

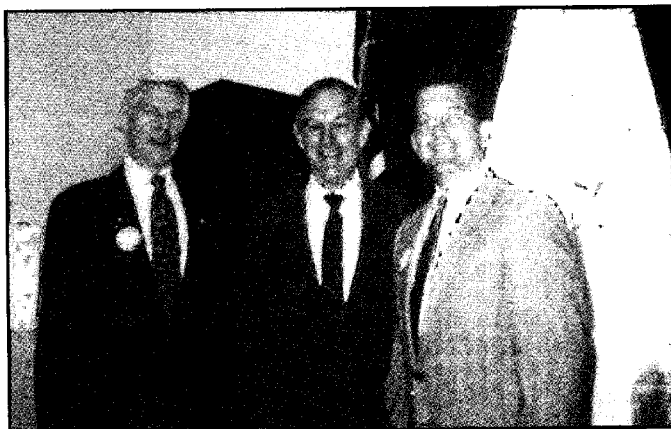
Republican Liberty

Free Enterprise, Individual Freedom & Limited Government

Mar./Apr. 1995

Caucus Newsletter

Vol. VI, No. II



RLC Chairman Ron Paul with Constitutional Liberty Caucus members Rep. Mark Foley and Rep. Jack Metcalf.

Freshmen Launch Liberty Caucus in U.S. House

by Mike Holmes

On April 7, U.S. House Speaker Newt Gingrich celebrated the successful completion of the GOP Contract With America on the steps of the U.S. Capitol surrounded by hundreds of reporters and television cameras.

Largely unnoticed in this media frenzy was a potentially more significant event taking place with routine efficiency at the Committee on House Oversight in the Longworth House Office Building. For that very same day Sunnie Page, staff assistant to the Committee on House Oversight, issued a letter to Congressman Jack Metcalf (R-WA) stating, "I am writing to confirm that the Constitutional Liberty Caucus has registered with the Committee on House Oversight as a Congressional Member Organization (CMO)."

With that declaration, the first congressional caucus dedicated to promoting the principles of individual liberty was officially born. No other liberty-oriented organization has ever successfully designed and implemented a plan to establish a formal caucus in Congress to further the fundamental principles established in the Constitution.

This project was conceived at the RLC national convention in Gatlinburg, Tenn., in the wake of the GOP's November election landslide. The RLC Board recognized that a number of freshmen

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Ron Paul Eyes Congressional Seat

by Eric Rittberg

The rumor is now officially a fact. Former Congressman Ron Paul of Lake Jackson, Texas, is seriously exploring a run for the U.S. House seat from District 14. The largely rural 14th includes a significant portion of his old district, south of Houston, and stretches west to the outskirts of Austin and as far south as Corpus Christi. He will be seeking the Republican nomination. The seat is currently held by four-term moderate Democrat Greg Laughlin.

Ron Paul, a medical doctor, was first elected to Congress in 1976. He served for many years as the ranking Republican on the House Banking Committee. As a renowned expert in monetary policy, he pushed for major reforms of the Federal Reserve System and for sound money.

Paul consistently scored highest in the ratings of the American Conservative Union, National Taxpayers Union and other conservative groups. But he often confounded pundits by siding with liberals in opposing corporate welfare, civil liberties violations and interventionist foreign policy. He also won praise for his refusal to bring home the pork, including at times voting against appropriations for NASA which was headquartered in his Houston area district. In 1983, *Congressional Almanac* described him as the "closest member of the Congress to the philosophy of the Libertarian Party."

In that year, top members of the Libertarian Party sought to recruit Paul to run for president. But instead he opted for a stab at the U.S. Senate as a Republican. He lost the primary, finishing second to then-Rep. Phil Gramm of Dallas who had recently switched parties from Democrat to Republican.

Disenchanted with the big government policies of the less-than-conservative Republican establishment of the mid-to-late '80s, Paul accepted the nomination of the Libertarian Party for president for 1988. As a pro-life libertarian Paul was a conservative choice for the LP. He ran on mostly economic themes, but was not afraid to take on the hard issues such as opposition to the War on Drugs, draft registration and censorship. With his running mate

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former Alaska Rep. Andre Marrou, Paul appeared on 46 state ballots, finishing third with 435,000 votes.

In the early '90s due to the increasing openness of the GOP to libertarian views, Paul drifted back to the Republican Party. He inspired a short-lived Paul for President GOP primary challenge to George Bush in '92. Soon after he became active with the Republican Liberty Caucus and was the keynote speaker at the 1994 RLC National Convention in Tennessee. In March, with the death of Roger MacBride, Paul graciously accepted the position of RLC national chairman to fill out MacBride's term through November.

Higher-ups in libertarian and conservative circles have already expressed their strong support. David Koch, Bernard Baltic, Howie Rich and *Liberty* publisher Bill Bradford have all made encouraging remarks to Paul. An informal group of early campaign advisors include: Winston Elliot of the Free

Enterprise Center, cardiologist Matt Monroe, former Paul for President staffers Eric Rittberg and Kevin Southwick, and Larry Pratt of Gun Owners of America. David James, a fund-raising consultant to Paul, is serving as acting campaign coordinator.

