

Republican Liberty

Free Enterprise, Individual Freedom & Limited Government

Spring 1993

Caucus Newsletter

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RLC Lends Helping Hand in Hutchison Win

Note: RLC Member Jack Bradford Slack was a volunteer for Kay Bailey Hutchison, the Texas Republican elected to the Senate on June 5. RLC's PAC, the Republican Liberty Federal Campaign Fund, also contributed to the Hutchison victory. See page 4 for related story.

by Jack Bradford Slack

My transition from Libertarian to libertarian Republican took place in Texas on June 5 with the landslide election of Kay Bailey Hutchison to the U.S. Senate seat vacated by Lloyd Bentsen (who now haunts the Clinton cabinet and oversees the BATF). Sen. Hutchison, who won by 67 percent of the vote, provided the nation with proof that Texans absolutely reject Benevolent Bill's socialistic vision for America. It reaffirms Texans' longstanding conviction that they can run their own affairs without government interference. Not long ago, I wondered if this belief in self-sufficiency had faded away.

This story really begins in 1992 with my work as a volunteer in a grass roots effort to elect Libertarian Andre Marrou president. His dismal showing in November was the last straw, and I realized that the future of freedom did not lie with a third party.

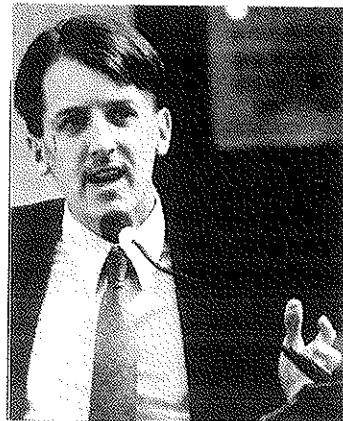
That realization led me back to the party I had actively supported in college, the party of Ronald Reagan. I was ready to work with the Republicans because the party had lost the executive branch and was likely to be receptive to new ideas and people. With Sen. Bentsen's leaving to head the Treasury Department (a blessing to Texas, but a burden to the nation), as well as the Waco fiasco and the increasing encroachment on the right to bear arms, my initiation as a local Republican Party activist was accelerated.

After contacting the local Kay Bailey Hutchison campaign coordinator, Pat Edwards, and attending a few county meetings, I knew I had come to the right place at the right time. Our county organization was in need of help. In spite of diehards like Edwards, the leadership and even membership of the party was aging and unable to make as much as a contribution as they would have liked.

However, everyone did what they could from posting flyers, walking neighborhoods, soliciting donations and assembling and distributing yard and highway signs to making phone calls to get out the vote.

Some of my personal contributions were designing local newspaper advertisements, helping to compile and send to state headquarters the voting lists from the primary vote, constructing our own local voter database on my computer and getting a letter to the editor published in the local paper.

(Continued on page 3)



Rep. Greg Kaza

Kaza a Voice for Liberty in Michigan Legislature

by Philip Blumel

Michigan State Rep. Greg Kaza, an author, economist and

former Libertarian activist, was elected in a landslide last November, vowing to fight for "limited government and individual liberty." As the record of his first 100 days testifies, he is delivering on his promise.

Kaza (R-Rochester Hills) sponsored several amendments and resolutions this session concerning no-knock laws, mandatory seat belt laws, property assessment rollbacks, legislator pay increases and wasteful spending. So far, the Michigan House has approved four Kaza amendments in roll call votes.

To implement one of his successful amendments, Kaza had to stand up in March against many in his own party - including Gov. John Engler. An intrusive anti-crime package, supported by the governor, would have made it easier for government agents to invade private property unannounced. Kaza dissented, telling the *Petoskey News-Review* "Anytime you start talking about altering the Bill of Rights, it's serious business. This bill is too sweeping."

Kaza's amendment required that two judges - including at least one circuit court judge - approve no-knock warrants. The amendment passed 56-48, with 49 Democrats voting with Kaza.

A separate amendment, supported by Kaza, passed 60-46 and requires the government to compensate for damage to private property or for injuries that occur during a no-knock entry. An attempt by Kaza to restrict no-knock warrants to certain felonies stalled after a 53-53 vote.

Crippled, the governor's crime bill has been referred back to the Judiciary Committee.

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Feedback

Feedback runs in every other issue of Republican Liberty. Letters should be short and concise and are subject to editing.

Du Pont Not "One of Our Own"

Editor:

How can you possibly endorse ("Pete du Pont for RNC Chair," Winter 1992-93) someone who advocates mandatory drug testing for high school students? Would you also characterize it as a "shortcoming" if a candidate were libertarian on social issues and "seemed tolerant" on most economic issues but happened to advocate, say, wage and price controls? Could you ever call such a person, as you do Mr. du Pont, "one of our own?" I thought the homogeneity of personal freedom and economic responsibility was the bedrock of libertarianism.

Tama Starr
New Milford, CT

Convinced

Editor:

You're on the right track.

I have been a supporter of the Libertarian Party since 1980. As a pragmatist, it is painfully obvious to me that the LP has been a failure. In 1980, Ed Clark received 1 percent of the presidential vote, and the amount was gaining with each election. Since then it has been declining, as Andre Marrou received only 1/3 of a percent. With all the discontent and weak candidates in 1992, the party didn't do well. It was either a make it or break it year. It broke.

I was appalled with how few votes Marrou received. I certainly didn't expect Marrou to win, but if he received his predicted percentages, it would certainly be a step in the right direction.

