43       | M      | FL 16 Foley                      | R      | 65        | 58         |      |
| A 11 Pombo                  | R<br>R  | 88        | 58       | Ē      | FL 17 Meek                       | D      | 13        | 38         |      |
| A 12 Lantos                 | K<br>D  | 65        | 69       | E      | FL 18 Ros-Lehtinen               | R      | 51        | 63         |      |
| A 13 Stark                  | D<br>D  | 14<br>32  | 40<br>36 | M      | FL 19 Johnston                   | D      | 22        | 22         |      |
| A 14 Eshoo                  | D       | 32        | 30<br>33 | M      | FL 20 Deutsch                    | D      | 41        | 32         |      |
| A 15 Campbell               | R       | 82<br>82  | 33<br>40 | M<br>C | FL 21 Diaz-Balart                | R      | 39        | 69         |      |
| A 16 Lofgen                 | D       | 26        | 48       | M      | FL 22 Shaw                       | R      | 83        | 61         |      |
| A 17 Farr                   | Ď       | 18        | 33       | M      | FL 23 Hastings<br>GA 01 Kingston | D<br>R | 9<br>75   | 42<br>67   |      |
| A 18 Condit                 | D       | 48        | 48       | M      | GA 02 Bishop                     | D R    | 28        | 38         |      |
| A 19 Radanovich             | R       | 83        | 78       | L      | GA 03 Collins                    | R      | 28<br>71  | <i>5</i> 8 |      |
| A 20 Dooley                 | D       | 44        | 33       | M      | GA 04 Linder                     | R      | 83        | 69         |      |
| A 21 Thomas                 | R       | 69        | 69       | E      | GA 05 Lewis                      | D      | 22        | 43         |      |
| A 22 Seastrand              | R       | 88        | 53       | E      | GA 06 Gingrich                   | R      | n/a       | n/a        |      |
| A 23 Gallegly               | R       | 88        | 48       | C      | GA 07 Barr                       | R      | 83        | 63         | j    |
| A 24 Beilenson              | D       | 26        | 24       | Α      | GA 08 Chambliss                  | R      | 77        | 63         | j    |
| A 25 McKeon                 | R       | 77        | 45       | С      | GA 09 Deal                       | R      | 71        | 58         | j    |
| A 26 Berman                 | D       | 28        | 29       | M      | GA 10 Norwood                    | R      | 71        | 58         | j    |
| A 27 Moorhead<br>A 28 Drier | R       | 88        | 45       | С      | GA 11 McKinney                   | D      | 21        | 33         | 1    |
| A 29 Waxman                 | R       | 88        | 45       | C      | HI 01 Abercrombie                | D      | 9         | 48         | ]    |
| A 30 Becerra                | D<br>D  | 31        | 35       | M      | HI 02 Mink                       | D      | 26        | 38         | 3    |
| A 31 Martinez               | D<br>D  | 27<br>14  | 40       | M      | ID 01 Chenoweth                  | R      | 69        | 61         | ]    |
| A 32 Dixon                  | D       | 22        | 30<br>33 | A<br>M | ID 02 Crapo                      | R      | 71        | 63         | l    |
| A 33 Roybal-Allard          | D       | 26        | 40       | M      | IL 01 Rush<br>IL 02 Reynolds     | D      | 28        | 32         | 1    |
| A 34 Torres                 | Ď       | 22        | 43       | M      | IL 02 Reynolds IL 03 Lipinski    | D      | 22        | 43         | l    |
| 35 Waters                   | Ď       | 26        | 38       | M      | IL 04 Guitierrez                 | D      | 44        | 43         | 1    |
| A 36 Harman                 | Ď       | 44        | 40       | M      | IL 05 Flanagan                   | D<br>R | 31        | 43         | 1    |
| 37 Millender-McD.           | D       | 19        | 35       | M      | IL 06 Hyde                       | R<br>R | 65<br>88  | 72<br>38   | J    |
| 38 Horn                     | R       | 75        | 43       | C      | IL 07 Collins                    | D      | 22        | 38<br>26   | (    |
| 39 Royce                    | R       | 83        | 58       | E      | IL 08 Crane                      | R      | 82<br>82  | 69         | I    |
| 40 Lewis                    | R       | 69        | 50       | С      | IL 09 Yates                      | D      | 28        | 38         | ľ    |
| 41 Kim                      | R       | 83        | 58       | Е      | IL 10 Porter                     | R      | 83        | 56         | I    |
| 42 Brown                    | D       | 13        | 33       | A      | IL 11 Weller                     | R      | 59        | 58         | É    |
| 43 Calvert                  | R       | 77        | 50       | С      | IL 12 Costello                   | D      | 22        | 45         | N    |
| 44 Bono                     | R       | 77        | 48       | C      | IL 13 Fawell                     | R      | 88        | 43         |      |
| 45 Rohrabacher              | R       | 88        | 63       | L      | IL 14 Hastert                    | R      | 69        | 63         | È    |
| 46 Dornan                   | R       | 69        | 74       | Е      | IL 15 Ewing                      | R      | 77        | 56         | E    |
| 47 Cox                      | R       | 83        | 65       | Е      | IL 16 Manzullo                   | R      | 88        | 69         | I    |
| 48 Packard                  | R       | 81        | 48       | C      | IL 17 Evans                      | D      | 18        | 43         | N    |
| 49 Bilbray                  | R       | 82        | 38       | C      | IL 18 LaHood                     | R      | 57        | 63         | E    |
| 50 Filner                   | D       | 14        | 35       | A      | IL 19 Poshard                    | D      | 18        | 63         | X    |
| 51 Cunningham               | R       | 82        | 56       | Е      | IL 20 Durbin                     | D      | 26        | 42         | N    |
| 52 Hunter<br>01 Schroeder   | R       | 65        | 48       | C      | IN 01 Viclosky                   | D      | 35        | 35         | N    |
| 01 Schroeder<br>02 Skaggs   | D       | 15        | 35       | A      | IN 02 McIntosh                   | R      | 94        | 67         | L    |
| or nyakka                   | D       | 22        | 43       | M      | IN 03 Roemer                     | D      | 53        | 38         | С    |

