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### Pat Buchanan and His Critics

by Murray N.  
Rothbard

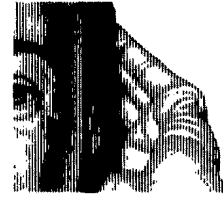
The response to Pat Buchanan's run for the presidency provides one of the clearest demonstrations in years that we have been living in a two-tier political culture: the public, and the media elites. The public's response was overwhelmingly favorable. Everywhere in New Hampshire, Pat was greeted by people who were followers as well as admirers; while remarkable support poured in to Buchanan headquarters from all over the country. It was a fascinating question how the media elite would react: the leading journalists from the major press and TV outlets; the pundits from New York, Cambridge, and inside the Beltway. Since virtually all these people know Pat personally and like him, the key question was this: in appraising Pat's race, would they follow their personal judgment and friendship, or would they heed the call of ideology, money, and power? Overwhelmingly, and unsurprisingly, they chose the latter; in our day, loyalty to friends is hardly a valued commodity. Indeed, one of Pat's most admirable and old-fashioned qualities is nowadays considered a weakness: loyalty and

fidelity to past employers and colleagues. Pat, bless him, is the last person in the world to work for a team or in a cause and, the day after his resignation, to rush into print with the inside dirt from his secret journal. In this as well as in other, more ideological ways, Pat Buchanan is a man of the Old Culture, of a culture that seemed to have died abruptly in America sometime in the late 1960s; and this is one of the reasons many of us love him.

#### The Smear Redux

And so the media elite brought back The Smear, the tired old "anti-Semite" calumny that Pat had surmounted, smashed, and triumphantly survived without a scratch the year before. The problem is that the Smear Bund has no new evidence; they could only trot out the same old flimsy baloney: on the Gulf War, Israel and its "amen corner"; ethnic names like "Murphy" and "Gonzalez" of American soldiers likely to die in a Gulf War; and Pat's long-term defense of Ivan Demjanjuk as an alleged "war

*(Cont. page 4 col. 2)*



### THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

Hot news: Charles Koch, the Founder, has just resigned from the board of the Cato Institute! Can Eddie Crane's ouster be far behind? A friend of mine who attended a recent Institute for Humane Studies (Kochtopus) meeting for businessmen in Wichita (Koch's homebase) tells me that, in the corridors, *all* the talk was about the heating up of the fight between Richie Fink and Ed Crane, and general opinion was that Crane would be out on his ear within a year.

One puzzle: it is not known, even to most Cato board members, that Koch set up Cato with founding Stockholders, of whom there are now three left: Charles Koch, Ed Crane, and Koch's flunky George Pearson. The Stockholders have only one legal power, but that power is crucial; they can fire the Board and reconstitute it. Query: Has Charles also resigned as Stockholder?

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The Andre Marrou-Norma Segel romance, which many thought was dreamed up for the LP convention so Andre could nominate his actual girlfriend, Mary Ruwart, for veep is off—even if it was never on.

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Remember when Andre Marrou's 51-92 PAC claimed it had gotten the LP on the ballot in difficult North Carolina? It turns out not to be true. And that is apparently only the beginning of the LP's ballot access troubles.

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A secret meeting of LP bigwigs was called to wail about a "massive drop-off in contributions." The national office may not be open a year from now.

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Andre Marrou and his running mate, Nancy Lord, are no longer on speaking terms.

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Fearless Prediction: while the LP, like the Prohibition Party, will always be with us, after the Marrou debacle, it will for all intents and purposes disappear.

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A friend of ours called the other day to say, "once a week we should remember, in thanksgiving, the name of some Modal we no longer have to deal with. "This week," he said, "it's David Bergland."