Milton Friedman, the best known libertarian, said he was going to vote for Bush in a *Forbes* article. Ed Crane, president of the Cato Institute, once said that if one doesn't agree 100 percent of the Libertarian platform, then he is not "one of us." This is a shame. Two influential people who should be LP supporters are not.

Libertarians often assert the Democrats and Republicans are equally bad. However I, and other libertarian-leaning people I know, view the Republican Party much higher than the Democratic Party. The Republicans at least support the free market. Ron Paul, Clark and Marrou are all ex-Republicans.

The Republican Party has a few decent members in William Weld, Dick Armey and Pete du Pont. There are no Republicans to match the contempt I feel for Jesse Jackson, Ted Kennedy, Howard Metzenbaum, Alan Cranston, Tom Harkin and Ron Dellums.

My point is that maybe the Libertarian Party should disband,

throw its support to Republicans and work on changing the party platform.

Dwight Rounds
Austin, TX

Editor:

I am greatly impressed and encouraged by the activism of the RLC in promoting liberty in the United States.

In Australia, my friends and I follow with deep interest the fortunes of the libertarian movement in the United States. The formation and growth of the RLC is a source of hope to us, as I'm sure it is to libertarians in America and elsewhere around the world.

I wish you the best in your fight for free enterprise, individual freedom and limited government.

Daniel Lam
Victoria, Australia

Unconvinced

Editor:

The last issue of *Republican Liberty* (Winter 1992-93) suggested that my decision to remain on the ballot after supporting Dick Rutan may have cost him the election. I feel this editorial seriously misrepresented both my position and the nature of the race in the 42nd congressional district.

To begin with, I did offer to withdraw from the race during the primaries - if Mr. Rutan would come out in favor of legalization of marijuana. He declined and I stayed in the race. At no time did I endorse or "support" Mr. Rutan.

Having said that, I wish to point out that even if I had withdrawn from that race, it is unlikely that Rutan would have won: Brown won by a majority, not plurality. Moreover, much of my support came from people who are not generally part of the Republican constituency. This was because my main themes were hemp legalization, pro-choice on abortion and opposition to war mongering. Only my frequent advocacy of the Second Amendment was in competition with Mr. Rutan's campaign themes.

Ultimately, the race raises the issue of to what extent, if at all, Republicans and Libertarians can or even ought to cooperate. In private, Rutan was very libertarian on several issues. And he strikes me as an exceptionally honest person. Nonetheless, in public debates he rarely advocated any specific policy, much less a libertarian line on the issues. I later found out this was due to the advice of the Republican National Committee.

In the final analysis, I am unconvinced that the Republican Party offers much immediate hope for liberty. What we need now is education in the principles of freedom. And only a party of principle, not a candidate intent on compromise for the sake of election, can do that.

Fritz Ward
'92 Libertarian Congressional Candidate
Riverside, CA

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Foley Makes His Mark In Florida Senate

by Lowell Suplicki

Once again the political slugfest we call the Florida legislative session has come and gone. Even those of us in tune with the workings of Florida government are continually amazed at the volume of legislation considered by our elected officials - issues ranging from increased regulation of the "death care industry" and ice cream vendors to bills insuring the unhindered access to abortion clinics.

This last session I had the privilege of interning with one of the brightest newcomers to the Florida Senate, Republican Sen. Mark A. Foley (District 35, Palm Beach). Thanks in part to help from RLC members, Foley was able to advance to the Senate after serving in the House of Representatives the previous year. Foley took the seat from seasoned Democrat Eleanor Weinstock.

Sen. Foley frequently spoke out against bills that would impose unnecessary burdens on Florida residents. For instance, Foley opposed a bill requiring owners of pickup trucks who want to transport passengers to install costly seats in the bed of the truck.

Foley sponsored the volunteer immunity act (S112) that protects volunteers from personal liability while engaged in their volunteer duties. He also sponsored legislation that would protect



Sen. Mark Foley

reporters from being forced to reveal their confidential sources (S1256) - a bill that Gov. Lawton Chiles unfortunately vetoed.

Increased taxes on everything from gas to soft drinks were proposed during the 1993 legislative session. Foley was part of the opposition that defeated Chiles' 25-cent-per-pack cigarette tax that was to be used to pay for an increase in prison space.

Foley certainly made his mark as a freshman senator,

and he promises to continue to be a strong voice for fiscal conservatism and individual rights in Florida.

Ed. Note - Lowell Suplicki is a recent graduate in communications from the University of Central Florida in Orlando and an active member of the RLC.

Hutchison...from 1

However, the highlight of the campaign was when Hutchison came to town.

We knew she was coming several days before her arrival, and we went into action immediately, designing event-specific print and radio ads (locally produced and paid for), decorating our downtown headquarters, calling and inviting community leaders and other interested parties and meeting and planning with her front people. This planning and hard work culminated in a large, enthusiastic overflow crowd for her appearance.

Hutchison's speech confirmed I had been working for the right candidate. Her sharply critical observations on the failings of socialized medicine convinced me she understood the dangers of regulatory excess. Her attacks on the Clinton's BTU tax proposal was music to my ears.

But what I remember best was my short talk with the candidate: "Mrs. Hutchison, I am with the Republican Liberty Caucus and I have been working hard for your campaign. I would like for you to remember most of all that Texans want freedom from government interference in their lives." It was a short "speech," but I wanted to be sure that she heard it directly from me and knew it came from somebody who had contributed significantly in time and treasure to sending her to the U.S. Senate.

