

Republican Liberty

"Free Enterprise, Individual Freedom & Limited Government"

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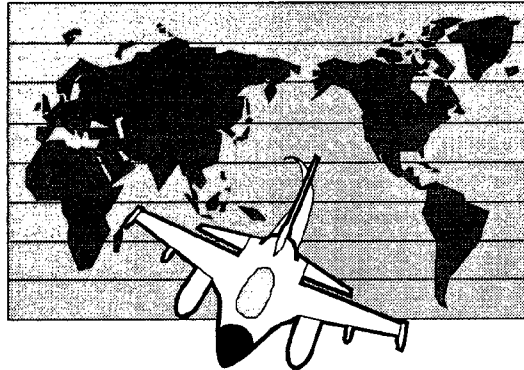
RLC Condemns Undeclared War

by Richard Sincere

The national committee of the Republican Liberty Caucus has condemned the Clinton Administration's military action against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, praising those members of Congress who have resisted the decision to bomb Serb targets in Kosovo and beyond.

The resolution, submitted by RLC Chairman Clifford Thies of Virginia, was approved unanimously by the RLC national committee the day following the attack. It notes that the situation in Yugoslavia does not constitute a threat of invasion (or actual invasion) of the United States or any of its NATO allies. To respond to the situation with bombing or the deployment of land forces violates the U.S. Constitution as well as other laws and international agreements, according to the RLC's resolution.

RLC Treasurer Mike Holmes noted that "acts of war against sovereign nations which are not carried out in self-defense or in retaliation to acts of aggression against the United States or its vital national interests are against the historical nature and character of



the United States as a people and, specifically, its Constitution."

Moreover, Holmes argued, "NATO is a military self-defense alliance and has not been delegated any powers to launch military action involving U.S. military assets against any nation with whom we are not at war or which has not attacked another NATO member by surprise or stealth."

Noting that several leaders of the RLC are military veterans, including RLC Secretary Robert Booth who retired from the U.S. Navy in December, current RLC Chair Thies and former RLC Chairman U.S. Rep. Ron Paul, Holmes emphasized that "the RLC supports members of the U.S. armed forces. To this end, we urge immediate cessation of military action by U.S. forces in Yugoslavia."

"Opposition by the RLC of U.S. military action in the Balkans does not imply or infer support for the actions of the government of Yugoslavia or for its conduct in governance of the province of Kosovo. We support the peaceful self-determination of the people of the Kosovo province."

Kaza Defeated in Michigan Special Election

Michigan RLCers and other principled Republicans were disappointed with the results of the Feb. 23 special election outcome for the 13th District state senate race in the Republican primary.

Former State Rep. Shirley Johnson bested recently retired MI State Rep. Greg Kaza by 48 percent to 32 percent, with another 16 percent going to Troy city councilman Matt Pryor. While the senate district is considered solidly Republican, Johnson went on to win the general election in March by a fairly narrow 52-48 percent.

While it is said that victory has many fathers but defeat is an orphan, Kaza's loss can be attributed to a number of factors rather than just one.

Perhaps the single biggest cause was the nature of the special election itself, created when the incumbent Republican state senator resigned to fill a sheriff's position made vacant by a death. This occurred right before Christmas and Gov. Engler, who openly supported Johnson, scheduled the special primary election in the minimum six-week time frame.

Kaza's previous elections, particularly his first path-breaking

1992 house seat victory, had always been the result of careful, methodical efforts largely centered around his walking every precinct in his district, an old fashioned "shoe leather" effort. However, the size of the senate district (about three times that of his old one), the harsh Michigan winter and the short time frame made this approach impractical. Kaza's old house district overlapped the senate district by about 16 percent, whereas Johnson's had about 50 percent coverage.

Compounding this problem was a legal challenge to Kaza's residency, which his opponents used to try to force him from the

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Timidity: The Republican Disease

Unprecedented Polarization Makes Defensive GOP Look Good in Comparison

by RLC Chair Clifford Thies

According to Bill Clinton and the Democrats, the 1998 Congress was a "do nothing" Congress and, from a Republican perspective, "doing nothing" can often be considered a good thing

Certainly, the GOP understood the Democratic assault without giving up too much ground. However, the fact that our side was on the defensive when we controlled both houses of Congress left a lot of us wondering about the quality of our leaders. It was like President Lincoln watching his generals commanding the Army of the Potomac fail to defeat General Lee and his smaller Army of Northern Virginia. To quote President Lincoln, "What can I do with such generals as we have?"

The Democratic strategy in the 1998 session was to force the Republicans to accept their legislative initiatives and to stymie Republican legislative initiatives on the basis that the Republicans had only a narrow majority in the House, could not break a filibuster in the Senate and could not override a Presidential veto.

