



Published for friends and supporters of the Libertarian Party

Liberty Pledge

NEWSLETTER

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LP issues public challenge to GOP

In an effort to inspire the GOP to live up to its 1994 campaign promises, the Libertarian Party has issued a public "Challenge to the Republicans," urging them to immediately eliminate 21 specific federal programs, agencies, and policies.

"The time for talk is over," said LP National Chair Steve Dasbach. "The time to deliver on their promises have arrived. Will the GOP carry out the mandate given to them by the American voter last November? Libertarian Party members will be watching."

The 21-item "hit list" included economic issues, "pork barrel" projects, personal freedom issues, and foreign policy — and ranged from Amtrak to the Selective Service; from the Davis Bacon Act to the semi-automatic weapons ban; from "War On Drugs" civil liberties violations to unnecessary NATO and UN military expenses.

"This list will serve as a litmus test of how serious the GOP is," said Dasbach.

The "Challenge" was hand-delivered to the Capitol Hill offices of Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich and Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole on January 6th.

The LP plans to publicize its challenge as widely as possible, and party spokesmen are appearing on talk radio programs around the country to promote it.

LP City Councilman wins citizen approval for tax hikes

A Libertarian City Council in Sparks, Nevada won passage on December 28th of an ordinance requiring future property tax hikes to be approved by a majority of city voters.

Ernest Walker, Ward 2 Councilman and Vice Chair of the Nevada LP, argued that citizens have a right to vote directly on their tax bills. "After all, it's their money, isn't it?" he asked. The measure was also necessary, said Walker, because city officials need to do a better job prioritizing issues — "focusing first on public safety and letting other matters slide if they must."

The ordinance was supported by LP member James Dan, who said, "It will lead to a leaner and better government [and] serve as a model for the rest of the state."

LPNH legislators file three bills

New Hampshire's Libertarian State Representatives are jumping into the legislative fray immediately — sponsoring at least three bills to reduce the power of government.

House Libertarian Leader Don Gorman (L-Deerfield) is filing a "10th Amendment Resolution," to remind the federal government that "all rights not delegated to Congress by the Constitution are retained by the state and the people." The bill, already passed in a number of other states, is seen as a rejection of federal mandates. To add teeth to the bill, Gorman is also sponsoring another bill to create a state legal defense fund to sue the federal government for infringements on the 10th Amendment.

Gorman is also sponsoring a bill that would enable towns and cities to grant educational tax abatements to home-schooling families.

First-time legislator Jim McClarin (L-Nashua) said he won't sponsor any bills this year because "few freshman bills are passed, so any bill I [sponsor] now will just be a waste of \$1,500 of the taxpayer's money." But McClarin said he would co-sponsor an education reform bill.

Two more LPers appointed to office

Two new Libertarians have been appointed to public office over the past month — boosting the number of Libertarians in office to a record 133.

In Michigan, Jeff Grund was appointed to the South Central Michigan Substance Abuse Advisory Council. "I see this as a way to monitor how taxpayer dollars are spent and to lobby quietly for drug legalization," said Grund.

Some eyebrows were raised at Grund's appointment, including the local newspaper, the *Jackson Citizen-Patriot*, which headlined their story: "Advocate of Legal Drugs is Appointed an Advisor on Treatment."

In New Jersey, Harvey Michelman was selected for a spot on the Lenape Valley Regional Board of Education. Michelman promised to examine the school's "economics," and lower the "cost base" per student.

I was just probably a little bit ahead of myself

Q) Years ago when you were in Congress and running for president on the Libertarian Party ticket, people branded you as a kook or someone on the fringe. But as we've seen with the recent elections, doesn't it seem like a lot of the ideas you were promoting have become popular?

A) I think that is very true because I hear people tell me all the time, that I was just probably a little bit ahead of myself and that a majority of the American people now are anxious to see sensible budgeting in Washington and are advocating less spending and balanced budgets and less taxes.

Q) What's your initial reaction to

▲ *The Houston Post*, Houston, Texas, November 28, 1994



TERRY DWYER

Libertarians are everywhere

I'm a libertarian. You may be one, too. Or perhaps I can convert you today, although it took 14 years of discussion and argument to convert my wife.