Paul has even received encouragement from the GOP leadership. Texas Republican Chairman Tom Pauken, a libertarian-conservative compatriot, has expressed happiness with his plans. On a recent trip to Washington, DC, March 23-24, Paul was warmly received by the state congressional delegation. At a meeting of the group at the Capitol Sen. Phil Gramm, Rep. Tom Delay and Rep. Bill Archer walked up to him and relayed their support. Gramm even offered his knowledge of the 14th.

House Majority Leader Dick Armey jokingly quipped, "Does this mean you'd be in the Independent Caucus with Bernie Sanders?" Paul responded, "No, I'd be a Republican, but an independent-minded Republican."

The sticky question of redistricting still remains. Paul resides in a northern coastal slither of the district which could conceivably be sliced out. Also, there's always the possibility of a major primary challenger jumping in. But he is confident that he will run.

In the coming months, Paul is hoping to forge a coalition of Christian conservatives, reform-minded Perot voters, Libertarian Party members and gun owners. Libertarian Republicans will be an important part of the coalition for Paul and the RLC will provide both funds through the Republican Liberty Federal Campaign Fund and volunteer support.

Those wanting more information can write to Ron Paul, P.O. Box 1776, Lake Jackson, TX 77566.

Constitutional Liberty Caucus...from 1

congressmen aided by the RLC and its PAC would benefit from the networking and focus a congressional caucus would provide.

This effort was only slightly complicated by the fact that during its first week, the new Republican House leadership scrapped the old rules governing official congressional caucuses to eliminate taxpayer subsidies paid out of general congressional administration appropriations. Instead, all Congressional Member Organizations (including such well known ones as the Black Caucus) now have to be paid for by funds taken from each member's own staff budget.

There are currently about 30 other CMOs recognized, mostly based on ethnic, special interest or geographical criteria. The only other CMO remotely similar to the Constitutional Liberty Caucus (CLC) is the Conservative Opportunity Society founded by Newt Gingrich himself in the 1980s.

House rules changes did not slow down the caucus plan for long, however. In February, RLC leaders including the late Roger MacBride, Director Eric Rittberg and RLC board member Michael McCroskey visited Capitol Hill lining up support for the concept. This was followed up, despite the loss of RLC chair MacBride in early March, by another visit in late March by Rittberg, RLC president Clifford Thies, former GOP congressman (and new RLC chairman) Ron Paul, and others. The RLC delegation made the rounds of congressional offices, visiting with like-minded congress members and their staff.

Congressman Jack Metcalf of Washington state's 2nd District agreed to serve as acting caucus chair and prepare the formal paperwork.

In his April 3 letter to House Oversight Committee chair William Thomas, Metcalf outlined the scope of the Constitutional Liberty Caucus: "This new organization will be dedicated to the principles of free enterprise, individual responsibility and limited government. This caucus will be a partisan organization made up of liberty-minded Republican members.

"Issues of particular importance to the Constitutional Liberty Caucus will include: tax relief, property rights, privatization, deregulation and the protection of constitutional liberties. The caucus members will meet regularly to discuss or be briefed on important topics related to scaling back the overall size and scope of government."

In addition to Metcalf, RLC Advisory Board members Mark Foley (R-FL), Steve Stockman (R-TX) and J.D. Hayworth (R-AZ)

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RLC on the Hill

Rittberg's Washington Trips Pay Big Dividends

by Eric Rittberg

During February and March I made two trips to Washington, DC. The first took place Feb. 11-17. I was joined by RLC Board Member Michael McCroskey and, just three weeks before his death, Chairman Roger MacBride.

We walked the halls of Congress, visiting with Congress members and their staffs, both those affiliated with the RLC and others. One meeting resulted in Congressman Steve Stockman of Houston, Texas, agreeing to serve on the RLC Advisory Board. The main topic of discussion with Stockman and the others was the possibility of the formation of a Congressional Liberty Caucus. All seemed positive.

We also urged the congressmen to support deep spending cuts across the board. At one meeting, Sen. Connie Mack's Chief of Staff John Ridge stated to us that "only one in a hundred" individuals who visit their offices lobby them for spending cuts.

That weekend McCroskey and I conducted outreach efforts at the annual Conservative Political Action Conference at the Omni Hotel. With help from Don Ernsberger of Pennsylvania and other RLC supporters we handed out hundreds of copies of the recent *Wall Street Journal* piece on the rising influence of libertarians in the GOP and copies of *Republican Liberty*.

Even better, I had an opportunity to address the over 3,000 attendees during a panel discussion on "Why Conservatism is Cool." At the mike during Q & A, I stated: "Conservatism may be cool, but libertarianism is even cooler. Young people want government out of their wallets and out of their bedrooms." Reaction was loud, but decidedly mixed with both boos and cheers.