| Representative                     | Party  | Economics  | Civil    | Class  | Representative                     | Party  | Economics | Civit    | Class  |
|------------------------------------|--------|------------|----------|--------|------------------------------------|--------|-----------|----------|--------|
| IN 04 Souder                       | R      | 88         | 79       | L      | MS 02 Thompson                     | D      | 13        | 45       | M      |
| IN 05 Buyer                        | R      | 75         | 58       | Е      | MS 03 Montgomery                   | Ð      | 53        | 50       | C      |
| IN 06 Burton                       | R      | 65         | 69       | Е      | MS 04 Parker                       | R      | 77        | 58       | Е      |
| IN 07 Myers                        | . R    | 81         | 54       | Е      | MS 05 Taylor                       | D      | 35        | 58       | X      |
| IN 08 Hostettler<br>IN 09 Hamilton | R<br>D | 77<br>48   | 54<br>48 | E<br>M | MO 01 Clay MO 02 Talent            | D<br>R | 23<br>87  | 54<br>61 | X<br>E |
| IN 10 Jacobs                       | D      | 48<br>32   | 48<br>43 | M      | MO 03 Gephardt                     | D      | 13        | 35       | A      |
| IA 01 Leach                        | R      | 65         | 21       | C      | MO 04 Skelton                      | D      | 35        | 43       | M      |
| IA 02 Nussle                       | R      | 83         | 58       | Ë      | MO 05 McCarthy                     | Ď      | 39        | 43       | M      |
| IA 03 Lightfoot                    | Ř      | 71         | 58       | Ē      | MO 06 Danner                       | D      | 59        | 48       | С      |
| IA 04 Ganske                       | R      | 77         | 40       | Ċ      | MO 07 Hancock                      | R      | 88        | 69       | L      |
| IA 05 Latham                       | R      | 88         | 58       | E      | MO 08 Emerson                      | R      | 71        | 74       | Е      |
| KS 01 Roberts                      | R      | 63         | 67       | E      | MO 09 Volkmer                      | D      | 13        | 48       | M      |
| KS 02 Brownback                    | R      | 88         | 78       | L      | MT 01 Williams                     | D      | 26        | 50       | M      |
| KS 03 Meyers                       | R      | 82         | 38       | C      | NE 01 Bereuter                     | R      | 71        | 33       | C      |
| KS 04 Tiahrt                       | R      | 83         | 74       | L      | NE 02 Christensen<br>NE 03 Barrett | R<br>R | 83<br>71  | 63<br>58 | E<br>E |
| KY 01 Whitfield<br>KY 02 Lewis     | R<br>R | 65<br>71   | 67<br>69 | E<br>E | NV 01 Ensign                       | R      | 83        | 83       | L      |
| KY 03 Ward                         | D<br>D | 19         | 33       | M      | NV 02 Vucanovich                   | R      | 77        | 58       | E      |
| KY 04 Bunning                      | R      | 71         | 69       | E      | NH 01 Zeliff                       | R      | 88        | 56       | Ē      |
| KY 05 Rogers                       | R      | 69         | 58       | Ē      | NH 02 Bass                         | R      | 100       | 58       | L      |
| KY 06 Baesler                      | D      | 35         | 38       | M      | NJ 01 Andrews                      | D      | 37        | 33       | M      |
| LA 01 Livingston                   | R      | 65         | 58       | Е      | NJ 02 LoBiondo                     | R      | 71        | 58       | E      |
| LA 02 Jefferson                    | D      | 18         | 33       | M      | NJ 03 Saxton                       | R      | 82        | 48       | С      |
| LA 03 Tauzin                       | R      | 59         | 50       | C      | NJ 04 Smith                        | R      | 53        | 58       | Е      |
| LA 04 Fields                       | D      | 27         | 35       | M      | NJ 05 Roukema                      | R      | 65        | 35       | C      |
| LA 05 McCrery                      | R      | 63         | 58       | E      | NJ 06 Pallone                      | D      | 39        | 38       | M      |
| LA 06 Baker                        | R      | 77         | 48       | C      | NJ 07 Franks                       | R      | 65<br>63  | 48<br>48 | C      |
| LA 07 Hayes                        | R      | 69         | 43       | C<br>E | NJ 08 Martini<br>NJ 09 Torricelli  | R<br>D | 53<br>26  | 48<br>33 | C<br>M |
| ME 01 Longley<br>ME 02 Balducci    | R<br>D | 71<br>18   | 72<br>43 | E<br>M | NJ 10 Payne                        | D      | 26        | 43       | M      |
| MD 01 Gilchrest                    | R      | 88         | 38       | C      | NJ 11 Frelinghuysen                | R      | 77        | 48       | Č      |
| MD 02 Ehrlich                      | R      | 88         | 63       | Ĺ      | NJ 12 Zimmer                       | R      | 65        | 63       | Ē      |
| MD 03 Cardin                       | D      | 32         | 24       | M      | NJ 13 Menendez                     | D      | 23        | 43       | M      |
| MD 04 Wynn                         | D      | 22         | 29       | M      | NM 01 Schiff                       | R      | 51        | 48       | C      |
| MD 05 Hoyer                        | D      | 26         | 29       | M      | NM 02 Skeen                        | R      | 77        | 48       | С      |