We're social liberals and fiscal conservatives. While we think we're logically consistent, we find ourselves agreeing on different issues with a startling variety of people, from the National Taxpayers Union to the ACLU.

We believe our Founding Fathers were right on just about everything.

Lou Stefanelli of the Morris-Essex Libertarians says the unique thing about libertarians is that we believe in freedom for other people, not just for ourselves. We believe others should be allowed to own guns, use drugs, read dirty books and even build tree houses in their backyards, no matter how much their behavior may disappoint or annoy us.

What's the difference between us and conservatives? When I was young, my conservative mother insisted I keep my elbows off the table. My libertarian (sometimes) father eventually said he really didn't mind if I put them on the table, as long as I kept them out of his plate.

Our core belief is that you should be allowed to do anything that doesn't clearly harm the person or property of another. In precise language, we believe you should be restricted only from initiating force or fraud against others. We'd legalize any sort of consensual activity among adults, even capitalistic acts like cutting hair without a license.

We believe you shouldn't be able to use government to restrict others' behavior because it upsets you, or because you've decided it will upset other people. We see the Political Correctness movement as a serious threat to our basic freedoms.

We believe in personal responsibility as well as freedom. We believe you have a right to use recreational drugs, but no right to force taxpayers to pay for your drug treatment. You should be allowed to produce pornography, but not with government funding. You should be permitted to build your house on a flood plain, but we shouldn't have to subsidize your flood insurance.

AT ISSUE:

A former congressman and Libertarian Party presidential candidate recalls when some ideas successfully espoused by today's Republicans were dismissed as kooky Libertarian ideas.



Dr. Ron Paul

THE PERSON:

Dr. Ron Paul, 58 an obstetrician who headed the presidential ticket for the Libertarian Party in 1988, is a former U.S. representative from Lake Jackson who remains active in politics.

the Republican sweep?

A) My initial one is good in that I think this means the American people are waking up and that they are sick and tired of it and they are blaming the

government.

I'm still holding back on deciding how successful it's going to be because there are a few points I'm not totally pleased with...

I think there's some risk in claiming

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to the idea that limited government is good and that it is no longer seen as the solution to problems?

A) I think definitely most people now are, but I still believe there's a problem in that a lot of people would like to see the programs of others cut and they're not quite willing to cut their own. But we've made a major step in at least this is the common discussion — that government is too big and we have to cut. So I think we're going on the right track there.

Q) What obstacles do you foresee in Congress for those trying to implement Republican plans?

A) The obstacle I see is that

you can balance the budget if you're not willing to address the Social Security system and you're anxious to spend more money on the military-industrial complex. . . . They now have very little control over interest rates and they have not talked about one of the subjects I've been interested in, and that's monetary policy.

So I would say that in spite of all the good things coming out of the election, we have a long way to go before we see the results and claim that they're going to be beneficial.

Q) Generally speaking, though, do you feel like the country is warming up

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the Democrats will be wise enough to go toward the middle and the moderate Republicans, of which there are many, will maybe be frustrated with some of the sharp cuts that are proposed and a coalition will build between the moderate Republicans and the Democrats and that they will be a significant force to deal with.

Q) Care to predict the GOP and Democratic presidential nominee for '96?

A) Oh, well, I don't know about that. (laughs) I would predict that Clinton is not going to be the nominee in '96. I guess at the moment I would probably say Bob Dole (will be the Republican candidate).

This interview was conducted by Post reporter Steve Olafson.

To the Contrary

Put principles in writing

With so many Democrats switching over to the Republican Party and so many Republicans adopting Libertarian principles to some degree, I think that now is a good time to review an issue I wrote about several years ago: Libertarianism, the only party of principle.

I have challenged the two major parties many times to publish any principles they believe in which are above compromise. They have never done so. Sometimes I might get a, "... Democrats are for the little man," which might make some "little man" feel good but begs the question. Republicans might say something about being for, "... free enterprise," which is just as obscure.