She was not the only person there I talked to. Making contacts with the press and party staffers is an important part of any political effort. I gave an involved interview with a reporter from the *L.A. Times* as well as with two smaller publications stressing the unity of economic and personal freedoms. Will they use the interviews? I don't know, but the views were expressed, the candidate was put in a good light and perhaps in

some way I influenced the stories.

Meeting party staffers is also important. Calling and asking for your senator is an exercise in futility unless you are a major contributor, party leader or other notable. But asking for a senate staffer by name when calling or writing is much more likely to garner a hearing for your views. Having made my rounds with staffers, I now have better access to the senator.

I have been asked by several people to accept a nomination as county GOP chairman. I do not take on this responsibility lightly. There is still a lot of uncertainty and conflict within the party. But promoting liberty and standing up to the statists will be worth it.

Ed. Note - Jack B. Slack is a rancher in Overton, Texas.

Notable Quote

"All this Clintonian stuff about a national curriculum was started by [Bill] Bennett. He vastly expanded the Department of Education budget."

From a libertarian point of view, of course, Bennett's tenure as drug czar was even worse. "He lobbied very hard for all these laws which vastly expanded federal power into people's private financial affairs." The drug war used "the people's legitimate concern about drug use to vastly expand federal power."

-- Lew Rockwell, president of the Ludwig von Mises Institute, quoted in "A Far Different Bill Eyes the White House," *Insight* magazine, May 31, 1993.

RLFCF Puts Our Money Where Our Mouths Are

by Mike Holmes

Barely a year since its inception, the political action committee of the Republican Liberty Caucus has raised over \$11,000 and contributed significant sums to nine candidates for federal offices - including Texas Senatorial victor Kay Bailey Hutchison - and two candidates for state offices.

The RLFCF (alphabet soup for Republican Liberty Federal Campaign Fund) is the only nationally organized political action committee devoted exclusively to raising money to help elect libertarian Republicans to public office.

The RLFCF was created in 1992 when RLC activist Winston Elliott agreed to start up what is intended to be the direct political action arm of the RLC. Leaders of the RLC had long felt that to fulfill the mission of bringing libertarian ideas to the American political scene via the Republican Party, an explicitly libertarian PAC was needed to raise money to assist good candidates.

After getting off to a strong start in the busy summer primary season, the RLFCF formalized its structure in the early fall with the appointment of officers, who administer the PAC, and trustees, who oversee the strategic direction of the effort. RLC National Committee Member Roger MacBride serves as trustee and president of the RLFCF while RLC Vice Chair Clifford Thies serves as a PAC Trustee and its secretary. New England businessman Bill Hunscher is the third trustee and RLC Treasurer Mike Holmes also serves as the PAC treasurer.

The RLFCF has raised funds by means of two mailings to RLC supporters, one prior to fall's elections and another in early May 1993. Additional funds come from monthly pledges by supporters. Over 71 percent of all PAC funds spent have been sent to candidates, with the balance going toward mailings and operating expenses.

"The PAC is designed to complement the RLC's direct outreach and organizing activities," said RLFCF Secretary Clifford Thies. "The end result of our efforts is directed at electing libertarian Republicans. And to do this requires money, and lots of it."

The RLFCF screens candidates based on direct knowledge of the candidates by RLC leaders and activists, news accounts and reports from members. There is no strict formula, rather a determination of where limited resources will make the most impact. In many cases, this means at the primary level, where libertarian Republicans can gain access to winnable seats at reasonable cost.

As a federal multi-candidate PAC, the RLFCF is limited to contributions of \$5,000 or less in both the primary and general election race for any particular candidate. To date, the largest contributions have been \$1,000, although individuals may contribute up to \$5,000 per year.

Thies, a professor of economics at Shenandoah College in Virginia, says response from RLC members has been strong. "Our second mailing more than doubled the amount of monthly pledge income and tripled the number of pledgers. It's a good signal from the political 'marketplace' that we are filling a needed function."

In addition to building the monthly pledge donor base, the PAC is in the process of obtaining credit card payment authorization to make donating even easier.

Ed. Note - The RLFCF can be contacted at 10878 Westheimer, Suite 395, Houston, TX 77042. Voice mail box is (713) 867-9060.

Can Moderates and Libertarians Get Along?

by Mark Uncapher

At the Republican National Convention in Houston a moderate Republican and a libertarian Republican meet at a reception for Gov. Bill Weld. Do they discuss their common opposition to the conservative social agenda for the party? Do they talk strategy for a pro-choice platform plank? Do they make fun of Pat Buchanan?

No, the conversation turns to school vouchers, the one issue the moderate - an education school dean - is certain to disagree with the libertarian. What is it about moderate and libertarian Republicans that keep them apart when they should share common ground?

Libertarians and moderates each have different political temperments. The moderate values political pragmatism and takes pride in the flexibility to bend with the political currents. The libertarian's ideological commitment makes moderates uncomfortable because they believe libertarians are simply too stubborn to exert political influence. Libertarians, in turn, think moderates lack any real principles and will compromise whenever personally expedient. As a result, even when moderates and libertarians agree, they make each other nervous.

A second difference is the moderates' elitism. Believe it or not, many moderates really wish the Republican Party could be organized like a country club. That way, people who are not "sound" could be left out.

Philosophically moderate Republicans are today's heirs to the Hamiltonian/Federalist and Rockefeller/liberal Republican traditions. Each believed in a strong, pro-business central government. Each drew their prime support from economic and social elites.