| MD 06 Bartlett                     | R      | 88         | 69       | L      | NM 03 Richardson                   | D      | 22        | 43       | M      |
| MD 07 Cummings                     | D      | 29         | 32       | M      | NY 01 Forbes                       | R      | 63        | 69       | E      |
| MD 08 Morella                      | R      | 71         | 43       | С      | NY 02 Lazio                        | R      | 88        | 58       | Е      |
| MA 01 Olver                        | D      | 26         | 40       | M      | NY 03 King                         | R      | 69        | 74<br>74 | É      |
| MA 02 Neal                         | D      | 24         | 29       | M      | NY 04 Frisa<br>NY 05 Ackerman      | R<br>D | 59<br>28  | 33       | E<br>M |
| MA 03 Blute                        | R<br>D | 65<br>35   | 43<br>33 | C<br>M | NY 06 Flake                        | D      | 24        | 33<br>34 | M      |
| MA 04 Frank<br>MA 05 Meehan        | D<br>D | 35<br>35   | 33<br>37 | M      | NY 07 Manton                       | D      | 22        | 33       | M      |
| MA 06 Torkildsen                   | R      | 59         | 48       | C      | NY 08 Nadler                       | Ď      | 31        | 37       | M      |
| MA 07 Markey                       | Ď      | 26         | 33       | M      | NY 09 Schumer                      | D      | 31        | 29       | M      |
| MA 08 Kennedy                      | D      | 39         | 40       | M      | NY 10 Towns                        | D      | 29        | 38       | M      |
| MA 09 Moakley                      | D      | 31         | 20       | M      | NY 11 Owens                        | D      | 26        | 42       | M      |
| MA 10 Studds                       | D      | <b>2</b> 6 | 30       | M      | NY 12 Velazquez                    | D      | 31        | 43       | M      |
| MI 01 Stupak                       | D      | 22         | 48       | M      | NY 13 Molinari                     | R      | 90        | 48       | С      |
| MI 02 Hoekstra                     | R      | 100        | 63       | L      | NY 14 Maloney                      | D      | 35        | 33       | M      |
| MI 03 Ehlers                       | R      | 74         | 53       | E      | NY 15 Rangel                       | D      | 26        | 33       | M      |
| MI 04 Camp                         | R      | 83         | 69       | L      | NY 16 Serrano<br>NY 17 Engel       | D<br>D | 18<br>23  | 38<br>45 | M<br>M |
| MI 05 Barcia                       | D<br>R | 32<br>88   | 58<br>58 | X<br>E | NY 18 Lowey                        | D      | 32        | 24       | M      |
| MI 06 Upton<br>MI 07 Smith         | R      | 88         | 74       | L      | NY 19 Kelly                        | R      | 83        | 58       | E      |
| MI 08 Chrysler                     | R      | 83         | 65       | E      | NY 20 Gilman                       | R      | 53        | 56       | Ē      |
| MI 09 Kildee                       | D      | 13         | 38       | M      | NY 21 McNulty                      | D      | 44        | 33       | M      |
| MI 10 Bonior                       | D      | 18         | 38       | M      | NY 22 Solomon                      | R      | 82        | 74       | L      |
| Ml 11 Knollenberg                  | R      | 83         | 63       | E      | NY 23 Boehlert                     | R      | 53        | 48       | C      |
| MI 12 Levin                        | D      | 31         | 29       | M      | NY 24 McHugh                       | R      | 75        | 53       | E      |
| MI 13 Rivers                       | D      | 18         | 53       | X      | NY 25 Walsh                        | R      | 44        | 63       | Х      |
| MI 14 Conyers                      | D      | 23         | 40       | M      | NY 26 Hinchey                      | D      | 22        | 48       | M      |
| MI 15 Collins                      | D      | 19         | 48       | M      | NY 27 Paxon                        | R      | 77<br>27  | 69       | E      |
| MI 16 Dingell                      | D      | 26         | 48       | M      | NY 28 Slaughter                    | D      | 37<br>35  | 40<br>25 | M      |
| MN 01 Gutknecht                    | R      | 88         | 53       | E      | NY 29 LaFalce                      | D      | 35<br>61  | 35<br>50 | M      |
| MN 02 Minge                        | D      | 44         | 35       | M      | NY 30 Quinn                        | R<br>R | 61<br>59  | 50<br>58 | C<br>E |
| MN 03 Ramstad<br>MN 04 Vento       | R<br>D | 83<br>26   | 43<br>29 | C<br>M | NY 31 Houghton<br>NC 01 Clayton    | R<br>D | 59<br>13  | 38<br>30 | E<br>A |
| MN 04 Vento<br>MN 05 Sabo          | D<br>D | 26<br>22   | 33       | M<br>M | NC 01 Clayton<br>NC 02 Funderburk  | R      | 13<br>77  | 72       | E      |
| MN 06 Luther                       | D      | 39         | 33       | M<br>M | NC 02 Funderburk NC 03 Jones       | R      | 65        | 69       | E      |
| MN 07 Peterson                     | D      | 32         | 53       | X      | NC 04 Heineman                     | R      | 71        | 63       | Ē      |
| MN 08 Oberstar                     | D      | 9          | 53       | X      | NC 05 Burr                         | R      | 77        | 63       | Ē      |
| MS 01 Wicker                       | R      | 77         |          |        | NC 06 Coble                        |        | 71        | 63       | E      |

