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Revolution in Italy!

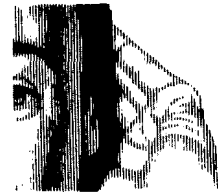
by Murray N. Rothbard

There is hope, hope for America. Despite our increasingly socialized polity, and our rapidly degenerating and crazed culture, there is hope. The first wonderful sign of hope was, of course, the total collapse of Communism in the Soviet Union and East Europe. Of course, not all problems were solved by this collapse, but still who could have believed that totalitarian communism, seemingly all-powerful, headed by a one-party regime and backed by a huge and ruthless secret police, would need neither a bloody revolution nor a long, grueling march through the institutions to bring it down? Instead, it crumpled, suddenly, like a house of cards, like the proverbial one-hoss shay. After six decades in power, bam! Those of us who knew that socialism could not work, that it could not tackle its grave economic problems, knew as a consequence that the despair of most conservatives about Communism was wrong: that one day it would tumble down. But no one could predict how quickly the whole edifice would shatter. And if it can happen there, under monstrous Communism, why not here? Why couldn't the statist system

crumple here as well?

Well, one problem was the seeming permanence and realism of democratic structures. The reply to this optimism went as follows: "Well, OK, Communism collapsed because it had a brittle one-party system that was vulnerable at the core. But remember, no "revolution": (which can mean either armed overthrow or a radical crumbling) has ever occurred in a "democracy." No radical collapse has ever occurred where there are free elections, a modicum of free speech and expression, and a two or multiparty system." This defense, whether one liked it or not, of the stability of democracy made a persuasive case. Even for those of us critical of the pretensions of democracy, it seemed that a limited ability to sound off, plus the severely restricted choice of two or more similar parties, provided enough of an outlet for frustrations to keep the system going and to channel public criticisms into harmless and marginal changes in the governing party. As the leftist critic of democratic forms (or what might be called "pluto-

(Cont. next page, col. 2)



THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

A curtsy to the world's leading gossipist, Taki, of the real *Spectator* and *National Review* (where he's censored). In his British "High Life" column, Taki has dubbed Clinton "the Great Pants Dropper." It should be Bill's permanent moniker.

"According to the Bible," the Great Pants Dropper told the Arkansas troopers, a married man who has oral sex with other women isn't committing adultery. Now I see that the promiscuous coke-head Chuck Robb, whom Ollie North will trounce for the Senate in Virginia, has virtually the same view, according to memos from his own staff.

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(THE EAR cont. from pg. 1)

Congrats to Howie Phillips for listing the neocons and left-libertarians who lent major financial support to Jim Miller over Ollie North. They include: Elliott Abrams, Rich Bond, Bill Buckley, Frank Carlucci, Larry Eagleburger, Richie Fink, Boyden Gray, Manny Johnson, Chuck Koch, Dave Koch, Liz Koch, KOCHPAC, Don Regan, and George Schultz.

A piece of advice, dear reader: never subscribe to a neocon magazine because it ran one good article. The latest issue of the *American Spectator*, all too typical, includes a diatribe by two foreign lobbyists, an endorsement of the evil Kissinger by editor R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr., Tyrrell's loopy praise of Nixon as another Hubert Humphrey, "though more interesting," and the photo gallery from Hell (taken at the latest *AS* dinner). Among the assembled social democracy: Elliott Abrams wearing a scowl, Tyrrell wearing a medal (the Order of Bourbon?), and a bigshot neocon, his own trophy wife safely across the room, leering at a colleague's. Ah yes, official conservatism.

Beltway trends: Taco has become Gatto (not to be confused with Gayto).

democracy"), Herbert Marcuse used to put it, the system, by allowing us a veneer of free speech and free choice, locked us into a captive statist system by a method of "repressive tolerance."

But then, last winter, something happened. For the first time, a major, indeed governing, political party in a functioning democracy, simply folded, collapsed, bam! I speak of course of our neighbor to the north, Canada. On the night of the Canadian election I called up a Canadian friend of mine to inquire about the results. "You know," he said, that the [ruling] Progressive Conservative party

had a margin of [something like] 150 seats in Parliament?" "Yes." "Well," he continued, "the Progressive Conservatives are now down to 2 seats." "Wow!" I replied, "that's a real landslide! From a margin of 150 seats to a margin of only 2 seats!" "No," he cut in sharply, "not a *margin* of 2 seats. 2 seats *period*!"