As a result, this was the most polarized Congress since I began constructing my index. There was an unprecedented average gap of 49 points between the Republicans and the Democrats in the two chambers on economics and civil liberties. This polarization made

1999 RLC Index of Congress: Summary Statistics

	House	House-Rep	House-Dem	Senate	Senate-Rep	Senate-Dem
Economic	49	75	20	50	78	16
Civil	48	66	28	52	73	23
Libertarians	87	86	1	32	32	0
Enterprisers	116	115	1	18	18	0
Conservatives	12	9	3	3	3	0
Liberals	10	9	1	0	0	0
Moderates	69	8	61	12	2	10
Authoritarians	139	0	139	35	0	35

The first two rows are average scores. The last six rows are number of members of Congress so classified.

many Republicans look like true-blue libertarians -- which we don't believe. (The Republicans are lucky we grade on a curve).

In the area of economics, two Congressmen and one Senator scored 100: Rep. Sue Myrick of North Carolina, Rep. Steve Chabot of Ohio and Sen. John Ashcroft of Missouri (both of the guys being repeat 100 scores). Fourteen Congressmen and two Senators made only one bad vote.

In the area of civil liberties, the best Senate score was earned by Sen. Connie Mack of Florida, whose one boo-boo was agreeing to the increase in the cigarette tax included in the tobacco settlement.

In the combined the scores, this year's co-winners in the Senate were John Kyl of Arizona (the defending Senate champion) and John Ashcroft of Missouri (the 1995 Senate champion). In the House, the winner was Ron Paul of Texas (the defending House champion, and a former RLC chairman). Other very high scores in the House were achieved by Hoekstra MI, Crane IL, Rohrabacher CA, Chabot OH, Christensen NE, Armey TX, Cubin WY, Paxon NY and Shaddegg AZ. The very high score by Dick Armey is truly amazing because, being Majority Leader, he is often required to "toe the party line."

With the 1998 elections behind us, our party will now be looking, as President Lincoln looked, for a new leader. President Lincoln found that new leader not among the staff officers and subordinate commanders "inside the Beltway," but in the west, in the person who scored an enormous victory at Vicksburg. Who will be our General Grant? Who will lead our party to victory, and enable our superior forces, finally, to roll back the welfare state and restore our nation's Constitutional order?

Liberty Index Classifications

Libertarians - Fiscally conservative yet socially tolerant, libertarians favor lower taxes, limited government and expanded personal liberty and responsibility.

Enterprisers - Free market conservatives who support economic freedom but are inconsistent on civil liberties issues.

Conservatives - Moderate free enterprisers who favor a large government role in shaping society, particularly in social issues.

Authoritarians - Believe in a strong state apparatus intervening extensively in economic and personal affairs.

Moderates - Support moderate government intervention in economic and personal affairs. Characterized by reliance on polls rather than principles.

Liberals - Favor strong government interference in economic affairs but are more *laissez faire* on personal liberties issues.

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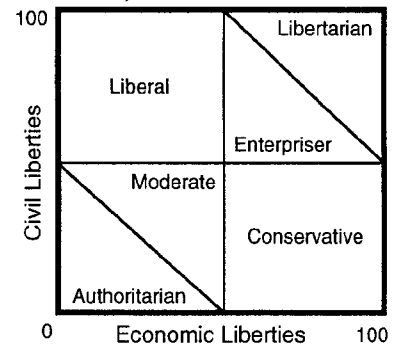
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The 1999 Liberty Index of the U.S. Congress

by Clifford Thies

The 1999 Liberty Index rates members of the U.S. Congress based on 40 roll call votes of 1998, divided evenly between economic and civil liberties/foreign policy 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.