| Representative           | Party  | Economics | Civil    | Class | Representative                          | Party         | Economics     | Civil    | Cla  |
|--------------------------|--------|-----------|----------|-------|---|---------------|---------------|----------|------|
| NC 07 Rose               | D      | 23        | 48       | M     | TN 08 Tanner                            | D             | 23            | 42       | ı    |
| NC 08 Hefner             | D      | 26        | 53       | X     | TN 09 Ford                              | D             | 23            | 35       | i    |
| NC 09 Myrick             | R      | 82        | 63       | Е     | TX 01 Chapman                           | D             | 24            | 51       |      |
| NC 10 Ballenger          | R      | 77        | 63       | Е     | TX 02 Wilson                            | D             | 29            | 32       |      |
| NC 11 Taylor             | R      | 83        | 69       | L     | TX 03 Johnson, S.                       | R             | 77            | 69       |      |
| NC 12 Watt               | D      | 13        | 40       | M     | TX 04 Hall                              | D             | 71            | 58       |      |
| ND 01 Pomeroy            | D      | 18        | 35       | M     | TX 05 Bryant                            | D             | 26            | 18       |      |
| OH 01 Chabot             | R      | 94        | 74       | L     | TX 06 Barton                            | R             | 71            | 53       |      |
| OH 02 Portman            | R      | 94        | 74       | L     | TX 07 Archer                            | R             | 77            | 58       |      |
| OH 03 Hall               | D      | 18        | 39       | M     | TX 08 Fields                            | R             | 88            | 57       |      |
| OH 04 Oxley              | R      | 75        | 50       | C     | TX 09 Stockman                          | R             | 59            | 67       |      |
| OH 05 Gilmor             | R      | 68        | 63       | E     | TX 10 Doggett                           | D             | 22            | 29       |      |
| OH 06 Cremeans           | R      | 83        | 63       | E     | TX 11 Edwards                           | D             | 34            | 33       |      |
| OH 07 Hobson             | R      | 77        | 53       | E     | TX 12 Geren                             | D             | 59            | 37       |      |
| OH 08 Boehner            | R      | 71        | 58       | E     | TX 13 Thornberry                        | R             | 77            | 63       |      |
| OH 09 Kaptur             | D      | 37        | 24       | M     | TX 14 Laughlin                          | R             | 68            | 56       |      |
| OH 10 Hoke               | R      | 77        | 74       | L     | TX 15 de la Garza                       | Ď             | 19            | 63       |      |
| OH 11 Stokes             | D      | 16        | 40       | M     | TX 16 Coleman                           | D             | 18            | 28       |      |
| OH 12 Kasich             | R      | 88        | 56       | E     | TX 17 Stenholm                          | D             | 44            | 48       |      |
| OH 13 Brown              | D      | 39        | 48       | М     | TX 18 Jackson-Lee                       | D             | 18            | 35       |      |
| OH 14 Sawyer             | D      | 26        | 33       | M     | TX 19 Combest                           | R             | 71            | 55<br>69 |      |
| OH 15 Pryce              | R      | 88        | 59       | E     | TX 20 Gonzalez                          | D             | 22            | 09<br>29 |      |
| OH 16 Regula             | R      | 71        | 58       | E     | TX 21 Smith                             | R             | 75            | 53       |      |
| OH 17 Traficant          | D      | 23        | 43       | M     | TX 22 DeLay                             | R<br>R        | 75<br>75      | 56       |      |
| OH 18 Ney                | R      | 71        | 63       | E     | TX 23 Bonilla                           | R             | 69            | 36<br>79 |      |
| OH 19 La Tourette        | R      | 77        | 63       | Е     | TX 24 Frost                             | D             | 28            |          |      |
| OK 01 Largent            | R      | 88        | 56       | E     | TX 25 Bentsen                           | D             |               | 45       |      |
| K 02 Coburn              | R      | 77        | 63       | E     | TX 26 Armey                             | R             | 22            | 43       |      |
| K 03 Brewster            | D      | 53        | 65       | E     | TX 27 Ortiz                             | R<br>D        | 83            | 69       |      |
| 0K 04 Watts              | R      | 75        | 74       | Ē     | TX 28 Tejeda                            |               | 31            | 48       |      |
| K 05 Istook              | R      | 83        | 63       | Ē     | TX 29 Green                             | D             | 26            | 48       |      |
| K 06 Lucas               | R      | 77        | 63       | Ē     | TX 30 Johnson, E.                       | D             | 23            | 53       |      |
| R 01 Furse               | D      | 31        | 33       | M     | UT 01 Hansen                            | D             | 9             | 33       |      |
| R 02 Cooley              | R      | 71        | 69       | E     |   | R             | 88            | 72       |      |
| R 03 Blumenauer          | D      | 44        | 21       | M     | UT 02 Greene                            | R             | 88            | 72       |      |
| R 04 DeFazio             | Ď      | 31        | 29       | M     | UT 03 Otron                             | D             | 44            | 48       |      |
| R 05 Bunn                | R      | 65        | 63       | E     | VT 01 Sanders                           | I             | 18            | 48       |      |
| A 01 Foglietta           | D      | 23        | 33       | M     | VA 01 Bateman                           | R             | 65            | 43       | -    |
| A 02 Fattah              | Ď      | 22        | 38       | M     | VA 02 Pickett                           | D             | 35            | 43       |      |
| A 03 Borski              | Ď      | 26        | 33       | M     | VA 03 Scott                             | D             | 13            | 38       | -    |
| A 04 Klink               | D      | 18        | 53       | X     | VA 04 Sisisky                           | D             | 41            | 40       | ]    |
| A 05 Clinger             | Ř      | 69        | 43       | ĉ     | VA 05 Payne                             | D             | 35            | 43       | ]    |
| A 06 Holden              | Ď      | 31        | 48       | M     | VA 06 Goodlatte                         | R             | 94            | 58       | 1    |
| A 07 Weldon              | Ř      | 66        | 58       | E     | VA 07 Bliley                            | R             | 71            | 59       | 1    |
| A 08 Greenwood           | R      | 77        | 45       | Č     | VA 08 Moran                             | D             | 31            | 33       | 1    |
| A 09 Shuster             | R      | 77        | 63       | E     | VA 09 Boucher                           | D             | 39            | 48       | ]    |
| A 10 McDade              | R<br>R | 73        | 68       | E     | VA 10 Wolf                              | R             | 88            | 61       | i    |
| A 11 Kanjorski           | D      | 26        | 53       |       | VA 11 Davis                             | R             | 88            | 74       | 1    |
| A 12 Murtha              | D      | 28        | 43       | X     | WA 01 White                             | R             | 83            | 79       | I    |
| A 13 Fox                 | R      | 23<br>77  |          | M     | WA 02 Metcalf                           | R             | 48            | 63       | 7    |
| A 14 Coyne               | D<br>D | 26        | 48<br>45 | C     | WA 03 Smith                             | R             | 75            | 67       | I    |
| A 15 McHale              | D      | 31        | 45<br>29 | M     | WA 04 Hastings                          | R             | 65            | 58       | I    |
| 16 Walker                | R      | 83        | 29<br>67 | M     | WA 05 Nethercutt                        | R             | 71            | 67       | I    |
| 17 Gekas                 | R<br>R | 83<br>88  |          | E     | WA 06 Dicks                             | D             | 9             | 29       | 1    |
| 18 Doyle                 |        |           | 58       | E     | WA 07 McDermott                         | D             | 13            | 43       | 1    |
| A 19 Goodling            | D      | 39        | 38       | М     | WA 08 Dunn                              | R             | 83            | 67       | I    |
| A 20 Mascara             | R      | 83        | 79<br>53 | L     | WA 09 Tate                              | R             | 83            | 67       | I    |
| 20 Mascara<br>21 English | D      | 26        | 53       | X     | WV 01 Mollohan                          | D             | 10            | 43       | ľ    |
| 01 Kennedy               | R      | 63        | 69       | E     | WV 02 Wise                              | D             | 10            | 40       | I    |
| 02 Reed                  | D      | 26        | 38       | M     | WV 03 Rahall                            | D             | 4             | 38       | A    |
| 01 Sanford               | D      | 31        | 29       | M     | WI 01 Neumann                           | R             | 83            | 69       | L    |
|                          | R      | 83        | 78       | L     | WI 02 Klug                              | R             | 83            | 74       | L    |
| 02 Spence                | R      | 77        | 69       | E     | WI 03 Gunderson                         | R             | 65            | 69       | E    |
| 03 Graham                | R      | 75        | 63       | E     | WI 04 Kleczka                           | D             | 35            | 33       | N    |
| 04 Inglis                | R      | 94        | 74       | L     | WI 05 Barrett                           | D             | 31            | 38       | N    |
| C 05 Spratt              | D      | 37        | 53       | X     | WI 06 Petri                             | R             |               | 69       | L    |
| 06 Clyburn               | D      | 18        | 38       | M     | WI 07 Obey                              | Ď             | 18            | 45       | N    |
| 01 Johnson               | D      | 35        | 53       | х     | WI 08 Roth                              | R             |               | 57       | E    |
| 101 Quillen              | R      | 69        | 48       | C     | WI 09 Sensenbrenner                     | R             | 83            | 69       | L    |
| 02 Duncan                | R      | 83        | 56       | E     | WI 01 Cubin                             | R             | 71            | 63       | E    |
| I 03 Wamp                | R      | 83        | 69       | L     |   | K             | , ı           | U.J      | Ľ    |
| I 04 Hilleary            | R      | 77        | 63       | Ē     | Ed Note - Clifford Thiss is Dun-11 D    | face or -F14  | Day 12        | I E'     |      |
| I 05 Clement             | D      | 39        | 43       | M     | Ed. Note - Clifford Thies is Durell Pro | yessor of Mon | ey, Banking a | na rinan | ce a |
| I 06 Gordon              | D      | 48        | 58       | X     | Shenandoah University in Wincheste      |               |               | Thies at | 322  |
|                          |        |           |          |       | Fairmont Ave., Winchester, VA 22601     |               |               |          |      |