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Has anyone noticed how, with the emergence of Pat Buchanan as the paleo candidate, how deliciously *irrelevant* the Left-libertarians—the LP, Ed Crane, David Boaz, Andre Marrou, *Liberty* magazine, *Reason* and all the rest—have suddenly become? Drat, these folks are hardly worth attacking anymore. Ain't that wonderful? ♦

**(Buchanan...cont. from P.1)**

criminal" in Treblinka. A big problem here is that poor Demjanjuk's innocence has now been virtually conceded by the American media. Indeed, the tables are turning, and things look bad instead for the egregious Office of Special Investigation (OSI) of the Department of Justice, which for years has operated as a powerful fiefdom inside the Department of Justice, virtually shanghaiing long-time American citizens who happen to be immigrants, subjecting them to kangaroo justice, and deporting them, either to Israel, where they had never lived [a blatant violation of international law] or to their Communist-run East European countries of origin, there to be subjected to further kangaroo trials as "Nazi war criminals." It is curious that the very same people who proudly proclaim their love of immigration and open borders should be the first to deprive immigrants of their fundamental rights as American citizens.

How would Pat defend himself? Defending oneself in the public arena against a charge of anti-Semitism is extremely difficult; saying "I am not an anti-Semite" is as unconvincing as Nixon's famous "I am not a crook." Buchanan, however, has done extremely well, presenting the truth plainly, and not permitting the enemy to keep dwelling on the topic. The "amen corner" includes Christians as well as Jews; the soldiers' names were in reply to a pro-U.S.-in-Gulf-War article by the

London *Economist* to show that the names of dead American soldiers would not be likely to be English; and so on. As for Pat's alleged hostility to Israel, again the simple truth: he believes that Palestinians as well as Israelis deserve a state of their own with secure borders; and he opposed the brutal Israeli methods of putting down the *intifada*, as well as Israeli promotion of settlements in Arab territories. And last but certainly not least, Pat's abiding conviction that American foreign policy should be decided on the basis of American interest and not the interest of any other nation, including Israel.

Now, not only are these positions of Pat perfectly reasonable in themselves, they are shared by the overwhelming majority of the American people, once one gets out of New York or Washington, D.C. Many of them are shared, in fact, by a large part of the Jewish population of Israel. These sentiments may drive the media elite to paroxysms of charging "anti-Semitism," but such tirades will make no mark on the American public.

It was even difficult for the media to demonize David Duke successfully; indeed, it took a blend of threats by employers that the tourist business would desert New Orleans should Duke win, plus showing pictures every ten seconds on television of a younger Duke in Ku Klux Klan robes or with a huge swastika behind him. In smearing Buchanan, the media elite has done its best to

link Buchanan with Duke, hoping that the dirt would rub off. Even in the friendly Larry King interview, King inevitably brought up the Duke Question. To his great credit, Pat avoided the temptation to propitiate his enemies by engaging in an hysterical attack upon Duke. Instead, quietly and intelligently, Pat told the truth. He pointed out that he and Duke came from very different traditions: Pat grew up as a conservative Catholic, and became a Nixon and Reagan Republican; Duke was a Nazi and a Ku

Kluxer. Now, Duke, as an "opportunist," has dropped his previous views and embraced Pat's conservative Republican positions. Certainly, Pat has emphasized repeatedly in response to interviewers, he does not propose to give up his own long-held convictions just because David Duke has recently embraced them. A superb answer. The implication is clear: people have free will, and we can never rule out the possibility of a sincere conversion from one creed to another. But while any ideology should welcome converts, it makes no sense to vault a newcomer into a top position in any church or movement.

**Buckley's essay is harrowingly serpentine, involuted and convoluted, as it coils back and forth upon itself.**

Seasoning, and trust, can only come with time.

It seems clear that this second wave of smear and innuendo against Pat Buchanan has failed as thoroughly as did the original. Indeed from the beginning the smear

redux was considerably more restrained than the first anti-Buchanan wave. Perhaps the reason was the memo revealed by Sam Francis in his column (December 21). The memo was a "backgrounder" published by the American Jewish Committee (AJC) and distributed to interested journalists in November

1990, at the height of the first smear campaign. Apparently, the original hysterical charge of anti-Semitism leveled by Abe Rosenthal was such overkill that Pat's masterful counter-attack, pointing out that even the errors in the Rosenthal column had been copied from a "contract hit" against Pat written by the Anti-Defamation League, succeeded in smashing the smear campaign before it had had a chance to get off the ground. Now, the AJC backgrounder counselled restraint. Its author, Kenneth Stern, concluded that "unless he says something Mein Kampfish, we [?] should refrain from calling

him an anti-Semite. That will only draw attention to him, and bring him defenders." Instead, Stern went on, it would be better to get a Christian or conservative to denounce Pat. May not this memorandum be the source of the sly tactic pursued, after Pat's announcement for the Presidency, with remarkable unanimity by such conservative critics as Mona Charen, William Safire, and especially Bill Buckley: that Pat may not be "an anti-Semite," but that he does, from time to time, say anti-Semitic things? [This ploy is as unconvincing as the sort of statement made by Dr. Albert Ellis and other shrinks: "There is no such thing as a bad person; there are only persons who do bad things." (Huh?)]

