

**CENTER FOR STUDY OF  
PUBLIC CHOICE**

**Annual Report 1989**

**GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY**

## PUBLIC CHOICE

"Choice" is the act of selecting from among alternatives. "Public" refers to people. But people do not choose. Choices are made by individuals, and these may be "private" or "public." A person makes private choices as he goes about his ordinary business of living. He makes "public choices" when he selects among alternatives for others as well as for himself. Such choices become the objects of inquiry in *Public Choice*.

While traditional economic theory has been narrowly interpreted to include only the private choices of individuals in the market process, traditional political science has rarely analyzed individual choice behavior. *Public Choice* is the intersection of these two disciplines; the institutions are those of political science and the method is that of economic theory.

*Public Choice* scholars are perhaps best characterized by their emphasis on comparative institutional analysis, and, in particular, by their concentration on the necessary relationship between economic and political institutions. While many orthodox social scientists have inferred that governmental regulation be substituted for free market process whenever imperfections are present in the latter, *Public Choice* students are unwilling to take such a logical leap. They are realists who do not view the government as necessarily performing less poorly than the market. *Public Choice* analysts share a lack of enthusiasm for but not an unwillingness to turn to government for the solution to innumerable problems. The realization is that markets are imperfect, but that alternative institutions (i.e., government) may also have defects.

## 1989: PUBLIC CHOICE IN THE POST-SOCIALIST WORLD

The past year will undoubtedly be remembered as the year that the Berlin Wall crumbled and that the failure of socialism was openly acknowledged in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The old battle begun by Mises and Hayek appears to be over. Socialism does not work.

This summary conclusion may, of course, be premature. As we know, political and economic freedom go hand-in-hand. The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have started the process of reform by introducing political freedom. We may hope that economic freedom will follow. China began with economic freedom and chose to crush political freedom. Undoubtedly, it takes both for a peaceable and prosperous society, but whether one gets both might depend upon the path taken by reform itself. China would seem to pose the example that political reform is hardest to achieve; encrusted bureaucratic rent recipients must be replaced. Economic reform, on the other hand, has an internal logic of its own. People can find their self-interest in a private market context much more readily than they can in a political, non-market setting. Black or underground markets appear in socialist economies, but there is no counterpart black market in the political sector, that is, an alternative institutional setting in which ideas about democracy can be market tested. It may be a poor guess, but one could argue that political reform has to take precedence over economic reform, though in a way this seems like putting the cart before the horse.

For this reason Public Choice will be important in the reform of the socialist economies. The socialist states obviously face a crisis not just of individual leaders, but also of institutions. As they grope toward effective solutions, the relevance of public choice analysis will be apparent. In fact, these societies will form a laboratory of constitutional economics from which we will learn much in coming weeks and years.

So as the Battle of Orthodox Socialism vs. Capitalism ends, the battle for relevant and responsive political institutions rises. Public choice scholars can and will play a large role in this battle. Indeed, Public Choice has already played a significant role in

the now familiar demonstration that government intervention into any economy has scientifically predictable adverse consequences. In this regard, Public Choice can be interpreted as one of the important strands of thought that allows us to understand better why it is that socialism has failed.

### THE YEAR IN REVIEW

The various scholars at the Center made significant progress during the past year on their research agendas.

A second major collection of James M. Buchanan's papers was published in 1989 by Texas A&M University Press. The title of the collection is *Explorations into Constitutional Economics*. Buchanan also published numerous articles and essays, and gave seminars and talks across the world during 1989. In addition, 1989 marked the celebration of Buchanan's 70th birthday with a Liberty Fund Conference in Roanoke, Virginia on "The Buchanan Contribution" and a luncheon in his honor at the Southern Economic Association meetings in Orlando, Florida. Finally, at a banquet in San Francisco in November, Buchanan was presented with the Distinguished Alumnus Award from the American Association of State Colleges and Universities.

Other Center scholars had an active year as well. Robert D. Tollison has two collections of papers forthcoming. One is entitled *Sportometrics* (edited with Brian Goff of Western Kentucky University), and is forthcoming from Texas A&M University Press. The other is entitled *Predicting Politics*, is edited with Center Research Associate W. Mark Crain, and is forthcoming from the University of Michigan Press. Tollison also published numerous journal articles in 1989. Richard E. Wagner published a major study of income distribution in 1989 in a book called *To Promote the General Welfare*, issued by the Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy. Wagner also completed several other research projects during the year. Charles K. Rowley spent 1989 completing a major study of the Legal Services Corporation, which will be published under the title of *The Right to Justice*. W. Mark Crain compiled a collection of major

papers, many of which are written by him, in a volume called *Predicting Politics* (edited with Tollison), which, as noted above, is forthcoming from the University of Michigan Press. Viktor J. Vanberg completed several papers on constitutional economics, and presented several papers at universities in Europe. Vanberg was also instrumental in the launching of the Center's new journal, *Constitutional Political Economy*, with the first issue scheduled to appear in early 1990. David Levy continued his wide-ranging research interests in econometrics and the history of ideas, publishing numerous papers in both areas. His book manuscript, *The Economic Ideas of Ordinary People*, is now basically complete. Jennifer Roback published a paper on "Racism as Rent Seeking" in a leading economics journal during the year, and pursued her long-term study of the causes of the Civil War. Roger Congleton had several papers accepted for publication in 1989 by leading economics journals, and completed several other major papers to be submitted for publication. More details on the activities of these Center scholars can be found at the end of this report.

The Adjunct Research Associates of the Center also had a busy year. Peter Bernholz of the University of Basel and Jack Wiseman of the University of York spent time in residence at the Center during 1989. Bernholz worked on his very interesting research on hyperinflation, and Wiseman pursued his general interests in subjectivism. Gordon Tullock of the University of Arizona also visited the Center during 1989, and published a new book about rent seeking during the past year. Geoffrey Brennan of Australian National University visited the Center during 1989, and reported on his research on bicameralism and stability, as well as participated in the Buchanan Conference in Roanoke. Dwight Lee of the University of Georgia, presented a seminar at the Public Choice Center, "Private Interest Support for Efficiency Enhancing Antitrust," in February for the Public Choice Seminar Series. He also had an active year of scholarship, and presentations across the country. Details of the year's activities for the Adjuncts can be found at the end of this report.

There were several significant personnel developments in the past year. Ronald

Heiner joined the Department of Economics and the Center in 1989. Heiner is from Brigham Young University, and his research agenda consists of the study of decision making in costly or imperfect environments. Richard E. Wagner replaced Karen Vaughn as Chairman of the Department of Economics. W. Mark Crain was named Deputy Chairman. Monica Vanberg joined the Center staff as managing editor of the new journal, *Constitutional Political Economy*, Gloria Yeager as secretary, and JoAnn Burgess as clerical assistant.

All told, it was a very active and productive year at the Center. The university continued to be a supportive environment for the Center, and under the new departmental leadership, the future appears bright.

## RESEARCH PROGRAMS

### *Constitutional Economics*

The major project in this area in 1989 was the launching of the new journal *Constitutional Political Economy* (CPE), which will be published under the auspices of the Center. The inaugural issue is scheduled to appear in late January 1990, featuring a lead article by J.M. Buchanan on "The Domain of Constitutional Economics" and contributions by R.A. Heiner, H. Leipold, E. McClennen, R. Sugden and J. Wiseman. Local editors are Viktor Vanberg and Richard Wagner, together with Professor Buchanan as advisory editor. The editorial office is managed by Monika Vanberg.

As documented later in this report, Professor Buchanan's schedule of lectures given across the country and abroad was a busy one, with many of his presentations centering around Constitutional Economics issues. Among his appearances abroad were a lecture at a Nobel Laureates meeting in Lindau, Germany, a main paper presentation at a Mt. Pelerin Society meeting in New Zealand, and an eleven day workshop on "Political Process, Cultural Evolution, and Constitutional Consensus" which he conducted, together with Professor Vanberg, at the European Forum in Alpbach, Austria. Buchanan's writing and publication record in his "three-score years

and ten" is not a bit less impressive than his previous record. His four books and fourteen major papers published in 1989 cover a broad spectrum of Constitutional Economics and Public Choice issues, as do his various new papers written during the year. Among the latter are "The Economy as a Constitutional Order" and "The Constitutional Economics of Earmarking."

The bulk of Professor Wagner's contribution to the constitutional economics program this year takes the form of his book *To Promote the General Welfare*. While the immediate subject matter of this book is the welfare state, the material is developed from within a constitutional and not a policy perspective. In other words, policy outcomes are treated as a product of the incentives contained within a particular constitutional system. The programs of what is called the welfare state are thus produced according to the same principles that all other governmental programs are produced; rent seeking and related public choice phenomena are as prevalent in those programs that constitute the welfare state as they are in such seemingly unrelated programs as, among others, military contracting, public works, and agriculture.

Professor Wagner also presented a paper titled "Constitutional Political Economy: One Puzzler's Survey" at a Liberty Fund Symposium on "German Ordnungstheorie and American Constitutional Economics." This paper characterizes different approaches to the constitutional control of government, and gives particular emphasis to the incorporation of political entrepreneurship into constitutional processes and what this might imply for principles of constitutional order. This work, as well as related work reported last year, is projected to develop over the next two years into a book-length articulation of a neo-Wicksellian approach to constitutional political economy, and which carries the working title, *Political Entrepreneurship and Constitutional Order: A Neo-Wicksellian Perspective*.

Professor Viktor Vanberg shared with Richard Wagner in the various chores of starting a new journal. He was also active in co-organizing two Liberty Fund conferences and a panel at the Southern Economic Association Meetings on

Constitutional Economics issues. Vanberg continued to work on issues in the broad area of economic theory of institutions. He completed a paper on the interrelations of "Rational Choice, Rule-Following and Institutions" which he presented at a conference of the Swedish Colloquium for Advanced Study in the Social Sciences in Uppsala, Sweden. He wrote a paper on F.A. Hayek's political philosophy (in German) and on "Hayek as Constitutional Political Economist." Both papers concentrate on Hayek's arguments on the role of rules in organizing our personal lives as well as in organizing our social affairs. Another line of research which Vanberg pursued concerns the notion of cultural evolution. He completed a paper "Innovation, Cultural Evolution and Economic Growth" which is intended to be published in a volume on "Evolutionary Economics" (ed. Ulrich Witt), and he continued his work on a paper on "Cultural Evolution as Collective Learning."

Roger Congleton (with Wendall Sweetser of Marshall University) explored the extent to which the logic of the veil of ignorance can be applied to ordinary day-to-day decision making. They demonstrate that ignorance of the particular distribution of benefits associated with alternative policies can facilitate political decision making while improving the normative properties of the decisions reached. Evidence from the U.S. Congress suggests that excessive distributional information has slowed down the federal budgetary process.

### *Public Finance*

Professor Wagner presented a paper on "Fiscal Principle, Fiscal Politics, and Consumption Taxation," at a conference on consumption taxation held at the University of Heidelberg. This paper, which will be published in a conference volume, sought to explain the actual structure of a tax -- including, among other things, its pattern of exclusions, preferences, and deductions -- as being determined within a market for tax legislation.

Relatedly, Professor Wagner is editing a book on the benefit principle of public



finance. In particular, these days numerous proposals for user charges and earmarked taxes are being justified not as taxes but as means of charging beneficiaries directly for the services they receive from government. This book will explore from several angles the discrepancy between justification and reality concerning proposals for user charges and earmarked taxes, and will include contributions by Gary Anderson, Dwight Lee, Henri Lepage, Fred McChesney, and Bruce Yandle, as well as contributions by Professors Buchanan, Tollison, and Wagner.

Roger Congleton continued work on the politics of public finance. Two papers (one with William F. Shughart II of the University of Mississippi and one with William Hunter of Marquette University) assess the relative merits of median voter and special-interest group models of the politics of Social Security benefit levels (forthcoming in *Economic Inquiry*) and state highway construction. These papers generally find support for both models of politics, although the median voter model works a bit better in these two relatively transparent fiscal regimes. In addition, work continued on the manner in which annexation institutions affect city public service levels and tax sources.

### ***Federalism and Local Government***

Professor Wagner continued his research into the political economy of local government within a federalist constitutional order, in which the main focus of analytical attention is on the rules and procedures governing such things as the powers of government and the boundaries of a government's jurisdiction. Plans are currently underway for this project to evolve into a book-length manuscript, which is now carrying the working title *Property Rights, Public Choice, and Urban Government*.

### ***Empirical Political Economy***

Mark Crain and Robert Tollison are the editors of a collection of papers called *Predicting Politics: Essays in Empirical Public Choice* which will be published by the University of Michigan Press. This volume features several previously unpublished

papers by Crain and Tollison. Crain, Tollison, and Harry Messenheimer are working on a paper on the measurement of electoral votes and presidential behavior. Crain and Tollison completed a paper on "The Price of Influence in an Interest-Group Economy." Roger Congleton and Tollison completed a paper on "The Political Economy of Crime Waves." Finally, Gary Anderson (California State University) and Tollison completed empirical studies of the behavior of two presidents: "The Effect of Political Influence on Civil War Mortality Rates" and "New Deal Spending in a Public Choice Perspective."

### *The Theory of Rent Seeking*

This area of research continued to attract the interest of Center scholars during 1989. Jennifer Roback published a paper in *Economic Inquiry* on "Racism as Rent Seeking." Roger Congleton explored the extent to which special interest groups may be able to use strategic voting to affect public policy in a paper "Information, Special Interests, and Single-Issue Voting" (forthcoming in *Public Choice*). The paper demonstrates that single-issue voting can be a very effective means of affecting the positions of vote-maximizing candidates in ordinary elections. Robert Tollison, with Gary Anderson (California State University) and William F. Shughart II (University of Mississippi), published a paper on the pay of judges in the *Journal of Law and Economics* called "On the Incentive of Judges to Enforce Legislative Wealth Transfers." Tollison and Dwight Lee also completed a paper on "Rent Seeking and Tax Earmarking." And, Gordon Tullock published a book called *The Economics of Special Privilege and Rent Seeking* (Kluwer).