#### 1997 Liberty Index Roll Call Votes

(Vote numbers taken from Congressional Quarterly)

#### House of Representatives - Civil Liberties

22. against deleting low-income education vouchers from DC appropriations.

51. against prohibiting states from not Medicaid-financing abortion in cases of rape and incest

52. for requiring private organizations that receive federal grants to disclose their lobbying.

61. for eliminating expanding the authority of law enforcement officials contained in anti-

72. against improving Social Security cards so they can be used as identity cards.

77. against requiring employer verification of immigrant status. 78. against requiring immigrants to demonstrate English proficiency.

84. for striking the provisions in the immigration bill restricting legal immigration.
92. for the repeal of the assault weapons ban.

151. for investigating U.S. involvement in Iranian arms shipments.

186, for requiring an annual unclassified statement of intelligence operations.

276. for defunding Americorps.

284. for dissaproving China most favored nation status

316. against defining marriage "for federal purposes" as one man and one woman.

320. against prohibiting abortion coverage in health insurance of federal employees. 363. against "voluntary limits" on campaign finance based on federal funding.

365, against additional limits on contributions to campaign finance.

388. for establishing English as language of U.S. Government.
405. for prohibiting U.S. military personnel from serving under U.N. command.

House of Representatives - Economics
1. for the balanced budget constitutional amendment.

18. for overriding the veto of shareholder lawsuits reform bill.

34. against continuing the peanut price-support programs

35. against continuing the sugar price-support programs.

for phasing out agriculture price-support programs.
 defaults the Democratic health insurance bill which does not include medical savings accounts.

117. for the tax super majority constitutional amend

144. for ocean shipping deregulation.

156, against reinstating a federal cap on rent for public housing and assisted housing

162, for overriding the veto of product liability reform

177, against the "coalition" budget which doesn't include tax cuts and makes smaller cuts in spending.