Just like that! Finished! The Progressive Conservatives, led by the glamorous female Kim Campbell as Prime Minister, were wiped out, with Mrs. Campbell losing her seat.

Canadian politics had been fully as boring and as hopeless as our own. Three major parties: the Liberals, equivalent to Left Clintonians in the U.S.; the Progressive Conservatives, equivalent to centrist Clintonians; and frankly and openly socialist New Demo-

crats. What a choice! Or rather, to hark back to the old Goldwater slogan, what a series of echoes! But while the Liberals of course assumed power in this last election, the Progressive Conservative collapse was matched by the rise of two new parties: the Bloc Quebecois, pushing for separatism and independence

for French-speaking Quebec; and the brand new Reform Party, based in Western Canada, and enjoying only one seat less in Parliament than the Quebecers. The Reform Party is great news: it may best be described as a Paleo Party: for drastic cuts in taxes and expenditures, for privatization, and for getting the welfare state East off the backs of the prosperous free-market and populist West. And they are for immigration restriction against a horde of welfare clients who would inevitably wreck English-

For the first time, a major political party in a functioning democracy simply folded, collapsed, bam!

speaking Canadian culture.

The Reform Party, in short, is Our Party in Canada, skyrocketing to a powerful opposition to Liberal rule. Between the Reformers and the Quebecers, the dreary collectivist, inflationist welfare statist tyranny of Ottawa might be broken into its constituent parts, and both liberty and separatism might reign in the old Canadian realm. And perhaps "Canada", at least as we know it, might go the way of "Yugoslavia" and the "Soviet Union," down into the dustbin of history.

Canada was the first sign that even a democratic polity can crumble quickly. But even more exciting is the recent March 27-28 election in Italy. For, even more thoroughly than in Canada, where the bad old Liberal Party remains in power, the entire Italian political system, the system of virtually one-party Christian Democrat rule that was crafted and fastened upon the Italian political system in 1948, this vicious and corrupt tyranny of centrist, statist *partito-crazia* (party-ocracy) has fallen apart, and crumbled into ashes. The seemingly all-powerful Christian Democracy, ruling for a half-century, simply is no more. Even its renamed successor parties (the Italian People's Party and the smaller Pact for Italy) are virtually off the charts.

The thing that tore it was corruption, massive, mammoth corruption, involving every level of government

from top to bottom. Italy had become, in the common parlance, a veritable *Tangentopoli* (Kickback City). Vigorish and bribes to parties and political leaders alike was endemic.

For decades, all Italians knew this was going on, and shrugged cynically. But then, in the last couple of years, what every Italian knew deep in his heart became all too glaringly evident. Big shot political leaders, mayors, judges, were sent to jail on a massive scale. And suddenly, as if the public had reached their tipping point and simply got fed up, it all shattered, and the monstrous Christian Democracy, along with its tame Socialist Party, simply disappeared. The Italian public had had enough, and peacefully but forcefully, threw the rascals out. So broken were the Christian Democrats and Socialists that they faded out without even daring to face the voters under their original name and form.

In 1948, when it looked as if the Communists would win the Italian elections, the CIA and the U.S.A. poured millions in dollars and propaganda into stopping the Communists and installing the Christian Democrats. The Communist Party had ridden in on the backs of the U.S. and Allied crushing of the Italian fascist forces, with Communists acquiring the glamor of their alleged (mostly phony) partisan or guerrilla activities against the Fascist government and the later German

occupation force.

With the Center collapsing, and the Right seemingly nonexistent, everyone believed that the Communists, refurbished and renamed as a "Social Democratic" Democratic Party of the Left, would come to power in the late March Italian elections. Because of a shift from proportional representation to single-winner districts, the "ex" Communists faced the voters as leaders of a Progressive Alliance, which included a small hard-line Communist Party called the "Communists Refounded". It looked very much that, nearly a half-century after the Communists had been turned back at the pass, they would now, suitably cleaned up, buttoned down, and renamed, finally come to power in Italy.

The "Freedom Alliance" of the Right

Just as the Left prepared to romp to power, however, Fate stepped in to save the day. Dynamic media billionaire, Silvio Berlusconi, was determined to keep the "ex" Communists from coming to power in Italy. Berlusconi has been inaptly called the "Italian Perot"; in his ownership of three TV networks and publishing houses, he is closer to Rupert Murdoch. The big difference is that he is a dedicated free-marketeer, far more principled than Murdoch, more consistent than Perot. In a remarkable feat deployed at the last minute, Berlusconi started

from scratch, creating a new political party, Forza Italia (Go, Italy) in January of this year, sweeping to victory only two months later in the March elections.