### *Regulatory Processes*

To date, public health has been largely excluded from examination from an economic perspective on regulatory processes. In "Self Interest, Public Interest, and Public Health," Professors Tollison and Wagner seek to place public health within the framework of the economic theory of regulation. This paper explores ways in which

public health appropriations and regulations may operate to generate rents for specialized input suppliers, and is part of what we anticipate will be a continuing effort to bring a public choice perspective to bear on public health issues.

Professors Tollison and Wagner examined the impact of alternative approaches to regulatory finance -- in particular, whether regulatory budgets come from general-fund appropriations or from earmarked revenues -- upon the incentives of regulators in "Regulatory Finance, Incentive Compatibility, and the Cost of the Regulator" (with Mwangi S. Kimenyi of the University of Mississippi).

### *Industrial Organization and Antitrust*

During 1989, Robert Tollison, with Richard Higgins (Howrey and Simon) and William F. Shughart II (University of Mississippi) published a paper in the *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* on "Price Leadership with Incomplete Information." In addition, Tollison and Shughart, with Gerald Miller (Touche Ross) completed a major study of the economic impact of U.S. antitrust laws. This paper is called "Antitrust Policy and Industry Performance."

### *Law and Economics and Public Choice*

The main thrusts of Dr. Rowley's research in 1989 have been within the fields of law and economics, public choice, and classical liberalism. The completed typescript of his book - *The Right to Justice* - was delivered to Harvard University Press for a decision on publication in December 1989. This 150,000 word text offers a fundamental review of the provision of legal services in America since 1896 and evaluates the Legal Services Corporation from a public choice perspective. The book addresses issues of feasible reform and evaluates a range of mechanisms to move decisions on the allocation of the rights to civil justice from a politicized bureaucracy to the individual poor.

Dr. Rowley has continued his research into the impact of public choice on the doctrines of the common law with a lengthy article published in the *Hamline Law*

*Review.* This article traces the erosion of the law of contract and its replacement by the law of tort, and outlines the influence of special interests in shaping tort law as a weapon to be employed against the capitalist system.

Dr. Rowley has set to work, together with his co-authors, Arthur Seldon and Gordon Tullock, to complete an introduction to public choice - *A Primer* - which will be published by Basil Blackwell. This book will be completed by June 1990, and publication is anticipated by the end of the year.

Finally, in a co-authored publication with Richard Wagner, entitled "Public Choice: Just a Tool," Dr. Rowley entered into a debate between Jane Shaw and Murray Rothbard in *Liberty* concerning the usefulness of public choice as a research program. In this paper, Dr. Rowley signals a longer term commitment to returning his research agenda to the field of classical liberalism and most especially to the refracting of John Locke's views on natural rights through the lens of public choice and law and economics.

#### *History of Economics at the Center*

This was a busy year for research in the history of economics. Work progressed in several directions. First, what can we say about the solution to various problems offered by the classics? Second, can we look within the economics profession to see economic considerations at work?

In retrospect, the great central planning debate has to rank as the critical debate of the twentieth century. Why is it that not even von Mises and Hayek, who were so acute on the informational problems facing central planners, did not see that prices would be systematically low in a planned economy? David Levy's answer, to be published in *Public Choice* as "The Bias in Centrally Planned Prices," is that they did not take into account the interests of central planners in creating rent-enhancing shortages.

The first encounter of economics with socialism occurred in the Malthusian

controversy when Malthus pointed out that socialism, where everyone gets an equal share of the community income, would abolish the cost of a family. Levy and Christine Holden (the University of Maine) have been working on "Towards a Post-Marxist View of the Birth Control Movement" in which the standard historical view of Marxism and the birth control movement is sharply challenged. In this context Levy discussed Samuel Hollander's work on Malthus at the American Economic Association this year.

A classical economic problem, long thought solved, is the proof that there is social loss from monopoly. The recent dissent from this view by various Chicago School economists is studied in Levy's American Economic Association paper, "Chicago and Marshall's Legacy." The center of the dispute seems to be what discount rate one uses for social evaluation. The Marshallian argument turns out to require that the appropriate rate of time discounting is zero.

This result ties in with Levy's demonstration that utility-enhancing moral codes will contain imperatives against positive time preference. This, in turn, links with Levy's claim in *Economic Ideas of Ordinary People* that economists take for granted the theorems from common morality.

Continuing in an attempt to explain the economics of the economics profession, Levy gave a report of work in progress at the History of Economics society (with Arthur Diamond of the University of Nebraska at Omaha), "Stylometrics: Statistical Evidence on the Decline in the Quality of Writing in the Economics Profession." This paper views the quality of writing as one of many inputs to an economics article. Can we evaluate the marginal productivity of this input? The data set consists of the presidential addresses of the American Economic Association over the years. The style ranks are then correlated with citation counts to see whether good style helps citations.

### *Decision Theory*

Ronald Heiner's research focused on the basic decision theory of economics; in particular, how to generalize existing theory to allow for imperfect agents who do not

always react optimally to available information. Imperfect agents can be shown to benefit from following rules that are adapted only to typical or repeatedly encountered situations rather than trying to adjust optimally to all potential conditions. A related feature of rule-following behavior is a tendency to ignore information even when it is both relevant to improving decisions and available at zero cost. These and other principles can be applied at the micro-decision level of individual agents, and at increasingly macro-levels involving market behavior and collective institutions such as government and the legal system. The latter, in particular, involves "constitutional" analysis about limiting the use of government authority. When government is composed of imperfect agents, one can show that constitutional limits on their authority are needed even in the extreme case where every government agent is altruistic rather than selfishly motivated. Thus, the theoretical rationale for constitutional limits need no longer depend exclusively on the assumption of self-interest.

Heiner is also investigating the dynamics of individual decision making and the evolution of private and public institutions when perfect versus imperfect agents are involved. For example, what are the stability properties of constitutional rules **after** they are initially agreed upon by imperfect decision makers and then put into practical application (say as interpreted by a judicial body like the Supreme Court)? At the micro level, he is also investigating the implications of recent analysis about nonlinear dynamics for individual decision making. For example, one can show that the perfect agents in many standard economic models will adjust "chaotically" without any stable dynamic pattern (including no tendency toward equilibrium behavior). On the other hand, imperfect agents will have a general incentive partially to adjust ("adaptive expectations") so as to induce stability toward a rational expectations equilibrium.

### *Econometrics at the Center*

Since econometrics is so widely employed within economics these days, it is hardly surprising that the bulk of our econometrics research is discussed elsewhere.

However, on the purely econometric front there are several developments to mention.

David Levy's discovery that conventional econometric techniques are inappropriate to estimate production functions when inputs are given away, and his proposed solution, has been accepted for publication at *Economics Letters* as "Estimating the Impact of Government R&D." With free good inputs, the value of marginal product is zero in equilibrium. This may solve the puzzle of why government R&D, so obviously productive in the areas of computers and aircraft, has been so difficult to detect in standard econometric accounts. Continuing on their long collaboration in this area, Levy and Nestor Terleckyj gave a paper on government R&D at the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

In all of his econometrics classes, Levy now requires students to replicate a published article. Unfortunately, when the data are not published or otherwise provided by the author, the students encounter ambiguous citations which lead to gross error which can greatly distort the regression estimate. To deal with this possibility, Levy has developed a test for replication when the data set is subject to gross error.

Finally, Levy has pointed out that the bimodal consumption patterns which characterize addictive commodities generate a dramatic difference between the center of a distribution measured by a mean and that measured by a median. Assuming that the median voter rules, this creates what he has titled, "The Fragile Politics of Addiction." It is interesting that this bimodality can explain the ancient Greek argument that democratic politics can swing wildly as Levy discussed in "Statistical Basis of Athenian-American Constitutional Theory" in the *Journal of Legal Studies*.

### *The Political Economy of the Civil War*

Professor Jennifer Roback continued her work on the origins of the American Civil War. She signed an advance contract with Princeton University Press to do a book on the property rights and public choice approach to understanding the Civil War. The book, tentatively entitled, *An Imaginary Negro in an Impossible Place: The Territories and*

*Secession*, tries to explain why territorial expansion was so destabilizing. Many historians have pondered this question, and seem to think it is something of a paradox. Why did nineteenth century political parties divide on the question of the expansion of slavery into the territories? Slavery was not likely to ever take root in most of the western territories, and there were virtually no slaves there. Congress debated endlessly over the status of slavery in the territories, where there were no slaves, and spent relatively little effort discussing slavery in the states where slaves were common. This peculiarity of the discussion led one contemporary to offer the colorful remark that inspired the title of Professor Roback's book: "The whole controversy over the territories related to an imaginary negro in an impossible place."

Roback uses both public choice theory and property rights theory to explain the paradox. The territories were the common property of the states and the people of the United States. Roback shows how the United States allocated all the territory it owned at the time of the Constitution by using the unanimity rule so often proposed by Buchanan. Territory acquired after the ratification of the Constitution was a different matter, however. Roback shows that each acquisition threw the Congress into a common pool problem, with all the states competing to acquire the use of the commons. Congress had no hope of allocating the territories between freedom and slavery in a way that would satisfy all the factions.

At the same time, Roback argues that a crucial feature of the territories was that they would eventually be carved into states. Each state would have two Senate seats. Therefore, the introduction of new states had the potential to upset the balance of power in the Senate. In particular, the Senate could be tipped in favor of emancipation of the slaves in the states. For this reason, the future of slavery hinged crucially on the territories, regardless of whether a single slave was ever profitably employed there.

### *Political Economy of Race Relations*

Professor Roback's paper, "Racism as Rent-Seeking," appeared in *Economic*



*Inquiry* this year. The paper argues that the only way to prevent the politicization of race is a constitutional amendment. Just as the First Amendment protects us from religious warfare as various sects compete to obtain the favor of the state, so too, an amendment preventing ethnic groups from such competition could reduce racial tension.

Professor Roback presented this paper at the Mont Pelerin Society meetings in Christchurch, New Zealand where it was very well received. A Maori rights activist was among the participants who believed that Roback's approach could be very fruitful for her own people. Thomas Sowell also wrote up Roback's contribution in his syndicated newspaper column. Dr. Roback is now at work on a non-technical version of this paper, because so many people seem to be interested in her approach.

Professor Roback continued her work on the political economy of race relations, but this year she turned her attention to the Indians. In her paper, "Exchange, Sovereignty and Indian-Anglo Relations," Roback explores the effects of different contractual arrangements on Indian relations with English settlers. She argues first that the property rights structure of the Indian tribes flowed from their family structures and their production methods. When viewed in this way, the old saw that "Indians did not understand private property: they were primitive communists," is seen to be far from the mark. Indians did have property rights that were organized around family groupings and structures that were unintelligible to the early European settlers.

Roback also shows that both the British Crown and later the U.S. Government prohibited private land purchases by English settlers from the Indians. Roback argues that the Crown wished to monopolize the revenues from the fur trade and from land sales for itself. The problem was that the government would not recognize titles to lands privately purchased, nor could the government prevent settlers from simply squatting on Indian lands. The result was that the treaties between the Indians and the government were not "incentive compatible" contracts. Both sides had incentives to renege, and neither side could effectively enforce the treaties. Roback argues that this

arrangement understandably produced more conflict than peace.

Dr. Roback's investment in studying U.S. history paid an unexpected dividend this year. The History Department at George Mason University invited her to contribute the article on the nineteenth century for their collection on the Anti-Federalist Tradition. Roback's article, "The Anti-Federalist Tradition in the Nineteenth Century Democratic Party," tries to show that the principles of local autonomy and decentralized power were the key ideological positions of the Jeffersonian- Jacksonian Democratic Party. Roback shows that the policies of the Democrats toward Catholics, Mormons, and Indians are consistent with this view of the party.

### *The Economics of Religion*

Robert Tollison, with Robert Ekelund and Robert Hebert of Auburn University, had a paper on "An Economic Model of the Medieval Church" accepted by the *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*. In addition, they have a draft paper on "The Invention of Purgatory in the Medieval Church," and are presently working with Gary Anderson (California State University) on a paper on the crusades. The ultimate idea is to write a book on the medieval church. David Levy also completed a paper on "Internal versus External Monitors: The Economics of Religion" in 1989. This new and interesting area of inquiry will continue to attract the interest of Center scholars for several years to come.

### *Sportometrics*

Robert Tollison and Brian Goff (Western Kentucky University) are the editors of a volume entitled *Sportometrics*, which is forthcoming from Texas A&M University Press. This volume illustrates how sports events and data can be used to test economic theories. In addition, Tollison and Goff, with Arthur Fleisher (University of Delaware), completed a book manuscript in 1989 called *The National Collegiate Athletic Association: A Study in Cartel Behavior*, which has been submitted for publication. Finally, Kevin Grier and Tollison completed a paper called "Arbitrage in a Basketball Economy."

## VISITING SCHOLARS PROGRAM

1989 was another active year for the Center's Visiting Scholars Program, which continued to be coordinated by Viktor Vanberg. The increasing demand on this program resulted in the addition of an annex to the Center building: A spacious office trailer set up next to our library. Once again, this year's program attracted scholars from various disciplinary backgrounds and from several nations who joined the Center's intellectual community for various lengths of time. The following is a list of participants:

Coskun Can Aktan  
Dokuz Eylul University, Turkey

Rino Battiato  
Istituto di Finanza Pubblica, Italy

R.J. Bennett  
London School of Economics & Political Science

Peter Bernholz  
University of Basel, Switzerland

Geoffrey Brennan  
Australian National University

Giuseppe Eusepi  
Universita Di Roma, Italy

David Fand  
Wayne State University

Arthur Fleisher  
University of Delaware

Pedro Puy Fraga  
Universidad de Santiago, Spain

Brian Goff  
Western Kentucky University

William J. Hunter  
Marquette University

Bruno Jeitziner  
University of Fribourg, Switzerland

Christa Gruenwald Jeitziner  
University of Fribourg, Switzerland

Hartmut Kliemt  
Universitaet Duisburg, Germany

Fernando Toboso Lopez  
University of Valencia, Spain

Uskali Maki  
University of Helsinki, Finland

Alberto di Pierro  
Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi, Italy

Noboru Sekiya  
Tohoku Gakuin University, Japan

Karol Soltan  
University of Maryland

Sabri Tekir  
Dokuz Eylul University, Turkey

Hiromi Teramoto  
Matsusaka University, Japan

Manfred Tietzel  
Universitaet Duisburg, Germany

Gordon Tullock  
University of Arizona

Andrea Villani  
Universita Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Italy

Hannelore Weck-Hannemann  
Universitaet Konstanz, Austria

Jack Wiseman  
University of York, United Kingdom

Ulrich Witt  
Universitaet Freiburg, Germany

Akira Yokoyama  
Josai University, Japan

### *Visiting Graduate Students*

Horst Hegmann  
Universitaet Duisburg, Germany

Asuman Olgunca  
Dokuz Eylul University, Turkey

### **PUBLIC CHOICE SEMINAR SERIES**

The Center's weekly seminar series offers a forum for the exchange of new ideas. Professor Congleton organized the seminar program during 1989. Participants in the 1989 seminar series were:

*Geoffrey Brennan*, Australian National University, "The Theory of Intergovernmental Grants Revisited," January 25.