The second trip was lengthier and even more productive. RLC Chairman Ron Paul and President Clifford Thies joined me on Capitol Hill, March 23. The three of us visited with four of the five RLC-Affiliated Congressmen continuing to urge them to form a



RLC Director Eric Rittberg with Rep. Jack Metcalf, acting caucus chairman of the Constitutional Liberty Caucus.

Liberty Caucus.

In addition we met with Congressmen Matt Salmon of Arizona. Salmon expressed that although he was not 100 percent libertarian he agreed with the RLC on the overwhelming majority of issues. I then invited him to become a part of the group and he enthusiastically accepted.

Of note, former Reagan speech writer Peggy Noonan joined in the Salmon meeting and afterwards continued to follow the RLC contingent through the halls of Congress. Noonan, who is working on a book, interviewed Ron Paul. At one point she noted that in the '80s Reaganites viewed libertarians as extremists "on the fringe," but that now libertarians seemed definitely to be in the mainstream.

The next week, my friend Scott Kohlhaas of the anti-draft group Volunteers For America joined me to lobby for the defunding of Selective Service. We met with staffers at other House and Senate offices and at Republican Committees. We were surprised at the amount of support we received for libertarian ideals. Many younger staffers, some in leadership positions, commented that they were "libertarian" or "Cato-style" Republicans.

We also had a meeting with Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (R-CA) with Ernsberger sitting in. Rohrabacher expressed his support but urged patience, stressing that until the Contract With America was finished activity on other fronts would remain on the back burner.

The final event of the trip was the Republican Majority Conference sponsored by the Ripon Society. Leaders from various "mainstream" GOP groups had been invited to attend.

With less than 40 attendees, I and four other libertarian Republicans were able to influence the agenda. RLC President Clifford Thies led off the first panel, debating a representative from the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) on the flat tax. By one vote the moderates opted to side with Thies officially endorsing the idea. Later in the day, largely due to our efforts the moderates also



After meetings with RLC leaders in Washington, D.C. former U.S. Congressman Ron Paul (R-TX) agreed to take over as RLC National Chairman.

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In Memoriam

MacBride Cast a Giant Ballot

by Clifford F. Thies

Roger MacBride led a full life. He went to the best schools, including Exeter, Princeton and Harvard Law, was a Fullbright scholar, wrote several scholarly books, produced two TV series, wrote children's novels, was a state legislator in his native Vermont, had homes in Miami Beach and Naples in Florida as well as Biddeford Pool, Maine, and enjoyed sky and scuba diving at the Great Coral Reef off the coast of Australia.

As a young man, Roger MacBride became the adopted grandson of Rose Wilder Lane, the daughter of Laura Ingalls Wilder who, along with Isabel Patterson and Ayn Rand, was one of the three founding mothers of the contemporary libertarian movement. And it is because of the enormous success of the television series *Little House on the Prairie*, which he helped to bring to the screen and co-produced, that he is best known as well as for the success of the continuing series of *Little House* books that he authored.

But political types best know Roger MacBride as the person, who, through the casting of a single vote, transformed the fledgling Libertarian Party into the most important third party in America in the latter 20th Century.

In 1971, the Libertarian Party was organized by a small group of mostly Young Republicans who were against the military draft and became deeply disenchanted over Nixon's institution of wage and price controls.

Philosophy professor John Hospers was nominated for president, and TV reporter Toni Nathan for vice-president. Through sheer determination, these candidates were placed on the ballots of two states, Colorado and Washington. Including write-ins from other states, the ticket got 8,000 popular votes out of 77 million cast, not even as many as the Prohibition Party.

It was at this point that Roger MacBride entered the scene. Because the Republican Party ticket won the popular vote in Virginia, that party's slate of candidates for the Electoral College - which included MacBride, then living in Charlottesville - was elected. Being nominated for the Electoral College is usually a ceremonial honor bestowed on party loyalists. While pledged to honor the popular vote, the members of the Electoral College are not constitutionally-bound to do so, and - from time to time - certain of them have cast their ballots for persons other than the candidates of their party. MacBride doing so on behalf of the Libertarian Party sparked life into the neophyte organization. He also managed to bestow upon Nathan the distinction of being the first woman in American history to receive an electoral vote.

It is important to point out that Roger MacBride's vote for the LP ticket was only partially motivated by philosophy. Following their reelection, Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew were under a cloud and were eventually forced to resign from office, Nixon for obstruction of justice in Watergate and Agnew for tax evasion while governor of Maryland. MacBride was protesting their corruption as well as their policies.

That he cast his electoral vote other than for the candidates for which he was sworn shouldn't have been very surprising. As a young man, he wrote a scholarly little book, *The American Electoral College*, in which he presented his views on our indirect method of voting for president.

In it he endorsed reforms including the election of members of the Electoral College by congressional district with an additional two electors from each state elected at-large (as opposed to the general ticket system, which elects the slate of candidates receiving a plurality of the popular votes cast statewide.) In fact, in the last few years, the states of Maine and Nebraska have implemented this method.