### **Bill Buckley's Papal Bull**

It is safe to say that Bill Buckley's 40,000-word screed on "Anti-Semitism," his Christmas gift to the conservative troops (special December 30 issue of *National Review*), will be more talked about than read. Buckley's prose always tended to the rococo, but in his early days it often sparkled with insight and wit. That sparkle is dead and gone. Buckley's essay is harrowingly serpentine, involuted and convoluted, as it coils back and forth upon itself, the point (if there is any) disappearing among the tangents and qualifications. One can finish it only if possessed by a stern sense of duty, as

one grinds one's teeth and plows through a pile of turgid and pointless student term papers—which, indeed Buckley's essay matches in content and in learning, as well as in style. To a Catholic friend of mine, reading the whole thing was doing penance: "I walked my Calvary," and finished it! John Elvin in the *Washington Times* was being too kind in calling Buckley's essay a "tedious epic." More on target was a long-time Buckleyologist who said that the entire essay was "one long subordinate clause."

What has happened to the one-time *enfant terrible* of the ideological world? From the evidence of this book (for it is soon to emerge in book form), Bill has fallen in love with the grandeur and cosmic significance of his own tortured thought processes. The essay presents no new facts or evidence; it is rather a detailed examination of the record of Buckley's own thoughts, such as they are, his own personal history, and a detailed presentation of his own articles, letters, and memos having to do with anti-Semitism, all these indigestible clots of past record strung together with qualifiers and subordinate clauses.

By rights, Bill's essay should not be summarized at all; for to summarize it is to give it far too much credit for clarity. The best I can do: (1) His long-time disciple and *NR* editor Joe Sobran is (a) certainly not an anti-Semite, but (b) "obsessed with" and "cuckoo about" Israel, and (c) therefore "contextually anti-

Semitic" in our post-Holocaust age, and yet, worst of all, (d) he remains "unrepentant." (2) Pat Buchanan is not an anti-Semite, but has said unacceptably anti-Semitic things, "probably" from an "iconoclastic temperament"; yet, curiously, Buchanan too remains unrepentant; (3) Gore Vidal is an anti-Semite, and the *Nation*, by publishing his [hilarious] article critical of Norman Podhoretz, has revealed the Left's increasing proclivity for anti-Semitism; (4) Buckley's bully-boy disciples at the *Dartmouth Review* are not anti-Semites at all, but wonderful kids put upon by vicious leftists at Dartmouth; and (5) Norman Podhoretz and Irving Kristol are wonderful, brilliant people, and it is unclear (anti-Semitic?) why anyone should ever attack them.

This drivel requires little comment. Gore Vidal and the *Nation* can and do take care of themselves: Vidal possesses the intelligence and wit that Buckley once showed promise of acquiring; and the *Nation* has already delivered a blistering counter-attack (January 6 & 13, 1992). There is nothing new, whether of fact or insight, on Buchanan or Sobran; it's a tiresome rehash of the same old junk. Of more interest is Buckley's cruel and vicious treatment of Joe Sobran, a personal and ideological disciple who has virtually worshipped his mentor for two decades. Lashing out at a friend and disciple in public in this fashion, in order to propitiate Norman and Midge and

Irving, is unforgivable; at the very least, it demonstrates that, as Frank Meyer used to say of Buckley: "Bill has no taste." Even tackier and more odious is Buckley, in his act of propitiation, joining the repellent modern trend of turning savagely on one's own parents. Taking his place as the Roseanne Barr Arnold of the American Right, Buckley declares that his own beloved father was an anti-Semite; essentially, Bill is standing before the American public and proudly proclaiming that he too is a Victim of Child Abuse, a victim of paternal anti-Semitism. Poor Bill!

