

Republican Liberty

Free Enterprise, Individual Freedom & Limited Government

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Special Double Issue

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RLC Peeks at 1996 GOP Field

by Mike Holmes

At the outset of 1996, it is not easy to predict the key races for libertarian Republicans with certainty.

However, the momentum of the 1994 GOP juggernaut - with its distinct anti-big government message - is expected to carry through to a number of key 1996 elections. At this stage, most of the races remain in the primary phase.

The U.S. Senate

The most surprising development at the outset of 1996 is the presence of at least five viable Republican U.S. Senate prospects with distinct libertarian Republican coloration or affiliation.

While the RLC has endorsed and helped Senate candidates in the past, including Kay Hutchison, Paul Coverdell and Fred Thompson, most of the action at the federal level has been in the House.

In Massachusetts, incumbent Republican Gov. Bill Weld is seeking Sen. John Kerry's seat. While Weld's positions on gun ownership rights and environmental regulation have drawn criticism from many libertarians, his overall record of reducing spending and taxes in one of the nation's most statist political environments has been exemplary. He has proudly worn the RLC's "libertarian Republican" button and is endorsed by key leaders in the Massachusetts RLC.

Virginia's Jim Miller was supported by the RLC in his 1994 Senate primary bid against Oliver North, who ultimately went down to an expensive general election defeat. Former Reagan Administration budget director Miller has been in regular contact with RLC activists there. The RLC's affiliated PAC, the Republican Liberty Federal Campaign Fund, has already contributed to his effort to replace the Republican incumbent John Warner.

In Alabama's largest city of Birmingham, City Councilman Jimmy Blake is the only member who does not bow to the Democratic Party establishment in that state. Blake has a long history of activism in the Libertarian Party but won his nonpartisan

(Continued on page 2)



New Jersey Congressional
Candidate Roger Bacon

RLC Rides Roller Coaster Through 1995

by Mike Holmes

It was the best of times and the worst of times for the Republican Liberty Caucus in 1995.

On one hand, the loss of dedicated supporters and leaders by death and resignation left the organization short of its anticipated financial and organizational goals. On the other hand, despite these setbacks, the RLC reached new records in terms of funds raised, membership and political influence.

By the beginning of 1996, these developments - both positive and negative - were absorbed and reflected in the plans made by the RLC Board for 1996.

Deaths, Resignations

The year began with the death of libertarian economist and political analyst Murray Rothbard, which deprived the RLC of his insights and inspiration. In March, the unexpected death of the RLC's founding chairman Roger MacBride opened a major gap in the group's leadership. MacBride had just completed a path-breaking Washington, DC, trip where the first libertarian Republican lobbying effort and congressional caucus was launched.

Former congressman Ron Paul of Texas agreed to step in as RLC chairman on an interim basis, but his upcoming congressional campaign bid ensured that his role was to be temporary and limited. By mid-summer, RLC Executive Director Eric Rittberg was assuming a nearly full-time position in the Paul campaign, reducing his time available for RLC duties.

Logistical difficulties prevented the group from holding a 1995 convention, and some board members and alternates voiced their unhappiness by internal complaints or lack of performance. Fundraising suffered as did the promotion efforts for the November Santa Barbara RLC co-sponsored Liberty Tree conference.

At the Veteran's Day weekend conference, dissident RLC leadership demanded an emergency RLC Board meeting to address their complaints. Board members Mike McCroskey, Melinda Pillsbury-Foster and alternate members Jeffrey Singer and Laura Crockett presented a set of demands to the other attending board

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INSIDE

1996 Liberty Index.....4-9

In its fifth year, the Index continues to chronicle the tilt in political poles from liberal and conservative to libertarian and statist.

Candidates...from page 1

council seat with the aid of the local Republican Party, which has worked closely with Blake over the past several years. Now a full-fledged Republican, he faces an uphill primary fight for the open Senate seat in Alabama.

Gail Norton's track record as Colorado's attorney general will aid her effort in winning nomination to the vacant Hank Brown Senate seat. A former LP member and advisor to Colorado's RLC affiliate the Freedom Republicans, Norton won 1994 re-election with the highest vote margin of any state-wide officeholder. Her proven campaign effectiveness may well propel her into the U.S. Senate, although she faces tough opposition from an incumbent GOP congressman.

Finally, New Jersey's Dick Zimmer had the distinction in 1992 of being the first federal recipient of the RLC's PAC contributions, upon the recommendation of the New Jersey's RLC leadership. He has a strong libertarian-oriented congressional record and his entry into the New Jersey Senate race has discouraged most strong Republican challengers from entering. He seeks the soon-to-be-vacant Bill Bradley seat.

The House of Representatives

With the 1994 GOP sweep in the House, the remaining opportunities for libertarian Republicans will be of necessity in

more difficult districts or, in some cases, in races against other Republicans. The large number of solid Republican House members has made the job of finding good incumbents to support easier than ever for the RLC. But the large number and varied primary situations for non-incumbent Republican challengers makes these campaigns difficult to evaluate this early. Nonetheless, some interesting candidates have already emerged.

First and foremost, former congressman and former RLC chairman Ron Paul is waging a historic battle in the 14th District of Texas against a Clinton-Democrat-turned-Republican incumbent.

Paul's campaign has earned national interest as he always stood out as a principled libertarian Republican maverick during his first four terms (1976-84) in Congress. Defeated by Phil Gramm in his Republican primary bid for U.S. Senate in 1984, Paul turned to the Libertarian Party in 1988 when he challenged Bush and Dukakis as the LP's presidential standard bearer. Returning to the GOP in the wake of the 1994 elections, Paul is waging a well-funded and well-organized campaign despite GOP leadership support for the incumbent. A March primary victory for Paul will be a major advance for the Republican revolution.

Rich Sybert of Woodland Hills, CA, is also making an all-out effort to win the support of libertarian Republicans in his second

The most surprising development at the outset of 1996 is the presence of at least five viable Republican U.S. Senate prospects with distinct libertarian Republican coloration or affiliation.

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Senior Editor: Mike Holmes Editor: Philip Blumel Contributing Editors: Clifford Thies, Thomas D. Walls, Andrew Murphy and T. Franklin Harris. Contributing Writers: Fred Stein, Laura Kotelman, Mike Griffin, Kevin Southwick, Michael Q. Sullivan and Shane Stroud.

Note from the (New) Editor

Effective with this issue, I am the editor of *Republican Liberty*.

After nearly five years and 25 issues, Eric Rittberg is taking a reduced role in the newsletter and in its parent organization, the RLC. Juggling his position as the executive director of the RLC, the editorship of this newsletter, his full-time post on the Ron Paul for Congress campaign and his seat on Tallahassee's Soil and Water Board was taking its toll, and he had to reduce his workload.

"I'm going to miss it," he said. "I am as much committed to the libertarian Republican strategy as ever, and I expect to see the RLC continue to grow, help in electing more libertarians to public office and prod the GOP toward the libertarian viewpoint."

Eric will still be active with the RLC, particularly with building the Texas RLC, but will no longer be running the national organization on a day-to-day basis. This task will be left to the RLC National Committee, to Mike Griffin in Washington and, as far as the newsletter is concerned, to me.

I have been the assistant editor of *Republican Liberty* since its second or third issue. I have also worked full-time as an editor and a writer at the *Palm Beach Daily News* and the *Palm Beach Post* in South Florida. I have a b.s. in journalism and an m.s. in agricultural economics from the University of Florida.

I am enthusiastic about taking on increased responsibility for *Republican Liberty*. I hope you will help me try to improve on Eric's excellent work.

Feel free to send comments, suggestions and corrections. I can be reached by phone at (904) 378-1548 and by e-mail at APN14454@freenet.ufl.edu. My fax number is (904) 337-9888. I look forward to hearing from you.

- Philip Blumel

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Candidates...from page 2

bid to win California's 24th District congressional seat. Edged out by a 20-year incumbent Democrat in a 49-48 percent squeaker in 1994, Sybert believes he can successfully take this northern Los Angeles-area district against a non-incumbent Democrat.

Also tossing her hat into the ring is former teacher and community activist Katherine Smith, who is challenging incumbent Rep. Bob Dornan (R-CA) in the 46th District. Smith recently attended the Santa Barbara Liberty Tree conference cosponsored by the RLC, and is recognized as the cofounder of the Hoover Institution's resolution about legal reform of federal drug policies.



Katherine Smith and Reason President Robert Poole Jr.

She has been endorsed by Reason Foundation president Robert Poole Jr. While Dornan has a fairly good voting record, his hard-line socially intolerant style of politics has won him few admirers among libertarians.

In California's 26th, Rich Poirier is seeking to replace longtime liberal Howard Berman. Poirier also attended the Liberty Tree conference last fall. He operates a business and entertainment management firm and is the chairman of the media relations committee for the Los Angeles Republican Party. A campaign kickoff fundraiser for Poirier was held in the Brentwood home of RLCers Amy Sommers and Dan Gifford on Jan. 25. Poirier faces two other GOP challengers in the primary.