The Libertarian Party was organized in 1971 and was founded on its State of Principles which remains unchanged and is there for all to see and understand exactly what we are about, and hold us accountable.

I have not read the Republicans' famous "Contract," but I am certain that having something in writing for purposes of accountability played an important role in the recent Republican rout of Democrats.

We Libertarians welcome the fact that Republicans are usurping our political/economic principles. Just as the American Communist Party welcomed the Democrats usurping theirs during the '30s. We don't care who or what party reduced the bone crushing taxes and controls of leviathan government, so long as it takes place.

I would challenge Clinton, the Democ-



CHARLES BLACKWELL
York

This weekly column features opposing views from readers. These opinions, which are contrary to those expressed on this page or which otherwise take issue with something that appears in *The Herald*, are either chosen from among the letters sent to "Voice of the People" or solicited directly by *The Herald*.

rat national chair, the state chair, York County chair, or any Democrat officeholder to publish a list of Democratic Party principles in simple and concise terms.

Notwithstanding their "contract," if the Republicans would do the same then every literate citizen would have the knowledge and ability to make choices based on reason, honesty and objectivity, rather than emotion and tradition. Of course, like Libertarians, the other two parties must be serious and held accountable. What we don't need is more hollow vote-garnering rhetoric passed off as principles by opportunists.

I challenge *The Herald* to publish in one issue the statements of principles of the three political parties; or if a party refuses to submit such a statement, that fact should also be published. Since the issue is such a pro-Democrat/Socialist newspaper, maybe the editorial staff would write the Democrats' statement.

The author is retired, and resides in York.

▲ *The Herald*, Rock Hill, South Carolina, December 17, 1994

◀ *Daily Record*, Parsippany, New Jersey, November 30, 1994

TERRY DWYER lives in Morristown.

New Libertarian chairman looks to party's future

By Jim Ryggelski
Staff writer

The new chairman of the Libertarian Party in the city says he wants to "cement" its position as the "No. 2 party."

David M. Holden, 28, recently elected chairman of party's central committee, said he also wants to increase the number of Libertarian Party committeemen and committeewomen in St. Louis' wards.

Holden succeeds Jim Morrison, who ran unsuccessfully for circuit clerk in the Nov. 8 election.

"We're in this for the long haul," said Holden, a Carondelet area resident who has been involved in Libertarian Party politics for about five years. "We've proved we have a viable party — we're not just on the ballot."

Rearred in the Mehlville area, Holden also has lived in Jefferson County, where he ran un-



Holden

fielded candidates in all citywide races — the Republicans fielded none — and in many of the state representative districts in the city. Some observers thought the party made its strongest showing yet.

Morrison, for example, got 16 percent of the vote in his race against incumbent Democratic Circuit Clerk Mavis Thompson; Stephen Schaper garnered 12.6 percent of the vote in his race against incumbent Brian May, a Democrat, in the 108th state rep-

resentative race; and Kevin Babcock received 11.8 percent against incumbent Democrat Ron Auer in the 59th state representative race.

Yet some Libertarian candidates did not do as well, some gathering less than 1 percent of the vote.

Holden sees that trend toward more Libertarian candidates continuing in next spring's city aldermanic elections. He said he is talking to three people in his search for a Libertarian candidate for aldermanic president, and pointed out that Libertarian Joseph Settle has filed for 6th Ward alderman.

One of his immediate goals, Holden said, was to get a Libertarian Party committeeman or committeewoman in 75 percent of the city's wards within the next two years. He is the Libertarian Party committeeman for the 11th Ward, and he said the party has a committee person in the 10th, 12th, 13th and 24th

wards. Holden is talking with people in two other wards about committee posts.

Holden's own introduction to the Libertarian Party came unexpectedly. "Like a lot of people, I sort of stumbled across it," he said. He said he usually voted Republican — pointing out that not all Libertarians are former Republicans — and that his dissatisfaction that former President Ronald Reagan's administration allowed the federal government bureaucracy to grow was a factor in changing his affiliation.

Another factor, Holden said, was the red tape he had to go through in purchasing a weapon — he said he uses it just for shooting practice — and in handling family business matters. He said the Libertarian Party's platform of less government appealed to him.