In 1976, the Libertarian Party returned the favor by naming him as their presidential candidate. This was back in the days when the party nominated persons rich enough to largely self-finance their campaigns. It was during that campaign that the LP actually developed into a viable third-party, gaining ballot status in 32 states and garnering 176,000 votes for the presidential ticket.

During the early '80s, the grass-roots activists of the party declared themselves free of persons of wealth. In 1984 they nominated a candidate for president with no renown outside the organization. And while the organization continued to grow in its ability to gain ballot status and in dues-paying members, its vote totals plummeted. MacBride and others drifted out of the party.

Then in the late '80s, Roger MacBride reentered politics, joining Eric Rittberg, Alan Turin and others in his adopted state of Florida in organizing the Republican Liberty Caucus. He became the group's chief benefactor and took over as national chairman.

Only three weeks prior to his death, Roger MacBride, along with several other RLCers met in Washington, D.C., in conjunction with the Conservative Political Action Conference. During this time, Roger and Eric went calling on some of the Congressmen the RLC had lent support to in the 1994 election.

They went to remind them that the RLC expected them to follow through on their campaign promises to reduce spending,



Roger MacBride died Sunday, March 5, at his home in Miami Beach.

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Roger Lea MacBride: His Life and Legacy

by Noel Silverman and Will Iannarelli

Roger Lea MacBride, heir to the literary estate of *Little House* author Laura Ingalls Wilder and himself a writer of children's novels, died Sunday, March 5, at his home in Miami Beach. He was 65.

MacBride never actually met the famous Wilder, whose novelized accounts of her handscabble frontier childhood in the 1870s were published to rave reviews and quick sales during the depths of the Depression. MacBride became her literary heir in 1968 upon the death of her daughter, Rose Lane.

Lane also was a well-known writer and a number of a small group of intellectuals, including the novelist Ayn Rand, who used their podiums to preach against the New Deal policies of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and warn against the evils of creeping socialism in American society.

Lane was an only child and, being childless herself, had informally adopted the teenaged MacBride during World War II as her philosophical protege. At the time, MacBride's father was adapting one of Lane's novels for condensation in *Reader's Digest* magazine. The editor invited his son to lunch to meet the author.

A literary and philosophical friendship quickly sprung up. MacBride hitchhiked weekends from his home in Westchester County, N.Y., to Lane's home in nearby Connecticut.

Citing her advanced age (she was 65 when they met), Lane insisted MacBride call her "Gramma," and she in turn often referred to him as her grandson. The friendship endured and after Lane had inherited her mother's *Little House* works in 1967, and MacBride had become a practicing lawyer, she appointed him executor and sole heir to her estate.

MacBride was born in New Rochelle, N.Y., in 1929 and grew up in several other Westchester County communities. He graduated from Exeter Academy in New Hampshire, earned his B.A. from Princeton University in 1951, and was awarded his law degree from Harvard Law School in 1954.

He won a Fullbright scholarship to study in Manila, Philippines, and at that time wrote his second book, adapting his law-school thesis on international treaties and the U.S. Constitution. His first book, published by Caxton Publishers when he was still an

MacBride...from 4

deregulate and privatize and to offer a few specific cuts like ending draft registration. The congressmen and their aides expressed sincere delight that finally somebody had come to lobby them to reduce spending!

At last year's Republican Liberty Caucus convention, the group honored Roger MacBride by awarding him the first-ever Award for Lifetime Achievement for Liberty.

In his acceptance he said he was hopeful of observing the rebirth of liberty. Only weeks before his death he got to witness and offer inspiration to the formation of a caucus devoted to liberty in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Thank you

In a letter addressed to members of the Republican Liberty Caucus, Republican National Committee Chair Haley Barbour sent his condolences.

He wrote: "Word has reached me of your unfortunate loss, the passing of Roger MacBride, and I wanted to convey my deepest sympathies. Know that you are in the thoughts and prayers of your friends, both at home and in Washington, DC - those who are grateful for Roger's dedicated service."

The RLC has also received letters, cards and calls from U.S. Rep. Mark Foley, Jeb Bush, Ed Crane, Bob Poole, Andrea Rich, Paul Jacob and many others.

The RLC Natcom wishes to express its deepest appreciation to all who have offered support during this difficult time.

undergraduate, examined the electoral college.

He joined the prestigious Wall Street firm of White and Case, specializing in banking law, then resigned to move to Vermont where he opened a small practice and served a single term in the state legislature. MacBride appeared in the legislature as a government gadfly, proposing bill after bill to abolish much hallowed institutions as the state college system.

In 1964, the year Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona ran for president, MacBride challenged the incumbent Republican for Vermont governor, hoping to ride the coattails of Sen. Goldwater's libertarian-style populism.

He lost and never held public office again, although in 1972 he was chosen as a presidential elector from Virginia and made headlines when he bolted Republican Party ranks to cast his ballot for the Libertarian Party candidates for president and vice president.

In 1976, he ran a symbolic campaign for president on the Libertarian Party ticket, financed largely by royalty income from the *Little House* novels which by then had been adapted into a hit television series. MacBride bought an old DC-3 and, with his young daughter Abigail beside him, barnstormed the country garnering more publicity than votes, but helping to bring visibility to the Libertarian platform.