*Robert Cooter*, University of Virginia Law School, "Inventing Property," February 1.

*Dwight Lee*, University of Georgia, "Private Interest Support for Efficiency Enhancing Antitrust," February 8.

*T. Nicolaus Tideman*, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, "The Political Economy of Land Value Taxation," February 15.

*Fred McChesney and Richard Higgins*, "Bureaucracy and Politics in FTC Merger Challenges," February 22.

*Keith Poole*, "A Two Dimensional Dynamic Model of Congressional Voting: 1789-1985," March 1.

*Timothy J. Muris*, George Mason Law School, "The Uses and Abuses of Budget Baselines," March 8.

*David T. Brown*, University of Florida, "Private Voting: The Case of Bankruptcy," April 5.

- Wallace E. Oates*, University of Maryland, "The Allocative and Distributive Implications of Local Fiscal Competition," April 12.
- Andrew Schotter*, New York University, "Tournaments and Incentives: Some Experimental Evidence," April 19.
- John Kagel*, University of Pittsburgh, "Experimental Evidence on Giffen Goods and Intertemporal Choice," April 26.
- Viktor Vanberg*, George Mason University, "The Rationality of Rule Following Behavior," May 3.
- Harold Mulherin*, Security Exchange Commission, "Transactions Costs and the Cross Sectional Variation in Mortgage Loans," September 6.
- Thomas Havrilesky*, Duke University, "Influence of the Federal Advisory Council on Monetary Policy," September 13.
- Peter Bernholz*, University of Basel, "Necessary Conditions for Totalitarianism," September 20.
- Jack Wiseman*, York University, "Proposals for a New Political Economy," September 27.
- Geoffrey Brennan*, Australian National University, "Bicameralism and Stability," October 4.
- Paul H. Rubin*, Glassman-Oliver Economic Consultants, Inc., "Politically Imposed Entry Barriers," October 11.
- Dennis Mueller*, University of Maryland, "Probabilistic Majority Rule: Some Further Results," October 18.
- Peter Aranson*, Emory University, "Calhoun and the Common Market," October 25.
- David Laband*, Clemson University, "Estimates of Expenditures on Transfer Activity," November 1.
- Hal Varian*, University of Michigan, "Sequential Provision of Public Goods," November 9.
- A.K. Sen*, Harvard University, "Freedom of Choice," November 15.

*Larry Kenny*, University of Florida, "Voting Laws, Education Policies, and Minority Turnout," November 29.

*Tyler Cowen*, George Mason University, "Money and Prices in a Drug Economy," December 6.

### BROWN BAG LUNCHEON SERIES

This is a weekly program that offers an opportunity for Center scholars and visitors to discuss their research in process. Professor Congleton directed the Spring and Fall series of the brown bag presentations. The 1989 programs were led by:

*Jennifer Roback*, Center for Study of Public Choice,  
"Constitutional Perspectives on Racism as Rent-Seeking,"  
January 31.

*Kevin Grier*, George Mason University, "Government and  
Economic Growth," February 7.

*Pedro Puy Fraga*, Universidad de Santiago, Spain, "Consent  
in the Formation of the Spanish Constitution," February  
14.

*Hartmut Kliemt*, Universitaet of Duisburg, Germany,  
"Anarchy and Agreement," February 21.

*Roger Congleton*, Center for Study of Public Choice, "Single  
Issue Voting," March 7.

*Robert Bennett*, London School of Economics, "Scope and  
Role of Business Collective Action," March 14.

*Ulrich Witt*, University of Freiburg, "Individualism, Group  
Selection and Socio-economic Progress," March 28.

*William Hunter*, Marquette University, "The Inevitability of  
the 1986 Tax Reform," April 4.

*Carrie Meyer*, George Mason University, "Third World  
Agricultural Bureaucrats," April 11.

*James Buchanan*, Center for Study of Public Choice,  
"Generalized Increasing Returns: Current Developments  
in Reintroducing Search for Externalities in Work-Leisure

Choices," April 18.

*Sabri Tekir*, Dokuz Eylul University, Turkey, "Another Dimension of the Budget: Extra-Budgetary Funds in Turkey," April 25.

*Jeremy Shearmur*, Institute for Humane Studies, "Settlers, Native Americans and Social Contract Theory," May 2.

*James C. Miller, III*, Center for Study of Public Choice, "In the Midst of Tiananmen Square," July 13.

*John R. Lott, Jr.*, University of California, Los Angeles, "Do We Punish High Income Criminals Too Heavily?," August 22.

*Roger Congleton*, Center for Study of Public Choice, "Ethnic Aspects of Public Finance," September 5.

*Akira Yokoyama*, Josai University, Japan, "An Economic Theory of Persuasion," September 12.

*David Levy*, Center for Study of Public Choice, "The Bias In Centrally Planned Prices," September 19.

*Peter Bernholz*, University of Basel, Switzerland, "Necessary and Sufficient Conditions for Successful Reforms Ending Hyperinflations," September 26.

*Kenneth Boulding*, George Mason University, "Three Faces of Power," October 3.

*Andrea Villani*, Universita Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Italy, "Rawlsian Theories of Justice," October 10.

*Charles Rowley*, Center for Study of Public Choice, "Anti-Poverty vs. The Right to Justice: The Approach of the Legal Services Corporation," October 17.

*Ronald Heiner*, Center for Study of Public Choice, "The Decision-Cost Circularity Problem," October 24.

*James Buchanan*, Center for Study of Public Choice, "Economic Origins of Ethical Constraints," October 31.

*Mark Crain*, Center for Study of Public Choice, "The Probability of Being President: GOP Lock on the Electoral College," November 7.

*Tom Gilligan*, University of Southern California,  
"Integration in an Institutional Legislature," November  
14.

*Michael Alexeev*, George Mason University, "Collusion and  
Rent-Seeking," November 28.

*Viktor Vanberg*, George Mason University, "Human Choice  
and Institutional, Constitutional Change," December 5.

## THE PUBLIC CHOICE OUTREACH PROGRAM

The Public Choice Outreach Seminar continued in 1989 under the direction of Professor Jennifer Roback, with the assistance of Professor Donald Boudreaux of the Department of Economics. This program introduces Public Choice ideas to advanced undergraduate students and first year graduate and professional students who might not otherwise have the opportunity to become familiar with Public Choice. The program also helps identify young scholars who may later become affiliated more formally with the Center as graduate students, post-doctoral fellows or junior faculty members. We have found that past Outreach participants keep in touch with the Center, for both professional and personal interest. The students are chosen for their commitments to an intellectual career. The program attracted a first-rate group of participants. A list of the students, their schools and fields, is given below.

Mary Lea Anderson, Economics  
Texas A&M University

John Audley, Political Science  
University of Arizona

Peter Balnaves, Economics  
Virginia Tech

Jan Brzeski, Physics  
Dartmouth College

Kenneth Cust, Philosophy  
Bowling Green State University

Lane Farley, Economics  
Texas A&M University

Patrick Fitzgerald, Philosophy  
University of Arizona

Mark Goffman, Economics & Philosophy  
Stanford University

Timothy Groseclose, Political Economics  
Stanford University

Amy Gwinn, Finance  
Purdue University

Shigeyuki Hamori, Economics  
Duke University

Kristin L. Harmon, Economics  
University of North Carolina



Clemens Hollhumer, Public Finance  
University of Vienna

Timothy Iijima, Economics  
Wheaton College

Kelly Dodson Kerr, Economics  
Texas A&M University

Eric Kessler, Economics & Psychology  
St. Lawrence University

Susan Lamping, Economics  
San Diego State University

Suzanne D. Lund, Economics & Political Science  
Wellesley College

Scott Matthew, Law  
University of Chicago

Elizabeth Mauser, Economics  
University of Wisconsin

Mihee Moon, Economics  
Arizona State University

Michael O'Malley, German & Economics  
Williams College

Carol Reumont, Economics  
Texas A&M University

Felix Rioja, Economics  
James Madison University

John Sciortino, Law  
University of Chicago

John Smith, Economics  
University of Missouri-St. Louis

Russell Sobel, Economics  
Frances Marion College

Charles Steele, Economics  
Montana State University

Rita Maria Steele, Economics  
University of Tennessee-Martin

Michael Sullivan, Religion  
Wofford College

Nancy Swong, Journalism & Political Science  
University of Tennessee

Tamara Tank, Sociology  
Brigham Young University

Dale Thompson, Economics  
Williams College

Michele Thorne, Law  
Northwestern University

Junichiro Wada, Economics  
University of Maryland

Scott Wood, Economics  
Montana State University

Todd Zywicki, Economics  
Clemson University

The formal program consisted of 17 lectures spread over seven days. The program was organized into three sections: Basic tools of Public Choice, Application of Public Choice, and Constitutional Economics.

Charles Plott of California Institute of Technology brought experimental economics to the Public Choice Outreach for the first time. The students enjoyed this innovation, especially because Dr. Plott performed several in-class experiments, for which student participants received a cash pay-off! The program showcased our own faculty and in addition utilized several speakers from outside the Public Choice Center.

The outside speakers were:

Charles Goetz  
University of Virginia Law School

Robert Mackay  
Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Northern Virginia  
Department of Economics

Charles Plott,  
California Institute of Technology  
Department of Economics and Political Science

Carolyn Weaver  
American Enterprise Institute and  
Editor, *Regulation*

A list of lectures is given below:

Lecture 1: James C. Miller III  
Keynote Address

Lecture 2: Robert Mackay  
"Voting Models I"

Lecture 3: Charles Goetz  
"Voting Models II"

Lecture 4: Viktor Vanberg  
"Game Theory and Institutional Arrangements"

Lecture 5: Charles Plott  
"Experimental Methods as a Tool of Economics"

Lecture 6: Charles Goetz  
"Law and the Judiciary"

Lecture 7: Charles Plott  
"Natural-Gas Pipeline Deregulation"

Lecture 8: Robert D. Tollison  
"Rent Seeking and Its Application to Public Choice"

Lecture 9: Roger Congleton  
"Public Finance and Public Choice"

Lecture 10: Viktor Vanberg  
"Rational Choice, Rule Following Behavior and Institutions"

Lecture 11: Jennifer Roback  
"The Political Economy of Segregation and Discrimination"

Lecture 12: Donald Boudreaux  
"Regulation and Antitrust"

Lecture 13: Robert Mackay  
"Line-Item Veto"

Lecture 14: Carolyn Weaver  
"Public Choice Aspects of the Social Security Financing Crisis"

Lecture 15: James Buchanan  
"Domain of Constitutional Economics"

Lecture 16: Richard Wagner  
"Agency Theory and Constitutional Economics"

Lecture 17: David Levy  
"Bernard Mandeville's Problem"

This rigorous program of lectures and discussions was supplemented with recreation, social activities and a trip to Washington. Our primary objective in the Outreach Program is to generate enthusiasm for the Center's work among talented students. These students were clearly impressed with the Center and visibly enjoyed their visit. They will remember the Center for Study of Public Choice as a community of scholars where people work hard and have fun with ideas.

### **THE VIRGINIA POLITICAL ECONOMY PROGRAM**

The fifth annual lecture in the Virginia Political Economy Lecture Series was held at George Mason University on April 5, 1988. This year's speaker was Dr. Robert J. Mackay, Professor of Economics at Virginia Tech.

The purpose of the lecture series is to explore the origins, nature, and contributions of the Virginia School of Political Economy to the study of the interaction between political and economic institutions. The school was founded at the University of Virginia in the late 1950's by James M. Buchanan and G. Warren Nutter, who together, organized the Thomas Jefferson Center for Studies in Political Economy. Scholars associated with the then embryonic Virginia School included Leland Yeager, Rutledge Vining, Alexandre Kafka, Gordon Tullock, Andrew Whinston, Ronald Coase,

and others. In the late 1960's James Buchanan moved to Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University and, with Gordon Tullock and Charles Goetz, founded the Center for Study of Public Choice. This phase of the Virginia School's development brought together scholars such as Richard Wagner, Thomas Borcherding, Geoffrey Brennan, Winston Bush, and Robert Tollison, to single out only a few of the many creative people attracted to the Center during this period. In addition to the resident members, over the years the Center has had a large number of outstanding visitors and graduate students from all over the world who have been attracted to the distinctive style of the Virginia School.

Now at George Mason University, the Center for Study of Public Choice continues its tradition of innovative approaches to the study of how individuals act within political institutions. And while the school of thought has its roots in Virginia, the ideas that originate within the school now influence economists, philosophers, and political scientists worldwide.

As stressed above, the purpose of the lecture series is to explore the history and evolution of the ideas that have emanated from the Virginia School. The interplay between political and economic institutions, constitutional economics, rent seeking, empirical political economy, and the economic approach to philosophy are all defining ideas of Virginia Political Economy. Professor Mackay's lecture dealt with the contributions of Winston Bush to public choice theory. Bush is perhaps best known for his pioneering work on a theory of anarchy and the natural distribution of income. Bush was a unique, creative individual, who was a member of the Center when it was in Blacksburg. Bush died tragically young, but left a legacy of ideas, which Mackay explored in his lecture.