The libertarian Republican, of course, comes down on the Jefferson side of the Hamilton/Jefferson divide. This reveals another source of tension. The libertarian believes more strongly in marketplace freedom and individual choice. Moderates tend to be more trusting of "experts." (Once parents have consumer choice, education school deans won't be so important.)

So is there any hope for this relationship? Actually there is considerable room for common ground if both sides have reasonable expectations about the other. Both share a common respect for individual rights, both personal and economic. Moderate Republicans are genuinely pro-market and pro-entrepreneurial, even though they sometimes lack the courage of their convictions. They have chosen to be Republicans in large measure because of an underlying "conservative" orientation on economic policy. This makes them especially receptive to free market arguments on issues. Sweeping technological changes toward "virtual" communication has given many moderates new appreciation of Jefferson's view of decentralization. Moderates and libertarians also share a socially tolerant outlook on cultural issues.

Even making allowances for underlying differences in temperament, both have far more in common with each other than with Pat Robertson or Bill Clinton. While both groups may never completely trust each other, the potential for collaboration exists. Maybe that partnership is called Weld '96.

Ed. Note - Mark Uncapher is a New York communications attorney and former president of the Ripon Society, the moderate Republican research and policy group. He is also a member of the RLC National Advisory Board.

Seeking Consensus

Libertarians Have Role in Closing Abortion Divide

by Matthew Hogan

The issue of abortion sharply divides America. It divides Republicans, Democrats and libertarians of all parties. Its divisiveness is not only troublesome in itself but on the political level it also continues to activate into politics two of the most statist forces in our society - the radical feminists and the religious right. These two groups, coming from different directions, are pincers threatening to crush between them the freedoms we cherish.

The religious rightists seek to censor our minds and invade our bedrooms. Meanwhile, the radical feminists want to invade our minds, control our expression and drain our wallets to accommodate a special "victim" status for women. They then seek to tax us to fund destructive social programs or pay for abortions for which the taxpayer bears no responsibility and which sears the conscience of many citizens.

Because of the threats to our free society posed by the religious right and the feminist left, both of whom are energized by the abortion issue, settling the abortion issue is imperative for neutralizing them. For GOP libertarians this is all the more necessary as abortion divides the party on a very deep level. If we could create a consensus which would accommodate valid points made by both sides, we would not only be able to reduce the influence of the religious and feminist extremists, but we would establish ourselves as a credible political force. I believe that within the principles we libertarians espouse lies the key for resolving this issue.

On a basic level, libertarians generally agree that 1) the abortion issue should be resolved by way of rational, not religious, thinking and 2) that government should not fund abortions. On the latter issue, radical feminists continually seek to remove the pro-choice credentials of those who oppose government intrusion through tax and subsidy, revealing that such feminists are as interested in state intervention as individual choice. Similarly, the rightist Operation Rescue is now challenging homosexuality, revealing that the pro-lifers also have a statist agenda.

But agreement on a "big tent" - openness to a variety of viewpoints - and a ban on funding does not address the fundamental divisions over abortion of concern to Republican libertarians. Gov. William Weld of Massachusetts supports a full-term right to choose during pregnancy, a view which discomfits even some pro-choicers. Other prominent Republicans with views acceptable to many libertarians, such as Phil Gramm, are ardent pro-lifers. So, can we as RLCers devise a rational scheme to transcend such barriers? We can, because libertarian principles encompass the views of both sides.

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The non-coercion principle - the defining libertarian principle

The non-coercion principle - the libertarian principle prohibiting the initiation of force or fraud against others - appears to be pro-life (protecting persons) and pro-choice (protecting freedom). Yet there exists a secular, principled approach to abortion that reconciles both.

that condemns the initiation of force or fraud against others - is both pro-life (protecting persons) and pro-choice (protecting freedom). In fact, by combining and claiming these themes, we libertarians may be the ones who can bridge the gap that divides America. And there exists a secular, principled approach that works to combine pro-choice and pro-life themes: the brain-life theory.

The brain-life theory was perhaps first advanced by Ken Martyn in the *UCLA Law Review* over a decade ago. It holds that

personhood should be defined at the beginning of development of the cerebral cortex in the fetus during pregnancy (cognitive brain-life), just as the end of personhood occurs at cognitive brain death. Abortion should be freely permitted prior to that development (generally after 19 weeks, or about 5 months).

The legal and scientific reasoning behind this is that the cerebral cortex is the distinctly human part of brain anatomy. And the brain is what makes us conscious beings able to experience meaningful life. More simply, the argument appeals to common sense - if your rights as a person stop when your advanced brain dies, your rights as a person begin when the advanced brain begins.

In our legal system, the *Roe v. Wade* decision has not been helpful. It studiously ignored biology and rendered a pro-choice decision based upon the making abortion constitutionally protected at viability. Those who favor abortion choice have tended to support the decision's results while quietly conceding its logical weaknesses. Making the brain-life theory of personhood a goal for our legal system would overcome the chief flaw of *Roe v. Wade* - failing to state when a fetus becomes a person, if at all.

In a century where the dehumanization of peoples has had horrible consequences, the pro-lifers are raising a fundamentally important issue. Certainly the biologically unassailable fact that a distinct human organism emerges at conception reminds us that the nature of a fetus poses serious questions of rights.

The brain-life theory of personhood is therefore ideal. It is libertarian in that it addresses in a secular fashion the objective value of human life and seeks to protect it. It is libertarian in that it seeks to extend to a woman her natural right to her own body and individual life choices as far as possible.

