

RRR

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A New Nationalism

by Justin Raimondo

An "isolationist" is what they call you if you dare utter the forbidden phrase, *America first*. They call you that, and worse, if you are so depraved as to suggest sending the Marines to South Central Los Angeles instead of far-off Mogadishu.

But what are we, really?

The first few issues of RRR featured some discussion about what this new movement on the right ought to call itself. "Hard Right" and "New Old Right" were a few of the formulations offered. For the moment, we seem to have settled on the *paleo* motif. Affixing a prefix onto an already existing word is a superficially neat solution, but there are two major problems with it: 1) It sounds like someone who spends all his time studying old bones, and 2) it accentuates the (rapidly disappearing) differences between libertarians and conservatives by forcing us to decide which root word to use. Are we paleolibertarians or paleoconservatives? The debate could go on forever.

What we need is a word that

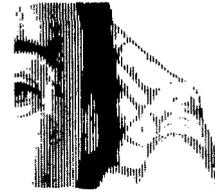
To simply call ourselves libertarians is not telling the whole story.

represents a new synthesis. *Conservative* is inadequate because, as Murray Rothbard has pointed out, there is not much left to conserve. As for *libertarian*, this once-noble word no longer fits for two reasons: 1) It

has been hopelessly tainted by the antics of a political party which ran a hooker for Lt. governor of California, and 2) If liberty is not enough, if there is a cultural dimension to the task of building a movement for a free society, then to simply call ourselves liber-

tarians is not telling the whole story. This is why we turned to the *paleo* prefix to begin with.

(Cont. page 2, col. 1)



THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

Susan Thomases, very close friend and advisor of Hillary, was nicknamed "Tootsie" during the campaign.

* * * * *

Janet Reno was stopped at least four times for DUI in Florida, the Ear hears, but as district attorney, was able to prevent the paperwork from being filed.

* * * * *

The Waco cult leader may or may not believe he's Jesus, points out Joe Sobran, but the U.S. government thinks it's God. ■

INSIDE

<i>Phony "Libertarians" and the War for the Republican Soul,</i> by Murray N. Rothbard	4
<i>Free Speech, 1, Hate Thought Police, 1,</i> by M.N.R.	6
<i>Rating Senators</i>	7
<i>The Somalian Sideshow, or Uncle Sam, the Good Deed Man,</i> by Joseph R. Stromberg	9
<i>Response to Raimondo on Liebman,</i> by Paul Gottfried	11
<i>Economy and Enterprise in the Age of Clinton,</i> by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.	13
<i>Targeting the Banks?,</i> by L.H.R., Jr.	17
<i>Budget Lies,</i> by L.H.R., Jr.	18
<i>M.E. Bradford,</i> by L.H.R., Jr.	19
<i>Another Clintonian Commie,</i> by L.H.R., Jr.	20
<i>Quotes That Need No Comment</i>	20
<i>PC Watch,</i> by L.H.R., Jr.	22

(A NEW cont. from pg. 1)

In place of this awkward construction, which makes us sound like a bunch of exotics, I propose that we strike out in a new direction altogether. If paleos *really* want to get back to their Old Right roots, and adopt the label proudly worn by the Old Rightists in the Forties and Fifties, then they ought to call themselves American nationalists.

This proposition is startling to many libertarians only because they have no sense of *place*. Murray Rothbard has called them *luftmenschen*, the "people of the air," an image which suggests that their feet have never really touched American soil. They are citizens, not of America, but of the world. Patriotism, the flag, reverence for the symbols of national unity—these are anathema to the modal libertarian, who is outraged at the heretical idea that, at least in this country, libertarianism and nationalism are inextricably linked.

On some level, however, I believe they really *do* understand the connection, even if only in a subconscious, half-articulate way. A good example is the fact that, after a decade of attending Libertarian Party conventions, on both the state and national level, I cannot recall a single one at which *someone* did not show up in Revolutionary War regalia. One such party stalwart turns up regularly at these events, dressed as Patrick Henry, and performs the famous "Give Me Liberty or Give me Death" speech with at least as much gusto as the original. In the California LP, some years ago, a whole faction

turned up at a state convention wearing tri-cornered hats! While in theory ostensibly opposed to the nation-state, the libertarian movement, and specifically the LP, has appropriated the symbols of American nationalism: aside from the Statue of Liberty, which the LP has adopted as its official symbol, how many cracked Liberty Bells and allusions to the legacy of 1776 adorn the letterheads of libertarian think tanks and activist groups?