179. for the Republican budget, which would balance the budget by 2002 and cut taxes by \$124 billion by cutting spending by \$714 billion, including eliminating the Departments of Commerce and Energy, Goals 2000, Americorps, Legal Services Corporation and other programs.

192. against increasing the minimum wage by 90 cents over two years.

194, for exempting small business from the federal minimum wage and overtime law

205, for reduce the science budget by \$2.1 billion and terminate the space station program.

238. for implementing a multilateral agreement to phaseout shipbuilding subsidies.

245, for cutting \$2 billion from the defense budget, i.e., freezing it at the previous year's amount.

321. against prohibiting banks from entering the insurance industry. 331, for the welfare reform bill.

384. against more restrictive language than in the Dolphin-Safe Tuna multinational agreement.

#### U.S. Senate - Civil Liberties

for invoking cloture on DC appropriations including low-income education vouchers
 for killing funding for the Cops-on-the-Beat program.

35. against funding of international family planning because it did not include a ban on funding abortion. 39. for allowing hospitals that do not provide abortions to receive federal funds

65. against removing sections from the antiterrorism bill allowing multiple wiretaps.

79. for invoking cloture on the term limits constitutional amendment

80. against a repeal the ban on open field searches without a warrant,

83. against reducing the flow of legal immigrations

against imposing a "hard cap" for family visas.

100. against making it easier to turn away aliens seeking political asylum.

163, for repealing a ban on abortions in overseas military hospitals.

168. against "voluntary" spending limits through federal funding.

176, against authorizing underground nuclear testing until a test ban takes effect.

203. against requiring states to establish random drug-testing for welfare recipients

230. for allowing states to use charitable and religious organizations to deliver welfare services.

280. against defining marriage "for federal purposes" as one man and one woman.

281, against prohibiting discrimination in employment, etc., on the basis of sexual orientation 284, for allowing abortion coverage to federal employees.

287. against studying the feasibility of tagging and licensing explosive materials.

290. against making it a federal crime to possess a gun in a school zone

#### U.S. Senate - Economics

for cutting peanut price support program.
 for eliminating the sugar price support program.

19. for replacing farm price support programs with declining fixed payments

72. against strike provisions in the health insurance bill to establish medical savings accounts.

74. against requiring a minimum lifetime cap of \$2 million

75. against prohibiting limits on mental health coverage not imposed on physical health coverage.

129. for reducing spending on the low income home energy assistance program.

149. for the sense of the Senate that increase in entitlement spending be curtailed by: increasing the age for civil/military retirement benefits, making the age for medicare correspond to the age for social security, CPI for COLAs be reduced by 0.5%, COLAs only for civilian and military pension that do not exceed \$50,000, and diverting up to 2 percentage points of payroll taxes to personal investment plans.

151. against eliminate the \$122 billion in tax cuts in the budget.

154, against the sense of the Senate that a trust fund be developed for Amtrak using the gasoline tax,

172, for cutting \$13 billion from the defense budget, i.e., the to the level requested by the president.

186. against raising the minimum wage.

188. for invoking cloture on the national right-to-work bill.

191, for the workplace teamwork bill,

201, against the Democratic welfare reform bill

232. for the Republican welfare reform bill.

249, for eliminating the advanced light water reactor program. 267, for eliminating the space station

282, against eliminating the tax deferral on unremitted profits of overseas U.S. subsidiaries.

298, for limiting the cost of maintaining a merchant marine fleet.



## **Rep. Smith Presented** With RLC Award

U.S. Rep. Nick Smith (R-MI) was presented with the RLC's Friend of Liberty Award in October, based on Rep. Smith's high score on the RLC's 1996 Liberty index. The index rates members of Congress based on 40 roll call votes divided evenly between economic and civil liberty issues. In the 1996 index Smith achieved a perfect score of 100 on economic liberty. In contrast, the average score on economic liberty was 78 for House Republicans and 23 for House Democrats.

The award was presented to Rep. Smith at his Washington, D.C., office by RLC's Congressional Liaison Gregory Koontz. The award is a marble coffee mug with a pewter plate specially engraved with the Congressman's name and the words "Friend of Liberty."

Rep. Jack Metcalf (R-WA) and Rep. J.D. Hayworth (R-AZ) also received awards last year, Metcalf for having the highest Liberty Index score for civil liberties and Hayworth for sponsoring/cosponsoring the most bills endorsed by the RLC.

#### PAC Breaks \$20K Mark

Launched in April 1992, the RLC's political action committee, the Republican Liberty Federal Campaign Fund (RLFCF) raised slightly less than \$8,000 in its first year. Four years later, in the next presidential election year, the RLFCF raised \$20,500 and disbursed \$18,000 to local, state and federal candidates in the 1996 election year cycle.

"The final post-election push was sparked by two Texas special congressional elections," explained RLFCF president Dr. Matthew Monroe, a Houston cardiologist. "We contributed another \$500 to Rep. Steve Stockman, whom we'd previously assisted, and \$250 to Dolly Madison McKenna, who sought to oust an incumbent Democrat and who had several RLCers working in her campaign. Unfortunately, both lost. But we went out swinging and fighting for the cause, which is why we are here."

Stockman's loss was the only one of the 12 RLC Congressional

(Continued on page 11)

# Convention '96!

#### ...from page 1

ciently, starting with the reelection of all but one RLC Board member (Jack Brantley Lightfoot of Georgia chose not to run again) and the election of a new member Jeffrey Pollock of Portland, OR.

Washington State RLC Board member Mary Maas then presented about a dozen resolutions for consideration to the group. RLC Treasurer Mike Holmes discussed the financial picture and RLC General Counsel Alan Turin announced that the RLC was now incorporated in Texas.