Other long shots for election are Roger Bacon in New Jersey's 5th District and Justin Raimondo's bid for California's District 8. Bacon formerly ran as a Libertarian Party candidate against incumbent GOP Rep. Marge Roukema, first elected in 1980. Bacon's long shot June primary bid will focus on the incumbent's "Beltway mentality" which ignores the district's economic problems.

Facing longtime incumbent Democrat Nancy Pelosi is San Francisco area GOP activist Justin Raimondo. A one-time Libertarian Party worker, Raimondo went on to co-found the now defunct Libertarian Republican Organizing Committee (LROC) in the mid-'80s.

Active in the Buchanan presidential effort, he began as a self-styled "radical libertarian" in the early '80s who has evolved into a "paleo-libertarian," working in the Republican Party for more than a decade. Since GOP opposition has historically been minimal in this Democratic district, Raimondo's primary bid is likely to succeed. While his chances against a long entrenched Democrat incumbent are not high, Raimondo's reputation as an aggressive and articulate champion of libertarian Republican views ensures this will be an interesting campaign to watch.

Outspoken Freshman Joins Advisory Board

When Rep. Helen Chenoweth (R-ID) speaks, people not only listen, but gasp.

Her stick-to-her-guns style has rankled many a journalist and even House Speaker Newt Gingrich, and Chenoweth is now bringing her energy and conviction to the RLC Advisory Board.

Chenoweth was one of the 73 freshmen Republicans elected in 1994, and is best known for her proposal that would require federal law officers to have the local sheriff's permission before entering any county on official duty.

She is a feisty, populist Congressman - she doesn't like to be called Congresswoman -



Rep. Helen Chenoweth

from Idaho's District 1, a district that stretches from the Nevada border to Canada and includes most of Boise.

Chenoweth's passions include those shared by many in her class, particularly the reduction in the size and scope of the federal government. She voted for the balanced budget amendment, against unfunded federal mandates on states, against relaxing the exclusionary rule, for requiring government compensation for "takings" and for term limits.

But Chenoweth isn't the type to fall in line. She was one of the 15 Republicans who ignored Gingrich's wishes and voted against reopening the federal government in January. She has also toured the country speaking on gun rights and property rights.

Larry Pratt, head of Gunowners of America, urged the RLC to invite Chenoweth to join. She accepted on Jan. 5 through her Chief of Staff Kenneth Rupp. RLC Executive Director Mike Griffin met with Rupp and the Chenoweth staff in the following weeks.

Chenoweth served as the chief of staff for U.S. Sen. Steve Symms and was once the executive director of the Idaho Republican Party. She is the ninth member of Congress to join the Republican Liberty Caucus.

Help Wanted

The DC office of RLC needs a part-time Congressional Liaison. This position requires contact with House members and staff, writing and preparation of a Capitol Hill newsletter for members and staffers, lobbying of RLC positions on issues, and tracking of relevant votes. Please call Mike Griffin at 202/546-8749 or e-mail 76025.1244@compuserve.com. The position is unpaid.

Freshmen Score Highest in 1996 Index

by Clifford F. Thies

Two members of the freshman class achieved the best scores in the 1996 Republican Liberty Index of Congress: Sen. Ashcroft (R-MO) with an 86 (out of 100), and Rep. Bass (R-NH) with an 83.

These are the combined scores posted by members of Congress, compiled from a total of 40 roll call votes, 20 in each of two distinct areas - economic liberties and civil liberties. (To see a list of votes used for this index, see page 9.)

As in prior indexes, Republicans showed themselves much more devoted than Democrats to free-market economics, including lowering taxes and spending, balancing the budget, deregulating

and privatizing. Republicans also showed themselves no worse than Democrats in the area of civil liberties, which includes the areas of political liberties and non-interventionist foreign policy.

In the Senate, there was a complete dichotomy between Republicans and Democrats, with the highest scoring Democrat (Baucus of Montana who got a combined score of 46) getting a lower score than the lowest scoring Republican (Hatfield of Oregon who got a combined score of 48).

This polarization is quite evident when plotted on the New Political Spectrum. Democrats are bunched in the lower-lefthand quadrant of the chart, whereas Republicans are bunched in the upper-righthand quadrant. The only real outlier is Sen. Hatfield.

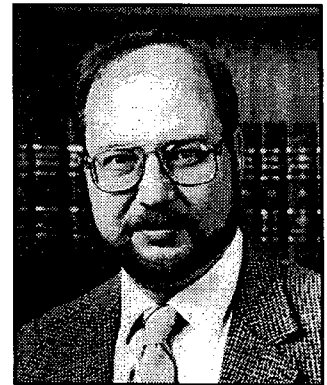
This year, for the first time since Rep. Armey (R-TX), now the majority leader of the House of Representatives, did the trick in 1990, a Member of Congress got a perfect score of 100 in the area of economics. Indeed, six did so, including our two overall winners Ashcroft and Bass, along with Rep. Chabot (R-OH), Christensen (R-NE), Klug (R-WI) and Smith (R-MI).

Among those congressmen who came within one vote of a perfect score, the most common wrong ballot involved the space station.

The highest scores in the area of civil liberties were achieved in the House of Representatives by Rep. Metcalf (R-WA) and Watts (R-OK), who got 75, and in the Senate by Sen. Grassley (R-IA) and Kempthorne (R-ID), who got 78.

The eight members of the Constitutional Liberty Caucus got an average score (72) that was the six points higher than the average Republican score in the House of Representatives (66), and included two of the highest scores in the House, Rep. Stockman's (R-TX) 79 and Shadegg's (R-AZ) 78.

Eds. Note - Special thanks Don Ernsberger, Mike Holmes and Andrew Spark for their help in compiling this year's index.



Clifford Thies

| U.S. HOUSE | Total | Rep. | Dem. |
|------------------------|-------|------|------|
| <i>Averages</i> | | | |
| Economic Liberties | 52 | 78 | 23 |
| Civil Liberties | 50 | 54 | 46 |
| <i>Classifications</i> | | | |
| Libertarians | 23 | 23 | 0 |
| Enterprisers | 161 | 153 | 8 |
| Conservatives | 56 | 53 | 3 |
| Liberals | 64 | 0 | 64 |
| Moderates | 107 | 1 | 106 |
| Authoritarians | 23 | 0 | 23 |
| U.S. SENATE | Total | Rep. | Dem. |
| <i>Averages</i> | | | |
| Economic Liberties | 56 | 80 | 27 |
| Civil Liberties | 51 | 65 | 36 |
| <i>Classifications</i> | | | |
| Libertarians | 20 | 20 | 0 |
| Enterprisers | 31 | 31 | 0 |
| Conservatives | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| Liberals | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Moderates | 38 | 0 | 38 |
| Authoritarians | 6 | 0 | 6 |

Liberty Index Classifications

Libertarians - Fiscally 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 probusiness 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 inconsistent voters, relying more on polls than principles.

Liberals - Favor 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.

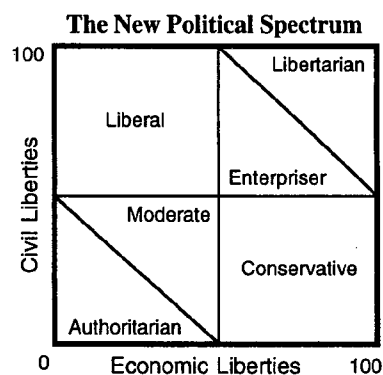
The 1996 Liberty Index of the U.S. Congress

by Clifford Thies

The 1996 Liberty Index rates members of the U.S. Congress based on 40 roll call votes of 1995, 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 4 for a complete description of these classifications.

The roll call votes used to create this index are listed on page 9.