Copies of the Virginia Political Economy Lectures are available on request from the Center. These now include:

Dennis C. Mueller  
"The 'Virginia School' and Public Choice"

William Breit  
"Creating the 'Virginia School': Charlottesville as an Academic Environment in the 1960's"

Dwight Lee  
"Getting More with Less, with a Notable Exception"

Leland Yeager  
"Ethics in the History and Doctrine of the Virginia School"

The speaker for the coming year's program will be H. Geoffrey Brennan of the Australian National University.

### LIBERTY FUND CONFERENCE SERIES

#### *The Buchanan Contribution*

H. Geoffrey Brennan and Robert D. Tollison organized a Liberty Fund Conference to honor James M. Buchanan on his 70th birthday, and to bring together a group of scholars to appraise Buchanan's many contributions to economics, political philosophy, and other fields. This conference was held in Roanoke, Virginia from September 28 through October 1, 1989. The title of the conference was "Liberty and Constitutional Order."

#### *Paper-givers were:*

Leland Yeager, Auburn University  
"Buchanan on Scope and Method"

Jules Coleman, Yale University  
"Constitutional Contractarianism"

Geoffrey Brennan, Australian National University  
"James Buchanan's Public Economics"

Dennis Mueller, University of Maryland  
"James M. Buchanan: Economist *cum* Contractarian"

John Gray, Oxford University  
"Buchanan on Liberty"

*Conference participants were:*

Peter Bernholz  
Universitaet Basel

Thomas Borcharding  
Claremont-McKenna University

James M. Buchanan  
George Mason University

Jules Coleman  
Yale Law School (did not attend)

Charles J. Goetz  
The Law School, University of Virginia

Charles King  
Liberty Fund, Inc.

Dwight Lee  
University of Georgia

Charles Plott  
California Institute of Technology

Robert Tollison  
George Mason University

Gordon Tullock  
University of Arizona

Viktor Vanberg  
George Mason University

Karen I. Vaughn  
George Mason University

Richard Wagner  
George Mason University

Jack Wiseman  
University of York

*Public Choice Center Distinguished Guest*

Dr. A. Neil McLeod, Victoria, British Columbia

*Local Arrangements Coordinator*

Mrs. Betty H. Tillman, George Mason University

*Liberty Fund/Public Choice Summer Conference*

When the renowned Liberty Fund/Public Choice Summer Conference series came to an end in 1987, after eleven successful years, it was the mutual understanding that the cooperation between Liberty Fund and the Center ought to be continued in a new format. 1989 marked the beginning of what, hopefully, may grow into a new Liberty Fund/Public Choice Conference series on Constitutional Political Economy. The first conference, organized by Viktor Vanberg and chaired by Karen Vaughn, was held July 13-16, 1989, in Crystal City, Virginia, under the title "Liberty and Constitutionalism." Plans for a second conference are underway for June 21-24, 1990, under the title "Organizations, Constitutions, and Liberty." Participants in this year's conference were:

H. Geoffrey Brennan  
Australian National University

James M. Buchanan  
George Mason University

Oscar Cornblit  
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Michael Hechter  
Russell Sage Foundation

Douglas Heckathorn  
University of Missouri, Kansas City

Hartmut Kliemt  
Universitaet Duisburg

Timur Kuran  
University of Southern California

Richard N. Langlois  
University of Connecticut

Eduardo Mayora  
Universidad Francisco Marroquin

Edward F. McClennen  
Washington University

Robert Sugden  
University of East Anglia

Manfred Tietzel  
Universitaet Duisburg

Viktor Vanberg  
George Mason University

Karen I. Vaughn  
George Mason University

Richard Wagner  
George Mason University

Richard Wallace  
Wofford College

*Liberty Fund Representative*

Dr. Charles King, Vice President, Liberty Fund, Inc.

*Local Arrangements Coordinator*

Betty H. Tillman, George Mason University

**WORKING PAPER SERIES**

The working paper series is directed by David M. Levy. Copies of the papers are available upon request.

Name	Title
Buchanan	Achieving Economic Reform
Buchanan	Belief, Choice and Consequences
Buchanan	Economic Interdependence and the Work Ethic
Buchanan	Examined Politics and Emergent Public Philosophy
Buchanan	Potential for Politics After Socialism
Buchanan	The Potential for Tyranny in Politics as Science
Buchanan	Victorian Budgetary Norms, Keynesian Advocacy ...
Buchanan & Faith	Secession and the Sharing of Surplus

Congleton	Allocation of Tax Enforcement Effort
Congleton	Economics of the Work Ethic
Congleton	Information, Special Interests and Single Issues
Congleton	Monitoring Rent-Seeking Managers
Congleton	Politics, Annexation Institutions and Local Choice
Congleton	Progressivity of State Lotteries
Congleton & Bennett	Political Economy of State Roads
Congleton & Shughart	The Growth of Social Security
Congleton & Sweetson	Political Deadlocks and Distributional Information
Congleton & Tollison	Political Economy of Crime Waves
Congleton et al.	Intra-Familial Contracts
Crain & Muris	Legislative Organization of Fiscal Policy
Crain & Shughart	Constitutional Theory of Term Lengths
Crain & Shughart	The Iron Law of Elections
Crain & Staley	Deficit Announcements and Interest Rates
Crain & Tollison	Price of Influence in an Interest Group Economy
Crain & Miller	Budget Process and Government Spending Growth
Crain et al.	The GOP Lock on the Electoral College
Grier & Tollison	Arbitrage in a Basketball Economy
Levy	Adam Smith and the Texas A&M Rats
Levy	Chicago and Marshall's Legacy
Levy	Costs of Thinking Get Spinoza into Trouble
Levy	Economic Ideas of Ordinary People
Levy	Estimating the Productivity of Public Goods
Levy	Fame and the Supply of Heroics
Levy	Fragile Politics of Addiction
Levy	Maximum Likelihood Estimation at Tukey's Error
Levy	Maximum Likelihood with Influential Observations
Levy	Rational Acceptance with Costs of Thinking
Levy	Rational Choice in the Homeric Epics
Levy	Testing for Inferior Goods: A Theoretical Caution
Levy	Testing Replication in Gross Error in the Data
Levy	The Bias in Central Planned Prices
Levy	Two Models of Classical Monetary Theory
Levy	Voting on Voting
Levy & Feigenbaum	A Theory of Internal and External Monitoring
Levy & Feigenbaum	Economics of the Econometrics Industry
Levy & Feigenbaum	Testing Constraints which Increase the Likelihood
Levy & Feigenbaum	What Chaos a Difference Makes
Levy & Holden	A Post-Marxist View of the Birth Control Movement
Levy & Terleckyj	Linkages between Foreign and US R&D Expenditures
Roback	Anti-Federalism in the 19th Century
Roback	Exchange, Sovereignty and Indian-Anglo Relations
Roback	Expansion, Secession and Lawlessness
Roback	Liberty, Prosperity and Virtue
Roback	Philosophy and Economics of Slavery
Roback	Social Insurance in Ethnically Diverse Societies
Roback	Territorial Expansion and the Secession Crisis
Roback	Territories and Secession: Chapter 1
Roback	Tragedy of the Commons and the Civil War



Rowley	Calculus of Consent
Rowley	Comment on Epstein "Time and Common Law"
Rowley	Economics, Politics & Law Forming Public Policy
Rowley	Institutional Reform to Tame Union Power
Rowley	Jean-Charles de Borda
Rowley	Judge Posner and the Efficiency of the Common Law
Rowley	Natural Economist or Popperian Logician
Rowley	Of Time and the Common Law
Rowley	Public Choice View on Judicial Pragmatism
Rowley & Brough	Efficiency of the Common Law
Rowley & Crew	Dispelling Disinterest in Deregulation
Rowley & Elgin	Representative Government & Bureaucracy
Rowley & Elgin	Towards a Theory of Bureaucracy
Rowley & Monaco	Political Economy of Budget Deficits
Tollison & Anderson	Dead Men Don't Vote
Tollison & Anderson	Is Dennis the Menace a Durable Good?
Tollison & Anderson	New Deal Spending in Public Choice Perspective
Tollison & Anderson	Wealth Maximization and Demand for Biography
Tollison & Ekeland	Environment of Economic Ideas
Tollison & Fleisher	Economists and the Environment
Tollison & Higgins	An Economic Theory of Olympic Footraces
Tollison & Lee	Rent-Seeking and Tax Earmarking
Tollison & Shughart	Exclusive Territories and Advertising Restrictions
Tollison & Shughart	Data of US Merger Activity
Tollison & Shughart	Employment Consequences of the Sherman Act
Tollison & Wagner	Monopolistic Logic of Natural Monopoly Regulation
Tollison & Wagner	Regulatory Finance & Incentive Compatibility
Tollison & Wagner	Romance, Reality and Economic Reform
Tollison & Wagner	Smoking and the Problem of Social Cost
Tollison et al.	Economic Approach to the Inventory of Purgatory
Tollison et al.	Economists and the Economy
Tollison et al.	Methodenstreit: Economics of Methodology
Tullock	An Improved Self-Defense Weapon
Tullock	Arrow Reconsidered
Tullock	Bismarkism
Tullock	Demand Revealing and Government Redistribution
Tullock	Does Economics Effect the Wealth of Nations?
Tullock	Generalization of the General Impossibility Theory
Tullock	Local Redistribution
Tullock	Logrolling and Legislative Democracy
Tullock	Lottery and Insurance: Is There a Paradox
Tullock	Negotiated Settlement
Tullock	Non-standard Contracts and Anti-Trust Laws
Tullock	Population: Costs and Benefits
Tullock	Principles of Public Policy toward Retirement
Tullock	Public Choice
Tullock	Rational Expectations & Paradox of Liar
Tullock	Rational Paradoxes
Tullock	Rent Seeking
Tullock	Rent Seeking in Dictatorships

Tullock	Status
Tullock	The British Political System: A Comment
Tullock	The Theory of Legislation
Tullock	The Universality of the Voting Paradox
Tullock	Thoughts on the Politics of Regulation
Tullock	Tiebout Squared
Tullock	Vicious Externalities
Tullock	Why So Much Stability Revisited
Tullock & Grier	Tax Revenue vs Tax Distortion: A Comment
Vanberg	Innovation, Cultural Evolution & Economic Growth
Vanberg	Organizations as Corporate Actors
Vanberg	Rational Choice, Rule-Following and Institutions
Vanberg	Reciprocity and Spontaneous Social Order
Wagner	Constitutional Order in a Federal Republic
Wagner	Corporate Principles and Local Government
Wagner	Director's Law: A Misdirected Approach
Wagner	Efficiency and Inefficiency in Political Process
Wagner	Entrepreneurial Rent Seeking and Annexation
Wagner	Fiscal Consequences of Economic Growth
Wagner	Fiscal Norms, Fiscal Practice and Tax Earmarking
Wagner	Fiscal Politics of Excise Taxation
Wagner	Fiscal Principle and Politics and Consumption Tax
Wagner	Interest Group Politics and Rational Voting
Wagner	Political Entrepreneurship and Constitutions
Wagner	Smoking and the Wealth of Nations
Wagner	User Charges in Principle and Practice
Wagner	Vulnerability of Free Trade
Wagner & Rowley	Public Choice: Just a Tool

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## CONSTITUTIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

As mentioned elsewhere in this report, the Center's new publication project, the journal, *Constitutional Political Economy*, is underway. The first issue is scheduled to appear in January 1990. Professors Vanberg and Wagner serve as editors and Professor Buchanan as advisory editor. Associate editors are Geoffrey Brennan, Australian National University, and Hartmut Kliemt, Universitaet Duisburg. The editorial office is managed by Monika Vanberg.

*Constitutional Political Economy* will have three issues per year. In 1990 a supplementary issue will feature the papers that were presented at the Liberty Fund Conference held in October 1989 on the occasion of Professor Buchanan's seventieth

birthday. *Constitutional Political Economy* aims at contributing significantly to the ongoing revival of the heritage of classical political economy, with its focus on the critical relation between the characteristics of the legal and institutional framework within which human interaction takes place, and the nature of the economic and socio-political order that emerges.

Additional information about the journal can be obtained by writing to the editors at the Center.

### FINANCIAL SUPPORT

The Center for Study of Public Choice is an integral part of George Mason University. While maintaining its separate identity, the Center staff is part of the George Mason Economics Department. As such, the university budget covers the salaries of the permanent Center staff and minimal operating expenditures.

Center activities extend beyond those supported by the university. Funds for summer and release-time research, special programs, guest lectures, visiting scholars, graduate students, and supplemental travel and operating expenses have been provided by external supporters. These funds were provided by numerous external supporters, to whom we are very grateful.

### PERSONNEL

During 1989, Richard Wagner was named Acting and then Permanent Chairman of the Department of Economics, replacing Karen Vaughn, who stepped down to return to her scholarly pursuits after six years as Chairperson. Ronald Heiner joined the Economics Department and the Center staff during the past year. Heiner came from Brigham Young University. We are also pleased to note that James C. Miller III will serve at the Center for another year as a John M. Olin Distinguished Fellow. Monica Vanberg joined the Center staff as managing editor of the new journal, *Constitutional Political Economy*, and Gloria Yeager and JoAnn Burgess as secretaries. Center personnel

are as follows:

James M. Buchanan  
Advisory General Director

Robert D. Tollison  
Director

Richard E. Wagner  
Educational Director and Research Associate:  
Chairman, Department of Economics

Viktor Vanberg  
Editorial Director and Research Associate

W. Mark Crain  
Research Associate and  
Deputy Chairman, Department of Economics

Charles K. Rowley  
Research Associate

Ronald Heiner  
Research Associate

David M. Levy  
Research Associate

Jennifer Roback  
Coordinator of Outreach Program  
and Research Associate

Roger Congleton  
Research Associate

Kevin Grier  
Affiliated Research Associate

Betty H. Tillman  
Executive Assistant

Carol M. Robert  
Executive Secretary

Gloria Yeager  
Executive Secretary

JoAnn Burgess  
Clerical Assistant

*John M. Olin Distinguished Fellow, 1989-90*

James C. Miller III

*Honorary Fellow*

A. Neil McLeod, Ph.D.

*Distinguished Adjunct Affiliate*

Gordon Tullock, University of Arizona

*Adjunct Research Associates*

Peter Bernholz  
University of Basel

H. Geoffrey Brennan  
Australian National University

Dwight Lee  
University of Georgia

Jack Wiseman  
University of York

### *Associated Graduate Students*

Ademola Aiyegoro  
University of Nigeria, B.S.  
University of Baltimore, M.B.A.  
Catholic University, M.A.  
George Mason University, Ph.D.