Politically, the brain-life theory is a no-lose proposition. Women in practice and in principle do not lose their rights to choose their destiny. Fetal persons gain protection they do not have. Meanwhile, libertarians - acting on principle - would make an impact on a vital, divisive issue.

Ed. Note - Matthew Hogan is a Dallas attorney and Texas coordinator for the RLC.

April 15 Elections: Giving the Taxpayer a Say on Tax Day

by Scott T. Jensen

Right now, President Bill Clinton and the U.S. Congress are proposing several new taxes, major increases in old taxes, huge increases in government spending and no real reduction in the deficit or national debt. If that wasn't bad enough, they want to do all this when our economy is still shaky.

Now, some may wonder how we end up almost always electing and re-electing these tax-and-spend addicts. The answer is that we elect them when taxes are furthest from our thoughts.

Election Day is 6 1/2 months after April 15, the filing deadline for income tax forms. It is also two months and three major holidays (Thanksgiving, Christmas and New Year's Eve) before tax season.

Even if the tax-and-spenders had tried, they couldn't have better timed elections and the income tax filing deadline. Because of this quirk of fate, politicians are elected when we hold them the least fiscally accountable.

To remedy this, we need to hold elections on the same day as the deadline for filing income taxes. We need to hold elections on April 15.

This, in itself, would be a great step towards making our elected officials fiscally accountable but, unfortunately, we cannot stop there. If we did, the tax-and-spenders would merely shift the tax burden to other taxes and even go so far as eliminating income taxation altogether to take the steam out of a pro-taxpayer election day.

To prevent this sleight of hand by politicians and to make our real tax burden blatantly clear, we need to make the income tax our only tax. This way voters will know exactly how much they pay in taxes when electing those that impose them.

We even need to go still further by making it a flat tax (ending class-warfare tax-and-spenders love to invoke as a way to distract voters from the real tax issue), eliminate all deductions and exemptions (they only further blur the tax issue), and prohibit automatic payroll deductions. This would require that taxpayers save all year then hand it all over to Uncle Sam at once.

If we do all of this, we will be the most fiscally accountable government in our nation's - and even our world's - history.

However, I realize that such a bill has about as much chance of passing in Congress as one for term limits. So, just like term limits, change will have to come on the state level in states that allow citizens to put such a referendum on their election ballot. If enough of these states (or possibly California alone) pass the proposition, all other states will have to follow suit or their presidential election results will be meaningless.

It is time we made our politicians accountable for the taxes and budgets they pass. It is time we had them dread April 15 as much as we do. It is time for an April 15 Election Day.

Ed. Note - Scott T. Jensen is a Wisconsin state representative. Comments and questions about a possible "April 15 Electioneers" effort should be addressed to Rep. Jensen, 943 Golfview Drive, Platteville, WI 53818. Please include a SASE.

RL Bookshelf

Government Working Overtime While Unemployment Rises

by T. Franklin Harris Jr.

As President Bill Clinton's administration swings into full gear, it is becoming evident his "New Democrat" ideas vary little from the old Keynesian ones, and are combined with an unhealthy additional dose of government regulation. Though he promised to reinvent government, the only thing different is that Leviathan is even bigger than before.

If Clinton is interested in real change and, more importantly, change for the better, it would do him some good to read *Out of Work: Unemployment and Government in 20th Century America*, published by the West Coast-based Independent Institute. It might work wonders with the presidential outlook.

According to Clinton, the problem with our present economic recovery (assuming his program doesn't kill it off) is that it is a "jobless recovery." If the president were to read *Out of Work*, however, he would realize that "jobs bills" are not the solution to the unemployment problem. The real problem, in fact, is the government.

Building upon the insights of Austrian and neoclassical economics, Ohio University economists Richard Vedder and Lowell Gallaway show that government policies designed to raise wages without regard to productivity simply price workers out of the market. In practice, this view means that government practices such as the minimum wage, tariffs, worker's compensation, unemployment insurance and mandated employee benefits all serve to increase unemployment, as all raise real wages adjusted for productivity.

Despite the technical nature of the book, *Out of Work* is fairly accessible to the informed layman. Vedder and Gallaway do an excellent job of making their regression models easily understandable, and they intend the book for the general public as well as for academics.

Vedder and Gallaway's model is highly successful at gathering empirical evidence to back up the neoclassical/Austrian unemployment theory. Their model generally gets results that explain at least 80 percent of the observed cases - a very high percentage for empirical research in the social sciences. And while many Austrians, who distrust mathematical economics, may be wary of such empirical tests, the Vedder and Gallaway figures can only help gain more support for Austrian ideas among the economic mainstream.

Vedder and Gallaway examine unemployment throughout the 20th century. They find that attempts to artificially raise wages have always resulted in economic hardship and increased joblessness. Herbert Hoover, they find, worsened the Great Depression at the outset by "jawboning" American industry into not cutting wages despite decreasing productivity. FDR then proceeded to prolong the Depression with his various public works initiatives - simple

(Continued on page 7)

Activist News

Conventions

On Feb. 19-21, RLC members attended the annual Conservative Political Action Conference in Washington. Those attending included Eric Rittberg, Clifford Thies, Wainwright Dawson, Norm Singleton, Ken Rosetti, Doug Willinger and Don Meinhausen. For three days, the RLCers participated in forums, Q & A sessions and worked the hospitality suites.