THE U.S. SENATE

| Senator | Party | Economics | Civil | Comb. | Class | Senator | Party | Economics | Civil | Comb. | Class |
|------------------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|-------|----------------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|-------|
| AL Shelby | R | 94 | 62 | 78 | L | MT Burns | R | 68 | 73 | 71 | E |
| AL Heflin | D | 45 | 37 | 41 | M | MT Baucus | D | 50 | 46 | 48 | M |
| AK Murkowski | R | 84 | 67 | 76 | L | NE Exon | D | 29 | 41 | 35 | M |
| AK Stevens | R | 87 | 67 | 77 | L | NE Kerrey | D | 31 | 30 | 30 | M |
| AZ Kyl | R | 81 | 59 | 70 | E | NV Bryan | D | 33 | 25 | 29 | M |
| AZ McCain | R | 81 | 59 | 70 | E | NV Reid | D | 17 | 37 | 27 | M |
| AR Bumpers | D | 25 | 28 | 26 | M | NH Gregg | R | 81 | 67 | 74 | E |
| AR Pryor | D | 31 | 32 | 32 | M | NH Smith | R | 81 | 67 | 74 | E |
| CA Boxer | D | 17 | 32 | 24 | A | NJ Bradley | D | 25 | 35 | 30 | M |
| CA Feinstein | D | 29 | 44 | 36 | M | NJ Lautenberg | D | 21 | 28 | 24 | A |
| CO Brown | R | 94 | 67 | 80 | L | NM Domenici | R | 87 | 67 | 77 | L |
| CO Campbell | R | 75 | 56 | 65 | E | NM Bingaman | D | 29 | 32 | 31 | M |
| CT Dodd | D | 12 | 41 | 27 | M | NY D'Amato | R | 56 | 64 | 60 | E |
| CT Lieberman | D | 21 | 25 | 23 | A | NY Moynihan | D | 17 | 39 | 28 | M |
| DE Roth | R | 75 | 48 | 62 | C | NC Faircloth | R | 81 | 64 | 73 | E |
| DE Biden | D | 23 | 32 | 27 | M | NC Helms | R | 75 | 64 | 70 | E |
| FL Mack | R | 72 | 67 | 69 | E | ND Conrad | D | 29 | 32 | 31 | M |
| FL Graham | D | 29 | 32 | 31 | M | ND Dorgan | D | 33 | 39 | 36 | M |
| GA Coverdell | R | 78 | 62 | 70 | E | OH DeWine | R | 62 | 51 | 56 | E |
| GA Nunn | D | 56 | 37 | 46 | C | OH Glenn | D | 33 | 37 | 35 | M |
| HA Akaka | D | 21 | 32 | 26 | M | OK Inhofe | R | 81 | 64 | 73 | E |
| HA Inouye | D | 31 | 37 | 34 | M | OK Nickles | R | 75 | 73 | 74 | E |
| ID Craig | R | 87 | 73 | 80 | L | OR Hatfield | R | 68 | 48 | 58 | C |
| ID Kempthorne | R | 87 | 78 | 83 | L | OR Packwood | R | 81 | 73 | 77 | L |
| IL Moseley-Braun | D | 17 | 48 | 32 | M | PA Santorum | R | 68 | 73 | 71 | E |
| IL Simon | D | 12 | 37 | 25 | A | PA Specter | R | 68 | 62 | 65 | E |
| IN Coats | R | 87 | 70 | 79 | L | RI Chafee | R | 56 | 62 | 59 | E |
| IN Lugar | R | 87 | 59 | 73 | E | RI Pell | D | 23 | 32 | 27 | M |
| IA Grassley | R | 87 | 78 | 83 | L | SC Thurmond | R | 87 | 67 | 77 | L |
| IA Harkin | D | 33 | 32 | 33 | M | SC Hollings | D | 50 | 41 | 46 | M |
| KS Dole | R | 81 | 70 | 75 | L | SD Pressler | R | 87 | 73 | 80 | L |
| KS Kassebaum | R | 75 | 51 | 63 | E | SD Daschle | D | 25 | 32 | 29 | M |
| KY McConnell | R | 75 | 73 | 74 | E | TN Frist | R | 87 | 62 | 75 | E |
| KY Ford | D | 33 | 28 | 30 | M | TN Thompson | R | 72 | 67 | 69 | E |
| LA Breaux | D | 45 | 32 | 39 | M | TX Gramm | R | 94 | 67 | 80 | L |
| LA Johnston | D | 41 | 35 | 38 | M | TX Hutchison | R | 87 | 64 | 76 | L |
| ME Cohen | R | 68 | 59 | 64 | E | UT Bennett | R | 87 | 67 | 77 | L |
| ME Snowe | R | 68 | 67 | 68 | E | UT Hatch | R | 81 | 73 | 77 | L |
| MD Mikulski | D | 21 | 41 | 31 | M | VT Jefferds | R | 62 | 67 | 65 | E |
| MD Sarbanes | D | 8 | 28 | 18 | A | VT Leahy | D | 21 | 37 | 29 | M |
| MA Kennedy | D | 21 | 32 | 26 | M | VA Warner | R | 81 | 62 | 71 | E |
| MA Kerry | D | 25 | 35 | 30 | M | VA Robb | D | 29 | 51 | 40 | X |
| MI Abraham | R | 75 | 73 | 74 | E | WA Gorton | R | 87 | 56 | 72 | E |
| MI Levin | D | 25 | 37 | 31 | M | WA Murray | D | 21 | 39 | 30 | M |
| MN Grams | R | 81 | 73 | 77 | L | WV Byrd | D | 25 | 23 | 24 | A |
| MN Wellstone | D | 12 | 41 | 27 | M | WV Rockefeller | D | 21 | 30 | 25 | M |
| MS Cochran | R | 78 | 62 | 70 | E | WI Feingold | D | 21 | 44 | 32 | M |
| MS Lott | R | 81 | 62 | 71 | E | WI Kohl | D | 41 | 48 | 45 | M |
| MO Ashcroft | R | 100 | 70 | 85 | L | WY Simpson | R | 78 | 56 | 67 | E |
| MO Bond | R | 91 | 44 | 67 | C | WY Thomas | R | 94 | 62 | 78 | L |

THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

| Representative | Party | Economics | Civil | Comb. | Class | Representative | Party | Economics | Civil | Comb. | Class |
|---------------------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|-------|--------------------|-------|------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| AL 01 Callahan | R | 73 | 56 | 65 | E | CO 03 McInnis | R | 92 | 61 | 77 | L |
| AL 02 Everett | R | 73 | 56 | 65 | E | CO 04 Allard | R | 92 | 56 | 74 | E |
| AL 03 Browder | D | 37 | 46 | 42 | M | CO 05 Hefley | R | 84 | 46 | 65 | C |
| AL 04 Beville | D | 37 | 46 | 42 | M | CO 06 Schaefer | R | 75 | 51 | 63 | E |
| AL 05 Cramer | D | 32 | 46 | 39 | M | CT 01 Kennelly | D | 9 | 36 | 23 | A |
| AL 06 Bachus | R | 78 | 56 | 67 | E | CT 02 Gejdenson | D | 5 | 43 | 24 | A |
| AL 07 Hilliard | D | 9 | 46 | 28 | M | CT 03 DeLauro | D | 5 | 31 | 18 | A |
| AK 01 Young | R | 59 | 53 | 56 | E | CT 04 Shays | R | 78 | 56 | 67 | E |
| AZ 01 Salmon | R | 89 | 56 | 73 | E | CT 05 Franks | R | 67 | 61 | 64 | E |
| AZ 02 Pastor | D | 14 | 51 | 33 | X | CT 06 Johnson | R | 62 | 41 | 52 | C |
| AZ 03 Stump | R | 84 | 56 | 70 | E | DE 01 Castle | R | 84 | 46 | 65 | C |
| AZ 04 Shadegg | R | 95 | 61 | 78 | L | FL 01 Scarborough | R | 84 | 66 | 75 | E |
| AZ 05 Kolbe | R | 84 | 56 | 70 | E | FL 02 Peterson | D | 18 | 36 | 27 | M |
| AZ 06 Hayworth | R | 89 | 56 | 73 | E | FL 03 Brown | D | 9 | 41 | 25 | A |
| AR 01 Lincoln | D | 46 | 56 | 51 | X | FL 04 Fowler | R | 73 | 36 | 55 | C |
| AR 02 Thorton | D | 9 | 51 | 30 | X | FL 05 Thurman | D | 25 | 53 | 39 | X |
| AR 03 Hutchinson | R | 84 | 61 | 73 | E | FL 06 Stearns | R | 81 | 61 | 71 | E |
| AR 04 Dickey | R | 84 | 56 | 70 | E | FL 07 Mica | R | 73 | 46 | 60 | C |
| CA 01 Riggs | R | 78 | 51 | 65 | E | FL 08 McCollum | R | 84 | 46 | 65 | C |
| CA 02 Herger | R | 84 | 56 | 70 | E | FL 09 Bilirakis | R | 84 | 51 | 68 | E |
| CA 03 Fazio | D | 9 | 48 | 29 | M | FL 10 Young | R | 75 | 46 | 61 | C |
| CA 04 Doolittle | R | 84 | 66 | 75 | E | FL 11 Gibbons | D | 28 | 33 | 31 | M |
| CA 05 Matsui | D | 5 | 31 | 18 | A | FL 12 Canady | R | 81 | 51 | 66 | E |
| CA 06 Woolsey | D | 9 | 43 | 26 | M | FL 13 Miller | R | 89 | 61 | 75 | E |
| CA 07 Miller | D | 18 | 43 | 31 | M | FL 14 Goss | R | 84 | 51 | 68 | E |
| CA 08 Pelosi | D | 9 | 48 | 29 | M | FL 15 Weldon | R | 73 | 61 | 67 | E |
| CA 09 Dellums | D | 14 | 48 | 31 | M | FL 16 Foley | R | 95 | 56 | 76 | L |
| CA 10 Baker | R | 89 | 51 | 70 | E | FL 17 Meek | D | 9 | 43 | 26 | M |
| CA 11 Pombo | R | 78 | 61 | 70 | E | FL 18 Ros-Lehtinen | R | 73 | 46 | 60 | C |
| CA 12 Lantos | D | 16 | 33 | 25 | A | FL 19 Johnston | D | 18 | 36 | 27 | M |
| CA 13 Stark | D | 16 | 43 | 30 | M | FL 20 Deutsch | D | 35 | 38 | 37 | M |
| CA 14 Eshoo | D | 14 | 41 | 28 | M | FL 21 Diaz-Balart | R | 46 | 46 | 46 | M |
| CA 15 Mineta | D | 14 | 48 | 31 | M | FL 22 Shaw | R | 78 | 48 | 63 | C |
| CA 16 Lofgren | D | 9 | 46 | 28 | M | FL 23 Hastings | D | 14 | 53 | 34 | X |
| CA 17 Farr | D | 12 | 46 | 29 | M | GA 01 Kingston | R | 89 | 56 | 73 | E |
| CA 18 Condit | D | 56 | 56 | 56 | E | GA 02 Bishop | D | 14 | 56 | 35 | X |
| CA 19 Radanovich | R | 84 | 56 | 70 | E | GA 03 Collins | R | 84 | 51 | 68 | E |
| CA 20 Dooley | D | 32 | 46 | 39 | M | GA 04 Linder | R | 78 | 61 | 70 | E |
| CA 21 Thomas | R | 67 | 51 | 59 | E | GA 05 Lewis | D | 18 | 48 | 33 | M |
| CA 22 Seastrand | R | 86 | 66 | 76 | L | GA 06 Gingrich | R | (not applicable) | | | |
| CA 23 Gallegly | R | 78 | 46 | 62 | C | GA 07 Barr | R | 84 | 56 | 70 | E |
| CA 24 Beilenson | D | 9 | 41 | 25 | A | GA 08 Chambliss | R | 75 | 56 | 66 | E |
| CA 25 McKeon | R | 73 | 56 | 65 | E | GA 09 Deal | R | 73 | 46 | 60 | C |
| CA 26 Berman | D | 12 | 51 | 32 | X | GA 10 Norwood | R | 84 | 46 | 65 | C |
| CA 27 Moorhead | R | 84 | 56 | 70 | E | GA 11 McKinney | D | 16 | 43 | 30 | M |
| CA 28 Drier | R | 84 | 51 | 68 | E | HI 01 Abercrombie | D | 16 | 36 | 26 | M |
| CA 29 Waxman | D | 16 | 51 | 34 | X | HI 02 Mink | D | 14 | 51 | 33 | X |
| CA 30 Becerra | D | 14 | 58 | 36 | X | ID 01 Chenoweth | R | 75 | 63 | 69 | E |
| CA 31 Martinez | D | 25 | 31 | 28 | M | ID 02 Crapo | R | 84 | 56 | 70 | E |
| CA 32 Dixon | D | 5 | 38 | 22 | A | IL 01 Rush | D | 21 | 48 | 35 | M |
| CA 33 Roybal-Allard | D | 5 | 51 | 28 | X | IL 02 Reynolds | D | 35 | 53 | 44 | X |
| CA 34 Torres | D | 2 | 41 | 22 | A | IL 03 Lipinski | D | 35 | 36 | 36 | M |
| CA 35 Waters | D | 12 | 51 | 32 | X | IL 04 Gutierrez | D | 16 | 46 | 31 | M |
| CA 36 Harman | D | 39 | 51 | 45 | X | IL 05 Flanagan | R | 73 | 46 | 60 | C |
| CA 37 Tucker | D | 28 | 38 | 33 | M | IL 06 Hyde | R | 73 | 41 | 57 | C |
| CA 38 Horn | R | 84 | 48 | 66 | C | IL 07 Collins | D | 14 | 48 | 31 | M |
| CA 39 Royce | R | 89 | 58 | 74 | E | IL 08 Crane | R | 89 | 61 | 75 | E |
| CA 40 Lewis | R | 59 | 51 | 55 | E | IL 09 Yates | D | 12 | 46 | 29 | M |
| CA 41 Kim | R | 84 | 61 | 73 | E | IL 10 Porter | R | 86 | 51 | 69 | E |
| CA 42 Brown | D | 12 | 46 | 29 | M | IL 11 Weller | R | 67 | 61 | 64 | E |
| CA 43 Calvert | R | 73 | 48 | 61 | C | IL 12 Costello | D | 28 | 25 | 27 | M |
| CA 44 Bono | R | 84 | 46 | 65 | C | IL 13 Fawell | R | 73 | 51 | 62 | E |
| CA 45 Rohrabacher | R | 89 | 66 | 78 | L | IL 14 Hastert | R | 84 | 48 | 66 | C |
| CA 46 Dornan | R | 75 | 51 | 63 | E | IL 15 Ewing | R | 75 | 51 | 63 | E |
| CA 47 Cox | R | 92 | 56 | 74 | E | IL 16 Manzullo | R | 95 | 61 | 78 | L |
| CA 48 Packard | R | 73 | 61 | 67 | E | IL 17 Evans | D | 14 | 56 | 35 | X |
| CA 49 Bilbray | R | 81 | 41 | 61 | C | IL 18 LaHood | R | 84 | 56 | 70 | E |
| CA 50 Filner | D | 12 | 53 | 33 | X | IL 19 Poshard | D | 37 | 51 | 44 | X |
| CA 51 Cunningham | R | 86 | 58 | 72 | E | IL 20 Durbin | D | 16 | 46 | 31 | M |
| CA 52 Hunter | R | 73 | 61 | 67 | E | IN 01 Viclosky | D | 18 | 46 | 32 | M |
| CO 01 Schroeder | D | 14 | 51 | 33 | X | IN 02 McIntosh | D | 89 | 56 | 73 | E |
| CO 02 Skaggs | D | 9 | 41 | 25 | A | IN 03 Roemer | D | 46 | 36 | 41 | M |