In his actions toward his disciple and toward his own father, Buckley reveals the enormous gulf between his own character and that of Pat Buchanan: can one imagine, in a thousand years, Pat ever committing such acts of betrayal?

Another cross the reader has to bear is editor John O'Sullivan's toadying introduction to his employer's ruminations. Buckley's essay, O'Sullivan writes, was much too long for an *NR* article, but it was so perceptive and witty, such a "great read," and just so all-fired wonderful that O'Sullivan and his colleagues unanimously agreed that not one word could be cut. And so there was nothing for it but to put it out as a special issue, and then as a *National Review* book.

The only interesting thing about the Buckley essay is its purpose: what's the point of all this? At long last, Buckley, and

especially O'Sullivan (who is at least still capable of constructing a coherent sentence) have come out of the closet to reveal *National Review's* m.o. As many of us have long suspected, Buckley has always regarded himself as the self-anointed Pope of the conservative movement, the stern but merciful father, dispensing advice, pronouncing anathemas, and presiding over excommunications. As soon as Buckley and *National Review* took advantage of an intellectual and power vacuum on the Right by seizing control of the movement in the mid-1950s, he proceeded to excommunicate all heretics who might prevent the conservative movement from achieving respectability and political power. The late 1950s and early 60s were rife with such purges, as one by one all heretics were "disappeared": anti-Zionists, isolationists (such as long-time Old Rightist and anti-Communist John T. Flynn), Birchers, Libertarians, and Randians. As a result, by the mid-60s, the Right-wing, once a lively and diverse movement, had become an obedient and craven monolith ready to follow Buckleyite orders and, indeed, was suitably and insufferably "respectable" to the powers-that-be. Now, O'Sullivan comes right out and admits that that's what's been going on. In an act of *chutzpah* worthy of Buckley's buddy Alan Dershowitz, O'Sullivan now proclaims that "since its foundation, *National Review* has quietly (?) played the role of conscience of the Right." With-

out mentioning as perhaps too embarrassing the purge of isolationists and libertarians, O'Sullivan proclaims that NR had ejected anti-Semites and "the cranks of the John Birch Society . . . from the ranks of respectable conservatism." Now, with these latest charges of anti-Semitism, O'Sullivan declares that Buckley and himself, "before pronouncing" judgment on the various defendants, had to decide the crucial question: in each of these cases (Sobran, Buchanan, et al.), "was it a serious sin deserving excommunication," or merely an error "inviting paternal reproof," or "something of both?" All the while, conservatives must sit, wait, and bow down before the judgment of Pope Bill and his College of *NR* Cardinals. Buckley, in his convoluted way, proclaims the same view of his role. On the Birch Society, however, Buckley, as well as O'Sullivan, is unwontedly cryptic. What exactly was the mortal sin of the Birchers? Buckley admits that the Birch Society "was never anti-Semitic," but, he adds, the Society "was a dangerous distraction to right

reasoning and had to be exiled." My God! "Dangerous distraction to right reasoning!" Well, then, it's off with their heads!

It is surely curious that Bill Buckley, who cannot be distracted from his habitual

contemplation of pure reason by skiing, yachting, or constant communication with Norman and Midge and Irving, should find the poor Birchers such clamorous interlopers into his mental processes that they had to be consigned, alas, to outer Siberia.

And now the old act is trotted out again. Having announced his retirement from *NR* and received his send-off banquet, lo

and behold! the aging despot is back, once again judging, pronouncing, and excommunicating. But, Bill, it's no longer 1958. There is no longer any need to mobilize a global anti-Soviet crusade, and, under cover of that need, to bring the Truman-Humphrey Democrat neoconservatives in as rulers of the conservative movement. Thirty-five years ago, when Bill and *NR* were young and feisty, *NR* was the only intellectual and power center on the Right. Them days, thank God, are gone forever. The very groups

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that Buckley once excommunicated and exiled, are back, popping up all over the place, and no one really care anymore about the tedious articles in *National Review* or about the unreadable effusions of Buckley's papal megalomania. The younger generation of paleoconservatives is very different from their forerunners, the gentle and non-ideological traditionalist scholars of yesteryear. The current paleos are brilliant and erudite, are trenchant and witty writers, and are keen, street-smart strategic thinkers who find it easy to keep their reverence for Papa Bill under very strict control.