He wishes "we could put aside the goofy things we're accused of believing in." Holden said

many people erroneously associate Libertarians with anarchists. "We believe the size of government should fit within the bounds of the constitution," he said.

Holden said Libertarians believe government intrudes too much into people's lives. Using the issue of smoking while chatting in a restaurant, Holden, a nonsmoker, said he does not think local ordinances should require nonsmoking sections.

"If the owner of this restaurant sees that he's losing business because he doesn't allow a nonsmoking section, he'll create

one," Holden said. "As someone in the insurance business, if you want to smoke, you pay more."

Holden, who said Morrison is a close friend, praised the job Morrison did as party chairman. "He got the committee established in the city, and he handled himself in a professional manner," Holden said.

He characterized his own style as an aggressive one and said he would use that to continue building the party's influence. Holden pointed to his red-white-and-blue lapel button which identified him as a "politically incorrect" person.

▲ *Southwest City Journal*
Southwest City, Missouri
December 11, 1994

EDITORIAL

Third political party is making its mark

Amid the political and cultural fallout from last week's general election, one of the most interesting news items was the emergence of a viable third party in Northwest Florida.

It's true that this third party, the Libertarian Party, placed candidates in only three races affecting Okaloosa County and won not a single contest. But those three candidates drew more votes than almost anyone had expected.

Dean Crumly got 7,863 votes in his bid for the Okaloosa County Commission's District 4 seat. Bob Wilson gathered 5,380 votes in his race for the Florida House District 4 seat, which represents parts of Okaloosa, Santa Rosa and Escambia counties. Susan Matuska drew 4,979 votes in her quest for the Okaloosa County School Board's District 5 post.

These numbers are modest (Mr. Crumly, for instance, lost to E. Gordon Thomas, who got more than 27,000 votes), but consider the numerical obstacles faced by Libertarians: In Okaloosa County, no more than 100 voters had registered as Libertarians by mid-October; in Santa Rosa the total was a paltry 25. And Florida's ballot-access rules are tipped so heavily in favor of the two major parties, the Republicans and the Democrats, that two Libertarians who wanted to run for regional offices couldn't even get their names on the ballot.

After all this, vote totals ranging from 4,979 to 7,863 don't look half bad. "We only expected a couple of hundred votes in any race," Ms. Matuska said a few days after the election. "Just by running, we let people know that there is an alternative ..."

That alternative is what we find encouraging about this third party's respectable showing. The Libertarians' partici-

The Libertarians' participation in future campaigns will ensure that voters hear different viewpoints and different solutions. During the '94 campaign Mr. Crumly offered unique ideas for running the county, from privatizing custodial services at the courthouse to deftly improving traffic flow without having to build bridges and by-passes.

participation in future campaigns will ensure that voters hear different viewpoints and different solutions. During the '94 campaign Mr. Crumly offered unique ideas for running the county, from privatizing custodial services at the courthouse to deftly improving traffic flow without having to build bridges and by-passes. Whatever one thinks of Mr. Crumly's ideas — and we think they are still worth considering — no other candidate was selling anything as fresh.

Although the Daily News' editorial philosophy — we champion limited government, individual responsibility and free enterprise — can be described as "libertarian," we do not support, promote or necessarily endorse the Libertarian Party. In fact, in Ms. Matuska's and Mr. Wilson's races, our editorials recommended Republican and Democratic candidates, respectively.

What we are endorsing here is the availability of new ideas, fresh perspectives and a wider range of choices. The ascent of a third party as a player in Northwest Florida politics ought to provide those.

Libertarian party excited about its official status

CHEYENNE, Wyo. (AP) — The Wyoming Libertarian Party is primed to influence policy in the state, a party leader says.

Because House candidate Dave Dawson received more than 3 percent of the vote this election, the Libertarian Party has qualified for official minority status.

One of the benefits is that party candidates will automatically appear on the general election ballot in 1996 instead of having to petition.