Panels of outside political activists and experts followed the business meeting for the remainder of the day. Assessing 1996 election results were RLC founder and Ron Paul campaign staffer Eric Rittberg; Paul Jacob, executive director of U.S. Term Limits;



Above:
Republican
Liberty
editor
Philip
Blumel and
MA State
Sen. Bob
Hedlund
listen to
Grover
Norquist of
Americans
for Tax
Reform.

Right: New RLC member Bill Redpath of the Libertarian Party.



Bill Redpath of the national Libertarian Party, who led the LP's difficult ballot drives for the past two presidential election years; and James Wilkerson, press secretary and PAC director for House Majority Leader Dick Armey.

Redpath joined the RLC during the convention and indicated his belief that libertarians may have more success working within the GOP than in a third party, in large measure because of the system of election laws and winner-take-all election format.







**Top:** Alan Lindsay and Doris Gordon talk during a break.

Above: RLC Treasurer Mike Holmes and the Cato Institute's Stephen Moore field audience questions after the panel discussion on "pushing the envelope."

Left: Mrs. Carol Thies performs some original music as part of the Saturday banquet. Wilkerson urged that the libertarians in the GOP "have the courage to be ourselves" in politics.

In the "pushing the envelope" panel, Cato Institute Fiscal Studies Director Stephen Moore advocated tax reduction, spending cuts, social security privatization and reducing corporate welfare; Carolyn Malenick, president of TRIAD Management Services, outlined her firm's services to businesses and PACs; and Robert Kampia, director of government relations of the Marijuana Policy Project, presented an overview of recent drug war reform proposals.

In the final panel about getting it done, RLC congressional liaison Greg Koontz introduced Dan Odescalchi of More Freedom 2000, a spin off of the Forbes 1996 presidential primary campaign; Larry Pratt, President of Gun Owners of America; and Patricia Callahan, executive director of the American Association of Small Property Owners.

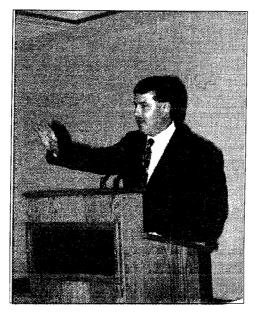
The Saturday luncheon, featuring RLC

chairman Clifford Thies' analysis of health care reform proposals, was broadcast (and later rebroadcast) by C-SPAN, He was introduced by Dr. Jimmy Blake. Also in the luncheon spotlight was newly reelected Mass. State Sen. Bob Hedlund.

Hedlund also emceed the Saturday evening banquet featuring Americans for Tax Reform president Grover Norquist, who was also introduced by New Jersey RLC activist Matt Taylor.

Norquist gave a lengthy and insightful account of the Beltway holy war battle between the "takings coalition" of unions, government employees, liberal do-gooders and statists of various stripes, and the "leave us alone" coalition championed by Norquist, consisting of a large mix of conservative, religious and libertarian groups and interests.

Although informal socializing once again kept many RLCers up late, most were on hand Sunday morning to hear RLC Advisory Board member and Republicans for Choice president Ann Stone speak.





Far Left: RLC founder Eric Rittberg gives an inside look at the successful Ron Paul for Congress campaign.

Left: James Wilkerson, press secretary and PAC director for Rep. Dick Armey.







Far Left: RLC Chairman Clifford Thies discusses health care reform to a national C-Span audience.

Above: RLCers relax between functions Saturday afternoon.

Left: Paul Jacob of U.S. Term Limits describes present and future term limits campaigns.

The convention was financially as well as politically successful, as attendees came to feel that the libertarian Republican movement has officially come of age in American politics.

# **RLC Notes**

# Didion, Murray Embrace Libertarian Label

Joining the crowd of self-identified libertarians are essayist Joan Didion and Charles Murray, author of Losing Ground.

"I'm a libertarian," Didion stated in the Sept. 2 issue of New Yorker magazine as part of a long article that examined her literary career.

According to the article, Didion had confused friends and fans over the years by politically veering between admiration for Barry Goldwater and Jesse Jackson, but said "It would take all day to explain why I think my position has been consistent - but I think it has."

Meanwhile, Murray labeled his beliefs in a bold fashion: he has written a book titled What it Means to be a Libertarian, scheduled for publication in January.

In the Nov. 18 issue of the New Yorker, Murray argued that the federal government could be cut by 40 percent - and "you'd get large num-



Jeffrey Pollock

bers of people who realized we don't need it. Most people are living lives where they could do without the government just fine."

After all, Murray pointed out, "If a wand were waved, and we had no Medicare or Medicaid or any of those things I want to do away with, the thing you'd realize is that in most respects you're looking at the U.S. like it was in 1960. This is not the dark ages. It worked."

In his classic work Losing Ground (1984), Murray argued that the modern American welfare state exacerbated poverty, while his controversial best-seller the Bell Curve (1994) described the sociological ramifications of an increasingly IQ-segregated society.

Charles Murray will have some competition in peddling his new libertarian primer from the Cato Institute's David Boaz, who is publishing his *Libertarianism: A Primer* this year.

RLC Advisory Board member Steve Stockman lost his runoff and the 9th CD of **Texas** has been returned to the hands of a liberal Democrat, Nick Lampson of Beaumont. Stockman was the only Advisory Board member to fail to win reelection in this election cycle. The final tally was Lampson, 59,217; Stockman, 52,853.

Several California RLCers, including Laura Crockett-Gordon, Matt McDonald and Garett Jones are planning an outreach effort at the College Republicans annual convention to be held in Walnut Creek this year. Plans are also being made for outreach -

including possibly sponsoring a hospitality suite - at the Feb. 21-23 GOP state convention.

Laura Crockett-Gordon is planning a series of "Sunday salons," social events for wooing RLC prospects. The first will be held on Feb. 2 and the second will follow the state GOP convention in March. The California RLC will also be publishing its own newsletter to keep its members abreast of local RLC activities.