So what if they held an excommunication and nobody came? Like the last days of Gorbys, who issued pronouncements that no one heeded and held meetings of the Supreme Soviet that no one attended, no one cares any longer about Bill's excommunications. In fact, the Great Excommunicator is finding himself increasingly isolated, himself excommunicated from the movement that he once ruled with an iron fist. *Sic semper tyrannis!* No one deserves such a fate more than he.

And now, with Pat Buchanan as its political leader, the entire Right-wing has been transformed by Pat's courage in an instant, as if by magic; all of a sudden, after this transforming moment, the neocons, the Beltway time-servers, and *National Review*, for all their money and seem-

ing institutional power, have become, quite simply, irrelevant. The Newest Right is also the Oldest: paleo-conservative, paleolibertarian. America First. John T. Flynn, Colonel McCormick, and the Original Right have risen up to take their revenge upon the once-young upstarts of *National Review*.

### **"Protectionism! Protectionism!"**

When they finally get themselves off the anti-Semitic kick, Buchanan's critics among Official Conservatives prate endlessly about his alleged "protectionism." Even the special December 30 anti-anti-Semitic issue of *National Review* takes time out to express its editorial astonishment at a conservative being "protectionist." Interspersed with these expressions of shock, lots of deplorings by conservatives about Pat's "nativism," as expressed in Pat's distinct lack of enthusiasm for unlimited immigration.

But these issues are as phony and trumped-up as the canard of "anti-Semitism." There is no space here to analyze the complex immigration issue. Suffice it to ask this question: which, of all the presidential candidates of either party, are in favor of open

borders? The answer is none. None of the candidates, actual or potential, even the neocon hero Jack Kemp, favor unlimited immigration immediately. Everyone favors some sort of immigration policy, and hence within that framework it is necessary to sit down calmly and decide what kind of policy to adopt. And, within such a framework, who could disagree with Pat's now famous remark on TV that it would cause fewer problems

to admit one million Englishmen into Virginia than one million Zulus?

Back to protection. Once again, the relevant question to ask is: which of Buchanan's opponents favors free and unlimited trade? The answer is none: certainly not President Bush.

For the Bushies to charge Buchanan with protectionism is grotesque, coming from an Administration with an ever more burgeoning protectionist record, an administration whose President brings along arrogant, inefficient, highly paid, public trough-feeders like the egregious Lee Iacocca to Japan to bash Japanese for daring to sell us automobiles of high quality and low price, while failing to purchase expensive American cars of crummy quality.

There is no evidence

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whatever that Pat Buchanan is more protectionist than George Bush. Quite the contrary. When Pat says that America should be victorious in any trade negotiations he is simply expressing a basic and unexceptionable tenet of American nationalism. In fact, Buchanan is quite right to be deeply suspicious of Bush's negotiated trade agreements with Mexico and other countries. For the "free trade" of George Bush and the Official Conservatives is a phony free trade; genuine free trade, as free-market economists know full well, needs no negotiations whatever: merely cuts in trade barriers by the U.S. government. And if Pat is such an all-fired protectionist, why did he name Ron Paul, a well-known libertarian and all-out free trader, Chairman of his Economic Advisory Committee? Does anyone think that George Bush or Jack Kemp or Dan Quayle would ever do the same?

The free trade question, to be cleared up, must be put in broader perspective: Genuine freedom of trade is not only unrestricted, it is also unsubsidized. And yet, since World War II, U.S. trade has been massively subsidized, and hence interfered with, by the gigantic and much-lauded racket known as "foreign aid." The excuses for foreign aid keep changing: bulwark against communism, reconstruction from wartime, economic development, humanitarian battle against famine, saving Gorby and the Soviet

"center," but the stark essence of the system continues. For foreign aid is simply a system by which the American taxpayer is looted and exploited for the benefit of (a) the U.S. government bureaucracy; (b) the bureaucracy of the recipient foreign governments, which are thereby enabled to fasten their grip more strongly on their own subject populations; and (c) and foremost, American export firms and industries, upon whom the foreign governments spend their flow of dollars. In short: foreign aid is an elaborate racket by which the American taxpayer is forced to subsidize export firms and the bankers who finance them. *This* is "free trade?" And yet this is the interventionist system that Pat Buchanan wants to abolish, and this is the interventionist system that the neocons and the Official Conservatives wish not to abolish, but to elaborate and develop still further.