MacBride retired from law and politics to work behind the scenes, promoting and donating to libertarian candidates and causes and managing the ever-widening interest in the life and writings of his literary ancestors.

In 1990 he began to create for HarperCollins Publishers a series of historical young-adult novels based on Mrs. Lane's childhood growing up on a small farm in Mansfield, Mo., where the Wilder family had settled in 1894.

Little House on Rocky Ridge was published in 1993 and *Little House in the Ozarks* appeared in 1994. A third book, *In the Land of the Big Red Apple*, is due in bookstores soon.

MacBride's daughter said that just a week before his death her father had completed a fourth book, tentatively titled *Beyond the Horizon*, and had been at work on several others.

In addition to his daughter, MacBride is survived by two sisters.

The Republican Liberty Caucus

General Store

The following items are available from the RLC:

- Libertarian Republican t-shirts with logo (large and extra large, blue and black lettering), \$15
- Video of 1994 RLC National Convention. Intro, five panel discussions and concluding remarks, \$25.
- RLC manual, *Blueprint for RLC Activists*, \$12.
- Libertarian Republican stickers, \$6/sheet of 10.
- RLC outreach brochure, \$10/packet of 50.
- Republican Liberty*, latest issue for outreach, \$5/packet of 10.
- Back issues of *Republican Liberty*. Limited number available of each issue from Summer 1990 (RL Vol. I No. I) to present, \$3/each.
- Cassette tape of patriotic folk singer Craig Franklin performing "Thomas Jefferson," \$8.

Coming soon . . . Libertarian Republican bumper stickers and RLC banners!

Send cash, check or money orders to the RLC. No credit card orders. Florida residents add 6 percent sales tax.

Support the RLFCF

Don't think because it's not election season that the Republican Liberty Federal Campaign Fund has gone dormant. We still have special and off-year elections to contend with. Plus, some of our congressmen and legislators have a leftover campaign debt. They've requested our help and we'd like to give it to them.

However, our PAC funds have been depleted. Please help out right away by sending a contribution of \$50, \$100, \$500, \$1,000 or up to \$5,000 (per year) to:

RLFCF, 10878 Westheimer, Suite 395, Houston, TX 77042.

Monthly pledges are accepted. If you have any questions, PAC administrator Mike Holmes will be glad to talk with you, call: (713) 867-9060.

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also signed the initial CMO letter. Additional congressional members are being recruited for the CLC.

Maryland RLC Coordinator Mike Griffin was instrumental in handling the paperwork and logistics of setting up the CLC and has been named as RLC congressional liaison by Director Rittberg. Griffin has a background as a marketing and political campaign consultant and for the past several years has also worked as an administrator for the Reason Foundation.

Under House rules, the CLC may not accept outside funds for expenses or operations.

The RLC will undertake to establish a regular professional presence in Washington DC to coordinate with CLC members and staff and to assist liberty-minded policy experts in developing legislative proposals. Newly named RLC chairman, former congressman Ron Paul, is also expected to take an active role in advising CLC members. The exact future direction and activities of the CLC will, of course, be determined by the congressional members themselves.

As the April 7 *Wall Street Journal* said in a front page story: "After an emotional debate over cutting taxes, the Republican revolution came to the end of its first phase this week. And as the dust begins settling, one simple reality stands clear: The U.S. government has changed course and begun redesigning what it built precisely 30 years ago."

And at exactly the same time, in a statement issued worldwide over the Internet RLC-NEWS service, RLC Executive Director Eric Rittberg said the newly created congressional Constitutional Liberty Caucus "is perhaps the greatest thing to happen in the libertarian political movement in decades."

As a result, the next phase of the Republican Revolution promises to be even more exciting for liberty-minded GOPers than the first. Stay tuned.

Director...from 3

endorsed abolition of affirmative action programs.

Additionally, during the trip the conservative weekly *Human Events* did an extensive interview with me at their offices.

I also had meetings with a number of different individuals including: Lee Abdinor and Barbara Conry of the Cato Institute, Larry Pratt of Gun Owner's of America, Raymond Toney of the Society of Conscientious Objectors, Rob Kampia of the Marijuana Policy Foundation, ex-Libertarian Party Chairman Jim Turney.

Notable Quotes

"The money doesn't belong to the government. It belongs to the people. I think the ideal tax rate should be zero percent." -- Congressman Bill Archer (R-Texas), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, in radio response to Bill Clinton, April 15, 1995.

"Your basic Republican comes goddamn near to being an anarchist," -- Assemblyman John Burton (D-CA) in the San Francisco Examiner Magazine, April 9, 1995.

RLC Editorials

Free Market Strikes Out in Arizona

by Tom Rawles

Maricopa County, Ariz., is the sixth largest in the country. Despite a very serious current financial condition, it is viewed by many as the jewel of the Southwest. This is the land of Barry Goldwater, individualism and limited government rhetoric.