"This really opens up a whole new game for us," said Craig McCune, provisional chairman of the party and its U.S. Senate candidate. "This gives us a lot more potential and we like to remind people that the Republicans swept their victory on Libertarian-type promises."

Libertarians believe in a limited government, unrestrained capitalism and an end to most entitlements like welfare.

Despite the similar philosophies, McCune said his party is pessimistic the GOP will make progress.

"We'll give them the benefit of the doubt and hope they follow through, but we don't have great

expectations," McCune said. "They are still involved in that basic seniority system and power brokering. They are far too susceptible to special interests."

"We like to remind people that we'll be on the ballot the next time if the Republicans don't follow through," he continued.

The odds are long that Libertarians will win a congressional race anytime soon, but the party has enjoyed success at the statewide level in New Hampshire and may have the power to sway mainstream party platforms in Wyoming, he said.

"you don't have to win to get attention," McCune said. "Winning in politics is done in a whole lot of ways. They have to pay attention to us because a 1 or 2 percent difference in the polls are very important to the older parties."

The Libertarian Party used to need at least 10 percent of the vote in a congressional race to achieve minority status.

The Libertarians lobbied to reduce it to 3 percent, which McCune said legislators still doubted the party could reach. Dawson actually received 5 percent of the vote.

▲ *Uinta County Herald*, Evanston, Wyoming, November 25, 1994

◀ *Northwest Florida Daily News*, Fort Walton Beach, Florida, November 17, 1994

Libertarians try to break the mold

More votes but fewer seats in election

By ARI RICHTER
Monitor staff

In defining political views, it's traditional to think of a spectrum running from liberal to conservative. You're either on the left, on the right or in the middle.

The pitfall of that model is it leaves out the possibility that a person is conservative on one type of issue and liberal on another. And that's exactly the case with Libertarians, according to Miriam Luce, the party's

candidate for governor in 1990 and 1992.

Conservative on economic issues but liberal on social ones, Libertarians are left off the single-line spectrum, she said. They're also left out of most of New Hampshire's political discussion.

Republican and Democratic leaders say that's because the Libertarians aren't plugging a hole in state politics. But Luce and her colleagues say it's just a matter of time until New Hampshire residents realize

the Libertarian Party most represents their beliefs.

"We have a large base of people (in New Hampshire) who are fiscally responsible and socially tolerant, but they don't know that there's anybody here who represents them," Luce said.

She believes recent elections show an increasing disapproval among voters for the growing size and role of state and federal government. And she predicted that by the year 2000 either the Republicans or the Democrats will have begun acting like Libertarians, or the Libertarians will have gained a sig-

nificant amount of power.

Steve Duprey, the state Republican chairman, acknowledged many New Hampshire residents have a Libertarian streak in them, also known as Yankee independence. But he said the Libertarian Party hasn't been able to capitalize on that streak and isn't about to anytime soon.

"I think we've given the Libertarians more than an ample opportunity to prove themselves as a viable political party," Duprey said. "I think they've had limited success."

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He pointed to the state House of Representatives, where 1,000 votes are often enough for a candidate to be elected. If the Libertarians truly were an emerging force, Duprey said, they would by now have won far more seats than they have.

In fact, the Libertarians lost ground in this month's elections. Their delegation to the House, which stood at four members last session, will be down to two come January. (New Hampshire and Alaska remain the only states to have elected Libertarians to the office of state representative.)

Party leaders nevertheless find encouragement in the recent election results. Libertarian candidates received more support in the aggregate than ever before, according to former state party chairman Douglas Harrigan. And more Libertarian candidates came closer to winning seats than has ever occurred, he said.

"We're in the first few steps of a long journey," Harrigan said. "But the day of reckoning is fast approaching. I think it's going to be a budget crisis that brings down this house of cards that Republicans and Democrats have put up."

For now, Harrigan acknowledged, Republicans have a hold on the scale-back-government sentiments shared by many voters nationwide. But he anticipated a quantum-sized opportunity for Libertarians within a decade, because federal money that's holding the state budget together will disappear.

"We're going to be standing there saying, 'We told you so,'" he said.