| Representative | Party | Economics | Civil | Comb. | Class | Representative | Party | Economics | Civil | Comb. | Class |
|-------------------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|-------|---------------------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|-------|
| IN 04 Souder | R | 89 | 61 | 75 | E | MS 02 Thompson | D | 9 | 46 | 28 | M |
| IN 05 Buyer | R | 73 | 46 | 60 | C | MS 03 Montgomery | D | 67 | 38 | 53 | C |
| IN 06 Burton | R | 84 | 61 | 73 | E | MS 04 Parker | R | 65 | 41 | 53 | C |
| IN 07 Myers | R | 62 | 58 | 60 | E | MS 05 Taylor | D | 51 | 51 | 51 | E |
| IN 08 Hostettler | R | 75 | 51 | 63 | E | MO 01 Clay | D | 12 | 53 | 33 | X |
| IN 09 Hamilton | D | 32 | 41 | 37 | M | MO 02 Talent | R | 89 | 56 | 73 | E |
| IN 10 Jacobs | D | 32 | 51 | 42 | X | MO 03 Gephardt | D | 7 | 31 | 19 | A |
| IA 01 Leach | R | 78 | 56 | 67 | E | MO 04 Skelton | D | 37 | 36 | 37 | M |
| IA 02 Nussle | R | 92 | 56 | 74 | E | MO 05 McCarthy | D | 37 | 51 | 44 | X |
| IA 03 Lightfoot | R | 67 | 36 | 52 | C | MO 06 Danner | D | 56 | 36 | 46 | C |
| IA 04 Ganske | R | 89 | 56 | 73 | E | MO 07 Hancock | R | 89 | 56 | 73 | E |
| IA 05 Latham | R | 84 | 51 | 68 | E | MO 08 Emerson | R | 67 | 66 | 67 | E |
| KS 01 Roberts | R | 75 | 46 | 61 | C | MO 09 Volkmer | D | 18 | 48 | 33 | M |
| KS 02 Brownback | R | 95 | 56 | 76 | L | MT 01 Williams | D | 9 | 66 | 38 | X |
| KS 03 Meyers | R | 73 | 51 | 62 | E | NE 01 Bereuter | R | 84 | 41 | 63 | C |
| KS 04 Tiahrt | R | 89 | 66 | 78 | L | NE 02 Christensen | R | 100 | 46 | 73 | C |
| KY 01 Whitfield | R | 67 | 61 | 64 | E | NE 03 Barrett | R | 84 | 63 | 74 | E |
| KY 02 Lewis | R | 73 | 51 | 62 | E | NV 01 Ensign | R | 95 | 61 | 78 | L |
| KY 03 Ward | D | 25 | 36 | 31 | M | NV 02 Vucanovich | R | 67 | 51 | 59 | E |
| KY 04 Bunning | R | 73 | 53 | 63 | E | NH 01 Zeff | R | 86 | 46 | 66 | C |
| KY 05 Rogers | R | 73 | 46 | 60 | C | NH 02 Bass | R | 100 | 66 | 83 | L |
| KY 06 Baesler | D | 35 | 36 | 36 | M | NJ 01 Andrews | D | 39 | 51 | 45 | X |
| LA 01 Livingston | R | 73 | 46 | 60 | C | NJ 02 LoBiondo | R | 84 | 66 | 75 | E |
| LA 02 Jefferson | D | 25 | 53 | 39 | X | NJ 03 Saxton | R | 78 | 51 | 65 | E |
| LA 03 Tauzin | R | 56 | 66 | 61 | E | NJ 04 Smith | R | 73 | 51 | 62 | E |
| LA 04 Fields | D | 16 | 43 | 30 | M | NJ 05 Roukema | R | 70 | 33 | 52 | C |
| LA 05 McCrery | R | 73 | 51 | 62 | E | NJ 06 Pallone | D | 28 | 31 | 30 | M |
| LA 06 Baker | R | 70 | 51 | 61 | E | NJ 07 Franks | R | 78 | 56 | 67 | E |
| LA 07 Hayes | D | 51 | 61 | 56 | E | NJ 08 Martini | R | 78 | 56 | 67 | E |
| ME 01 Longley | R | 70 | 46 | 58 | C | NJ 09 Torricelli | D | 23 | 46 | 35 | M |
| ME 02 Baldacci | D | 18 | 36 | 27 | M | NJ 10 Payne | D | 18 | 51 | 35 | X |
| MD 01 Gilchrest | R | 62 | 56 | 59 | E | NJ 11 Frelinghuysen | R | 67 | 36 | 52 | C |
| MD 02 Erlich | R | 73 | 51 | 62 | E | NJ 12 Zimmer | R | 89 | 56 | 73 | E |
| MD 03 Cardin | D | 18 | 41 | 30 | M | NJ 13 Menendez | R | 35 | 36 | 36 | M |
| MD 04 Wynn | D | 18 | 51 | 35 | X | NM 01 Schiff | R | 56 | 56 | 56 | E |
| MD 05 Hoyer | D | 16 | 36 | 26 | M | NM 02 Skcen | R | 67 | 46 | 57 | C |
| MD 06 Bartlett | R | 78 | 61 | 70 | E | NM 03 Richardson | D | 18 | 36 | 27 | M |
| MD 07 Mfume | D | 14 | 41 | 28 | M | NY 01 Forbes | R | 70 | 56 | 63 | E |
| MD 08 Morella | R | 59 | 41 | 50 | C | NY 02 Lazio | R | 73 | 51 | 62 | E |
| MA 01 Olver | D | 14 | 51 | 33 | X | NY 03 King | R | 62 | 41 | 52 | C |
| MA 02 Neal | D | 23 | 46 | 35 | M | NY 04 Frisa | R | 70 | 56 | 63 | E |
| MA 03 Blute | R | 78 | 56 | 67 | E | NY 05 Ackerman | D | 21 | 58 | 40 | X |
| MA 04 Frank | D | 14 | 46 | 30 | M | NY 06 Flake | D | 14 | 56 | 35 | X |
| MA 05 Meehan | D | 32 | 53 | 43 | X | NY 07 Manton | D | 14 | 31 | 23 | A |
| MA 06 Torkildsen | R | 78 | 56 | 67 | E | NY 08 Nadler | D | 18 | 61 | 40 | X |
| MA 07 Markey | D | 9 | 41 | 25 | A | NY 09 Schumer | D | 44 | 51 | 48 | X |
| MA 08 Kennedy | D | 23 | 48 | 36 | M | NY 10 Towns | D | 21 | 66 | 44 | X |
| MA 09 Moakley | D | 30 | 46 | 38 | M | NY 11 Owens | D | 25 | 56 | 41 | X |
| MA 10 Studds | D | 14 | 43 | 29 | M | NY 12 Velazquez | D | 23 | 56 | 40 | X |
| MI 01 Stupak | D | 28 | 41 | 35 | M | NY 13 Molinari | R | 73 | 46 | 60 | C |
| MI 02 Hoekstra | R | 95 | 66 | 81 | L | NY 14 Maloney | D | 9 | 43 | 26 | M |
| MI 03 Ehlers | R | 75 | 46 | 61 | C | NY 15 Rangel | D | 23 | 56 | 40 | X |
| MI 04 Camp | R | 89 | 66 | 78 | L | NY 16 Serrano | D | 18 | 58 | 38 | X |
| MI 05 Barcia | D | 44 | 61 | 53 | X | NY 17 Engel | D | 9 | 56 | 33 | X |
| MI 06 Upton | R | 95 | 61 | 78 | L | NY 18 Lowey | D | 18 | 46 | 32 | M |
| MI 07 Smith | R | 100 | 51 | 76 | L | NY 19 Kelly | R | 51 | 51 | 51 | E |
| MI 08 Chrysler | R | 89 | 61 | 75 | E | NY 20 Gilman | R | 62 | 51 | 57 | E |
| MI 09 Kildee | D | 14 | 46 | 30 | M | NY 21 McNulty | D | 44 | 53 | 49 | X |
| MI 10 Bonior | D | 14 | 51 | 33 | X | NY 22 Solomon | R | 75 | 53 | 64 | E |
| MI 11 Knollenberg | R | 67 | 51 | 59 | E | NY 23 Boehlert | R | 56 | 46 | 51 | C |
| MI 12 Levin | D | 14 | 51 | 33 | X | NY 24 McHugh | R | 73 | 56 | 65 | E |
| MI 13 Rivers | D | 23 | 46 | 35 | M | NY 25 Walsh | R | 56 | 56 | 56 | E |
| MI 14 Conyers | D | 14 | 53 | 34 | X | NY 26 Hinchey | D | 9 | 51 | 30 | X |
| MI 15 Collins | D | 21 | 53 | 37 | X | NY 27 Paxon | R | 95 | 53 | 74 | E |
| MI 16 Dingell | D | 16 | 51 | 34 | X | NY 28 Slaughter | D | 9 | 46 | 28 | M |
| MN 01 Gutknecht | R | 95 | 61 | 78 | L | NY 29 LaFalce | D | 18 | 33 | 26 | M |
| MN 02 Minge | D | 37 | 63 | 50 | X | NY 30 Quinn | R | 65 | 58 | 62 | E |
| MN 03 Ramstad | R | 97 | 56 | 77 | L | NY 31 Houghton | R | 67 | 41 | 54 | C |
| MN 04 Vento | D | 14 | 56 | 35 | X | NC 01 Clayton | D | 12 | 41 | 27 | M |
| MN 05 Sabo | D | 14 | 51 | 33 | X | NC 02 Funderburk | R | 84 | 61 | 73 | E |
| MN 06 Luther | D | 37 | 41 | 39 | M | NC 03 Jones | R | 73 | 51 | 62 | E |
| MN 07 Peterson | D | 56 | 66 | 61 | E | NC 04 Heineman | R | 84 | 56 | 70 | E |
| MN 08 Oberstar | D | 14 | 56 | 35 | X | NC 05 Burr | R | 81 | 46 | 64 | C |
| MS 01 Wicker | R | 73 | 58 | 66 | E | NC 06 Coble | R | 95 | 63 | 79 | L |