U.S. SENATE

Senator	Party	Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class	Senator	Party	Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class
AL Sessions	R	84	78	81	L	MT Burns	R	70	84	77	L
AL Shelby	R	68	74	71	E	MT Baucus	D	21	32	27	M
AK Murkowski	R	78	48	63	C	NE Hagel	R	75	90	82	L
AK Stevens	R	75	48	62	C	NE Kerrey	D	20	24	22	A
AZ Kyl	R	94	90	92	L	NV Bryan	D	15	30	23	A
AZ McCain	R	89	71	80	L	NV Reid	D	15	43	29	M
AR Hutchinson	R	94	84	89	L	NH Gregg	R	75	69	72	E
AR Bumpers	D	20	14	17	A	NH Smith	R	90	77	83	L
CA Boxer	D	5	19	12	A	NJ Lautenberg	D	10	29	19	A
CA Feinstein	D	15	24	20	A	NJ Torricelli	D	6	25	15	A
CO Allard	R	85	84	85	L	NM Domenici	R	72	69	71	E
CO Campbell	R	65	69	67	E	NM Bingaman	D	17	19	18	A
CT Dodd	D	15	24	20	A	NY D'Amato	R	33	48	41	M
CT Lieberman	D	20	34	27	M	NY Moynihan	D	25	15	20	A
DE Roth	R	63	73	68	E	NC Faircloth	R	75	65	70	E
DE Biden	D	21	14	18	A	NC Helms	R	80	73	76	L
FL Mack	R	85	95	90	L	ND Conrad	D	20	24	22	A
FL Graham	D	20	34	27	M	ND Dorgan	D	20	24	22	A
GA Coverdell	R	78	79	79	L	OH DeWine	R	80	64	72	E
GA Cleland	D	15	29	22	A	OH Glenn	D	8	18	13	A
HA Akaka	D	11	11	11	A	OK Inhofe	R	90	89	90	L
HA Inouye	D	20	20	20	A	OK Nickles	R	90	79	85	L
ID Craig	R	75	79	77	L	OR Smith	R	75	74	75	E
ID Kempthorne	R	75	79	77	L	OR Wyden	D	20	21	21	A
IL Durbin	D	5	14	10	A	PA Santorum	R	75	74	75	E
IL Moseley-Brown	D	11	21	16	A	PA Specter	R	50	46	48	M
IN Coats	R	80	73	76	L	RI Chafee	R	70	48	59	C
IN Lugar	R	90	69	79	L	RI Reed	D	15	19	17	A
IA Grassley	R	80	69	74	E	SC Thurmond	R	90	89	90	L
IA Harkin	D	10	16	13	A	SC Hollings	D	32	32	32	M
KS Brownback	R	80	79	80	L	SD Daschle	D	15	19	17	A
KS Roberts	R	74	67	70	E	SD Johnson	D	20	19	20	A
KY McConnell	R	80	74	77	L	TN Frist	R	68	69	69	E
KY Ford	D	15	29	22	A	TN Thompson	R	95	79	87	L
LA Breaux	D	21	39	30	M	TX Gramm	R	85	79	82	L
LA Landrieu	D	20	34	27	M	TX Hutchison	R	83	84	83	L
ME Collins	R	60	59	59	E	UT Bennett	R	70	84	77	L
ME Snowe	R	65	53	59	E	UT Hatch	R	70	69	69	E
MD Mikulski	D	6	25	15	A	VT Jeffords	R	65	62	63	E
MD Sarbanes	D	5	19	12	A	VT Leahy	D	20	29	24	A
MA Kennedy	D	11	15	13	A	VA Warner	R	85	73	79	L
MA Kerry	D	11	19	15	A	VA Robb	D	25	29	27	M
MI Abraham	R	90	74	82	L	WA Gorton	R	70	64	67	E
MI Levin	D	25	11	18	A	WA Murray	D	10	24	17	A
MN Grams	R	80	79	80	L	WV Byrd	D	25	19	22	A
MN Wellstone	D	10	19	15	A	WV Rockefeller	D	11	10	10	A
MS Cochran	R	80	90	85	L	WI Feingold	D	25	29	27	M
MS Lott	R	80	88	84	L	WI Kohl	D	30	29	29	M
MO Ashcroft	R	100	84	92	L	WY Enzi	R	90	79	85	L
MO Bond	R	65	67	66	E	WY Thomas	R	85	79	82	L

THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Representative	Party	Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class	Representative	Party	Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class
AL 01 Callahan	R	67	70	69	E	CO 03 McInnis	R	73	62	68	E
AL 02 Everett	R	76	74	75	E	CO 04 Shaffer	R	95	78	87	L
AL 03 Riley	R	76	74	75	E	CO 05 Hefley	R	95	70	83	L
AL 04 Aderholt	R	81	74	78	L	CO 06 Schaefer	R	81	74	78	L
AL 05 Cramer	D	42	24	33	M	CT 01 Kennelly	D	12	19	16	A
AL 06 Bachus	R	76	57	67	E	CT 02 Gejdenson	D	17	23	20	A
AL 07 Hilliard	D	16	23	20	A	CT 03 DeLauro	D	10	23	17	A
AK 01 Young	R	60	57	59	E	CT 04 Shays	R	52	57	55	E
AZ 01 Salmon	R	95	70	83	L	CT 05 Maloney	D	21	34	28	M
AZ 02 Pastor	D	10	39	25	A	CT 06 Johnson	R	37	53	45	X
AZ 03 Stump	R	86	78	82	L	DE 01 Castle	R	57	46	52	C
AZ 04 Shaddegg	R	90	78	84	L	FL 01 Scarborough	R	90	74	82	L
AZ 05 Kolbe	R	76	57	67	E	FL 02 Boyd	D	42	34	38	M
AZ 06 Hayworth	R	90	74	82	L	FL 03 Brown	D	12	24	18	A
AR 01 Berry	D	50	23	37	M	FL 04 Fowler	R	76	70	73	E
AR 02 Snyder	D	17	39	28	M	FL 05 Thurman	D	21	18	20	A
AR 03 Hutchinson	R	76	64	70	E	FL 06 Stearns	R	86	74	80	L
AR 04 Dickey	R	71	68	70	E	FL 07 Mica	R	86	64	75	E
CA 01 Riggs	R	80	68	74	E	FL 08 McCollum	R	76	61	69	E
CA 02 Herger	R	95	80	88	L	FL 09 Bilirakis	R	85	65	75	E
CA 03 Fazio	D	26	34	30	M	FL 10 Young	R	78	63	71	E
CA 04 Doolittle	R	85	77	81	L	FL 11 Davis	D	26	23	25	A
CA 05 Matsui	D	10	28	19	A	FL 12 Canady	R	71	65	68	E
CA 06 Woolsey	D	16	28	22	A	FL 13 Miller	R	81	82	82	L
CA 07 Miller	D	16	35	26	M	FL 14 Goss	R	90	65	78	L
CA 08 Pelosi	D	10	41	26	M	FL 15 Weldon	R	86	67	77	L
CA 09 Lee	D	22	35	29	M	FL 16 Foley	R	81	61	71	E
CA 10 Tauscher	D	21	39	30	M	FL 17 Meek	D	5	28	17	A
CA 11 Pombo	R	71	78	75	E	FL 18 Ros-Lehtinen	R	52	55	54	E
CA 12 Lantos	D	5	30	18	A	FL 19 Wexler	D	21	23	22	A
CA 13 Stark	D	22	24	23	A	FL 20 Deutsch	D	26	18	22	A
CA 14 Eshoo	D	5	30	18	A	FL 21 Diaz-Balart	R	57	49	53	C
CA 15 Campbell	R	62	65	64	E	FL 22 Shaw	R	60	61	61	E
CA 16 Lofgren	D	6	34	20	A	FL 23 Hastings	D	6	33	20	A
CA 17 Farr	D	5	34	20	A	GA 01 Kingston	R	90	74	82	L
CA 18 Condit	D	52	49	51	C	GA 02 Bishop	D	37	34	36	M
CA 19 Radanovich	R	95	72	84	L	GA 03 Collins	R	81	70	76	L
CA 20 Dooley	D	37	28	33	M	GA 04 McKinney	D	16	28	22	A
CA 21 Thomas	R	67	74	71	E	GA 05 Lewis	D	13	20	17	A
CA 22 Capps	D	11	33	22	A	GA 06 Gingrich	R	(House Speaker rarely votes)			
CA 23 Gallegly	R	76	53	65	E	GA 07 Barr	R	90	74	82	L
CA 24 Sherman	D	10	28	19	A	GA 08 Chambliss	R	76	70	73	E
CA 25 McKeon	R	81	64	73	E	GA 09 Deal	R	90	65	78	L
CA 26 Berman	D	6	34	20	A	GA 10 Norwood	R	73	72	73	E
CA 27 Rogan	R	86	81	84	L	GA 11 Linder	R	75	78	77	L
CA 28 Drier	R	71	70	71	E	HI 01 Abercrombie	D	5	28	17	A
CA 29 Waxman	D	5	35	20	A	HI 02 Mink	D	21	34	28	M
CA 30 Becerra	D	6	31	19	A	ID 01 Chenoweth	R	76	82	79	L
CA 31 Martinez	D	21	46	34	M	ID 02 Crapo	R	73	74	74	E
CA 32 Dixon	D	6	41	24	A	IL 01 Rush	D	10	28	19	A
CA 33 Roybal-Allard	D	6	23	15	A	IL 02 Jackson	D	5	28	17	A
CA 34 Torres	D	6	35	21	A	IL 03 Lipinski	D	26	41	34	M
CA 35 Waters	D	7	27	17	A	IL 04 Guitierrez	D	21	41	31	M
CA 36 Harman	D	21	35	28	M	IL 05 Blagojevich	D	22	19	21	A
CA 37 Millender-McD.	D	7	23	15	A	IL 06 Hyde	R	71	68	70	E
CA 38 Horn	R	47	57	52	X	IL 07 Davis	D	10	37	24	A
CA 39 Royce	R	94	72	83	L	IL 08 Crane	R	90	82	86	L
CA 40 Lewis	R	67	61	64	E	IL 09 Yates	D	22	28	25	A
CA 41 Kim	R	62	61	62	E	IL 10 Porter	R	62	65	64	E
CA 42 Brown	D	12	28	20	A	IL 11 Weller	R	65	70	68	E
CA 43 Calvert	R	76	70	73	E	IL 12 Costello	D	31	18	25	A
CA 44 Bono	R	80	63	72	E	IL 13 Fawell	R	50	70	60	X
CA 45 Rohrabacher	R	95	74	85	L	IL 14 Hastert	R	63	74	69	E
CA 46 Sanchez	D	17	24	21	A	IL 15 Ewing	R	76	60	68	E
CA 47 Cox	R	95	70	83	L	IL 16 Manzullo	R	86	70	78	L
CA 48 Packard	R	71	68	70	E	IL 17 Evans	D	16	23	20	A
CA 49 Bilbray	R	47	55	51	X	IL 18 LaHood	R	57	53	55	E
CA 50 Filner	D	6	44	25	A	IL 19 Poshard	D	28	25	27	M
CA 51 Cunningham	R	82	76	79	L	IL 20 Shimkus	R	76	72	74	E
CA 52 Hunter	R	86	61	74	E	IN 01 Viciosky	D	26	24	25	A
CO 01 DeGette	D	16	23	20	A	IN 02 McIntosh	R	76	82	79	L
CO 02 Skaggs	D	12	37	25	A	IN 03 Roemer	D	42	34	38	M