. . . . .

Due to his own efforts to promote the idea, MI State Rep. Greg Kaza is the only legislator in **Michigan** to face "None of the Above" as an official ballot-qualified challenger. Kaza authored a humorous essay during his campaign titled "Running Against Myself," which appeared in the December 1996 issue of *Virginia Monthly*. Contact Kaza's office if you would a copy. Also, the Bill of Rights Caucus - used effectively in 1993-94 to oppose no-knock, wiretapping and other intrusive legislation - is being resurrected. Kaza will join, and expects to be the only Republican to do so.

. . . . .

Republican Liberty editor Philip Blumel had an op-ed piece opposing the imposition of a \$2 per ton sugar tax on Florida sugar published in the Miami Herald, Tallahassee Democrat, Okeechobee News, Condo News, Voices of the Florida Taxpayer newsletter and - in Spanish - El Diario de Las Americas. The sugar tax referendum was handily defeated by Florida voters.

• • • • •

At the national convention in December, Jeffrey Pollock of Oregon was elected the RLC National Committee to replace Brantley Lightfoot. Pollock is both a new Republican and new to the libertarian Republican community, having discovered the RLC via its web site earlier in the year. The rest of the committee were reelected by acclamation

• • • • •

Steve Forbes has launched a new organization - Americans for Hope, Growth and Opportunity. Forbes described the aim of the group is to "continue getting our message out to all Americans to build public support for issues like tax reform, a new Social Security system for younger Americans, parental control of education and medical savings accounts, among others."

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## Treasurer's Report

# RLC in Sound Shape for the New Year

by Mike Holmes

A financially successful 1996 provides a solid foundation for what is expected to be an even better 1997 for the Republican Liberty Caucus. Among the developments being initiated are a new calendar year dues system, enhanced membership promotion efforts, and the planned launch of a special "development budget" designed to fund major recruiting efforts.

1996 began with a major reorganization effort, due to relocation of RLC headquarters to Washington DC, a new executive director and major changes in the RLC's Board. It took nearly a month to get the data base fully operational, the newsletter was two months late, renewal efforts lagged, and the RLC had over \$1,500 in bills to pay from the difficult transition year of 1995.

However, by year end 1996, the RLC set a new record in fundraising, just a few hundred dollars shy of the \$24,000 budget set, including convention proceeds. Even excluding the convention, the RLC had a record financial year as a result of several new or improved fund-raising efforts. Credit card acceptance became operational in the spring of 1996, and the Minuteman Pledge monthly/quarterly contribution program was also launched. RLC Director Mike Griffin also methodically followed up on about to be expiring members and aggressively followed up on new prospects from the 800 phone number and increasingly, our Web site. Two very successful membership mailings were sent out in the last three months of the year, including a detailed survey which has provided a comprehensive view of the RLC's membership.

#### RLFCF...from page 7

Advisory Board members to be defeated, in large part because the AFL-CIO pumped up to \$3 million into the district, which for 42 years elected a Democrat. Stockman's religious right/libertarian coalition couldn't overcome the Democratic registration edge.

The RLFCF began the year with \$1,275 in the bank and ended it with about \$90. But PAC president Monroe doesn't mind. "We raise money to elect good people, not to sit in the bank account," Monroe said. "We will be rebuilding the war chest in 1997." The PAC broke another record in 1996 when it gave Ron Paul \$10,000 in his successful primary and general election campaign efforts in Texas CD 14, the maximum allowed.

"Our financial help is noticed by everyone we help at every level. Libertarian Republicans are affecting the outcome of races in this manner, as well as providing volunteers," Dr. Monroe added. "As we continue to grow, our influence will also expand and the GOP will become an even better home for our ideas."



California RLCer Garett Jones, right, delivers an RLC check to U.S. Rep. Brian Bilbray, who was reelected to Congress Nov. 5. Jones thanked Bilbray for serving on the RLC Advisory Board. Jones later attended a Bilbray fund-raising party on behalf of the RLC.

"Our members have responded to these efforts," noted RLC Treasurer Mike Holmes, "because we have demonstrated that we are successfully delivering our caucus concept into the Republican Party. Our efforts at the San Diego convention, led by Tom Walls and Matt McDonald, together with our very active primary and fall campaign efforts, proves that constitutionally based libertarianism can be a potent force within the Big Tent GOP." Service delivery to members has also improved, with the newsletter on schedule and membership cards being sent out beginning in 1997.

Starting with 1997, membership in the RLC will be on a calendar year basis, rather than a 12-month-from-date-of-joining period. "This parallels the national RNC membership," explains RLC Executive Director Mike Griffin, who advocated this change because it has proven effective for the larger GOP. "We can take advantage of economies of scale in renewal efforts at the beginning of the year and focus on new member recruitment later in the year," Griffin points out.

"We have tried to be generous on those joining or renewing towards the end of 1996, to extend their memberships for all of 1997, "RLC Treasurer Holmes said. Anyone joining or renewing after the first few months of the year can prorate their 1997 dues at their option, Holmes explains. "The \$30 basic dues amount is really quite modest, especially since qualified state RLC chapters receive one-third of that amount, so we don't think most of our members will mind this onetime conversion," Holmes said. "Our group really gets tremendous political leverage for our size, and we need to be efficient while investing our surplus to recruit the thousands of Republicans out there we know already agree with us."

New RLC Board member Jeffrey Pollock of Portland, OR, is planning on developing improved methods of attracting new members as newly appointed development director, and the resurrected RLC Finance Committee will focus later in the year on putting together a special development budget which, separate from the operating budget, will target direct mail, advertising and other proven membership building techniques.

The new dues policy and optional prorating for calendar year dues will be added to the current membership forms.

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