An enormous amount of libertarian literature was distributed, including 600 copies of the RL '93 Outreach Issue. The response was generally positive, though a handful of social conservatives expressed suspicion. Even so, the atmosphere of the convention was that of unity on the right, and libertarians were made to feel welcome. For instance, long-time conservative leaders Dan Devine and David Keene made explicit appeals to libertarians in their speeches to join the coalition. The "stick to the economics" theme predominated in other speeches, notably those of Cong. Dick Armey, Cong. Newt Gingrich, Sen. Trent Lott and Sen. Phil Gramm. But some of the speakers, Pat Robertson in particular, urged the crowd to emphasize cultural conservatism. Robertson's remarks sparked a negative response from RLC Chair Eric Rittberg who was quoted in the *Washington Post* ("The Happy Opposition Hearts in the Right Place," Feb. 20) as saying "That speech is everything that makes it impossible to talk libertarians into joining...it was a more hateful speech than Houston."

The Young Americans for Freedom caucused at CPAC. Rittberg and Singleton, both long-time YAF members, attended and made an official "libertarian caucus" endorsement of YAF Chair candidate Jon Fleischman of California. That same night, a hospitality suite was held by YAF in honor of former YAF libertarian caucus leader



U.S. Sen. Paul Coverdell (R-GA), third from left, meets with RLCers Clifford Thies, Rachel Lightfoot, Earl Smith, Vernon Robinson and Brantley Lightfoot at the '93 Georgia GOP Convention.

U.S. Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (R-CA). The congressman grinned as he noted the irony of his being introduced by YAF conservative Richard DelGaudio who, 20 years earlier, sought to purge him for being a "libertarian."

RLC members were in force at the Florida Young Republican convention (Kissimmee, May 14-16). Libertarian Republicans dominated the late Friday night platform committee meeting. On Saturday, on the full floor, RLC members managed to strengthen the language on school choice, social security and gun owners' rights. Unfortunately, two other key votes were lost. John and Robert Fast of Ft. Lauderdale introduced an amendment to eliminate entirely the FYR's current pro-drug war plank, and replace it with a simple statement that we "oppose the failed war on drugs." The motion failed by 10 votes out of over 100 cast. Another motion introduced by Florida Liberty Caucus Chair Alan Turin to place a period after the word "choose" in the anti-abortion plank (Its current language reads, "We support a women's right to choose, until the moment of conception") and strike the rest, failed on a roll call vote by six votes. RLC member Mike Hammond of Orlando, lost his bid for a National Committee spot on the third ballot after two ties, by three votes out of nearly 300 cast.

But libertarians were victorious on other fronts. The RLC information table was the only booth at the convention. Dr. Mark Skousen from nearby Winter Park signed 60 hardcover copies of his *Economics On Trial* for the YR's. Proselytizing at hospitality suites went splendidly.

RLC members caucused during a lull. Fourteen participated, including Roger MacBride of Naples. Florida Republican Liberty Caucus officers elected were Alan Turin, chair; Robert Fast, vice-chair; John Fast, secretary; and Philip Blumel, treasurer.

RLC members have attended a host of other conventions in recent months. Among them was the Georgia GOP Convention held in Atlanta, May 15-16. RLCers met with U.S. Sen. Paul Coverdell. At the California College Republican Convention RLC activist Gordon Mohr introduced scores of moderates and conservatives to libertarian Republicanism.

RLC members have also attended numerous Libertarian Party state conventions, seeking cooperation and increased support for Republican campaigns. Illinois Coordinator Laura Kotelman set up an RLC table at the recent IL LP Convention in Chicago. Minnesota Coordinator Dave Welliver reported a very friendly response from LPers at their annual state convention. Dick Rutan,

(Continued on page 8)

Bookshelf...from 6

"make-work" jobs which represented wages without productivity.

Vedder and Gallaway also chart the intellectual rise of Keynesian economics, which gained popularity even though it was flatly contradicted by the economic evidence of the day. For example, with the contraction in government spending after World War II, Keynesians predicted a post-war recession - if not a depression. Instead, decreased government spending resulted in a period of robust economic growth. Also, the authors show how the Austrian/neoclassical theory explains the stagflation of the '70s, while the Keynesian Phillips Curve fell flat. Still, the Keynesian approach was followed. The result was a high wage policy that lead only to a higher "natural" rate of unemployment.

Out of Work devastates the arguments behind government attempts to raise wages in order to increase consumption. Real economic growth and real wage increases can only come with increased productivity, which can only come if government gets out of the way. So, if the United States is facing a "jobless recovery," government action is the problem, not the cure.

Activist News...from 7

whom the RLC backed in his '92 bid for Congress, was the featured speaker at a banquet sponsored by the Libertarian Party of Orange County. At the annual LP of California convention in February, Republican Assemblyman Charles Quackenbush of Santa Clara County spoke and was warmly received.

Initiatives & Referenda

Libertarian Kevin Teasley is heading up California's School Choice Initiative drive. Gov. Pete Wilson has scheduled a special election for November of this year. Initiative backers had planned for it to be on the ballot in '94. RLC members, including Mike Iddings of San Jose, are collecting signatures.

New Mexicans for Term Limits are collecting signatures to convince legislators to vote in favor of bills being introduced in both chambers. Interestingly, a vote on Feb. 2 on SJR 4 (the Senate's term limits bill) was tabled by a straight party-line vote, 25 Democrats against and 14 Republicans in favor. Sen. Duncan Scott of Albuquerque, an RLC member, has been promoting its passage. Contact New Mexicans for Term Limits at 1-800-58-LIMIT.