Representative	Party	Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class	Representative	Party	Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class
IN 04 Souder	R	81	65	73	E	MS 02 Thompson	D	5	14	10	A
IN 05 Buyer	R	81	60	71	E	MS 03 Pickering	R	79	69	74	E
IN 06 Burton	R	86	66	76	L	MS 04 Parker	R	78	60	69	E
IN 07 Pease	R	90	74	82	L	MS 05 Taylor	D	71	44	58	C
IN 08 Hostettler	R	86	74	80	L	MO 01 Clay	D	12	33	23	A
IN 09 Hamilton	D	26	28	27	M	MO 02 Talent	R	90	65	78	L
IN 10 Carson	D	23	33	28	M	MO 03 Gephardt	D	10	30	20	A
IA 01 Leach	R	47	42	45	M	MO 04 Skelton	D	37	19	28	M
IA 02 Nussle	R	67	61	64	E	MO 05 McCarthy	D	12	30	21	A
IA 03 Boswell	D	31	44	38	M	MO 06 Danner	D	47	34	41	M
IA 04 Ganske	R	67	53	60	E	MO 07 Blunt	R	86	70	78	L
IA 05 Latham	R	71	68	70	E	MO 08 Emerson	R	81	65	73	E
KS 01 Moran	R	77	65	71	E	MO 09 Hulshof	R	76	61	69	E
KS 02 Ryun	R	81	78	80	L	MT 01 Hill	R	73	74	74	E
KS 03 Snowbarger	R	81	74	78	L	NE 01 Bereuter	R	67	57	62	E
KS 04 Tiahrt	R	81	78	80	L	NE 02 Christensen	R	95	74	85	L
KY 01 Whitfield	R	85	70	78	L	NE 03 Barrett	R	76	49	63	C
KY 02 Lewis	R	81	74	78	L	NV 01 Ensign	R	76	65	71	E
KY 03 Northrup	R	71	65	68	E	NV 02 Gibbons	R	86	70	78	L
KY 04 Bunning	R	81	65	73	E	NH 01 Sununu	R	86	74	80	L
KY 05 Rogers	R	65	65	65	E	NH 02 Bass	R	76	57	67	E
KY 06 Baesler	D	26	18	22	A	NJ 01 Andrews	D	26	28	27	M
LA 01 Livingston	R	81	74	78	L	NJ 02 LoBiondo	R	62	49	56	C
LA 02 Jefferson	D	7	18	13	A	NJ 03 Saxton	R	67	51	59	E
LA 03 Tauzin	R	71	71	71	E	NJ 04 Smith	R	31	53	42	X
LA 04 McCrery	R	80	65	73	E	NJ 05 Roukema	R	67	53	60	E
LA 05 Cooksey	R	80	76	78	L	NJ 06 Pallone	D	21	18	20	A
LA 06 Baker	R	81	70	76	L	NJ 07 Franks	R	52	57	55	E
LA 07 John	D	43	37	40	M	NJ 08 Paccrell	D	16	18	17	A
ME 01 Allen	D	16	39	28	M	NJ 09 Rothman	D	5	18	12	A
ME 02 Balducci	D	16	24	20	A	NJ 10 Payne	D	14	28	21	A
MD 01 Gilchrest	R	47	39	43	M	NJ 11 Frelinghuysen	R	67	61	64	E
MD 02 Ehrlich	R	76	72	74	E	NJ 12 Pappas	R	76	65	71	E
MD 03 Cardin	D	17	23	20	A	NJ 13 Menendez	D	5	30	18	A
MD 04 Wynn	D	10	20	15	A	NM 01 Wilson	R	58	59	59	E