I say limited government "rhetoric" on purpose, because despite its claim as one of the root sources of modern conservative thought, Arizona recently, and with enthusiasm, embraced corporate socialism.

Confronted with an opportunity to land a major league baseball franchise, the business community and the politicians in this state forgot our cherished notions of a free market and private enterprise, and imposed a \$253 million tax on the citizens of Maricopa County to build a stadium where millionaire owners could show their millionaire players, and both could make money.

Nothing is more painful than coming face to face with your own hypocrisy, at least for those who adhere to a political philosophy and value consistency. Unfortunately, there are far more people in America who only pretend to believe something and who, when the real test comes, casually watch their principles fade in the warmth of big government largess. And so it was in this supposed bastion of conservatism.

To be sure, this new tax was imposed in the name of the common good. Baseball would, it was argued, enhance our image, create jobs and pour millions of dollars into the local economy. Besides, we were repeatedly told that the private sector just couldn't afford it, that the margins for baseball are just too thin. Many of these claims are subject to considerable doubt, but even if they are all 100 percent true, they (and the people pushing them) missed the real issue: is building a major league baseball stadium a proper function of government?

I was the only "no" vote when the County Board of Supervisors imposed the tax. I didn't buy the glowing economic projections (incredibly, the economic impact study totally failed to distinguish new dollars from old, recirculated dollars) and I thought the county's return on its \$253 million investment criminally pitiful (only 1/2 of 1 percent per year—in the good years).

Yet, my real objection was based on the fundamental question asked above.

Summed up, my position was:

- "Not all good things come from government. More important, not all good things should come from government," and
- "It is not the job of government to create jobs. That is the function of the private sector. Government's role is simply to provide an environment in which the private sector can flourish" and
- "It is wrong to forcibly take money from some people (taxation) so that other people may make money or have another form of entertainment."

In the name of baseball, we lost another battle for freedom. The

shadow of socialism lengthened. Those who understand were too few and too weak. But, we are growing and we are coming.

Ed. Note - Tom Rawles is the chairman of the Maricopa County Board of Supervisors and is married to 1994 Congressional candidate Linda Rawles.

The Minimum Wage's REAL Beneficiaries

by Ross Levatter

In early January, House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt remarked "The core problem we face, the stagnation of income for the middle class," can be solved by increasing the minimum wage.

Gephardt is absolutely correct, though perhaps not in the way he intended. As Majority Leader Dick Armey, an economist, has discussed, the economics of the minimum wage are well known. They disemploy low-skilled, frequently minority workers.

The politics of the minimum wage, however, are less well appreciated. But ask yourself: why have labor union leaders always pushed to increase the minimum wage? To benefit their middle class union members. This benefit is not direct; it doesn't legislate the raising of their wages. It is indirect; it makes it more costly to replace, say, one higher skilled worker with three lower skilled workers.

An example: one higher skilled worker demands \$13 per hour. He can be replaced by three lower skilled workers costing \$4 per hour each. Employers faced with such options will tend to offer employment to the low skilled workers. In this way, lower skilled workers compete with more highly-skilled workers. In so doing, they learn the skills and make the contacts necessary for them to also someday become more highly skilled.

Now note the effect of raising the minimum wage to \$5 per hour. This causes the lower-skilled workers to "demand" \$15 per hour to complete the job done by the skilled worker at \$13 per hour. Pricing yourself out of the marketplace is something low-skilled workers hardly ever do on their own. The obvious political consequence of the minimum wage is that it allows the higher skilled worker to demand an increase to \$14 per hour and get it, thus solving the "stagnation of income for the middle class."

Unions are not the only ones to manipulate the political system to their benefit while claiming to be concerned for poor workers. Early in this century, northern textile manufacturers who employed unionized labor, lobbied for increases in the minimum wage they knew would cripple their non-unionized southern competitors who, by the way, provided jobs primarily for black voters.

Republicans in and out of office must keep the political as well as economic aspects of the minimum wage clear. In this latest attack on the working poor, Gephardt's comments summarize a classic bait-and-switch in modern liberal politics: claim you are helping the very group most harmed by your political manipulation of the marketplace.

To libertarians, Gephardt's comments raise only two issues that are surprising. First, that Gephardt would admit this is how he hopes to help the middle class by going to war against jobs for the working poor. Second, that Gephardt has that good a command of economic principles.

Ed. Note - Dr. Levatter is a surgeon who lives in Phoenix.

Activist News

Change in RLC Leadership

RLC Chairman Roger MacBride's untimely death was a major blow to the organization. RLC Leaders are extremely grateful that former Congressman Ron Paul of Texas is helping the group overcome this tragedy by stepping in as Republican Liberty Caucus chairman in MacBride's place until November.

Ron Paul is a longtime friend and supporter of the RLC. In his capacity as chairman he will be working with RLC-affiliated members of Congress, act as a spokesperson for the group, oversee meetings of the RLC National Committee and lend advice to the organization's leadership on a variety of issues.

The RLC will be holding its convention in Santa Barbara, Calif., in November. New elections will be held at that time for chairman and the other six positions on the National Committee.