How did Berlusconi do it? With money of course, with bold use of his TV networks and media empire, and with bright young marketing and managerial experts from his conglomerate Fininvest. His campaign manager and party organizer, Roberto Lasagna, was the Italian head of the famed ad agency, Saatchi & Saatchi, and the name of his party is a popular Italian chant at national soccer matches. (Berlusconi himself owns Milan A.C., one of the best soccer teams in Europe.)

Forza Italia could not have won the Italian elections alone; instead, Berlusconi shrewdly put together a tripartite coalition of the Right, the Freedom Alliance. There are many tensions and strains within this alliance, as there would be in any right-wing coalition, and for a while it looked as if the Alliance would fall apart before it could enjoy its smashing majority in the March elections. But fortunately, the Alliance hung together, and Berlusconi is slated to be the first Premier of what amounts to Italy's "Second Republic". Briefly, the other Alliance members are the Northern League, the party of northern Italian autonomy or secession; and the National Alliance, the so-called "neo-fascists", who are weak in the

North and are strong in the South and Central regions of Italy. Forza Italia, on the other hand, is more of a national party than the others. The three parties complement each other regionally. Ideologically, as we shall see below, the two parties both complement each other and conflict on many issues.

But about one thing we can be confident: the Freedom Alliance is tough-minded and hard-nosed. Defying the corrupt Italian custom of letting the "loyal opposition" have the two top legislative seats of Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies and President of the Senate, the victorious Freedom Alliance used its political muscle to squeak through its own candidates for these two posts, to the anguished squeals of the disappointed Left.

Berlusconi's Economic Guru

Central to Berlusconi's plans is his chief economic guru and long-time close adviser, Professor Antonio Martino, who has become Foreign Minister in the new Italy. The fiftyish Martino is a leading member of the international free-market economic group, the Mont Pelerin Society. Although a former student of Milton Friedman at the University of Chicago, and a former Heritage Foundation fellow, Martino is far friendlier to the Austro-libertarian minority within Mont Pelerin than are most other members of the

moderate free-market Friedman-Feulner power elite in the Society. (The Austro-libertarian wing of Mont Pelerin is centered in Spain and Latin America.)

Martino wants to go far and fast toward rescuing Italy from its limping status as an inflationary welfare state. He wants, in the first place, drastic tax cuts. Marginal income tax rates are to be cut radically, in the upper brackets, and the number of income tax brackets are to be slashed from seven to one. Taxes on the poor are to be eliminated by means of large increases in personal deductions. Hard money and ending deficits to slash inflation would also stop eroding the savings of the poor, and the abolition of brackets would put an end to the cruel practice of inflating people into higher tax brackets while the rates seemingly remain the same. Martino hopes, in the supply-side manner, to induce more people to pay taxes by lowering the tax rates (Italians are famous for their systemic tax evasion), thereby increasing or at least maintaining total revenue. While supply-side maneuvers usually don't work, in a land as highly taxed as Italy, it might well succeed. Certainly, in any case, the Italian producers and the economy will be enormously better off.

In addition, Martino wants to topple the entire complex and horrendous tax structure, by slashing the number of Italian taxes from 200 to 10. Ever-rising

government expenditures are to be curbed by massive privatization, including the schools and national health insurance. Moreover, Forza Italia is determined to cut into the gigantic parasitic bureaucracy that has been strangling economic and social life in Italy. In Italy, the rascals cannot be kicked out, even on the higher levels as they are in the United States; once someone gets a bureaucratic job, no matter how high up, he is safely ensconced for life. The Forza aim to whittle at the staying power of the bureaucracy by dwindling the number of lifetime jobs, and subjecting the executive branch to a good

dose of what has often been derided as "the spoils system," but which really means allowing the voters to kick out bureaucrats they don't like (The "spoils system"—i.e. genuine democracy in government—was installed by Jacksonian Democrats in the U.S., and continued until the goo-goo civil service

reformers began to encroach upon the throw-out-the-rascals process in the 1880s.)