Backers of drug policy reform in Washington State are seeking help from interested Republicans in their drive to get Initiative 595 on the ballot. At least 150,000 signatures must be collected by July 2. The initiative, if passed, would institute a system of "regulated tolerance" of marijuana cultivation and use. Washingtonians would be allowed to use marijuana in private, but with strict controls instituted to prevent use by those under 21. Also, in order to "deglamorize" drug use, advertising and promotion would be prohibited. The Washington Citizens for Drug Policy Reform can be reached in Renton at (206) 227-4165.

RLC members Barry Klein and Kevin Southwick are heading up the effort in Houston to stop a proposed zoning ordinance. Over 50,000 signatures, more than required, have already been collected. When completed, a referendum would be called to amend the city charter to disallow the adoption of zoning.

RLC Briefs

The Michigan Republican Liberty Caucus is now organizing. A meeting was held in late June to elect officers, adopt a statement of principles and to plan for upcoming elections. The Colorado RLC is now the largest in the West, save California. Coordinator Eric Field of Boulder, is planning a get-together for CO RLCers in early summer. In Southern California, coordinator Chris Brandon is planning to boost activity in the region. Brandon was recently invited to speak to the Redondo Beach Young Republicans on the topic of libertarian Republicans.

In Northern California, libertarian-leaning Republican Bob Ernst placed fourth out of nine in a primary to fill Leon Panetta's congressional seat. Ernst was backed by the RLC.

In New Jersey, RLC National Committee member Rich Duprey lost his bid for the GOP Senate nomination from Teaneck.

In Western New York, RLC member John J. Crate is a candidate for a June 2 election for Conewango Valley School Board.

In Florida, readers of *Voices of the Florida Taxpayer*, a statewide free market newsletter, were introduced to the FL RLC in the May-June issue. (For a copy, contact *Voices* at 316 N. Country Club Dr., Atlantis, FL 33462. Subscriptions, \$9 per year.)

Notable News

Hollywood Goes Libertarian

Self-described libertarian Clint Eastwood finally received the recognition by his peers that he has so long enjoyed with the movie-going public. On Oscar night, the former Republican mayor of Carmel, Calif., was the winner of four Academy Awards, including Best Picture, for *The Unforgiven*. The film was directed and produced by Eastwood. The western is replete with individualist themes.

The spirit of individualism has crept into other recent films. The new video release, *Singles*, is set in Seattle's grunge rock scene. Having just broken up with her boyfriend, the film's lead character, played by actress Bridgette Fonda, is shown laying poolside reading a copy of Ayn Rand's *The Fountainhead*. This scene is depicted also on the video and CD packages. Producer Oliver Stone gets a little more explicit. In his made-for-TV mini-series on ABC, *Wild Palms*, Stone's heroes are a right-wing outfit called "the Friends." In the first night's episode they were described as "libertarians obsessed with the Bill of Rights." Eventually, the main character played by Jim Belushi (star of the pro-drug legalization *Palermo Connection*) teams up with the freedom fighters to triumph over his former boss, a sadistic power-hungry senator.

The Clintons' Alleged Libertarianism

At an April 23 press conference, prior to the gay/lesbian rights march on Washington, President Clinton proclaimed that in regard to homosexuals, "I just have always had an almost libertarian view that we should try to protect the rights of American individual citizens."

Meanwhile, wife Hillary was quoted in *Parade* magazine as saying that in her days as a "Goldwater Girl" in the early '60s she went through an Ayn Rand phase.

William Weld Watch

New York Times columnist William Safire recently wrote an op-ed on the Massachusetts governor, "What about Weld?" Safire outlined Weld's accomplishments, saying he "Balanced three budgets...held spending under inflation...receiving an unprecedented triple upgrade in state bond rating...reduced Medicaid 'budget buster' rate of growth by 64 percent over a three year period...cut taxes five times...[and] proposed elimination of state capital gains tax for investments held for six years."

"The fiscal conservative and social libertarian is a long shot to win, but a good bet to place," Safire wrote.

The Republican Faxwire, a new weekly newsletter out of Washington, described Weld in their May 18 edition, as a "radical anti-statist, a true free-market libertarian and the nation's most serious deficit-slasher."

Meanwhile the *Economist*, April 3 issue, ran a piece titled "William Weld, Nouveau Republican." The article described a recent Beverly Hills breakfast held in Weld's honor: "Mr. Weld introduced one of his heroes, Friedrich Hayek, by quoting another, Mick Jagger, who said, deadpan, in a recent television sketch that he 'much preferred market-based solutions to Clinton's more Keynesian views.' Mr. Weld concluded: 'I've always been a

Stones man and this confirmed my faith.” The article went on to describe an “unusual lapse of political savior-faire” on Weld’s part. It seems that Weld “sent journalists a picture of himself standing proudly beside a boar he had shot at an exclusive country club...He likes to claim that he is both pro-gay and pro-gun.”

There is still no serious Democratic opposition to Weld’s reelection bid for ’96. Congressman Joe Kennedy has opted against a run. A big Weld victory in ’94 sets the stage for a ’96 presidential bid - or, quite possibly, a vice presidential slot. Latest hot rumor: Texas Sen. Phil Gramm is seriously eyeing the governor as a possible running mate.