| Representative | Party | Economics | Civil | Comb. | Class | Representative | Party | Economics | Civil | Comb. | Class |
|-------------------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|-------|---------------------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|-------|
| NC 07 Rose | D | 23 | 43 | 33 | M | TN 08 Tanner | D | 42 | 51 | 47 | X |
| NC 08 Hefner | D | 21 | 38 | 30 | M | TN 09 Ford | D | 18 | 28 | 23 | A |
| NC 09 Myrick | R | 95 | 51 | 73 | E | TX 01 Chapman | D | 37 | 41 | 39 | M |
| NC 10 Ballenger | R | 84 | 53 | 69 | E | TX 02 Wilson | D | 35 | 46 | 41 | M |
| NC 11 Taylor | R | 73 | 51 | 62 | E | TX 03 Johnson, S. | D | 78 | 68 | 73 | E |
| NC 12 Watt | D | 18 | 58 | 38 | X | TX 04 Hall | D | 67 | 66 | 67 | E |
| ND 01 Pomeroy | D | 23 | 53 | 38 | X | TX 05 Bryant | D | 14 | 36 | 25 | A |
| OH 01 Chabot | R | 100 | 56 | 78 | L | TX 06 Barton | R | 89 | 46 | 68 | C |
| OH 02 Portman | R | 89 | 51 | 70 | E | TX 07 Archer | R | 89 | 46 | 68 | C |
| OH 03 Hall | D | 30 | 48 | 39 | M | TX 08 Fields | R | 78 | 53 | 66 | E |
| OH 04 Oxley | R | 78 | 46 | 62 | C | TX 09 Stockman | R | 89 | 68 | 79 | L |
| OH 05 Gillmor | R | 70 | 51 | 61 | E | TX 10 Doggett | D | 18 | 46 | 32 | M |
| OH 06 Cremeans | R | 78 | 56 | 67 | E | TX 11 Edwards | D | 37 | 48 | 43 | M |
| OH 07 Hobson | R | 78 | 61 | 70 | E | TX 12 Geren | D | 51 | 51 | 51 | E |
| OH 08 Boehner | R | 84 | 51 | 68 | E | TX 13 Thornberry | R | 78 | 51 | 65 | E |
| OH 09 Kaptur | D | 18 | 41 | 30 | M | TX 14 Laughlin | R | 56 | 53 | 55 | E |
| OH 10 Hoke | R | 78 | 46 | 62 | C | TX 15 de la Garza | D | 23 | 48 | 36 | M |
| OH 11 Stokes | D | 14 | 48 | 31 | M | TX 16 Coleman | D | 9 | 38 | 24 | A |
| OH 12 Kasich | R | 95 | 61 | 78 | L | TX 17 Stenholm | D | 46 | 46 | 46 | M |
| OH 13 Brown | D | 37 | 46 | 42 | M | TX 18 Jackson Lee | D | 14 | 46 | 30 | M |
| OH 14 Sawyer | D | 14 | 46 | 30 | M | TX 19 Combest | R | 78 | 46 | 62 | C |
| OH 15 Pryce | R | 81 | 51 | 66 | E | TX 20 Gonzalez | D | 9 | 46 | 28 | M |
| OH 16 Regula | R | 78 | 56 | 67 | E | TX 21 Smith | R | 73 | 48 | 61 | C |
| OH 17 Traficant | D | 28 | 41 | 35 | M | TX 22 DeLay | R | 86 | 46 | 66 | C |
| OH 18 Ney | R | 67 | 61 | 64 | E | TX 23 Bonilla | R | 73 | 58 | 66 | E |
| OH 19 La Tourette | D | 78 | 46 | 62 | C | TX 24 Frost | D | 23 | 38 | 31 | M |
| OK 01 Largent | R | 97 | 56 | 77 | L | TX 25 Bentsen | D | 9 | 41 | 25 | A |
| OK 02 Coburn | R | 89 | 58 | 74 | E | TX 26 Armey | R | 86 | 53 | 70 | E |
| OK 03 Brewster | D | 42 | 73 | 58 | X | TX 27 Ortiz | D | 21 | 41 | 31 | M |
| OK 04 Watts | R | 67 | 75 | 71 | E | TX 28 Tejada | D | 18 | 43 | 31 | M |
| OK 05 Istook | R | 81 | 63 | 72 | E | TX 29 Green | D | 30 | 43 | 37 | M |
| OK 06 Lucas | R | 73 | 53 | 63 | E | TX 30 Johnson, E. | D | 5 | 51 | 28 | X |
| OR 01 Furse | D | 28 | 58 | 43 | X | UT 01 Hansen | R | 75 | 46 | 61 | C |
| OR 02 Cooley | R | 78 | 66 | 72 | E | UT 02 Waldholtz | R | 84 | 53 | 69 | E |
| OR 03 Wyden | D | 28 | 36 | 32 | M | UT 03 Otron | D | 48 | 41 | 45 | M |
| OR 04 DeFazio | D | 28 | 51 | 40 | X | VT 01 Sanders | I | 18 | 56 | 37 | X |
| OR 05 Bunn | R | 62 | 61 | 62 | E | VA 01 Bateman | R | 59 | 41 | 50 | C |
| PA 01 Foglietta | D | 14 | 51 | 33 | X | VA 02 Pickett | D | 28 | 41 | 35 | M |
| PA 02 Fattah | D | 12 | 53 | 33 | X | VA 03 Scott | D | 9 | 56 | 33 | X |
| PA 03 Borski | D | 5 | 31 | 18 | A | VA 04 Sisisky | D | 32 | 31 | 32 | M |
| PA 04 Klink | D | 14 | 36 | 25 | A | VA 05 Payne | D | 46 | 41 | 44 | M |
| PA 05 Clinger | R | 65 | 46 | 56 | C | VA 06 Goodlatte | R | 84 | 56 | 70 | E |
| PA 06 Holden | D | 23 | 46 | 35 | M | VA 07 Bliley | R | 78 | 58 | 68 | E |
| PA 07 Weldon | R | 78 | 51 | 65 | E | VA 08 Moran | D | 28 | 25 | 27 | M |
| PA 08 Greenwood | R | 67 | 56 | 62 | E | VA 09 Boucher | D | 9 | 61 | 35 | X |
| PA 09 Shuster | R | 78 | 66 | 72 | E | VA 10 Wolf | R | 78 | 46 | 62 | C |
| PA 10 McDade | R | 51 | 33 | 42 | C | VA 11 Davis | R | 56 | 51 | 54 | E |
| PA 11 Kanjorski | D | 9 | 36 | 23 | A | WA 01 White | R | 84 | 61 | 73 | E |
| PA 12 Murtha | D | 7 | 25 | 16 | A | WA 02 Metcalf | R | 67 | 75 | 71 | E |
| PA 13 Fox | R | 59 | 56 | 58 | E | WA 03 Smith | R | 84 | 58 | 71 | E |
| PA 14 Coyne | D | 14 | 46 | 30 | M | WA 04 Hastings | R | 84 | 58 | 71 | E |
| PA 15 McHale | D | 28 | 46 | 37 | M | WA 05 Nethercutt | R | 81 | 41 | 61 | C |
| PA 16 Walker | R | 78 | 51 | 65 | E | WA 06 Dicks | D | 5 | 25 | 15 | A |
| PA 17 Gekas | R | 70 | 53 | 62 | E | WA 07 McDermott | D | 14 | 46 | 30 | M |
| PA 18 Doyle | D | 32 | 51 | 42 | X | WA 08 Dunn | R | 73 | 51 | 62 | E |
| PA 19 Goodling | R | 73 | 53 | 63 | E | WA 09 Tate | R | 78 | 61 | 70 | E |
| PA 20 Mascara | D | 18 | 46 | 32 | M | WV 01 Mollohan | D | 21 | 46 | 34 | M |
| PA 21 English | R | 65 | 56 | 61 | E | WV 02 Wise | D | 14 | 41 | 28 | M |
| RI 01 Kennedy | D | 32 | 41 | 37 | M | WV 03 Rahall | D | 14 | 36 | 25 | A |
| RI 02 Reed | D | 37 | 36 | 37 | M | WI 01 Neumann | R | 84 | 56 | 70 | E |
| SC 01 Sanford | R | 100 | 56 | 78 | L | WI 02 Klug | R | 100 | 61 | 81 | L |
| SC 02 Spence | R | 60 | 58 | 59 | E | WI 03 Gunderson | R | 78 | 53 | 66 | E |
| SC 03 Graham | R | 78 | 61 | 70 | E | WI 04 Kleczka | D | 35 | 38 | 37 | M |
| SC 04 Inglis | R | 95 | 51 | 73 | E | WI 05 Barrett | D | 32 | 46 | 39 | M |
| SC 05 Spratt | D | 37 | 51 | 44 | X | WI 06 Petri | R | 95 | 46 | 71 | C |
| SC 06 Clyburn | D | 9 | 48 | 29 | M | WI 07 Obey | D | 14 | 46 | 30 | M |
| SD 01 Johnson | D | 37 | 41 | 39 | M | WI 08 Roth | R | 89 | 56 | 72.5 | E |
| TN 01 Quillen | R | 59 | 58 | 59 | E | WI 09 Sensenbrenner | R | 89 | 56 | 72.5 | E |
| TN 02 Duncan | R | 78 | 66 | 72 | E | WY 01 Cubin | R | 78 | 51 | 64.5 | E |
| TN 03 Wamp | R | 84 | 56 | 70 | E | | | | | | |
| TN 04 Hilleary | R | 84 | 56 | 70 | E | | | | | | |
| TN 05 Clement | D | 35 | 38 | 37 | M | | | | | | |
| TN 06 Gordon | D | 46 | 46 | 46 | M | | | | | | |
| TN 07 Bryant | R | 81 | 51 | 66 | E | | | | | | |

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1996 Liberty Index Roll Call Votes

Vote numbers are taken from various issues of *Congressional Quarterly*. A 'yes' vote signifies the libertarian position.