The Northern League wants three separate and autonomous (if not seceding)

regions in Italy: the North, Center, and South, plus other peripheral regions such as Val d'Aosta and Alto Adige. The idea is for each region to tax and spend only in its own area. Thereby, for the Northern League, the leeching of the parasitic welfare-state South upon the productive and prosperous North will cease, as will the "imperialism" of the massive bureaucracy of the Center, headquartered in Rome. Unfortunately, and this is one of the tensions within the Freedom Alliance, Berlusconi and Martino think as centralists; *they* want regional fiscal and administrative autonomy not because

they think in terms of several nations but merely for the efficiency and localism that decentralization brings. The Forza, accordingly, plan on 25-50 fiscally autonomous regions within *one Italian nation*, whereas the Northern League wants regional autonomy because they know that Italy is and can

never be one nation, but only three or more separate and distinct nations, which differ culturally, linguistically, and ethnically.

This unfortunate blindness

to separate nationalisms underscores one of the major problems of 19th century classical liberalism. Modern libertarians like to call themselves "classical liberals", heirs of nineteenth century free-market liberalism. This homage is generally true, but applied to liberalism in Europe, especially in the Catholic countries of Europe, it glosses over two major and grievous errors of classical liberalism: (1) its opposition to Christianity in general, and to the Catholic Church in particular; and (2) its overweening centralism, in the name of "efficiency", and its willingness to ride roughshod over the rights and liberties of separate and particular regions and "nations." In short, in several crucial ways, classical liberals weren't "paleo" enough, and were mired in the early stages of cultural Leftism. Thus, the organizers of a unified Italy in the nineteenth century were classical liberals such as Cavour, who were blinded by anti-Catholicism, and by a centralizing dismissal of the many nations within the overall "Italian" rubric.

The Heroic Paleos: the Northern League

These deficiencies of centralizing classical liberalism do not disfigure my personal favorite among the three members of the Freedom Alliance: the Northern League, which grew out of the remarkably fast-growing "League" movement in North-

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ern Italy. The League began in Lombardy, as the Lombard League, the proclaimed heir of the Lombard autonomous movement of the 12th century. Soon, the League concept spread to other regions of the thrifty, entrepreneurial and prosperous North, later to amalgamate into the Northern League. The dynamic leader of the Northern League is Senator Umberto Bossi; major theoretician is Professor Gianfranco Miglio. The Northern League is separatist, bitterly critical of southern welfare parasites and Roman centralism, is staunchly free-market in economics (its leaders have read and admire Ludwig von Mises), is staunchly bourgeois in social makeup, and favors immigration restrictions against welfare moochers from the south and elsewhere. Bossi's candidate for premier during the post-election jockeying within the alliance is his friend, attorney Roberto Maroni, who has been granted the crucial post of Minister of the Interior.

The Northern League did extremely well in the north, but is understandably weak electorally in other regions, even though it tries to promote similar Leagues in other regions of Italy. Its biggest weakness, apart from regional limits, has been its shaky relationship with the Catholic Church; Bossi, for example, like many Italian males, is only a once and possibly future Catholic. Married and divorced, he is not a

Catholic communicant. In a brilliant political masterstroke, however, Bossi found and elevated to a high position in the party the brilliant and determined young Catholic activist, Irene Pivetti, who is the League's Opening to the Church.

Irene Pivetti is magnificent, the Paleos' kind of female leader. Only 31 years old, Ms. Pivetti graduated from the Università Sacre Cuore with honors, and worked as a fiery and tough journalist for the Catholic activist group Aclil. After she wrote a bitter article denouncing critics of the Northern League, Bossi found her and elevated her to party spokeswoman on Catholic affairs. And now, after Maroni turned down the post, the Freedom Alliance has named Irene Pivetti Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, one of the youngest in that post in Italian history.

No sooner did Ms. Pivetti achieve her high post, when the U.S. and other Western media began to attack her as...."anti-Semitic!" Isn't it remarkable that, in discussing the political scene of any country in Europe, or indeed in the entire world, the only issue that seems to exercise the American and Western media is the "Jewish Question", even in a country that contains very few Jews, and where Jews are not an issue. Why do you suppose that is?

It turns out that there are two groundings for this absurd smear, which Ms. Pivetti has denounced as

"foolish". One is that Ms. Pivetti is a traditional (that is, a genuine) Catholic, described by the dopey reporter for the *New York Times* as a "Catholic fundamentalist" (There ain't no such thing. "Fundamentalists" are pre-millennial dispensationalist Protestants. Period. What he means is: *real* Catholic). Because she is a genuine Catholic, Ms. Pivetti, with typical candour, denounced the heretical act of Pope John Paul II in hailing Judaism as Christianity's "elder brother", and elevating the Chief Rabbi of Italy to a status as exalted as himself. Ms. Pivetti declared that she "cannot regard a false religion as our 'elder brother.'"