Tony Caporale,  
New York University, M.A.

Jose Cateriano  
University of Lima, B.A.  
George Mason University, M.A.

David Coker  
Amherst College, B.A.

Fred Foldvary,  
University of California, Berkeley, B.S.

Laurie Kerns  
College of William & Mary, B.A.  
Georgetown University, M.P.P.

Charalambos Kourtidis  
George Mason University, B.S., M.A.

Fletcher Mangum,  
College of William & Mary, B.A.

Elisabetta Marmolo,  
University of Naples, B.A.

Joseph McGarrity,  
Allegheny College, B.A.

Larry McQuillan  
Trinity University, B.A.

Charles Mensah  
George Washington University, B.A., M.B.A.

Oladipo Oyefusi  
Morgan State University, B.S., M.A.

Samuel Staley  
Colby College, B.A.  
Wright State University, M.S.

Lytton Stoddard  
Vanderbilt University, B.A.  
University of California-Riverside, M.A.

Nicole Verrier  
George Mason University, B.A.

David Zorn  
Trinity University, B.A.

### PUBLICATIONS OF CENTER FACULTY

*James M. Buchanan*

#### Books

*Besteuerung und Staatsgewalt* (with G. Brennan). Hamburg: S. and W. Steuer und  
Wirtschaftsverlag, 1988, pp. xxii + 300. (This is a German translation of *The Power  
to Tax*, Cambridge University Press, 1980.)

*Explorations into Constitutional Economics* (College Station: Texas A&M University  
Press, 1989).

*Essays on the Political Economy* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989).

*Stato, mercato, e liberta* (Bologna, Italy: II Mulino, 1989). (This is a selected set of  
papers in an Italian translation.)

## Contribution to Books

- "The Work Ethic," in *Competing Through Productivity and Quality*, ed. by Y.K. Shetty and V.M. Buehler (Cambridge, MA: Productivity Press, 1988), pp. 55-62. (Not reported in 1988).
- "Post-Reagan Political Economy," in *Reaganomics and After* (London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 1989), pp. 1-16.
- "The Potential and the Limits of Socially Organized Humankind," in *Nobel Laureates Forum in Japan, 1988* (Tokyo: The Yomiuri Shimbun, 1989), pp. 85-94.
- "Constitutional Constraints on Governmental Taxing Power," in *Wirtschaftspolitische Blätter*, Heft 2 (Vienna, Austria, 1989), pp. 183-193.
- "The Simple Economics of the Work Ethic," in *Mt. Pelerin Special Meeting in Taiwan 31 August-2 September 1988, Conference Series, No. 9* (Taipei: Chung-Hua Institute for Economic Studies, 1989), pp. 185-190.
- "Marktversagen und Politikversagen," in *Individuelle Freiheit und Demokratische Entscheidung* (Tuebingen, German: Mohr, 1989), pp. 34-47.
- "The State of Economic Science," in *The State of Economic Science: Views of Six Nobel Laureates*, ed. by W. Sichel (Kalamazoo: W.E. Upjohn Institute for Economic Research, 1989), pp. 79-96.
- "Contractarian Presuppositions and Democratic Governance," in *Politics and Process*, ed. by G. Brennan and L. Lomasky (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 174-182.

## Main Papers

- "Rational Choice and Moral Order" (with Viktor Vanberg), *Analyse und Kritik*, 2 (December 1988), 138-160. (Not reported in 1988).
- "Economists and Gains From Trade" *Managerial and Decision Economics*, Special Issue (Winter 1988), 5-12. (Not reported in 1988).
- "Interests and Theories in Constitutional Choice" (with Viktor Vanberg), *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 1 (January 1989), 49-62.
- "On the Structure of an Economy: A Re-Emphasis of Some Classical Foundations," *Business Economics*, XXIV (January 1989), 6-12.
- "A Theory of Leadership and Deference in Constitutional Construction" (with Viktor Vanberg), *Public Choice*, 61 (1, 1989), 15-28.
- "Cartels, Coalitions and Constitutional Politics" (with Dwight Lee), *Public Choice*

*Studies*, 13 (1989), 5-20. (In Japanese).

### Short Papers

- "Public Choice is New, Negligible, and Beyond Mainstream Economics," *Public Choice*, 59 (December 1988), 291-293. (Not reported in 1988).
- "Peut-on apprivoiser la démocratie?," *Commentaire* (Paris) 9 (Winter 1986-87), 673-676. (Not previously reported.)
- "Camelot Will Not Return," *Reason* 20 (January 1989), 36-38.
- "Hayek and the Forces of History," *Humane Studies Review* (Winter 1988-89), pp. 3-4.
- "Shackle and A Lecture in Pittsburgh," *Market Process*, 7 (Spring 1989), 2-3.
- "Message to the Young People," in *Nobel Laureates Forum in Japan, 1988* (Tokyo: The Yomiuri Shimbun, 1989), 130-131.
- "Comment on Friedman," *National Review*, XLI (16 June 1989), 32.
- "Richard Musgrave, Public Finance, and Public Choice," *Public Choice*, 51 (June 1989), 289-292.
- "A Tale of Two Economies," *Durrell Journal of Money and Banking*, 1 (August 1989), 12-15.

### Robert D. Tollison

#### Main Papers

- "Smoking and the Problem of Social Cost: A Survey" (with R. Wagner), *Journal of Public Finance and Public Choice* (September 1988), 161-175. (Not reported in 1988.)
- "Nassau Senior as Economic Consultant: The Factory Acts Reconsidered" (with G. Anderson and R. Ekelund), *Economica* (February 1989), 71-82.
- "The Half-Life of Dead Economists" (with G. Anderson and D. Levy), *Canadian Journal of Economics* (February 1989), 174-183.
- "Superdissipation" *Public Choice* (1989), 97-98.
- "On the Incentive of Judges to Enforce Legislative Wealth Transfers" (with G. Anderson and W. Shughart), *Journal of Law and Economics* (1989), 423-429.
- "Price Leadership with Incomplete Information" (with R. Higgins and W. Shughart), *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* (1989), 423-429.

"Political Entry Barriers and Tax Incidence: The Political Economy of Sales and Excise Taxes" (with G. Anderson and W. Shughart), *Public Finance* (1989), 8-18.

"Ownership Structure in Professional Sports" (with A. Fleisher and B. Goff), *Research in Law and Economics*, 1989.

### Short Papers

"The Allocation of Death in the Vietnam War: A Public Choice Perspective: Reply" (with B. Goff), *Southern Economic Journal* (April 1989), 1034-1035.

"Chicago Political Economy," *Public Choice* (1989), 293-297.

"The Exercise of Market Power in Experimental Markets: Comment," *Journal of Law and Economics* (1989).

### Reviews

*Private Interests, Public Policy, and American Agriculture*, by W.P. Browne (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1988). *Public Choice* (1989), 298.

*Current Controversies in Economics*, edited by H. Vane and T. Caslin (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987). *Southern Economic Journal* (April 1989), 1085.

*Richard E. Wagner*

### Books

*To Promote the General Welfare: Market Processes vs. Political Transfers* (San Francisco: Pacific Research Institute, 1989).

### Main Papers

"Constitutional Order in a Federal Republic," *Public Choice* 61 (May 1989): 187-92.

"Politics, Central Banking, and Economic Order," *Critical Review* 3 (Summer/Fall 1989): 11-22.

"Social Cost, Rent Seeking, and Smoking: A Public Choice Perspective," (with Robert D. Tollison) *Economia Delle Scelte Pubbliche* 6 (December 1988): 171-86. (Not reported in 1988.)

"Political Economy and the Problem of Rules and Order in a Shrunken World" (with Jack High), in *Northeast Asia in the Changing World Perspective*, Opening Addresses, Lectures, and Closing Addresses Taegu: Kyungpook National University, 1989), pp. 23-37.



## **Viktor Vanberg**

### **Main Papers**

"Interests and Theories in Constitutional Choice" (with J.M. Buchanan), *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, Vol. I, 1989, 49-62.

"A Theory of Leadership and Deference in Constitutional Construction" (with J.M. Buchanan), *Public Choice*, Vol. 61, 1989, 15-27.

"Hayek as Constitutional Political Economist," *Wirtschaftspolitische Blaetter*, Vol. 36, 1989, 170-182.

"Carl Menger's Evolutionary and John R. Commons Collective Action Approach to Institutions: A Comparison," *Review of Political Economy*, Vol. I, 1989, 336-362.

### **Reviews**

*Individual Interests and Collective Action: Selected Essays* by James S. Coleman, *Public Choice*, Vol. 60, 1989, 294-297.

Review of the German translation of R. Axelrod's *The Evolution of Cooperation*, and books by H. Kliemt and Th. Voss on related issues of institutional analysis, *Koelner Zeitschrift fuer Sociologie und Sozialpsychologie*, Vol. 41, 1989, 386-394.

### **Other**

Preface (with R.D. Tollison) to J.M. Buchanan, *Explorations into Constitutional Economics*, Texas A&M University Press 1989, vii-x.

## **William M. Crain**

### **Books**

*Predicting Politics: Essays in Empirical Public Choice* (edited with R.D. Tollison) (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, forthcoming).

### **Contribution to Books**

"The Congressional Dynasty," in John Marini and Gordon Jones (eds.) *The Imperial Congress: Crisis in the Separation of Powers*, (New York: Pharos 1989).

"Social Security Trust Funds in a Tax and Spend World" (with M.L. Marlow), in Carolyn Weaver (ed.) *Social Security's Looming Surplus*, (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, forthcoming).

"Empirical Public Choice" (with R.D. Tollison), in M. Crain and R. Tollison (eds.),

*Predicting Politics: Essays in Empirical Political Economy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, forthcoming).

"Legislative Committees: A Filtering Theory," in M. Crain and R. Tollison (eds.), *Predicting Politics: Essays in Empirical Political Economy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, forthcoming).

"Pork Barrel Paradox" (with R.D. Tollison and D. Leavens), in Crain and Tollison (eds.), *Predicting Politics: Essays in Empirical Political Economy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, forthcoming).

"An Economic Theory of Redistricting" (with R.D. Tollison and M. Davis), in Crain and Tollison (eds.), *Predicting Politics: Essays in Empirical Political Economy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, forthcoming).

"The Three Classes of Senate Seats" (with B.L. Goff), in M. Crain and R. Tollison (eds.), *Predicting Politics: Essays in Empirical Political Economy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, forthcoming).

### **Ronald Heiner**

#### **Main Papers**

"The Necessity of Delaying Economic Adjustment," *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*, 11 (February 1989), pp. 255-86.

"Imperfect Decisions and Public Choice: The Need for Rules Even with Benevolent Motivation," *Review of Political Economy*, 1 (May 1989), pp. 18-38.

"Imperfect Decisions and Self-Stabilizing Rules," *Economics and Philosophy*, 5 (May 1989), pp. 19-32.

"The Origin of Predictable Dynamic Behavior," *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* 12 (October 1989), pp. 233-58.

#### **Review**

Review of "Perspective Theory: A New Approach to Choice Under Uncertainty," Blackwell Press, by J.L. Ford; for the *Journal of Economic Literature*, 27 (June 1989), pp. 599-601.

### **Charles K. Rowley**

#### **Main Papers**

"The Common Law in Public Choice Perspective: A Theoretical and Institutional Critique," *Hamline Law Review*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (Spring 1988), pp. 355-383.

"Competition and the Right to Justice," *The Legal Sciences Review*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (November 1989).

"Public Choice: Just a Tool" (with Richard E. Wagner), *Liberty*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (November 1989).

#### **Book Review**

C. Barnett, "The Pride and the Fall: The Dream and Illusion of Britain as a Great Nation," *Public Choice* Vol. 63, No. 1 (October 1989), pp. 95-100.

#### *David M. Levy*

#### **Main Papers**

"Estimating the Impact of Government R&D," *Economic Letters*, 1989.

"Problems Identifying Returns to R&D in an Industry" (with Nestor Terleckyj), *Managerial and Decision Economics* (1989: 43-49).

"The Statistical Basis of Athenian-American Constitutional Theory," *Journal of Legal Studies*, 18:1 (January 1989): 79-103.

"The Half-Life of Dead Economists" (with R.D. Tollison and G. Anderson), *Canadian Journal of Economics*, 22:1 (1989): 198-207

"Equilibrium Employment of Inputs by a Rent-Seeking Firm," *Public Choice* 60 (1989): 177-184.

#### **Macroeconometric Model**

*Model of U.S. Economic Growth: Technical Description with PC Software and Data Disks* (with Nestor E. Terleckyj and Charles D. Coleman). Washington, 1989.

#### *Jennifer Roback*

#### **Main Papers**

"W.H. Hutt's, The Economics of the Colour Bar," *Managerial and Decision Economics*, Winter 1988. (Not reported in 1988.)

"Racism As Rent-Seeking," *Economic Inquiry*, October 1989.

**Roger D. Congleton**

**Contribution to Books**

"Proportional and Progressive Income Taxation with Utility Maximizing Governments" (with J. Buchanan), *Public Choice* 34 (1979): 217-230. Reprinted in Tollison, R.D., and Vanberg, V. (eds.), *Explorations into Constitutional Economics*. Texas A&M Press (1989): 294-309.

**Main Papers**

"Efficient Status Seeking: Externalities and the Evolution of Status Games," *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*, 11 (1989): 175-190.

"Monitoring Rent-Seeking Managers: Advantages of Diffuse Ownership," *Canadian Journal of Economics*, 22 (1989): 662-672.

"Campaign Finances and Political Platforms: The Economics of Political Controversy," *Public Choice*, 62 (1989): 101-118.