MD 05 Hoyer	D	16	23	20	A	NM 02 Skeen	R	57	57	57	E
MD 06 Bartlett	R	81	74	78	L	NM 03 Redmond	R	70	70	70	E
MD 07 Cummings	D	10	23	17	A	NY 01 Forbes	R	37	48	43	M
MD 08 Morella	R	31	39	35	M	NY 02 Lazio	R	52	44	48	C
MA 01 Olver	D	10	28	19	A	NY 03 King	R	67	57	62	E
MA 02 Neal	D	16	28	22	A	NY 04 McCarthy	D	21	23	22	A
MA 03 McGovern	D	16	28	22	A	NY 05 Ackerman	D	11	28	20	A
MA 04 Frank	D	21	44	33	M	NY 06 Meeks	D	10	30	20	A
MA 05 Meehan	D	10	34	22	A	NY 07 Manton	D	16	15	16	A
MA 06 Tierney	D	16	30	23	A	NY 08 Nadler	D	22	35	29	M
MA 07 Markey	D	19	34	27	M	NY 09 Schumer	D	23	27	25	A
MA 08 Kennedy	D	11	28	20	A	NY 10 Towns	D	12	28	20	A
MA 09 Moakley	D	13	15	14	A	NY 11 Owens	D	16	19	18	A
MA 10 Delahunt	D	21	28	25	A	NY 12 Velazquez	D	16	31	24	A
MI 01 Stupak	D	31	24	28	M	NY 13 Fossela	R	86	77	82	L
MI 02 Hoekstra	R	95	78	87	L	NY 14 Maloney	D	16	23	20	A
MI 03 Ehlers	R	52	57	55	E	NY 15 Rangel	D	21	28	25	A
MI 04 Camp	R	81	74	78	L	NY 16 Serrano	D	17	23	20	A
MI 05 Barcia	D	42	18	30	M	NY 17 Engel	D	11	20	16	A
MI 06 Upton	R	76	53	65	E	NY 18 Lowey	D	21	30	26	M
MI 07 Smith	R	95	53	74	E	NY 19 Kelly	R	47	57	52	X
MI 08 Stabenow	D	16	24	20	A	NY 20 Gilman	R	41	49	45	M
MI 09 Kildee	D	10	18	14	A	NY 21 McNulty	D	7	21	14	A
MI 10 Bonior	D	5	28	17	A	NY 22 Solomon	R	85	65	75	E
MI 11 Knollenberg	R	76	65	71	E	NY 23 Boehlert	R	21	44	33	M
MI 12 Levin	D	21	23	22	A	NY 24 McHugh	R	52	51	52	E
MI 13 Rivers	D	16	23	20	A	NY 25 Walsh	R	52	44	48	C
MI 14 Conyers	D	21	31	26	M	NY 26 Hinchey	D	5	28	17	A
MI 15 Kilpatrick	D	6	27	17	A	NY 27 Paxon	R	95	72	84	L
MI 16 Dingell	D	26	28	27	M	NY 28 Slaughter	D	10	23	17	A
MN 01 Gutknecht	R	76	70	73	E	NY 29 LaFalce	D	22	23	23	A
MN 02 Minge	D	31	34	33	M	NY 30 Quinn	R	47	44	46	M
MN 03 Ramstad	R	52	53	53	E	NY 31 Houghton	R	47	39	43	M
MN 04 Vento	D	16	34	25	A	NC 01 Clayton	D	12	24	18	A
MN 05 Sabo	D	11	39	25	A	NC 02 Etheridge	D	22	23	23	A
MN 06 Luther	D	26	31	29	M	NC 03 Jones	R	86	74	80	L
MN 07 Peterson	D	37	34	36	M	NC 04 Price	D	17	23	20	A
MN 08 Oberstar	D	16	28	22	A	NC 05 Burr	R	81	57	69	E
MS 01 Wicker	R	67	74	71	E	NC 06 Coble	R	90	74	82	L