In the Western media version of Alice-in-Wonderland, of course, any Christian who regards all other religions as false (i.e. all *genuine* Christians) is denounced *ipso facto* as "anti-Semitic." In short, the media/secularist's version of a "good Christian" (i.e. a non-anti-Semite) is a Christian who regards his religion as one among a large number of co-equals in some ghastly egalitarian and "non-discriminatory" spiritual grab-bag, none better or truer than another. After all, someone's "feelings" might get hurt otherwise. (Hey, where's The Inquisition now that we need it?)

The second spurious piece of evidence of Irene Pivetti's "anti-Semitism" is her praise of Mussolini's policy on women, i.e. his anti-feminism, and his belief that women's place was as

mothers in the home. As Ms. Pivetti said, while she is not pro-fascist, she could "see all the good things fascism did for Italy." In particular, she added, "Mussolini had the most advanced policy towards women", that is, anti-feminism. What does all this have to do with "anti-Semitism"? See below.

Irene Pivetti is bound to be a superstar in Italian politics. When she ran her first race for Parliament in 1992, she ran under the slogan, "Your spirit for God, your vote for the League." Her nickname now is *la Papessa* (the "female Pope"), and her friends regard her as the League's Joan of Arc.

The "Neo-fascists"

The third, and of course the most dreaded by the Western media, constituent of the Freedom Alliance is the National Alliance, a renamed and reconstituted "neo-fascist" party that, until its current leader Gianfranco Fini took it over in 1991, was known for four decades as the Italian Social Movement. The dynamic young Fini changed its name and modified its "neo-fascist" ideology, changing its nostalgic devotion to the fascist corporate state into a kind of moderate free-market party, strong in central and southern Italy.

Whenever the word "neo-fascist" is uttered, or nostalgic devotion is accorded to the Fascist founder Mussolini, the Western media, once again, know and yell about

only one thing: "anti-Semitism." What *else* is or was "fascism?" Who knows? Who cares? In truth, the fascists were never anti-Semitic; indeed, there were always many Jews high up in the Fascist party. In fact, anti-Semitism has never been a factor in Italy, period. It was only with the approach and waging of World War II that the German Nazis were able to push the Italians, with great reluctance, into an anti-Jewish policy. As the eminent historian Roland N. Stromberg wrote in a letter to the *New York Times*, protesting the usual nonsense about Mussolini as "anti-Semite, responsible for the deportation of thousands of Italian Jews to Nazi death camps": "The

Italian government did not turn a single Jew over to the Germans despite great pressure, and 85 percent of the Italian Jews survived even though the Nazis took control of northern Italy in 1943." (*New York Times*, April 13).

So if anti-Semitism was not on the agenda, what in the world *was* "fascism" about anyway? What was its program? The first thing we have to do is to rid ourselves of the

very successful Comintern propaganda, adopted in the Popular Front period of the late 1930s, and embraced since then by Menshevik social democracy as well: that *all* right-wing parties in Europe, from Nazis to Rexists to Hungarian Horthyites, were simply branches of international "fascism", so that the Nazis were merely "German fascists." Hence, a

battle against Hitler or against Japan in World War II, became a crusade against "international fascism," with the noble "anti-fascist" crusaders, of course, including Bolsheviks and Mensheviks alike. And now that Bolshevism has fallen apart, our neocon/Official Con/social democrats would like

nothing better than to revive the "anti-fascist coalition".

In reality, fascism in Italy, and the European right generally, cannot be understood except as a vigorous reaction against the aftermath of World War I. That monstrous and destructive war discredited the European system—statism and imperialism—that gave rise to that cataclysmic conflict. But taking advantage of the post-World War I

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chaos and starvation, the Left: Communist, Social Democrat, and Anarcho-Syndicalist, made hay under these conditions, blaming "capitalism" for the war, and calling for its revolutionary overthrow by these various forms of communist and nihilist egalitarianism. For a

while after the war, it was touch and go, and it looked as if Germany, the Baltics, Hungary, and Italy, would succumb to this destructive Left revolution. The Right-wing in each European country grew as a militant reaction against the revolutionary Left; it was a largely successful attempt to defend and

conserve existing institutions: the family, the Church, the nation, and private property, from the wave of revolutionary destructionism.