**Kevin B. Grier**

**Main Papers**

"On the Existence of a Political Monetary Cycle," *American Journal of Political Science* (May 1989), 376-389.

"An Empirical Analysis of Cross-National Economic Growth," *Journal of Monetary Economics* (September 1989), 259-276.

"Campaign Spending and Senate Elections, 1978-1984," *Public Choice* (December 1989), 201-219.

**James C. Miller III**

John M. Olin Distinguished Fellow

**Books**

*The Economist as Reformer: Revamping the FTC, 1981-1985* (Washington: The American Enterprise Institute, 1989).

**Main Articles**

"Reflections on Fiscal Policy in the 1980's," in *The Future of the Thrift Industry* (San Francisco: Federal Home Loan Bank of San Francisco, 1989).

## Other

- "Hold the Applause: The Budget Games Have Just Begun," *Wall Street Journal* (May 24, 1989).
- "Don't Blow It, South Carolina," (Charleston) *News & Courier* (May 29, 1989).
- "The Man Who Brought the Deficit Down" (interviewed by Adam Meyerson), *Public Policy* (Spring, 1989), pp. 16-23.
- "Miller Time: Reagan's Budget Boss Speaks Out" (interviewed by Tom Bethell), *Reason* (May 1989), pp. 32-37.
- "Bush's Budget Strategy," *Wall Street Journal* (September 29, 1989).
- "Steel Bully Taking our Lunch Money?" (with Nancy Oliver), *Washington Times* (October 23, 1989; reprinted in numerous newspapers).

## Adjunct Professors

*Gordon Tullock*

### Books

*The Economics of Special Privilege and Rent Seeking* (Boston & Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1989).

### Main Papers

- "Defending the Napoleonic Code Over the Common Law," in Stuart S. Nagel (ed.), *Research in Law and Policy Studies 2* (JAI Press Inc., 1988), pp. 2-27.
- "Freedom and the State," translated as "La Liberta e lo Stato," in *Biblioteca Della Liberta* 104 (1989), pp. 5-22.
- "Rents, Ignorance and Ideology," Japanese translation in *Public Choice Studies* 13 (May 1989), pp. 19-34.
- "Changing Incentives to Make Economics More Relevant," in David C. Colander and A.W. Coats (eds.), *The Spread of Economic Ideas* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 235-47.

### Short Papers

Summary of "Rents and Regulations" (paper presented at International Conference on Economy and Power, Interlaken, Switzerland, July 1988); edited by Helmut Raiser, FWS Institute for Socio-Economic Research (Nov. 1988), pp. 14-19.

"The Economics of Conflict," *Absolute Values and the Reassessment of the Contemporary World* (New York: The International Cultural Foundation Press, Inc., 1988), p. 129.

"Letter to Editor," *Science* (3 March 1989), p. 1125.

An interview with Gordon Tullock, in "Economics in Our Lives," section in Roger A. Arnold's *Economics* (St. Paul: West Publishing Company, 1989), pp. 559-560.

Editorial comment attached to end of Edward L. Millner and Michael D. Pratt's "An Experimental Investigation of Efficient Rent Seeking," *Public Choice* 62, No. 2 (August 1989), pp. 153-54.

"Medical Costs and Third Party Payments," translated into Italian, "Assicurazioni sanitario private: costi, benefici, incentivi," in *Biblioteca Della Liberta* XXIV, No. 106 (1989), pp. 83-87.

Letter to the Editor, "Having What It Takes," *The New York Review of Books* XXXVI, No. 17 (November 9, 1989), p. 61.

### Book Reviews

*Principals of Group Solidarity*, by Michael Hechter (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1987). In *Public Choice* 60, No. 1 (1989), pp. 99-100.

*Controlling Corruption*, by Robert Klitgaard (Berkeley & London: University of California Press, 1988). In *Journal of Economic Literature* XVII (June, 1989), pp. 650-59.

"The Economics of Torts," review essay of *The Economic Structure of Tort Law* by William M. Landes and Richard A. Posner; and *Economic Analysis of Accident Law* by Steven Shavell. In *Hamline Law Review* 12, No. 2 (Spring 1989), pp. 411-19.

*Not Only the Poor*, by Robert E. Goodin and Julian Le Grand (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987). In *Public Choice* 63, No. 2 (November 1989), p. 192.

### Peter Bernholz

#### Main Papers

"Der deutsche Neoliberalismus: Das Problem einer stabilen Waehrungsverfassung." In: *Geldwertstabilitat und Waehrungsordnung*, Tuebingen, 1989, S. 1-36.

"Einfuehrung und Behauptung stabiler Waehrungsverfassungen." In: *Geldwertstabilitat und Waehrungsordnung*, Tuebingen, 1989, S. 37-76.

"Implications of Alternative International Exchange Rate Arrangements for the

Developing Countries." Comment on the article with the same title by Sebastian Edwards. In: H.-J. Vosgerau (ed.): *New Institutional Arrangements for the World Economy*. Berlin, Heidelberg, New York. Springer 1989, pp. 85-88.

"An Implausible Theory of Inflation." In: *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, Bd. 125(2), 1989, S. 359-365. Mit Hans Juergen Jaksch.

"Ordo-Liberals and the Control of the Money Supply." In: Alan Peacock und Hans Willgerodt (Hrsg.): *German Neo-Liberals and the Social Market Economy*. Macmillan, Basingstoke und London, 1989. S. 191-215.

"Currency Competition, Inflation, Gresham's Law and Exchange Rate." In: *Zeitschrift fuer die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, Vol. 145, Nr. 3, 1989. S. 465-488.

### **Geoffrey Brennan**

#### **Books**

*Politics and Process: New Essays in Democratic Theory* (with Loren Lomasky), Cambridge University Press, 1989.

#### **Contribution to Books**

"Politics with Romance: Towards A Theory of Democratic Socialism," in A. Hamlin and P. Pettit, *The Good Polity*, Basil Blackwell, 1989.

"Tax Mix and Horizontal Equity," in J.G. Head (ed.), *Australian Tax Reform In Prospect and Retrospect*, Australian Tax Research Foundation, 1989.

"Predictive Power and the Choice Among Regimes" (with J.M. Buchanan), in J.M. Buchanan, *Explorations Into Constitutional Economics*, Texas A&M University Press, 1989.

"Voter Choice: Evaluating Political Alternatives" (with J.M. Buchanan), in J.M. Buchanan, *Explorations Into Constitutional Economics*, Texas A&M University Press, 1989.

"Tax Instruments as Constraints on the Disposition of Public Revenues" (with J.M. Buchanan), in J.M. Buchanan, *Explorations Into Constitutional Economics*, Texas A&M University Press, 1989.

#### **Main Papers**

"Rational Actor Theory: An Insider's Response to Barry Hindess," *Political Theory Newsletter*, Vol. 1 No. 2, September 1989, pp. 129-132.

*Dwight Lee*

### Contributions to Books

"Increasing Competition in Education," in Kenneth Chilton and Melinda Warren, eds., *It's Education's Turn to Restructure*, Center for Study of American Business, Washington University, St. Louis. Formal Publication No. 91 (April 1989).

### Main Papers

"On the Optimal Retaliation Against Terrorists: The Paid Rider Option" (with Todd Sandler), *Public Choice*, Vol. 61, No. 2 (1989): 141-52.

"The International Political Economy of Declining Tax Rates" (with Richard McKenzie), *National Tax Journal*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (March 1989): 79-83.

"The Impossibility of a Desirable Minimal State," *Public Choice*, Vol. 61, No. 3 (June 1989): 277-84.

"Statutes versus Enforcement: The Case of the Optimal Speed Limit" (with Phil Graves and Robert Sexton), *American Economic Review*, Vol. 79, No. 4 (September 1989): 932-36.

"Special Interest Inefficiency: A Case for or Against Government Spending Limits," *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 70, No. 3 (September 1989): 765-71.

### Short Papers and Editorials

"Tax Evasion and Monopoly Output Decisions: A Reply," *National Tax Journal*, Vol. 42, No. 4 (December 1988): 583-84. (Not reported in 1988.)

"Less than Unanimous Agreement on the Reason for Unanimous Agreement: Comment," *Public Choice*, Vol. 62, No. 1 (July 1989): 83-87.

"Members of Congress Don't Deserve a Pay Raise, Which is Why They Should Get a Big One" (with Richard McKenzie), *Chicago Tribune* (6 January 1989), Op Ed page.

"Political Piracy Takes Root" (with James M. Buchanan), *The Journal of Commerce* (31 March 1989): p. 8A.

"Anti-Smokers' Intolerance Jeopardizes Free Speech," *The Atlanta Constitution* (20 April 1989): p. 20A.

"The Market For Corporate Control: Political vs. Managerial Agents," *Contemporary Issues Series 32*, Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University (June 1989).



"A Cheap Way to Deter Drinking and Driving" (with Robert Sexton), *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* (July 26, 1989): A12.

"Will More Condoms Mean Less AIDS?: It's a Question of Elasticity," *The Margin* (September/October 1989): p.28.

"The Morality of a Free Market" (with Robert Sexton), *The Orange County Register* (July 30, 1989): p. L4.

"Public Compassion and Political Competition," *Contemporary Issues Series 35*, Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University, St. Louis (September 1989).

"A Bigger Oil Spill That No Alaskan Seems to Notice," *The Wall Street Journal* (September 20, 1989): p.A24.

"Do Minimum Wages Cause Lower Wages?" (with Cindy Lee), *The Margin* (November/December 1989): pp. 17-18.

*Jack Wiseman*

#### **Books**

*Cost, Choice and Political Economy* (Aldershot, U.K.: Edward Elgar, 1989).

*Long-Term Savings in a Market Economy: A Case Study of the Principles and Practice of U.K. Economic Policy* (Edinburgh, Scotland: David Hume Institute Occasional Paper No. 10, 1988). (Not reported in 1988.)

#### **Contributions to Books**

"The Political Economy of Government Revenues," in Aldo Chiancone and Ken Messere (eds.), *Changes in Revenue Structures* (Detroit, Michigan: Wayne State University Press for International Institute of Public Finance, 1989), pp. 9-20.

"La Economia Politica del Federalismo Fiscal," in 20th *Jornados De Finanzas Publicas* (Cordoba, Argentina: Facultad de Ciencias Economicas Universidad Nacional de Cordoba, 1989), pp. II 1-15.

"Social Policy and the Social Market Economy," in Alan Peacock and Hans Willgerodt (eds.), *German Neo-Liberals and the Social Market Economy* (London: Macmillan for Trade Policy Research Centre, 1989) pp. 161-178.

#### **Articles Reprinted**

"Growing with Nationalisation," in Cento Veljanovski (ed.), *Privatisation and Competition* (London, Institute of Economic Affairs, Hobart Paperback No. 28, 1989), pp. 3-14.

## Short Paper

"Taxation of Life Assurance: Policy for a Libertarian Caring Society," *Financial Times*, 22 February 1989.

## HONORS, AWARDS AND PRESENTATIONS

*James M. Buchanan*

### Honors and Awards

Special Festschrift Conference, sponsored by Liberty Fund on occasion of 70th birthday -- 28-30 September 1989, Roanoke, Virginia.

Awardee, Distinguished Alumnus Award, American Association of State Colleges and Universities, San Francisco, 22 November 1989.

### Presentations

Dinner talk, Henry Simons Society, Fairfax, 26 January.

Dinner lecture, Regulation Conference, George Mason University, 2 February.

Ebery Memorial Lecture, Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 14 February.

Seminar, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, 15 February.

Lecture, Nobel Laureates Series, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, 15 February.

Keynote address, CATO Institute Conference on Alternatives to Fiat Money, Washington, D.C., 23 February.

Public lecture, Economics Club, George Mason University, Fairfax, 28 February.

Law and Economics Workshop paper, Law School, George Mason University, Arlington, 2 March.

- Luncheon Speaker, Eastern Economic Association,  
Baltimore, 4 March.
- Lecture, Chico State University, Chico, California, 15 March.
- Coauthor, main paper, Public Choice Society meeting,  
Orlando, 17-19 March.
- Lecture, York University, Toronto, 4 April.
- Seminar, York University, Toronto, 4 April.
- Workshop paper, Law and Economics Workshop, University  
of Toronto Law School, 5 April.
- Lecture, Political Economy Club, University of Chicago, 12  
April.
- Banquet Speech, Northern Virginia District Rotary  
International, Charlottesville, 21 April.
- Talk, Annual Meeting, Commonwealth North, Anchorage,  
Alaska, 2 May.
- Main paper presentation, Liberty Fund Conference on  
Constitutional Economics and Ordnungstheorie, Bonn,  
Germany, 2-5 June.
- Coauthor, main paper presentation in Congress on  
Consumption Taxation, Heidelberg, Germany, 27-30  
June.
- Lecture, Nobel Laureates Tagungen, Lindau, Germany, 2-3  
July.
- Seminar, Economics Institute, University of Basel,  
Switzerland, 4 July.
- Occasional lecture, Liberty Fund Conference on  
Constitutional Political Economy, 13 July.
- Workshop, co-leader, eleven sessions, three hours each,  
Alpbach European Forum, Alpbach, Tirol, Austria, 19-30  
August.
- Plenary Lecture, Alpbach European Forum, Alpbach, Tirol,  
Austria, 29 August.

- Seminar, Mt. Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick, Canada, 18 September.
- Lecture, Mt. Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick, Canada, 19 September.
- Lecture, Mary Washington University, Fredericksburg, Virginia, 10 October.
- Lecture (Luncheon), State Council Colloquium on Ethics and the University, Hollins College, Roanoke, 13 October.
- Inaugural W.H. Hutt Memorial Lecture, University of Dallas, Dallas, Texas, 17 October.
- Luncheon talk, Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, Dallas, Texas, 18 October.
- Remarks, American Alpbach Foundation Reception, Dallas, Texas, 18 October.
- Lecture, Occidental College, Los Angeles, 19 October.
- Main paper presentation, Southern Economic Association meeting, Orlando, 20 November.
- Acceptance speech, Award Ceremony, American Association of State College and Universities, San Francisco, 21 November.
- Main paper presentation, Mt. Pelerin Society Regional Meeting in New Zealand, Christchurch, New Zealand, 28 November.
- Two seminars, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand, 29-30 November.
- Dinner lecture, Center for Independent Studies, Wellington, New Zealand, 4 December.
- Seminar, Treasury Department, Wellington, New Zealand, 5 December.