RLC on the Move in California

by Matthew S. McDonald and Gordon Mohr

California libertarian Republicans suffered a disappointment March 14, as former state assemblyman and RLC Advisory Board member Gil Ferguson lost an open special election for State Senate District 35. Ferguson came in second, at 25 percent, behind Republican Assemblyman Ross Johnson, at 31 percent. A May runoff will pit Johnson against the highest-finishing Democrat, who finished fourth at 8 percent.

Other news was much better, though, as California RLCers held well-attended meetings across the state. The second-ever RLC statewide meeting was held Feb. 25 during the California Republican Party Convention in Sacramento. Featured speaker Tom McClintock, director of government and regulatory affairs for the Claremont Institute, discussed the GOP's historic opportunity to reverse the growth of government - an opportunity the GOP has fumbled before.

Asked who of the 1996 presidential hopefuls could best seize this chance, McClintock replied "Gramm's the man."

Software entrepreneur and 1994 Republican gubernatorial primary candidate Ron Unz spoke to the RLC about the importance of adopting a "freedom works" emphasis. Rick Dykema, a top aid to Rep. Dana Rohrabacher, discussed his planned 1996 primary challenge to GOP Congressman Steve Horn in the 38th District. Longtime libertarian Shawn Steel - now the CRP state treasurer - assured RLCers that a small number of dedicated pro-freedom activists could make a big difference through Republican politics.

In all, nearly 60 people attended one or more of the speakers. A short business meeting after the speeches ratified a working constitution for the California RLC chapter and resolved to meet again at the September Anaheim CRP convention.

The Sacramento meeting followed closely on the heels of a Jan. 25 inaugural fund-raising dinner for the Southern California RLC in downtown Los Angeles. Despite the heavy rains and cold temperatures (well, cold for Southern Californians!), some 50 people gathered for the event.

California RLC Vice-Chair Jonathan Gluck opened proceedings with a short background of the RLC and its challenges for the future. Gluck was followed by Manuel Klausner, director of the Libertarian Law Foundation, who reminded RLCers in attendance that "Times Are A'Changin'!" He stressed the need for Republican and Libertarians to work together in building upon recent election gains. Klausner had just returned from Washington, D.C., where he had worked with lawmakers a bill which seeks to raise the standard of judicial review applied to economic rights.

The keynote speaker of the evening was Bob Poole, president of the Reason Foundation, publisher of *Reason* magazine and one of the foremost color guards marching under the banner of privatization.

The main topic of Poole's discussion was a study that the Reason Foundation had conducted on privatizing general services in the City of Los Angeles.

The night was a success in uniting libertarian Republicans in Southern California and there was general agreement to increase the amount of RLC networking in the area. The meeting had been announced in the region's first RLC newsletter, *The Liberty Letter*, which will serve to inform and galvanize local RLCers. Contributors to the newsletter included Gluck and RLC members William Kelly, Gary Galles and Dan Gifford.

Around the States

The Republican Liberty Caucus entered the realm of Oregon politics recently through the membership of State Rep. Chuck Carpenter of Beaverton. Carpenter is a first-termer and self-described libertarian Republican. He has been a vociferous advocate of free markets and free trade and takes a tolerant stance on social matters.

OR RLC State Coordinator Jeff Eager, who interns part-time for Carpenter, stated in a press release (March 20) that the group will be dedicated to the promotion of economic and social liberties in state government. He stated further that "As Oregonians become fed up with intrusive government regulation and high rates of taxation, the future growth of the RLC appears likely." The release was picked up on wire reports and a mention appeared in the *Salem Capitol News*. Eager is being assisted by another young RLCer Logan Cashwell of Salem.

RLC National Committee Member Laura Kotelman was at the recent Illinois College Republican Convention. Over 130 attended. Kotelman was given the opportunity to address the group about libertarian Republicans. Also, State Controller Loleta Didrickson mentioned libertarian Republicans as a key GOP group in her speech on building party unity.

After a four-year stint as Florida Liberty Caucus Chairman Alan Turin of Miami is stepping aside due to increased responsibilities on the RLC NatComm and as newly elected Young Republicans chairman. Mike Fender, an Orlando attorney, will replace Turin as temporary coordinator and is likely to soon take over as state chairman.

Election of FL RLC officers will take place at a caucus held at the upcoming State Young Republican Convention in Jacksonville (May 14-15). Fender was the Libertarian Party candidate for State House in 1990 (6% of the vote) and for Gainesville City Commission in '92 (5%). He is now active with the Orange County YRs and Central Florida Taxpayers Union.

Notable News

'96 Hopefuls Vie for Libertarian Support

GOP presidential contenders are openly courting libertarians. A headline in the *Washington Times*, the day after his March 30 announcement, read "Specter; 'Fiscally conservative and social libertarian.'" Despite his moderate record, the Pennsylvania senator continually uses the term to describe his beliefs. He even met recently with leaders of the New Hampshire Libertarian Party over lunch seeking an endorsement.