It is not hard to imagine the modals' protest: but we aren't celebrating the American *nation*, only the revolution which gave birth to it. As if such a singular event—the only fully successful libertarian revolution in history—could be separated from the *place* in which it occurred. As the writer Gareth Garrett put it:

The American revolution was a pilot flame that leaped the Atlantic and lighted holocaust in the Old World. But its character was misunderstood and could not have been reproduced by any other people. It was a revolution exemplary. . . .

This is the dreaded "nativism" which the arbiters of political correctness have banished to the margins: the idea that there was and still is something unique in American culture, not possessed by the Russians, the Somalians, the Mexicans, the French, or even the English, which looked at government as an evil, albeit a necessary one, and therefore strictly limited its role in society. This fact contradicts the egalitarian dogma that all nations and all peoples are

"equal," and is therefore ignored by leftists, including Left-libertarians.

The builders of a "New World Order" may have their little disagreements: left-internationalists want to redistribute America's wealth to the Third World and worship at the shrine of the UN, while their "right-wing" counterparts of the neo-conservative variety, such as Charles Krauthammer, call for unilateral U.S. action toward the goal of nothing less than "world dominion." But on one issue they are united: all agree that nationalism, of whatever hue, is the enemy and must be crushed. The only exception to this rule seems to be a sudden enthusiasm, in such places as the UN and the higher reaches of the Clinton Administration, for the heretofore obscure cause of Bosnian-Herzegovinian nationalism. But it turns out that this is not really an exception. Bosnia-Herzegovina has never been and is not now in any sense a nation. Thus the government of this mythical country, which American boys (and now girls) may die for, is an unstable coalition with a revolving presidency based on the old Yugoslav model—and is even now unraveling in a similar manner.

Serbian nationalism, Croatian nationalism, Russian nationalism, Iraqi nationalism, German nationalism, all are condemned as the potential instruments of a new Hitlerism, guilty of "ethnic cleansing" and worse.

But what they really fear and despise most of all is the native variety, good old-fashioned American nationalism. They

fear it so much that they refuse to call it by its right name. Instead, they have dredged up the ancient epithet "isolationist," a coined word with a cloudy meaning. The sound of it is archaic, as if the wisdom of George Washington's Farewell Address injunction against "entangling alliances" were as outmoded as his powdered wig.

We are "isolationist" troglodytes—but what, then, are *they*? The anti-"isolationist" campaign, first unleashed against Pat Buchanan and reaffirmed by George Bush in his last major speech, is a smokescreen meant to obscure the one forbidden word. As that stalwart of the Old Right, Garet Garrett, put it in 1943:

... the word in place of isolationism that would make sense is nationalism. Why is the right word avoided?

The explanation must be that the wrong one, for what it is intended to do, is the perfect political word. Since isolationism cannot be defined, those who attack it are not obliged to define themselves. What are they? Anti-isolationists? But if you cannot say what isolationism is neither can you say what anti-isolationism is, whereas nationalism, being definite, has a positive antithesis. One who attacks nationalism is an internationalist.

The use of the obscurity created by the false word is to conceal something. The thing to be concealed is the identity

of what is speaking.

Internationalism is speaking.

It has a right to speak, as itself and for itself, but that right entails a moral obligation to say what it means and to use true words.

Today, internationalism is speaking openly, often, and loudly in its own name. The

United Nations, the great peace-keeper, has taken over the business of warmaking, with every major conflict, from the Gulf war to Somalia to Bosnia, operating under its auspices. It is a time when a UN Secretary General with two identical first names can demand that all U.S. troops in Somalia and Bosnia be placed under UN command—and U.S. officials are obliged to negotiate a "compromise." But what is being compromised here, as the Joint Chiefs look on nervously?