And finally, since Pat is opposed to economic or political world government, he is also necessarily opposed to one of the pet schemes of the Bush administration and of Official Conservatism: collaboration of the Fed with European and other Central Banks, leading to a world central banking cartel issuing an inflationary world paper money.

Which is more important, in the larger scheme of things on free international trade: a few tariffs, or massive foreign aid and inflationary world

government? Stack up Pat Buchanan against any presidential candidate, existing or potential, and his bona fides in favor of genuine free markets and free trade are infinitely superior to his opponents.

Let's give the final word on this topic to the editorialists at *National Review*. Trying to show how wickedly protectionist Pat Buchanan is, NR quotes from Pat's reply to George Will on the Brinkley show, talking about the Mexican government: "What you have to do, George, you got to take off the burdens of taxes, of regulations off American business and industry, and then the United States can start to compete." Hey, libertarians, what's wrong with *that*?

We conclude that the whole protectionist issue is a phony from top to bottom, used only in a shabby attempt to link Pat up subliminally as a terrible "nativist," and therefore as some sort of, once again, "anti-Semite."

### Pat's Liberal Critics

Pat Buchanan's conservative and centrist critics have been tiresome and hopeless, ringing the changes on the anti-Semitic, David Duke, protectionist, and nativist themes, hoping against hope that some of the dirt will stick. Sometimes, as in the case of James M. Perry in the *Wall St. Journal* (December 30), they go back once again to Pat's charming autobiography *Right From the Beginning*, and be-

cause, like most working class and middle-class Americans, he got into scrapes as a youth, they write darkly about Pat's "anger," which is supposed to evoke some sort of fascist image. Funny how "rage" among the "oppressed" is supposed to be great and noble; but not so any equivalent emotion expressed by those trying to get out from under the oppression now being routinely visited upon them by the Officially Oppressed. Perry, a highly paid investigative reporter, does most of his investigating, not in his personal interview with Pat, but by combing through the autobiography looking for evidence of imperfection.

Most of the leftist writers on the Buchanan campaign, such as Dershowitz or Jack Newfield (*New York Post*, December 17) serve up the same old warmed-over anti-anti-Semite hysteria, left over from the year before. A few leftists, however, are a cut above the common herd, and actually exert some analytic powers on this new phenomenon. Sidney Blumenthal, resident expert on the Right at the *New Republic*, who himself had participated in the previous year's smear, lifts the level considerably this time (January 6 and 13). While engaging in the usual pro-forma anti-anti-Semitic smears (Pat's alleged Catholic authoritarianism, with dark references to Franco, Father Coughlin, and, but of course, the Spanish Inquisition), Blumenthal contributes

something more. He points out that both Buchanan and Bush began their political careers during the Nixon Administration, and that Pat and Bush represent the two different strands of the Nixon legacy: pragmatism vs. hard-nosed ideology (which Blumenthal, being a leftist, translates as the "politics of resentment"). Moreover, Blumenthal perceptively sees that these two strands resonate still further back in Republican history to the great struggle of the 1930s and 1940s between the me-too, internationalist, preppie Rockefeller Republicans on the one hand, versus the Taft, America First, heartland Republicans on the other. Blumenthal sees that Buchanan is the reembodiment of the older Right, the heartland Republicanism of America First. And there is no need to underline the obvious sense in which George Bush is Mr. Rockefeller, in every sense.