Representative	Party	Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class	Representative	Party	Economics	Civil	Comb.	Class
NC 07 McIntyre	D	52	19	36	C	TN 08 Tanner	D	39	34	37	M
NC 08 Hefner	D	12	33	23	A	TN 09 Ford	D	22	20	21	A
NC 09 Myrick	R	100	65	83	L	TX 01 Sandlin	D	31	13	22	A
NC 10 Ballenger	R	80	66	73	E	TX 02 Turner	D	37	34	36	M
NC 11 Taylor	R	76	70	73	E	TX 03 Johnson, S.	R	85	81	83	L
NC 12 Watt	D	5	35	20	A	TX 04 Hall	D	81	74	78	L
ND 01 Pomeroy	D	37	23	30	M	TX 05 Sessions	R	81	81	81	L
OH 01 Chabot	R	100	70	85	L	TX 06 Barton	R	85	74	80	L
OH 02 Portman	R	95	61	78	L	TX 07 Archer	R	70	74	72	E
OH 03 Hall	D	28	30	29	M	TX 08 Brady	R	67	75	71	E
OH 04 Oxley	R	75	64	70	E	TX 09 Lampson	D	10	18	14	A
OH 05 Gilmor	R	60	57	59	E	TX 10 Doggett	D	5	39	22	A
OH 06 Strickland	D	26	28	27	M	TX 11 Edwards	D	21	23	22	A
OH 07 Hobson	R	86	74	80	L	TX 12 Granger	R	75	57	66	E
OH 08 Boehner	R	81	74	78	L	TX 13 Thornberry	R	86	70	78	L
OH 09 Kaptur	D	21	30	26	M	TX 14 Paul	R	90	90	90	L
OH 10 Kucinich	D	10	23	17	A	TX 15 Hinojosa	D	12	23	18	A
OH 11 Stokes	D	10	24	17	A	TX 16 Reyes	D	16	19	18	A
OH 12 Kasich	R	80	78	79	L	TX 17 Stenholm	D	47	44	46	M
OH 13 Brown	D	31	19	25	A	TX 18 Jackson-Lee	D	12	28	20	A
OH 14 Sawyer	D	16	23	20	A	TX 19 Combest	R	76	65	71	E
OH 15 Pryce	R	67	79	73	E	TX 20 Gonzalez	D	(Ill; Largely absent)			
OH 16 Regula	R	62	53	58	E	TX 21 Smith	R	75	70	73	E
OH 17 Traficant	D	37	57	47	X	TX 22 DeLay	R	81	77	79	L
OH 18 Ney	R	76	57	67	E	TX 23 Bonilla	R	73	65	69	E
OH 19 La Tourette	R	37	57	47	X	TX 24 Frost	D	26	24	25	A
OK 01 Largent	R	81	70	76	L	TX 25 Bentsen	D	16	23	20	A
OK 02 Coburn	R	81	78	80	L	TX 26 Arney	R	86	82	84	L
OK 03 Watkins	R	86	65	76	L	TX 27 Ortiz	D	17	23	20	A
OK 04 Watts	R	81	65	73	E	TX 28 Rodriguez	D	5	18	12	A
OK 05 Istook	R	85	65	75	E	TX 29 Green	D	26	18	22	A
OK 06 Lucas	R	76	70	73	E	TX 30 Johnson, E.	D	19	28	24	A
OR 01 Furse	D	6	31	19	A	UT 01 Hansen	R	81	68	75	E
OR 02 Smith	R	65	72	69	E	UT 02 Cook	R	81	57	69	E
OR 03 Blumenauer	D	21	34	28	M	UT 03 Cannon	R	81	72	77	L
OR 04 DeFazio	D	21	49	35	M	VT 01 Sanders	D	21	34	28	M
OR 05 Hooley	D	5	23	14	A	VA 01 Bateman	R	76	58	67	E
PA 01 Brady	D	0	26	13	A	VA 02 Pickett	D	31	39	35	M
PA 02 Fattah	D	5	18	12	A	VA 03 Scott	D	10	39	25	A
PA 03 Borski	D	16	18	17	A	VA 04 Sisisky	D	31	34	33	M
PA 04 Klink	D	31	26	29	M	VA 05 Goode	D	80	53	67	E
PA 05 Peterson	R	81	70	76	L	VA 06 Goodlatte	R	90	70	80	L
PA 06 Holden	D	42	23	33	M	VA 07 Bliley	R	76	70	73	E
PA 07 Weldon	R	57	46	52	C	VA 08 Moran	D	26	44	35	M
PA 08 Greenwood	R	57	53	55	E	VA 09 Boucher	D	16	19	18	A
PA 09 Shuster	R	85	72	79	L	VA 10 Wolf	R	81	53	67	E
PA 10 McDade	R	68	69	69	E	VA 11 Davis	R	47	53	50	X
PA 11 Kanjorski	D	16	34	25	A	WA 01 White	R	81	65	73	E
PA 12 Murtha	D	31	37	34	M	WA 02 Metcalf	R	81	61	71	E
PA 13 Fox	R	47	53	50	X	WA 03 Smith, L.	R	76	74	75	E
PA 14 Coyne	D	21	23	22	A	WA 04 Hastings	R	86	70	78	L
PA 15 McHale	D	12	28	20	A	WA 05 Nethercutt	R	86	74	80	L
PA 16 Pitts	R	86	70	78	L	WA 06 Dicks	D	16	28	22	A
PA 17 Gekas	R	67	61	64	E	WA 07 McDermott	D	6	39	23	A
PA 18 Doyle	D	35	30	33	M	WA 08 Dunn	R	81	61	71	E
PA 19 Goodling	R	86	65	76	L	WA 09 Smith, A.	D	26	28	27	M
PA 20 Mascara	D	26	13	20	A	WV 01 Mollohan	D	28	26	27	M
PA 21 English	R	62	49	56	C	WV 02 Wise	D	21	19	20	A
RI 01 Kennedy	D	10	34	22	A	WV 03 Rahall	D	16	30	23	A
RI 02 Weygand	D	16	23	20	A	WI 01 Neumann	R	95	66	81	L
SC 01 Sanford	R	95	70	83	L	WI 02 Klug	R	84	49	67	C
SC 02 Spence	R	86	61	74	E	WI 03 Kind	D	31	23	27	M
SC 03 Graham	R	81	61	71	E	WI 04 Kleczka	D	16	28	22	A
SC 04 Inglis	R	90	71	81	L	WI 05 Barrett	D	26	23	25	A
SC 05 Spratt	D	25	18	22	A	WI 06 Petri	R	76	65	71	E
SC 06 Clyburn	D	10	19	15	A	WI 07 Obey	D	21	34	28	M
SD 01 Thune	R	81	65	73	E	WI 08 Johnson	D	16	23	20	A
TN 01 Jenkins	R	75	74	75	E	WI 09 Sensenbrenner	R	86	70	78	L
TN 02 Duncan	R	90	65	78	L	WY 01 Cubin	R	90	77	84	L
TN 03 Wamp	R	90	61	76	L						
TN 04 Hilleary	R	90	61	76	L						
TN 05 Clement	D	26	28	27	M						
TN 06 Gordon	D	37	23	30	M						
TN 07 Bryant	R	90	70	80	L						