Bush went to the UN to humbly ask permission to murder 200,000 Iraqis, while denying the necessity of Congressional approval. But even he balked at accepting the Rio treaty, which would have turned U.S. industry over to the tender mercies of UN bureaucrats. In one of the few principled acts of his administration, Bush managed to temporarily ward off the Rio

globalists. Clinton will embrace them. While neoconservatives raise the banner of a new internationalism devoted to "exporting democracy" from Sarajevo to Mogadishu, on the Right there is a heated debate about whether Americans even have the right to control their own borders.

This is the great issue of our time, the terrain on which the

coming battles

will be fought, the all-important issue of our epoch: the sovereignty question. For the fact is that U.S. sovereignty is increasingly considered an "open" question.

By undermining U.S. sovereignty, the internationalists undermine the great victory of 1776, which established the only free republic on earth. That republic, our Old Republic, is

today in mortal danger, and must be defended not only by those who call themselves libertarians but also by those who still cling to the quaint custom of considering themselves Americans. Now that Communism has failed, the only way we're going to get international socialism is through the back door. In the epoch of a rapidly evolving global bureaucracy and body of "international law," American libertarians are necessarily part of a larger resistance movement

U.S. sovereignty is increasingly considered an "open" question.

which can only be called nationalist.

Garet Garrett predicted it fifty years ago, in his classic essay *The Mortification of History* (Chicago Tribune: 1943). "American nationalism may be for the time being repressed," he wrote, as World War II raged on, but

... All elsewhere in the world, however, nationalism is rising, becoming more and more vocal, powerful, and assertive, even in Russia. If this continues... an astonishing sequel may begin to appear. The proposed great American adventure in world-wide sharing may assume a solitary aspect; internationalism at last may become isolated in America.

As angry Somalians cry "Yankee go home!" and the Europeans actively discourage U.S. military intervention in the Balkans, it looks like Garrett was right.

We know what internationalism is: we hear it often enough, and from every quarter. It is the Yankee equivalent of the White Man's Burden, a global War on Poverty, the End of History, the final dissolution of American sovereignty in a worldwide social democracy. It is a love of everything *but* one's country.

But what of its opposite, the love whose name none dare speak; what is nationalism of the American variety?

Repressed during World War II by wartime censorship and subordinated to the exigencies of the Cold War, American nationalism is on the rise, and the forbidden phrase, *America first*,

is once again heard in the land; raised not only by Pat Buchanan, but also strongly implied by the Perot phenomenon. Anti-government, anti-Beltway, suspicious of foreign adventurism and pro-middle class, this libertarian populism is the biggest obstacle to the Clintonian slide into "multicultural" socialism. As we drain our coffers to force-feed the Somalis, bail out the Russians, and buy the peace of the world, the people are beginning to ask: is it worth it? Ordinary Americans are wondering why their government is keeping order in the streets of Mogadishu while it can't effectively police the streets of Los Angeles.

This is American nationalism speaking—and when it begins to speak in its own name, the uproar of indignation is bound to be deafening. The punditocracy will scream: Isolationism! Nativism! *Selfishness!* We ought to plead guilty to this last charge: yes, it is high time for a little selfishness. After three world wars, two "hot" and one "cold," we have earned it.

Garret put the issue well when he wrote:

It is not yet inevitable that we shall have to buy the peace of the world with our standard of living; nor is it so resolved in the American mind. A terrific struggle for decision is bound to take place. When it comes the characters will be revealed, both to one another and to themselves, and many no doubt will change sides, seeing clearly for the first time

where they were going. The isolationist will be an image cast aside and forgotten. The bitter conflict at last must be one between nationalist and internationalist.

In that contest, libertarians can take but one side. In a world where unelected international agencies decide questions of war and peace, economics and culture, the defense of American sovereignty is a major task of all those who love liberty. This is what unites the various shades of *paleo* into a cohesive movement, what makes us American nationalists: the spirit of 1776. ■

Justin Raimondo is the author of *Reclaiming the American Right: The Lost Legacy of the Conservative Movement in America*.

Phony Libertarians and the War for the Republican Soul

by Murray N. Rothbard

It looks like Lew Rockwell and I got out of the "libertarian movement" and created "paleo-libertarianism" just in the nick of time. I used to think that the one accomplishment of the Libertarian Party was to spread consciousness of the name "libertarian" far and wide throughout the culture. Now I'm not so sure that was a net gain. For the