Texas Sen. Phil Gramm still remains the early favorite among most libertarian Republicans. In a recent Iowa newspaper column '88 GOP contender Pete du Pont praised Gramm highly for his principled opposition to "big business giveaways," or corporate welfare. Sen. Paul Coverdell (R-GA) and John McCain (R-AZ), who also lean libertarian, serve as Gramm campaign co-chairs. Walter Williams in a recent *Michigan Review* interview said of Gramm: "He supports the basic libertarian values" more than the others in the race. Gramm has also pleasantly surprised many libertarians by de-emphasizing social issues. In regards to abortion, homosexuality and school prayer, he recently told Religious Righters Gary Bauer and James Dobson, "I'm not a preacher."

Dark horse GOP hopeful Sen. Richard Lugar of Indiana surprisingly called for the abolition of the federal income tax and the IRS at an April 5 Cato Institute speech. Quoted in an article appearing in the *Houston Post*, Lugar said he'll move to abolish the income tax - "a creaking system that becomes ... more and more intrusive on our civil liberties as people put on the screws to make it more efficient" - within the first year in the White House if elected president. He went on to say that he would replace the income tax with a national sales tax.

A darker horse would be former Sen. Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming who, according to *Campaigns and Elections*, is exploring a possible run. Wallop, says *CNE*, "has started a libertarian-tinged think tank ... that will push the concepts of flat tax rates and sharply curbing government intrusiveness." And, even darker, capitalist guru Malcolm Forbes Jr., according to a recent Bob Novak column, is "seriously considering pleas from political and business associates that he seek the Republican nomination for president."

Group Reactivated to Fight Draft

Volunteers For America (VFA) which fought for the repeal of Selective Service in the 1980s, has recently been reformed under the leadership of Scott Kohlhaas of Washington DC. Others involved in the effort include Jim Turney, Don Ernsberger, Paul Jacob and the group's original chairman, Alan Lindsay. Though headed by libertarians, the group is also supported by liberals who oppose the draft on moral grounds and conservatives who wish to defund the agency in the name of fiscal prudence.

Despite no immediate threat to American interests, Selective Service still registers young men, 18 to 25, for the military draft at a cost to the taxpayers of \$25 million annually. From 1982 to '87, 18 young men were prosecuted and sent to federal prison for periods

of six to 18 months for opposing registration. The SS still threatens non-registrants with prosecution.

VFA has already successfully pushed for the introduction of a bill in the House to defund the SS. VFA lobbyists worked with staffers at the office of Rep. Peter DeFazio, a liberal Democrat, on the language of the bill. DeFazio plans to introduce the legislation in early May, and is looking for Republican co-sponsors. Early indications on potential GOP support are very positive.

Republicans who would like to assist in the effort to repeal the draft can write for more information: Volunteers For America, 301 'G' Street SW #825, Washington, DC 20024 or call the group's director, Scott Kohlhaas, at (202) 484-5161.

Duncan Scott's Wizardry

Libertarian Republicans may take liberty seriously, but not too seriously. According to the *New Mexican*, a Sante Fe newspaper, State Sen. Duncan Scott in March offered this amendment to a serious bill regarding the profession of psychology:

"When a psychologist or psychiatrist testifies during a defendant's competency hearing, the psychologist or psychiatrist shall wear a cone-shaped hat that is not less than two feet tall. The surface of the hat shall be imprinted with stars and lightning bolts.

"Additionally, a psychologist or psychiatrist shall be required to don a white beard that is not less than 18 inches in length, and shall punctuate crucial elements of his testimony by stabbing the air with a wand. Whenever a psychologist or psychiatrist provides expert testimony regarding the defendant's competency, the bailiff shall contemporaneously dim the courtroom lights and administer two strikes to a Chinese gong."

Believe it or not, his wizard-hat amendment was warmly received and passed by a voice vote. The bill - with amendment - was then sent to the House.

Media Notes

The headline on the top fold of the front page of the *Washington Post* on April 8, read "Gingrich: 'Contract Is Only a Start... Speaker Says Government Must be 'Totally' Transformed.'" Reporters Eric Pianin and Ken Cooper outlined Gingrich's triumph with the Contract With America. In the fourth paragraph they wrote "Once a political backbencher and bomb thrower, the garrulous former history teacher has transformed the speaker's office into a national bully pulpit to promote the cutting-edge conservative and libertarian views of the Republican Party."

Rolling Stone, in their April 6 issue with Eddie Van Halen on the cover, published a three-page spread on the rise of libertarians in modern politics. The article highlighted the growing libertarian influence on GOP policy. It also talked about libertarians in cyberspace and the increasing number of libertarian groups on college campuses. Along with the article was a wonderfully creative graphic of a Republican elephant entering a "Libertarian Cafe" with a hippie chef as owner, a red-suspended entrepreneurial type patron, pot plants as decor and a menu sign which read "No Sales Tax."

The *Miami Herald* article on the death of Roger MacBride was picked up on the AP wire and appeared in a number of major papers around the nation. Also *People* magazine did a short piece on his life in their "Passages" section of the March 20 issue.

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