*Robert D. Tollison*

**Professional Activities**

Board of Advisors, The Independent Institute

Board of Directors, Citizens for a Sound Economy

Academic Advisory Committee, Institute for Research on the  
Economics of Taxation

Academic Advisory Board, FUNDEMOS, La Paz, Bolivia

Editorial Board, *Constitutional Political Economy*

Consultant, Florida State University and Florida Board of  
Regents

Consultant, Virginia Commonwealth University

**Presentations**

Debate with Bruce Ackerman, American Association of Law  
Schools, New Orleans, 8 January.

Paper, Regulation Conference, George Mason University, 3  
February.

Economics seminar, Wayne State, 8 February.

Visiting Professor of Policy Science, Florida State University,  
16-27 February.

Paper and discussant, Public Choice Meetings, Orlando,  
Florida, 17-18 March.

Visiting Professor of Economics, Arizona State University  
27-31 March.

Paper, Public Choice Outreach Seminar, June.

Discussant, Liberty Fund Conference on Government Power,  
Charlotte, North Carolina, 3-6 August.

Paper, Austrian Seminar, George Mason University, 12  
September.

Co-organizer, Liberty Fund Conference, Buchanan  
Contribution, Roanoke, Virginia, 28 September - 1  
October.

Discussant, Conference on Political Economy of  
International Organization, Claremont Graduate School,  
Claremont, California, 10-11 November.

Discussant, two sessions, Southern Economic Association  
Meetings, Orlando, Florida, 18-20 November.

*Richard E. Wagner*

#### Presentations

"Morals, Interests, and Constitutional Order," University of  
Missouri, Kansas City, 16 February.

"Economic Purity, Political Reality, and Macroeconomic  
Policy," University of Missouri, Kansas City, 17 February.

"Efficiency and Inefficiency in Political Process: Zenoistic  
Variations on Austrian and Neoclassical Themes,"  
University of Missouri, Kansas City, 17 February.

"An Interest-Group Model of Public Health Regulation"  
(with Robert D. Tollison), Public Choice Society, Orlando,  
17 March.

"Chicago Political Economy: Discussion," Public Choice  
Society, Orlando, 18 March.

"Issues in Taxation: Discussion," Southwestern Economics  
Association, Little Rock, 30 March.

"Nasty, Brutish, and Long: The Political Economy of Life and  
Death," Institute for Humane Studies, Fairfax, 6 April.

"Constitutional Political Economy: One Puzzler's Survey,"  
Liberty Fund Symposium on "German Ordnungstheorie  
and American Constitutional Economics," Bonn, 3-6 June.

"Fiscal Principle, Fiscal Politics, and Consumption Taxation,"  
University of Linz, 13 June.

"Efficiency and Inefficiency in Political Process: Zenoistic  
Variations on Coasian Themes," Western Economic  
Association, Lake Tahoe, 22 June.

"Federalism and Constitutional Order," Public Choice Outreach Seminar, Fairfax, 23 June.

"Fiscal Principle, Fiscal Politics, and Consumption Taxation," Congress on Taxing Consumption, University of Heidelberg, 28-30 June.

Participant, Liberty Fund Symposium on "Liberty and Constitutional Order," Crystal City, 6-9 July.

"Economic Purity, Political Reality, and Macroeconomic Policy," Invest-in-America Lecture, George Mason University, 1 August.

Participant, Liberty Fund Symposium on "The Scholarship of James M. Buchanan," Roanoke, 28 September - 1 October.

### *Viktor Vanberg*

#### **Presentations**

"Hayek as Constitutional Political Economist," Lecture, Austrian Economics Colloquium, George Mason University, 14 February.

"Innovation, Cultural Evolution and Economic Growth," Paper at Public Choice Society Meetings, Orlando, Florida, 17-19 March.

"The Rationality of Rule-Following Behavior," Lecture, Public Choice Seminar, George Mason University, 3 May.

"Liberty, Institutions, and Innovations," paper, Liberty Fund Conference, Dallas, Texas, 4-7 May.

Participant, Symposium on "Conceptions of Human Action," George Mason University, 17-28 May.

Co-director (with Christian Watrin, Cologne), Liberty Fund Symposium on "German Ordnungstheorie and American Constitutional Economics," Bonn, Germany, 3-6 June.

Lecture, Universitaet Wuppertal, Germany, 6 June.

Lecture, Universitaet Duisburg, Germany, 7 June.

Lecture Universitaet Cologne, Germany, 8 June.

Lecture, Universitaet Duesseldorf, Germany, 9 June.

Lecture, Universitaet Mannheim, Germany, 13 June.

Lectures, Public Choice Outreach Program, George Mason University, 18-21 June.

"Co-director (with Karen Vaughn), Liberty Fund Symposium on "Liberty and Constitutionalism," Crystal City, Virginia, 13-16 July.

"Rational Choice, Rule-Following and Institutions," Paper, SCASSS - Conference on "Methodological Problems of Neo-Institutional Economics," Uppsala, Sweden, 17-19 August.

Co-leader (with J.M. Buchanan) of Study Group on "Political Process, Cultural Evolution and Constitutional Consensus" at the Alpbach European Forum, Austria, 20-31 August.

Participant, Liberty Fund Conference on "Liberty and Constitutional Order," Roanoke, Virginia, 28 September-1 October.

Participant, Liberty Fund Conference on "Liberty and the Hobbesian Problem of Order," Jackson Hole, Wyoming, 5-8 October.

Chairman, Panel on "Constitutional Political Economy," SEA Meetings, Orlando, 19-21 November.

*William M. Crain*

#### **Presentations**

Conference, American Enterprise Institute, Washington, D.C., Social Security's Looming Surplus, "Social Security Trust Funds in a Tax and Spend World" (with M.L. Marlow), 30 March. Conference volume to be published in 1990.

Organizer, "The Bush Budget: Its Impact on Northern Virginia's Growth in the 1990's," sponsored by the Northern Virginia Chapter, National Association of Industrial and Office Parks, McLean, VA 25 April.



"The House Dynasty: A Public Choice Analysis," delivered at the Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., 4 May.

Discussant, Session on "Federal Fiscal Policy," Western Economic Association, 25 June.

"The Probability of Being President: GOP Lock on the Electoral College," Brown Bag Seminar, Public Choice Center, 7 November.

Producer, *The Economics of Elections* (with B. Schudel), video broadcast in all Fairfax County Public Schools and on Cable Channel 25.

Orgnaizer, "Principles of Financial Markets" (with B. Schudel), co-sponsored by the Center for Economic Education and The Young Bankers Association, for 50 Fairfax County Public School Teachers, 4 December.

### *Ronald Heiner*

#### **Presentations**

Seminar, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City, "Nonlinear Dynamics and Economics," February.

Invited discussant, Southwestern Economic Association, Little Rock, Arkansas, "Proposals for a New Social Science," March.

Invited discussant, Eastern Economic Association Meetings, Baltimore, "Aggregate Production Functions and Evolutionary Technical Change," March.

Seminar, California State University at Fullerton, "The Nature of Rule-Governed Behavior," April.

Seminar, Department of Economics, New York University, "Dynamics in Experimental Auction Markets," May.

Seminar, International Conference on Nonlinear Dynamics, Chaos, and Evolution in Economics, Prigogine Center for Statistical Mechanics at the University of Texas, Austin, "Chaotic Optima and Predictable Dynamic Behavior," May.

Paper, Conference on Constitutional Economics and German Ordnungstheorie in Bonn, West Germany, "Rule-Governed Behavior in Evolution and Human Society," June.

Seminar, Washington Evolutionary Systems Society, George Washington University, "Nonlinear Dynamics in Economic Analysis," November.

*Charles K. Rowley*

#### Honors

Appointed to the Academic Advisory Board of Journal des Economistes et des Etudes Humanes, Paris.

Appointed to the IHS Claude R. Lambe Academic Review Committee.

Faculty advisor to *The GMU Society for Individual Liberty*.

#### Presentations

Seminar, "The Law of Legislation," George Mason Law School, 19 January.

Seminar, "Personality Projection and Postgraduate Courses," Institute for Humane Studies, 26 June.

Seminar, "Developing a Resume for the Academy," Institute for Humane Studies, 6 July.

Seminar, "The Virginia School of Political Economy," Institute for Humane Studies, 2 August.

Seminar, "A Public Choice Critique of the Common Law," 6th Annual Conference of European Law and Economics, Vienna, Austria, 26 September.

Luncheon address, "Antipoverty versus the Right to Justice," Center for Study of Public Choice, 17 October.

Seminar, "Thesis as Law: The Law of Legislation: A Critique," Institute for Humane Studies, 18 October.

Paper, "The Legal Series Corporation: Antipoverty versus The Right to Justice," Southern Economic Association Meeting, Orlando, Florida, 19 November.

Seminar, "The Rhetoric of Political Economy," Center for Study of Market Processes, 28 November.

*David M. Levy*

### **Presentations**

"Economic Effects of Federal R&D Expenditures" (with Nestor Terleckyj), American Association for the Advancement of Science, January.

"Mandeville's Problem," George Washington University Faculty Seminar, February.

"Stylometrics: The Decline in the Quality of Writing in Economics" (with Arthur Diamond), History of Economics Society, June.

"Internal Versus External Monitors: A Theory of Religious Organization" (with Susan Feigenbaum), Western Economic Association, June.

"Mandeville's Problem," Public Choice Outreach Program, June.

"Towards a Post-Marxist View of the Birth Control Movement," Institute for Humane Studies, October.

"Smith and Hume on Liberty," Huntington Library, October.

"The Bias in Centrally Planned Prices," Southern Economic Association, November.

*Discussant*, American Economic Association, December.

"Marshall and Chicago," History of Economics Society/American Economic Association, December 1989.

### **Conferences Directed**

"Smith and Hume on Liberty" Liberty Fund Conference, Huntington Library, October.

*Jennifer Roback*

**Awards**

Templeton Foundation Honor Roll, 1st Prize Winner,  
National Competition for Teaching Excellence, April.

**Presentations**

Brown Bag Luncheon, Public Choice Center, "Constitutional Perspectives on Racism as Rent-Seeking," 31 January.

Participant, Liberty Fund Socratic Seminar on "John C. Calhoun and The States' Rights Tradition of Liberty," Indianapolis, 23-24 February.

Main Paper, Political Economy Research Center Conference on Property Rights, Constitutions and Indian Economies, "Exchange, Sovereignty and Indian-Anglo Relations," Big Sky, Montana, 1-4 June.

Participant, Liberty Fund Colloquium, "Thomas Jefferson and the Constitution," Charlottesville, Virginia, 8-11 June.

Lecture, "A Public Choice Approach to the Coming of the Civil War," Public Choice Outreach Seminar, 14 June.

Lecture, "The Free Market vs. Racism," Liberty and Society East Coast Seminars, sponsored by the Institute for Humane Studies, 12 June and 13 July.

Participant, Liberty Fund Conference, "South Carolina, The Cultivation of Liberty and the Creation of the American Political Tradition, 1760-1800," Charleston, South Carolina, 26-28 October.

Organized two sessions: "Applied Public Choice" and "Historical Applications of Property Rights Theory," Southern Economic Association Meetings, Orlando, Florida, 19-21 November.

Paper, "The Tragedy of the Commons and the Coming of the Civil War," Southern Economic Association Meetings, Orlando, Florida, 19-21 November.

Paper, "The Endogeneity of the Polity in U. S. History," Southern Economic Association meetings, Orlando, Florida, 19-21 November.

Paper, "Racism as Rent-Seeking," Mont Pelerin Society  
Regional Meeting, Christchurch, New Zealand, 29  
November.

Member, Civil Rights Task Force of the Center for Applied  
Jurisprudence (operating under the auspices of the  
Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy), August 1988  
- present.

*Roger D. Congleton*

**Presentations**

Paper, "Ideology and Rent-Seeking," Public Choice Society,  
Orlando, Florida, March.

Lecture, "The Role of Ideology in a Rent-Seeking Society,"  
Institute for Humane Studies, April.

Lecture, "Public Finance and Public Choice," Public Choice  
Outreach Program, June.

Luncheon Seminar, "Ethnic Aspects of Public Finance,"  
Center for Study of Public Choice, September.

Institutional Innovations and the Growth of Government:  
Comments on Gordon Tullock, American Economic  
Association Meetings, Atlanta, 22 December.

*Kevin B. Grier*

**Presentations**

Seminar, "Predicting Business and Labor PAC Contributions  
to Congressional Incumbents," Graduate School of  
Business, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, March.

Seminar, "An Empirical Analysis of Cross-National  
Economic Growth," Department of Government,  
University of Texas, Austin, June.

*James C. Miller III*

John M. Olin Distinguished Fellow

**Presentations and Professional Activities**

Live interview on "CBS Morning News" with Congressman Bill Gray, Reagan Budget, 9 January.

Live interview on CNN, Reagan Budget, 9 January.

Live interview on FNN Evening News, Reagan Budget, 9 January.

Live interview on FNN "Focus," Reagan Budget, 9 January.

Press briefing at National Press Club, Reagan Budget and Economic Outlook, 10 January.

Live interview on C-SPAN, Reagan Budget and Economic Outlook, 10 January.

Address to Hoover Institution Board of Overseers, Retrospective on Reagan Administration, 11 January.

Taping of interview with (German) SATI/TV, Reagan Budget and Economic Outlook, 12 January.

Testimony before Virginia Senate Rules Committee, Resolution to Rescind Call for a Balanced Budget Amendment, Richmond, 13 January.

Appearance on "Larry King Live" radio show with Congressman Leon Panetta, 19 January.

Guest appearance on PBS "Wall Street Week," Economic Outlook, 20 January.

Appearance on CNN "Crossfire," CSE's Roper Poll, 24 January.

Address to students of American University, Washington Semester, 24 January.

Appearance on CNN "Crossfire" with Congressman Charles Schumer, Savings and Loan Crisis, 25 January.