But Blumenthal's perceptiveness does not stop there. For he sees, too, that by his very entry into the race, Pat Buchanan has transformed the American Right.. By tapping and rousing heartland sentiment, he has, at almost a single stroke, made it over into a paleo movement. It should not be overlooked, incidentally, that Buchanan is a valued member of the John Randolph Club, the organization formed in 1990 as a fusion of the paleoconservative and paleolibertarian strands into one mighty ideological movement. Blumenthal points

out that the leading paleocon monthly, *Chronicles*, marginalized and "on the periphery of conservatism" under Reagan and Bush, "has become suddenly engaged at its center as the Bush-Buchanan race looms." As Blumenthal perceives, *Chronicles* is now "the standard-bearer of the Buchananite right." And Blumenthal has the good sense to quote from Tom Fleming's superb article in the outstanding "America First 1941/1991," December issue of *Chronicles*. Fleming's preferred strategy, which to Blumenthal "establishes the case for Buchanan": "... we have to shoot the elephant in such a way that he falls on the donkey and crushes it. it might take a generation just to haul away the rotting carcasses, but we would be able, for the first time since 1932, to breathe clean air." What a magnificent vision, expressed in Fleming's typical inspiring and hard-edged style!

Another discerning voice on the Left was that of the socialist John B. Judis, Washington editor of *In These Times* (December 11-17), and author of a favorable, authorized biography of Bill Buckley. While Judis, too, mutters about dark old Catholicism, and wonders whether Pat's attack on neoconservatives, stems from so many being Jewish, he too understands that Pat's crusade is a war for the soul of the Right. He sees, also, that Pat was one of the first anti-Communist hawks to realize that the Cold War is over, and



that therefore he quickly became aligned with the "paleo-conservatives" led by Russell Kirk and *Chronicles*, in a call for a return to Old Right isolationism.

Judis also notes the affinity of Pat Buchanan with Dr. Samuel Francis, the brilliant *Washington Times* columnist who is constantly pushing the envelope of paleo strategic thinking. Just before launching his campaign, Buchanan and Francis had decided to found a new America

First Committee (AFC) to promote right-wing nationalism; after November, and assuming Pat does not win the Republican nomination, the new AFC stands ready to serve, as did the original, as a bipartisan nucleus for a continuing and permanent Buchananite paleo movement. Judis concludes that Buchanan has the potential of seriously wounding George Bush, and, if he concentrates on the recession and right-wing nationalism, to play the same role in 1992 for the Republican Party that George Wallace did for the Democrats in 1968. That is: to shoot the elephant so that, in the long run, it crushes the donkey, and paves the way for paleo power and a return to the Old Republic.

**Pat Buchanan, bless him, is gloriously resurrecting the Old Right.**

Finally, Andrew Kopkind in *The Nation* (January 6 & 13). The most leftwing of the three writers, Kopkind's article brims with the usual references to Father Coughlin, David Duke, "nativist paranoia," "seething violence," and the Germany and Italy of the 1930s. But Kopkind at least writes with humor, he captures some of the spirit and importance of the Buchananite movement, and he appreciates some of Pat's virtues. "As an

ideologue," Kopkind writes, Buchanan "is able to lift the campaign from an exercise in poll reading and force the Democrats as well as Bush to think real thoughts and perhaps even say what they mean. That can't be all bad." And how.

Kopkind sees, too, that Buchanan has great potential to take charge permanently of the old conservative movement that is now "leaderless and incoherent," "wandering in the wilderness waiting for a new messiah." Just by announcing, adds Kopkind, Buchanan "becomes the Movement's spokesman," and sets the stage to be its movement leader and a key politico in 1996.

Kopkind also grasps the importance and the power of

the right-wing populist rhetoric that Pat Buchanan is calling into being. In particular: the crucial theme of the people "taking the country back," back from the malignant elites that have been ruling over us. As Kopkind quotes Buchanan's repeated motif: "Take back our streets from the criminals"; "take back our party": "take back our country." Way to go, Pat! Let's take them back! ●

## Pat Buchanan and the Old Right

by M.N.R.

Some libertarians are still confused: How can I be such an enthusiastic backer of Pat Buchanan for President? Isn't he soft on such issues as free trade and immigration? Isn't Pat in favor of military spending? Doesn't he still say kind words for Ronald Reagan and Richard Nixon? And what about Pat's views on social issues?

I have already written that, in a real world party, one does not look for 100 percent libertarian agreement from a candidate. But that does not put the point strongly enough. The major point is that Pat, bless him, is in the process of gloriously resurrecting a movement that I have mourned and hoped to see revived for over three decades: he is resurrecting the Old Right. I entered the libertarian movement in 1946, when libertarians were an "extreme" but harmonious and