U.S. SENATE - Civil Liberties

1. Against reducing the number of votes needed to invoke cloture.
161. To cap punitive damage awards.
163. To express the sense of the Senate that the Senate should hold hearings on Waco.
195. Against ensuring full funding for the IRS tax compliance initiative.
208. Against expressing the sense of the Senate that Medicare and Medicaid should recover a portion of their costs from tobacco companies.
233. Against allowing emergency wiretaps without a court order.
235. To require the attorney general to provide an unclassified reason for deportation.
239. To allow a second federal habeas corpus appeal where there is "sufficient" evidence of innocence.
263. Against regulating obscenity on the internet.
269. To repeal federal speed limits on commercial vehicles.
271. To repeal penalties on states that do not require motorcycle helmets and automobile seat belts.
295. To limit securities fraud lawsuits.
317. To prohibit awarding of contracts based on race, color, national origin or gender.
326. To bar any 501(c)(4) nonprofit organization that engages in lobbying from receiving federal funds.
331. To unilaterally lift the Bosnia arms embargo upon their request.
368. To put a one-year moratorium on most uses of anti-personnel land mines.
369. Against prohibiting federal employees from receiving abortion services through their federal health insurance except when the life of the woman would be endangered.
456. To prohibit money in the bill for the U.N. Population Fund unless the president certifies that it has terminated all activities in China, or no coercive abortions have taken place in China.
486. Against requiring those in job training be drug-free and submit to random drug testing.
490. To express the sense of the Senate that it should pass a constitutional amendment to limit terms.

U.S. SENATE - Economic Liberties

98. To require a three-fifths majority to deficit-spend or to increase the public debt limit. [1]
102. To block implementation of a presidential executive order barring federal contractors from permanently replacing striking workers.
112. Against weakening the proposed line item veto.
170. To repeal the Alaska Oil Embargo.
182. Against eliminating the tax cuts from the Budget Resolution.
190. Against prohibiting drilling in the Alaska National Wildlife Refuge.
209. Against restoring funds for Medicare by reducing the tax cuts.
213. Against expressing the sense of the Senate that Congress should establish an Amtrak Trust Fund with money from the Highway Trust Fund.
266. Against banning cable companies from raising rates for "enhanced basic" service.
268. To increase competition in telecommunications.
315. To subject federal regulations to cost-benefit tests.
356. To eliminate funding for a third Seawolf-class submarine.
379. Against increasing mass transit operating subsidies by \$40 million.
380. Against extending labor protection to foreign-based crews of U.S. airlines.
403. Against maintaining the entitlement status of welfare benefits.
440. To eliminate the entire \$110 million provided for the Market Promotion Program.
443. To convert federal support of welfare into block grants to the states.
448. Against \$35 million to forgive advance deficiency payments if farmers suffer a crop loss.
463. To terminate the space station by cutting \$1.8 billion from NASA.
464. Against restoring \$427 billion to Americorps.

U.S. HOUSE - Civil Liberties

101. To deny the "good faith" exception to the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms.
103. Against allowing the use of evidence obtained improperly, provided the police acted in "good faith."
107. To allow life without parole where federal law would only allow the death penalty.
118. Against expediting deportation of illegal aliens.
142. To limit the president's ability to place U.S. troops under U.N. command.
203. Against prohibiting attorneys from being paid contingency fees in certain cases.
207. To establish a modified "loser pays" system.
277. To impose a 12-year lifetime limit in each chamber.
353. To protect high-risk refugees from being forced to repatriate, within established immigration limits.
359. Against repeal of the War Powers Act.
376. To prohibit Defense grants and contracts to colleges that have an anti-ROTC policy or that prohibit their students from enrolling in ROTC at other places.
431. Against the Flag Desecration Amendment.
436. Against allowing aid if Haiti is making "progress," as opposed to actually having elections.
526. To delete the provision that prohibits federal employees or their dependents from receiving abortion services through their federal health insurance policies.
597. To cut funding for the Selective Service by \$17 million, thereby ending draft registration.
608. To unilaterally end the Bosnia arms embargo upon their request.
618. To eliminate the entire \$240 million for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.
620. Against prohibiting federal programs or states from withholding funds or accreditation from medical training programs that do not offer training in abortion.
676. To eliminate the federal speed limits.
723. Against retaining stringent sentencing guidelines for crack cocaine and money laundering.

U.S. HOUSE - Economic Liberties

49. To require a three-fifths majority to deficit-spend or to raise the public debt limit. [2]
82. Against eliminating the point of order against legislation that does not provide money for meeting an unfunded mandate.
95. To allow the president to rescind any budget authority or cancel certain tax benefits.
183. To require a cost-benefit analysis of health, safety or environmental regulations.
194. Against raising the threshold from 10 percent to 20 percent at which federal agencies would be required to compensate property owners for regulatory takings.
266. Against retaining the entitlement status of welfare.
272. Against instructing conferees to close a "loophole" requiring Americans to pay certain taxes upon renouncing their citizenship.
345. To balance the budget in seven years and cut taxes by \$353 billion through \$1.04 trillion in spending cuts.
492. To eliminate the entire \$103 million provided for the Tennessee Valley Authority.
515. To reduce the appropriation for Fossil Energy Research by \$164 million from \$385 million.
531. To prohibit the president from using the Exchange Stabilization Fund for a foreign currency.
557. To lift the Alaskan Oil Export Ban.
567. To repeal 13(c) of Federal Transit Act guaranteeing collective bargaining rights to transit employees.
579. To eliminate the entire funding of \$348.5 million for the Economic Development Agency.
588. Against allowing HUD to reallocate money for housing vouchers to public housing modernization.
598. To cut funds for NASA by \$1.6 billion thereby eliminating the space station.
635. To increase competition in telecommunications.
639. To cut the \$493 million provided for continued production of the B-2 Bomber.
652. To prohibit Labor from helping pension funds make investments based on social criteria.
691. To make clear that U.S. businesses can establish workforce groups.

NOTES

- [1] Dole's vote counted as "for," since he voted "against" in order to be able to request a reconsideration.
- [2] Rohrabacher, Hunter, Soudar, Myers, Graham, Barton and Stockman's votes counted as "for," since they voted for the Barton substitute (Roll Call Vote #41).

Activist News

Libertarian Luminaries Headline Liberty Tree Conference

The beachfront Santa Barbara Radisson Hotel was the site of the small but spirited Liberty Tree conference held Nov. 10-12, 1995.

Organized by Melinda Pillsbury-Foster, the two-and-a-half-day event featured presentations ranging from privatization, legal reform, health care choices, women's issues, taxation, civil liberties, cyberspace, religion and freedom, federal government violence and changing the Hollywood media political view of the world.

Almost 100 attendees and speakers came from around the country, although southern California libertarian Republicans were the largest group.

Speakers included Reason Foundation chairman Robert Poole Jr. and a number of *Reason* writers and researchers, 1994 California gubernatorial challenger Ron Unz, television reporter and producer Dan Gifford, California GOP activist Tom McClintock, attorney Carol Newman, legal reform expert Walter Olson, Acton Institute president Fr. Robert Sirico and *Orange County Register* editorial page editor Alan Bock.

Other panelists and speakers included a number of RLC Board members and Republican activists from California and elsewhere.

Notable News

Insight, C-Span Feature RLC

Insight magazine has done a spectacular job of highlighting the influence of the RLC on the Republican freshman class in Congress.

In its cover story on the Republican freshman (Nov. 20, 1995), reporters Lisa Leiter and Michael Rust assert that the Contract with America made it easy for the freshmen to stay on track in 1995. But, they ask, will they stay focused in 1996?

In the article, RLCer Mike Griffin answers the question: "They're far superior as far as being principled and being motivated," says Mike Griffin, congressional liaison for the Republican Liberty Caucus or RLC, an organization of libertarian Republicans. In fact, all the congressional members of RLC's board of advisors are freshmen: Brian Bilbray, Mark Foley, J.D. Hayworth, Jack Metcalf, Frank Riggs, Matt Salmon, John Shadegg and Steve Stockman."

The article then asks a second, more difficult question: will they be reelected? While generally optimistic, *Insight*

(Continued on page 11)

Roller Coaster...from page 1

members, RLC president Clifford Thies, Treasurer Mike Holmes and Secretary Laura Kotelman.

Phoenix attorneys Tom and Linda Rawles spoke for the dissidents. (In September, Linda Rawles had agreed to become RLC executive director beginning in 1996.)

Their demands included immediate resignations by Ron Paul and Clifford Thies from the board, and of Eric Rittberg as executive director and newsletter editor. McCroskey was to become chairman, Singer and Linda Rawles were to be board members, Crockett would be newsletter editor and Rawles would become executive director.

The group complained of a lack of membership progress and a mission statement, and said the Washington, DC, lobbying effort was premature.

The dissidents and RLC president Thies reached a compromise in Santa Barbara, leaving him on the board and ensuring payment of all past due consulting fees to Rittberg. By mid-December, however, the deal fell apart and the unhappy board members, alternates and the Rawles resigned.