Media Notes

Insight magazine ran a four-page article on “Christian Libertarianism,” in its June 7 issue. The piece by Rich Minter was summarized in the heading: “Although confined for now to intellectual circles, the Christian Libertarian movement has the potential to make a political impact equal to that of the religious right. These libertarians abhor drug use and pornography, but believe the government shouldn’t regulate such social ills, and their laissez faire views extend to economics and foreign affairs.” Cited in the article as leaders in the movement were, Acton Institute President Rev. Robert Sirico, Cato’s Doug Bandow, Jeff Tucker of the Ludwig von Mises Institute and Amway co-founder Richard DeVos.

Meanwhile, Christian Right syndicated columnist Cal Thomas had made a noticeable shift to the social center. In what appears to be an attempt to ease interparty factionalism, Thomas has written a few editorials since Bush’s defeat calling for the religious right to moderate its tone. Of particular note was his support for the pro-choice U.S. Sen. Paul Coverdell of Georgia. More recently, he wrote a column in support of Kay B. Hutchison “for principled pragmatism.” Thomas wrote “This isn’t an election for church deacon. It’s politics. They should unite behind her and secure her victory.” He went on to write that by supporting Hutchison, socially conservative pragmatists will be saying to the GOP, “Getting someone close to our views is better than nothing at all. We’re not sitting on the sidelines, waiting for someone to pass a litmus test.” Strong words from the former second in command of the Moral Majority.

Libertarian Republican Tama Starr had a column published in the April 11 edition of the *Washington Post*. “So sue me...Everybody Else Has,” ran in the Outlook section (page C-1). Starr, president of Artkraft Strauss Sign Corp. in Manhattan, wrote of the extreme difficulties in running a business in today’s regulatory climate. Highlighted sardonically were some of the abuses of the American with Disabilities Act and the near hiring quotas set forth for “protected minorities.” These are individuals who are “female, gay, foreign born or of foreign ancestry, religious or atheistic, dark-skinned or melanin-impaired, single or married, old or young.” Starr has discovered “everybody in my employ is a member of a ‘protected minority.’”

Movement News

The largest and most influential libertarian think tank, the Cato Institute, has moved into its new building at 1000 Massachusetts Ave. N.W. Near the modern, multi-story structure’s primary auditorium is a gallery of portraits of libertarian greats, including Milton Friedman, Ludwig von Mises, Friedrich Hayek, Ayn Rand, Albert J. Nock, Frederick Douglass and Sen. Robert Taft.

On the opposite coast, the Reason Foundation in Santa Monica recently celebrated its 25 Year Anniversary. Thomas Hazlett emceed the black tie affair and guests included Charles Murray and John Stossel.

Meanwhile the folks at Reason have been garnering a great deal of attention lately. *Reason* Editor Virginia Postrel has been a guest on CNN’s *Crier & Co.* and also a commentator on NPR’s evening report. Also, during the campaign, L.A.’s new mayor Richard Riordon highlighted a Reason study by Bob Poole on the LAX Airport.

Libertarian seminars to be held in the summer months include: The Foundation for Economic Education’s Annual Summer Seminar, July 12-17, Irvington-on-Hudson, NY; Liberty & Society Seminars sponsored by the Institute for Human Studies, at the University of Virginia, July 17-23; and the Ludwig von Mises University held at Claremont College in California, July 17-24.

The Libertarian Party National convention will be held in Salt Lake City, Utah, Sept. 2-5. In addition to an array of prominent libertarian speakers, and a special appearance by U.S. Sen. Orrin Hatch, Republican of Utah, has been scheduled. Finally, the International Society for Individual Liberty will be hosting its 1993 Convention in Tallinn, Estonia, July 25-31. Invited speakers include Dr. Tibor Machan, French Author Henri Lepage, Swedish economics professor and author Sven Rydenfelt and UK Libertarian Alliance President Chris Tame.

Greg Kaza...from 1

Kaza won another important victory in April, co-sponsoring an amendment that effectively gutted a proposed mandatory seat belt law.

“This mandatory seat belt law would take us further away from the free society and individual liberty,” he argued on the House floor. “The law would take away from Michigan residents the freedom to drive an automobile, within the law, free from an oppressive government restraint. This law smacks of Big Brother, of a state government that micro-manages every detail of an individual’s life.” Kaza’s amendment passed 58-41.

A Kaza amendment to roll back property assessments passed initially, but was later stripped from its parent bill in a bipartisan compromise.

Kaza also co-sponsored a resolution that would have rejected a 5 percent pay raise for legislators and judges. The resolution fell eight votes short of the required two-thirds majority (66-37).

The freshman legislator introduced his first bill, HB 4643, as part of a package of freshman bills that would deny retirement benefits to public officials convicted of felonies while in office. At press time, Kaza’s bill was only days away from consideration by the House.

As well as his active proposing of legislation and amendments, Kaza has maintained a consistent libertarian voting record, voting against all tax and fee increases and nearly all appropriations bills.

“I didn’t come here to be an obstructionist” Kaza said. “I’ve learned that it’s possible to remain principled and be an effective legislator.”

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WANTED: Donations of the following items would be greatly appreciated: 1) *Computer Printer*, compatible with Zenith 360SX (IBM comp.), laser or otherwise. This item is desperately needed. 2) *Copy machine* 3) *Answering machine* 4) *Fax machine* 5) *Photos!* Republican Liberty needs photos of events, candidates and officials.

RLC office hours: Administrative office hours are Monday to Friday, 5 to 10 p.m. EST. Fax correspondence is welcome during off hours.

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