Ed. Note - Clifford Thies is Durrell Professor of Money, Banking and Finance at Shenandoah University in Winchester, VA. For a list of votes used to construct this index, contact Thies at 1624 S. Braddock St., Winchester, VA 22601.

DeLay, Hutchison and Paul Oppose War

Texas isn't known to be a state which produces pacifists, particularly not among politicians sent to Washington. So it is significant that two Congressional heavyweights from the Texas delegation, both prominent Republicans, have issued calls questioning the Clinton administration's heavy-handed efforts to intervene militarily in the tangled Serb-Kosovo situation.

In a stunning March 9 op-ed in the *Wall Street Journal* titled "Autonomy for Kosovo Isn't Worth American Blood," House GOP Minority Whip Tom DeLay sharply condemned plans for U.S. military forces to be used to enforce a Albright-brokered deal between the Serbian dictatorship and the rag-tag Kosovo Liberation Army, which represents the ethnic majority Albanian population of Kosovo province.

"The U.S. should not send its troops to Kosovo for a dangerous, open-ended and ill-defined peacemaking mission. The Clinton administration has persistently failed to commit itself to an exit strategy in Bosnia. Similarly, the Kosovo initiative has no timetable, no rules of engagement and no greater strategic plan for the region. Further ill-defined U.S. military involvement in the Balkans is, for many reasons, a risky mistake."

DeLay went on to criticize the Clinton administration's calls for using NATO troops for peacekeeping and "nation building" purposes in Africa and the Middle East, noting that such deployments are hugely risky, expensive and damaging to U.S. preparedness and morale of the armed forces. "America should recommit itself to securing its own defense before sending troops abroad to build nations upon foundations of sand," DeLay concluded in the article.

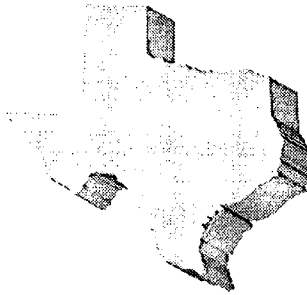
The same day, junior Texas Republican Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison unveiled legislation that would prohibit U.S. defense spending on NATO-led peacekeeping missions in Kosovo until Clinton clearly defines the mission and objectives of such interventionism to Congress. "I think it's important that Congress weighs in

when we are talking about going into a sovereign nation," Sen. Hutchison said. Hutchison said her legislation requires the administration to request congressional approval, specify which part of the defense budget the funds will be taken from, and outline clearly an achievable mission and exit strategy (this was ultimately defeated).

In the post impeachment political fog, few politicians of either party seem to have noticed that the Clinton administration has several times brought the U.S. to the brink of what used to be termed "war," with bellicose threats of massive U.S. air strikes on Serbia and introduction of NATO, European and U.S. ground military forces in Kosovo to force a settlement neither side agreed to in February talks at Rambouillet, France.

While top Republican congressional leaders have generally not been outspoken about indiscriminate threats or use of U.S. military force to impose U.S. foreign policy objectives around the world, including the now permanent bombing campaign in Iraq, Texas libertarian Republican Rep. Ron Paul has long been one of the few voices demanding constitutional justification before using military force. It is probably no accident that these recent GOP voices questioning undeclared war in the Balkans also come from Texas congressional delegates. Rep. Paul's principled opposition to such activities has repeatedly exposed them to the issues. And his persuasive arguments seem to have caught hold with at least two outspoken Republican critics of the Clinton administration.

Constitutional limited government may be an idea whose time has finally come, even in U.S. foreign policy.



Greg Kaza...from page 1

ballot. Although this challenge was ultimately rejected by the courts, dealing with it was a major distraction to Kaza especially in the crucial early weeks of the campaign.

Forty percent of the ultimate turnout resulted from absentee voters, who tended to be older, more loyal GOP voters and who had to be reached in the first three weeks of the campaign. Johnson beat Kaza nearly 3-to-1 among absentee voters.

Kaza also fell victim to an unfortunate gaffe in a comment to a local newspaper reporter. He was quoted as saying that Johnson was "tired, old, haggard and washed up," though he insisted he had been referring to her policies, not her personally. This remark was well publicized prior to the absentee voter deadline.

The pro-gun rights voters did not prove decisive either as campaign volunteers or as a voting bloc. Some were confused by the Gun Owners of America (GOA) endorsement of third

place finisher Pryor, due to unhappiness over a single vote Kaza had made involving the "brandishing of firearms" by private security forces. Kaza was backed by the larger NRA, but the split wasn't helpful.

The RLC's PAC contributed the maximum to his effort (just under \$500) and other RLCers across the country and in Michigan also helped with contributions.

Ultimately, the hastily put together Kaza campaign was overwhelmed with the superior organization and gaffe free effort of Johnson despite her liberal voting record, which benefited from the tight campaign time frame. The "Kaza coalition" strategy might have worked given more time to reach his constituent interest groups, and would have mitigated the impact of the "haggard" remark which ended up being the main thing the absentee voters knew about Kaza.

However, on election night Kaza took the results with good spirits and was reported to be looking forward to his pre-campaign plan to pursue a career as an investment manager.

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