Lobbying, Media, Caucuses and Growth Herald Promise

Whatever problems the RLC might have, the in-fighting was seen by the RLC Board as a measure of the organization's success. After all, no one fights for the captaincy of a sinking ship. The RLC represents the only national political organization dedicated to helping libertarian Republicans achieve public and party office. With the Grand Old Party in electoral ascendancy, the RLC maintains what is perhaps the most important political franchise in the history of the libertarian movement.

Despite all the difficulties, the RLC accomplished an unprecedented number of "firsts" in 1995.

- Mike Griffin was appointed RLC lobbyist. His volunteer efforts, supplemented by a modest expense account, resulted in a vote to end the Selective Service System, which failed by less than 50 votes despite an unprecedented number of Republican co-sponsors. His work on the federal mandatory helmet and speed limit repeal contributed to the lifting of these intrusions.

- The RLC Advisory Board contains more elected Republican officeholders than ever, including nine congressmen and new state legislators from Arizona, Montana and Kansas.

- The formation of the Constitutional Liberty Caucus in Congress, led by Jack Metcalf of Washington, was inspired by the work of the RLC lobbyist and others. While overshadowed by the larger congressional leadership efforts, this caucus is the first step in fashioning libertarian principle into specific legislation.

- The RLC enjoyed unprecedented media visibility in 1995, ranging from mentions in the *Washington Times*, *Campaigns and Elections* and *Human Events* to extensive profiles in *Insight* magazine and television bits on CNN and C-SPAN. Congressman John Shadegg (R-AZ) represented the RLC on John McLaughlin's nationally syndicated show *One on One*.

- The RLC's advertising presence continued in such places as

Reason magazine, the LibertyTree Network catalog and the World Wide Web, and became more user-friendly with the addition of a (800) number and voice mail for new member inquiries.

- Paid membership reached new levels with total financial contributors reached nearly 1,500 and a total mailing list of over 2,000. While the original 1995 budget proved overly ambitious in light of various negative developments, finances also reached new heights with a 25 percent increase over 1994.

- The RLC was represented in a number of Young Republican, College Republican and regional GOP meetings and conventions.

- Finally, the RLC efforts have directly helped a number of campaigns, via our political action committee and direct volunteer involvement. Rittberg's appointment as Ron Paul campaign coordinator may be the most important libertarian Republican development of the year.

If the RLC achieved these objectives in the past year despite tremendous obstacles, there is ample reason to believe 1996 will herald even greater progress.

Despite some setbacks, the RLC set new records in funds raised, membership and political influence.

Groundwork Set for Progress

Despite their increased workload due to the Paul for Congress campaign, both Rittberg and Paul postponed resigning through November and early December pending resolution of the power struggle under way. After the dissident board elements resigned, both Rittberg and Paul tendered their resignations within the week.

At the Dec. 17 board teleconference meeting, Shenadoah University economics professor Clifford Thies was elected RLC chairman. The board vacancies were filled by selection of Linda Maas, of Coupeville, WA, and Jack Brantley Lightfoot of Georgia, formerly an alternate. Three alternate board slots remain vacant.

The board also adopted a \$25,000 budget for 1996 and reaffirmed Mike Griffin's appointment as RLC legislative director. He was also named the new RLC executive director, pending approval of a contract. Griffin, a Washington, DC, resident, has worked for the Reason Foundation and in a number of campaigns. He will also be responsible for opening a Washington, DC, office in the first quarter of 1996.

Republican Liberty assistant editor Philip Blumel of Gainesville, Fla., was named full editor, replacing Rittberg. Mike Holmes remains senior newsletter editor.

Thies also announced his bid to host a proposed 1996 RLC national convention in the Washington, DC, area. It is tentatively slated for either late August or early December, to minimize conflicts with the 1996 campaigns.

Additional objectives discussed for 1996 outlined by Thies were to increase membership and fundraising by 25 percent, raise at least \$8,000 for the PAC, to build and revitalize state RLC chapters, to complete the organization's incorporation and to continue outreach, public relations and lobbying efforts.

This year marks a watershed for the RLC. The RLC will change from a one-man operation to a larger and more complex corporate entity. RLC founder Rittberg is expected to play a continuing role in the leadership of the organization. Our new Washington, DC, presence should aid our efforts to gain visibility for the libertarian-inspired GOP Revolution.

Brownie Points

'Why Government Doesn't Work' Is Superb Polemics, But Poor Politics

by Thomas D. Walls

Harry Browne once argued that political action was futile. Now, he's the Libertarian Party's likely presidential nominee, promoting his campaign with his new book *Why Government Doesn't Work* (St. Martin's Press, \$19.95).

Browne's book focuses on a few major issues and presents some radical yet concrete solutions to problems with crime, health care, Social Security and the federal budget. I would recommend it



Libertarian Party Presidential
Candidate Harry Browne

to all libertarians regardless of party, whether as a guide for principled policy proposals or a refresher course in libertarianism.

Browne assumes a conservative readership already disaffected with the federal government. He shows case-after-case how government fails and creates self-propagating problems. He does a good job exposing the coercive nature government without a lot of philosophical baggage.

Refreshingly, he condemns asset forfeiture and exposes how a myriad of

obtrusive federal agencies expropriate innocent people's money and property. Republican politicians who are soft on law-enforcement's abuse of citizens would do well to read this.

Browne surveys the shocking growth of the state and how it occurred. Interestingly, he recounts (*ala* Robert Higgs in *Crisis and Leviathan*) the periods in U.S. history where the federal presence in our lives grew dramatically: the Civil War, the Progressive Era, the New Deal and the Great Society. He points out that crime, welfare and education did not become major social problems until the federal government involved itself. The programs become self-perpetuating pork and never stay within the promised limits.

For instance, in 1965, when Medicare was first introduced, the projected cost of the program in 1990 was predicted to be about \$3 billion (\$12 billion adjusted for inflation). The actual cost in 1990 was a staggering \$98 billion.

Browne offers swift yet equitable prescriptions to get the federal government out of disasters-waiting-to-happen like Social Security, such as his plan to let young people opt out while paying off the remaining, qualified claimants with proceeds from the sale of federal buildings, land and resource rights (The federal government owns 29 percent of all land and 441,000 buildings in the U.S.).

Towards the end of the book, Browne explains why he is running, and why he's optimistic about the success of his campaign. "The educational battle has been won," he claims. In a recent campaign mailing, he also claims that libertarians can use the "one-liners" this time around. This is a little naive. For example, you can't

use a soundbite in public debate over child-labor laws.

Insofar as Browne calls for policy changes, I find this book to be a sound compass for action. His political strategy, however, is somewhat fanciful. There are numerous institutional hindrances to the success of a third party. The U.S. electoral apparatus is geared to a two-party system. A third party, such as the Libertarian Party,

(Continued on page 12)

Notable News...from page 9

says the Frank Riggs and Steve Stockman races may be among the toughest battles.

In a mid-December C-SPAN *Capitol Journal* television program, the RLC received a favorable mention by a participant in a debate about pending government censorship of cyberspace.

In response to a conservative spokeswoman's charge that the only groups opposed to the pending legislation were left-liberal groups, the representative of the Electronic Frontier Foundation - a computer First Amendment rights advocacy group - rebutted that notion by citing the Republican Liberty Caucus's opposition.

Will the Real Libertarian Republican Candidates Please Stand Up?

With election fever beginning to build, libertarian Republicans are debating which candidate best shares the anti-statist viewpoint.

The candidates most frequently granted that mantle by the media are also the favorites of RLC activists: Steve Forbes and Phil Gramm.

According to the *National Journal* ("The 1996 Presidential Field," Nov. 4, 1995), Steve Forbes "opposes capital gains taxes and favors free trade, a flat tax and adherence to the gold standard. On social issues, he's seen as more moderate (indeed, libertarian) than most of his rivals."

On Dec. 14, 1995, the *Los Angeles Times* in "A Trial By Fire in the 1960s" says Gramm was "a libertarian who rejected government intrusion into private life."

During this period "Georgia [where Gramm studied] had few Friedmanites, but its economics department was steeped in classic free market thought ... He embraced libertarian thought - a natural move, he says, for 'any economics graduate' of the era. Government, the libertarians thought, was best when it kept to itself - removed from the economy, social issues, even foreign wars."

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Harry Browne...from page 11

must spend a majority of its resources simply getting onto the ballot. Registering to vote as a member of a third party disqualifies one from voting in primaries in most states.

There are also self-imposed barriers to the ascendancy of the Libertarian Party. Milton Friedman admonished the Libertarian Party at San Francisco's 1990 World Libertarian Convention to practice humility and abandon its seemingly endless infighting. Taking actions like running a Libertarian candidate for Congress against Ron Paul, as is apparently happening, will do nothing but ensure that good ideas like those found in Harry Browne's book remain undiscussed by larger audiences.

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