Theoretically, that scenario would lead to Libertarian gains, according to Joe Keefe, the state Democratic chairman. But much more likely, he said, is that the next wave of anti-government fervor will just swing control back to the Democrats.

"Almost any third party could attract 4 percent of the vote right now," Keefe said, referring to the support Steve Winter received in the most recent Libertarian bid for governor.

"They're offering mature, reasonable, rational candidates, which third parties are not known for," he added. "But I really don't believe there are many voters out there who believe the Libertarians are offering a coherent alternative."

At least in part, leaders of all three parties can agree that the Libertarians have a message problem. The Libertarians say they need to do a better job of letting voters know what the party stands for; the leaders of the other parties

suggest there may not be a constructive Libertarian solution to communicate at all.

Luce, for one, would like to see a new political model replace the left-right spectrum. A better framework, she said, is a baseball diamond, which accounts for totalitarian and Libertarian options as well.

Imagine Margaret Thatcher playing first base for the conservatives and Teddy Kennedy guarding the line at third for the liberals. Meanwhile, Joseph Stalin and Adolph Hitler, though approaching from opposite dugouts, both end up in the batter's box. And the Libertarians, who champion Thomas Jefferson as a prototype, hover near second base.

Libertarians generally believe in getting the government out of people's pocketbooks and their bedrooms. Some specific tenets include:

- A minimal federal government, whose main functions are providing a defense against foreign invasion and supervising a legal system that protects citizens' rights and punishes those who would take them away.

- Educational choice, defined most recently by Steve Winter as the opportunity to use tax dollars to attend a private school instead of a public one. The Winter plan promised a savings of \$1.5 billion over 10 years.

- Letting the private sector and free-market forces handle the business of business. That means, among other things, privatizing the state liquor stores and ski areas.

Jeff Emery, the state Libertarian Chairman, acknowledged it requires some mind bending to cast aside the traditional two-party model. A lifelong resident of New Hampshire, Emery, 44, said he traces Libertarian thinking in his political views back to his high school days in the mid- and late-1960s. But the party didn't exist yet, so Emery channeled his disapproval with the Great Society legislation into votes for Republican candidates.

Libertarians ran their first candidate for president in 1972, but Emery remained a Republican through the 1988 election. It was shortly thereafter, when George Bush broke his "no new taxes" pledge, Emery said, that he switched over, and quickly became an active Libertarian. He believes an increasing number of New Hampshire voters are likely to experience similar epiphanies.

"At some point," he said, "something will happen to them in their lives that says, 'That does it.'"

Bill Winter, a former state Lib-

ertarian chairman and now the national party's director of communications, said recent polls show the U.S. electorate is increasingly ready for a radical change. A majority of voters now support the idea of a third party, he said, and 91 percent believe government usually or always does what it does poorly.

Those numbers don't indicate anything about support for Libertarians, still a recognized party in fewer than 30 states. But, Winter said, this month's Republican victories were fueled by talk of radical cuts in the size of government, which is the main Libertarian tenet. When the Republicans don't deliver on their talk, he said, Libertarian vote totals should skyrocket.

That's particularly true, he said, for New Hampshire, where about 3,300 voters are registered Libertarians (out of about 100,000 nationwide).

Even now, he added, roughly 130 Libertarians hold public office across the country, and about 20 of those are in New Hampshire. (Those numbers include appointed and non-partisan positions, so Luce, who was appointed to her state Liquor Commissioner post, and Andover Selectman Howard Wilson are both included.)

But whether the Libertarians can really gain political power remains to be proved. Keefe said the party's belief in legalizing drugs will forever be an albatross about its neck, keeping voters away. Emery, by contrast, called the War on Drugs the direct cause of most of the crime in this country.

"It's not even an open question anymore," Emery said. "And I'm speaking as one who's never taken a drug and doesn't plan to."

Emery said Republicans will continue to use the War on Drugs as an excuse to intrude on people's civil liberties, which is the exact opposite of the constitutionally defined role of government. That role is supposed to be guaranteeing the individual rights of citizens, he said.

"Honestly, I would love to see the Republicans scale back (government)," Emery said. "But come 1996, taxes will be higher, government will be bigger, and government will be more intrusive. And that's true for New Hampshire as well."