Meeting with editorial board of *Atlanta Journal*, 27 January.

Address to officials of Georgia Pacific Corporation, Political Developments and the Economy, Atlanta, 27 January.

Taping of four commentaries for Radio America, 3 February.

Speech to Conference sponsored by Solomon Brothers, Economic Outlook, Phoenix, 4 February.

Testimony before Ways and Means Committee, Budget and Economic Outlook, 7 February.

Live interview with Bernard Shaw of CNN "Newsday," Preview of Bush Budget, 8 February.

Appearances on (local) WRC-TV Channel 4 News and WJLA-TV Channel 7 News, The Bush Budget, 9 February.

Live interview on FNN "Focus" with Senator Dennis Deconcini, The Bush Budget, 9 February.

Live interviews on ABC "World News This Morning," and "Good Morning America," The Bush Budget and Economic Outlook, 10 February.

Appearance on CNN "Newsmaker Sunday" with Senator Pete Domenici and Congressman Leon Panetta, The Bush Budget and Budget Process, 11 February.

Live interview on WPBR Radio, Palm Beach Florida, Bush Budget, 22 February.

Live interview on FNN, with Congressman Frenzel, Report of National Economic Commission, 1 March.

Attendance at Board of Directors meeting, U.S. Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs, 5 March.

Address to Japan External Trade Organization/Business Week Conference, The Economy and U.S./Japan Relations, New York City, 7 March.

Keynote Address to George Mason University's Annual Government Contracts Seminar, New Directions in Defense Contracting, 15 March.

Breakfast address to officers of Electronic Data Systems, Budget Deficit, 21 March.

Address to Members of House Republican Study Committee, CSE's Roper Poll and Strategy for Forthcoming Budget, 21 March.

Interview on FNN, The Budget Accord, 11 April.

Testimony before Senate Subcommittee on the Constitution, Line Item Veto, 11 April.

Address to annual convention of Southeastern Electric Exchange, The Twin Deficits, Boca Raton, Florida, 12 April.

Keynote Address to International Symposium on Private Express and Postal Services, sponsored by International Chamber of Commerce, The Future of Postal Services, Paris, 13 April.

Keynote speech to Northern Virginia chapter of National Association of Industrial and Office Parks, The Outlook for Government Spending, McLean, VA, 27 April.

Address to Annual Symposium of Los Angeles County Management Association, State of the Nation, Solvang, CA, 28 April.

Address at Miller Center for Public Affairs, University of Virginia, Reagan Presidency, Charlottesville, VA, 4 May.

Meeting of Committee on Regulation of Administrative Conference of the U.S., Two Proposals for Possible Funding, 8 May.

Live interview on FNN, Budget Compromise, 15 May.

Visit to Republic of China on Taiwan, meetings with President, Premier, and several Cabinet officials, speech to Taiwanese business leaders and address at Chung Hua Institute, Taipei 23-26 May.

Visit to People's Republic of China, "Economic Summit" with officials of PRC; meeting with U.S. Ambassador James Lilley; Address at final banquet of delegates to U.S./China People-to-People Conference, Beijing, 28 May - 2 June.

Address to Institute of Property Taxation, The Economy and the Deficit, Palm Desert, CA, 6 June.



Meeting with President Bush and Vice President Quayle,  
Fiscal Restraint, Legislation, and Privatization, 8 June.

Taping of two commentaries for Radio America, 14 June.

Keynote address, Public Choice Outreach Seminar, George  
Mason University, 18 June.

Address at briefing on Capitol Hill sponsored by Heritage  
Foundation, Difference Between a Tax and a Non-Tax  
Revenue Raising Measure.

Appearance on FNN "Focus," Congressional Action on Child  
Care Bill, 21 June.

Meeting with editorial board of *Detroit News*, 23 June.

Live interview, WXYT Radio, Detroit, 23 June.

Live interview, WLDS Radio, Taylorville, Illinois, 23 June.

Live interview, WAIT Radio, Crystal Lake, Illinois, 23 June.

Live interview, WCMY Radio, Ottawa, Illinois, 23 June.

Breakfast address to session of Mid-America Conference,  
Chicago, 26 June.

Attendance at Board Meeting of Committee for Responsible  
Federal Budget, 13 July.

Address Brown Bag Luncheon at Center for Study of Public  
Choice, Trip to China, 13 July.

Appearance on CNN "Crossfire" with T. Boone Pickens,  
Japanese Trade Restrictions, 13 July.

Taping of six commentaries for Radio America, 26 July.

Appearance on FNN "Focus," Capital Gains, 31 July.

Taping of interview for FNN "Business Forum," Bush's Drug  
Budget, 5 September.

Live interview on CNN, subject: Capital Gains, 14  
September.

Address McLean Rotary Club, The Economy and Northern

Virginia's Outlook, 19 September.

Address National Association of Business Economists,  
Prospect of Sequester for 1990, 20 September.

Keynote address to Governor's Business Forum, Efficient  
Utilization of Labor, Richmond, 21 September.

Live interview on FNN "Business Forum," IRA's, 21  
September.

Live interview on FNN, Budget Deadline, 9 October.

Attendance at meeting of Regulation Committee of  
Administrative Conference, Biotechnology, 10 October.

Live interview on C-SPAN, Budget Process, 10 October.

Presentation at Colloquy on *The Economist as Reformer*,  
sponsored by Administrative Conference, 12 October.

Presentation to Association of General Counsels, Antitrust  
and the Economy, 12 October.

Attendance at Board of Visitors Meetings, U.S. Air Force  
Academy, Colorado Springs, 12-14 October.

Live interview on CNN, Gramm-Rudman-Hollings,  
Continuing Resolution, and Possibility of a Sequester, 16  
October.

Testimony before Postal Rate Commission, Proposed  
Recommendation that U.S.P.S. Narrow Scope of Private  
Express Exclusion, 17 October.

Keynote address to Third Annual Conference of U.S. Claims  
Court, Charlottesville, 17 October.

Taping of two commentaries for Radio America, 19 October.

Address to Heritage Foundation Capitol Hill group, Strategy  
for Getting Control of Runaway Budget, 20 October.

Appearance on CNN "Crossfire," Reagan's Trip to Japan, 23  
October.

Keynote address to James Madison University Conference,  
Economic Outlook, Harrisonburg, 25 October.

Address to officials of Cox Broadcasting Corporation,  
Atlanta, 27 October.

Address to annual seminar of Shared Medical Systems  
Corporation, Outlook for Economy and Health Care  
Industry, Scottsdale, AZ, 30 October.

Address to students at Idaho State University, Reagan  
Legacy, Pocatello, 30 October.

Live interview on CNBC, Minimum Wage, 1 November.

Attendance at Tax Foundation Policy Council Meeting, 1  
November.

Keynote address to Council for National Policy dinner, 3  
November.

Attendance at dedication of Ronald Reagan Center, 15  
November.

Taping of two commentaries for Radio America, 15  
November.

Appearance on Biznet "Money Matters," FTC Book, 15  
November.

Address to Detroit Area Business Economists, Economic  
Outlook, 16 November.

Live interview on WWOB Radio, Philadelphia, 27  
November.

Luncheon attendance of 75th Anniversary of FTC, 29  
November.

Remarks, Tax Foundation annual dinner, New York City, 29  
November.

Appearance on CNN "Crossfire" with Congressman Joe  
Kennedy, Savings and Loan Debacle, 30 November.

Live interview on Biznet "Nation's Business Today," The  
Economy and FTC Book, 1 December.

Taping interview for FNN, User Fees, 1 December.

Taping two commentaries for Radio America, 5 December.

Presentations to faculty and students, U.S. Military Academy, West Point, 5-6 December.

Participation in Plenary Session of Administrative Conference, 14-15, December.

Taping interview for FNN, The 80's Decade, 18 December.

Taping of "It's Your Business," Reflections on the 1980's and the Economic Outlook for 1990, 20 December.

Taping interview for CNN, Effects of Federal Budget on State and Local Governments, 27 December.

### *Adjunct Professors*

#### *Gordon Tullock*

##### Presentations

Public Choice Society Meeting, Orlando, FL, Chair and discussant, 17-19 March.

European Public Choice, Linz, Austria, "Thoughts on Social Choice," 29 March-1 April.

Henry Simons Society, Cosmos Club, Washington, D.C., "Parallel Problems," 6 April.

Phoenix Community College, "Introduction to Public Choice," 8 April.

Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, CA, "Parallel Problems," 13 April.

University of Southern California, "Parallel Problems" and "Thoughts on Social Choice," 14 April.

Ontario Council of Graduate Students, Toronto Consultant, 24-25 April.

Political Economy Research Center, Bozeman, MT, visitor, 1-4 June.

"Recent Developments in Rent-Seeking Theory," Rome, Italy, Lecture 16 June.

International Society of Political Psychology, Tel Aviv, Israel,  
"Accidental Freedom," 20-22 June.

Liberty Fund, San Francisco, "Liberty and Legal Procedure,"  
22-24 June.

Conference on Althoff System, Heilbronn, Germany, "Are  
Scientists Different?," 30 June - 3 July.

9th Latin American Meeting of the Econometric Society,  
Santiago, Chile, "Constitutional Freedom and  
Prosperity," 1-4 August.

Center for Study of Public Choice, George Mason University,  
5-27 August.

International Economics Association, Athens, Greece,  
"Public Choice and Agriculture: An American Example,"  
28 August - 1 September.

Center for Public Choice/Liberty Fund Conference,  
Roanoke, VA, Discussant, 28 September - 1 October.

UCLA, Visiting Professor, 2 October - 14 December.

Ball State University, Muncie, IN, "The Economics of Special  
Privileges," "Problems with Utilitarianism," and "An  
Introduction of Public Choice," 4-6 October.

First Foresight Conference on Nonotechnology, Stanford, 27-  
29 October.

California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, "Accidental  
Freedom," 8 November.

Public Choice and the Judiciary Conference, Logan, UT,  
University of Utah, "Democracy and the Courts," 9-12  
November.

University of California, Hayward, "Accidental Freedom," 15  
November.

Southern Economic Association, Orlando, FL, Discussant,  
Chair, 19-21 November.

Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, CA, "Accidental  
Freedom," 29 November.

Arizona New Start Meeting, Tucson, 18 December.

American Economic Association, Atlanta, Chair, Paper, "The Growth of Government," 28-30 December.

*Peter Bernholz*

**Professional Activities**

German Minister of Economics (Council of Advisors)

E.G. - Commission (Macroeconomic Policy Group).

**Presentations**

Paper, "Totalitarianism," Public Choice Society, Linz, Austria, March.

Paper, "Stable Monetary Regimes," Zurich, April.

Paper, "Monetary and Budgetary Reform Problems," Investor's Club Basel, August.

Seminar, "Necessary and Sufficient Conditions to End Hyperinflations," George Mason University, September.

Paper, "Totalitarianism," University of Maryland, September.

Paper, "Property Rights, Structure and Privatization of State-Owned Firms During Economic Reforms," Budapest, November.

*Dwight Lee*

**Presentations**

Seminar, "Private Interest Support for Efficiency Enhancing Antitrust Policy," Center for Study of Public Choice, George Mason University, 8 February.

Conference, "U.S. Schools Need a Lesson in Competition," Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., 23 February.

Lecture, "Private Interest Support for Efficiency Enhancing Antitrust Policy," Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, 3 March.

Luncheon address, "Taxation and the Future of the Alaskan Economy," Common Sense for Alaska, Anchorage, Alaska, 14 March.

Paper, "Tax Exporting and Runaway Government," Public Choice Meeting, Orlando, Florida, 15 March.

Paper, "Private Interest Support for Efficiency Enhancing Antitrust Policy," Public Choice Meeting, Orlando, Florida, 18 March.

Invited session on "Issues and Taxation," "Corrective Taxes and Political Pressures for Adjustment," Southwestern Social Science Association Meetings, Little Rock, Arkansas, 30 March.

Panel discussion on Economic Issues, "The World Economy and the Twilight of Government Power," Southwestern Social Science Association Meeting, Little Rock, Arkansas, 30 March.

Lecture, "The Optimism of Public Choice Economics," Coors Brewing Company, Golden, Colorado, 6 April.

Guest, radio talk show, "The Mike Rosen Show," KOA, Denver, Colorado, 7 April.

Talk, "The Political Process - A Nexus of Competing Interests," Colorado Council on Economic Education, Denver, Colorado, 8 April.

Lecture, "Political Ideology and the Proper Economic Role of Government," Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana, 19 April.

Lecture, "Political Ideology and the Proper Economic Role of Government," Holy Cross College, Worcester, MA, 21 April.

Luncheon address, "Economic Competitiveness Tied to Competition in Education," Washington University, St. Louis, 25 April.

Conference, Educational Choice, Thomas White Foundation, "Competition, an Essential Ingredient in Education Excellence," St. Louis, 29 April.

Moderated Liberty Fund Conference, "Liberty, Institutions, and Innovations," Dallas, Texas, 4-7 May.

Lecture on Public Choice and International Competition to a UGA in Service Education Course, "Contemporary Economics for Non Majors," 17 July.

Participant, Liberty Fund Conference, "Twilight of Government," Charlotte, NC, 3-6 August.

Lecture, "Twilight of Government," Libertarian Party of Georgia, Atlanta, GA, 21 August.

Participant, Liberty Fund Conference, "The Contributions of James Buchanan," Roanoke, VA, 28 September - 1 October.

Moderated Liberty Fund Conference, "Gold, Money, and Liberty," Indianapolis, Indiana, 5-6 October.

Conference participant, "Public Choice and the Judiciary," Logan, Utah, 9-12 November.

Conference participant, "Education and the Productivity of the Work Force," Tucson, Arizona, 1-2 December.

*Jack Wiseman*

#### **Professional Activities**

Editorial Board of *Constitutional Political Economy*

#### **Presentations**

"Long-term Savings in An Enterprise Economy," David Hume Institute and Association of British Insurers Joint Seminar, London, 6 December 1988.

"A New Political Economy," Public Choice Seminar, George Mason University, 27 September.

"Public Choice and Coercion," Institute for Humane Studies, George Mason University, 4 October.