So in the meantime, he said, the Libertarians will continue to work on building grass-roots support. That means letting voters know which party is the true friend of the taxpayer, he said, and making sure the Libertarians are ready when their time with the voters arrives.

Murray N. Rothbard

Newt Gingrich Is No Libertarian

E. J. Dionne is wrong in identifying the Republican elites, in particular the Gingrich faction, with the libertarian revolution [op-ed, Dec. 6]. The truth is that since we have been stuck with a two-party system, any electoral revolution against big government had to be expressed through a Republican victory. So it is certainly true that Newt Gingrich and his faction, as well as Robert Dole, have ridden to power on the libertarian wave.

But to speak, as Mr. Dionne does, of "the rise of libertarians as a key party constituency and the centrality of libertarian ideas to many of the party's new leaders" is going a bit too far.

As Ralph Nader—no libertarian—pointed out, it took less than a month for Gingrich, Rep. Dick Armey and the

others to betray the new revolution by collaborating with President Clinton and a discredited Congress to push through the World Trade Organization, which institutionalizes government management of world trade, complete with punitive sanctions and fines.

Anti-interventionism (smeared as "isolationism") is at the heart of the Old Right, as Dionne mentions, and it is also the source of the libertarian split from the conservative mainstream during the Cold War. Yet, now that the Soviet Union and the Cold War are happily dead and gone, the Republican and Democratic elites continue in lockstep to favor pushing other countries around for their own alleged good, while imposing vast burdens on the American taxpayer. Gingrich and Dole, in fact, criticize Mr. Clinton's foreign policy for not being interventionist enough.

What could be a clearer example of the rift between the Gingrich-Dole-Army Republican elites and the mass of the American public? The American people couldn't care less about Bosnia or Somalia or Haiti; they resist government-made multinational trade cartels, and they oppose foreign aid. Yet the Republican "conservatives" are at least as enthusiastic as Democratic liberals about these programs.

The same is true on the domestic front. The libertarian Old Right was born in opposition to Franklin D. Roosevelt and his New Deal. Yet Gingrich has repeatedly emphasized his devotion to FDR ("the greatest figure of the 20th century"), to his statist political program ("the truth is we would have voted for much of it"), and to his legacy ("He did bring us out of the Depres-

sion"). Accepting as truth the most damaging anti-capitalist cliché of the century, Gingrich reveals his ignorance of history as well as of economics. Gingrich's support of the libertarian revolution is, so far, only lip service. His concrete proposals would likely expand the welfare state's burden on the taxpayers, for example, by forcing states to create and operate a vast array of government orphanages and group homes. Instead of being rearranged, spending should be slashed and the money returned to its original owners.

The Gingrichians had petty reservations about the Clinton crime bill, but they enthusiastically supported the dangerous nationalization of crime-fighting functions, which, according to both libertarian precepts and the Constitution, are supposed to dwell exclusively in the states and local communities. And we should never forget that Gingrich advocated a compromise with the president on health care.

Indeed, if a Democrat had delivered Newt Gingrich's acceptance speech, calling on the nation to "reach out together as a family" and promising to right every social wrong, Republicans would have ridiculed him as another Mario Cuomo. But call social engineering the "opportunity society" and it becomes "futurism."

Dick Armey, who in his early years in Congress was indeed, as Dionne says, influenced by the libertarian Ludwig von Mises, has also succumbed. In addition to his vote for the WTO, Mr. Armey has emphasized his strong support for the "untouchable" Social Security.

Social Security, now the largest government program, was also the biggest single tragedy of the New Deal. It plunders income and savings, wastes them in government spending, and then taxes people again to pay for the "insurance" benefits. No libertarian could pronounce this bankrupt and disastrous racket to be sacrosanct.

As Dionne would be the first to understand, though, none of this means the prognosis is hopeless. The Republican sweep has brought to Washington a number of libertarian-minded backbenchers. They will pressure the Republican elites from the libertarian right, reflecting both passionately held ideology and the libertarian mood of the people who elected them.