All of these hard Right movements were conservative and counter-revolutionary defenses against the crazed Left. In Italy, the Left meant Communists, as well as general strikes promoted by anarcho-syndicalism. The militant Fascist movement succeeded in saving Italy from two monstrous evils: revolutionary Communism and revolutionary anarcho-syndicalism.

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This preservation and defense was its great achievement.

Was Fascism perfect? Obviously not. Actually, in its early years, under the aegis of Mussolini's free-market Minister of Finance, Alberto di Stefano, the Fascists succeeded in cutting the budget,

slashing taxes, and privatizing much of State industry. Unfortunately, by the mid-1920s, the National-syndicalist wing of Fascism triumphed, di Stefano was kicked out, and Italian Fascism embarked on a most unfortunate career of economic statism, virtually inventing the "corporate state", which soon came to

America in the form of the Roosevelt New Deal. The corporate state (*stato corporativo*) was born in all the major warring nations in the War Collectivism of World War I. The idea was for Big Government to organize industry into a series of cartels, with industry run by tripartite delegations from Big Business trade associations, Big Unions (the "National syndics"), and Big Government public officials. The tripartite bureaucracies would then fix prices, wages, and production of each industry,

arbitrate labor disputes, provide a welfare state for the masses, etc. It is no wonder that in the Brain Trust of the early days of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, the Brain Trusters were heavily influenced by the recently translated writings of the Italian Fascist theoretician Giovanni Gentile.

If all this sounds familiar, it should be: for this is the economic policy of the New Deal and the United States ever since.

Furthermore, Fascist foreign policy was also akin to modern Wilsonian-Rooseveltian-neocon imperialism. A worshiper of the central Roman state, Mussolini wished to Bring Back the Good Old Days of the Roman Empire, and hence foisted on Italy a dopey bush-league version of imperialism, successfully conquering the slave state of Ethiopia, and catching Hell for this feat from the New Deal crusaders for Global Democracy and "collective security against aggression."

Thus, the good thing about Fascism was that it saved Italy from the terrible ravages of Marxism and anarcho-syndicalism; the bad thing was its economic statism and its foreign policy of imperialism—both features where our enemies: leftists, Mensheviks, neocons, Official Cons, etc. are far closer to fascism than we paleos are. Thus, the next time some leftist or Menshevik hisses "fascist!" at you, you would be fully justified in hissing back,

and double in spades.

Fast forward to the present-day, and we now have a National Alliance [N.A.] more or less purged of corporate state policies. However, the N.A. is still considerably more statist than its two allies; it wishes to hang on to some state industry and not privatize it, it insists on clinging to central Roman imperialism and bureaucracy over the national regions; and, idiotically, it still wants to return to Roman imperial glory by reconquering the parts of Slovenia and Croatia that Italy managed to grab as a result of World War I, and had to relinquish after World War II. I don't think, however, that anyone need seriously worry about an Italian "threat" to Slovenia and Croatia, a danger just about as clear and present as Zhirinovsky's call for taking back Alaska. On the other hand, of course, the National Alliance has as its

star politician the beautiful Alessandra Mussolini, granddaughter of Il Duce. Alessandra, niece of the illustrious Sophia Loren and who is a younger version of her aunt, is the paleo's kind of "feminist," and just about the best thing in the N.A.

Tension in the Alliance

A coalition of three such feisty and disparate hard right forces is bound to suffer from tensions and inner conflicts, and the alliance leaders denounced each other all during the campaign, and almost didn't get their act together to form a Cabinet. The biggest clash is between the Northern League's regional separatism and the National Alliance's devotion to the centralized Roman State. Otherwise, many of the discussions and debates within the alliance sound like a more hostile version of discussions within the John Randolph Club! Thus:

Berlusconi and Martino's Forza Italia want to privatize State industries and operations; whereas the Northern League is worried about a formal "privatization" that will, as in Russia and Eastern Europe, go into the hands of the old corrupt State managerial class. The Leaguers also worry about privatizing into the hands of Japanese and other multinationals; hence, the League prefers to talk about "localization" and not just privatization of State functions. Less serious is the defection from the Forza Italia leadership of heroic young female ex-judge Tiziana Parenti, who helped prosecute corruption and resigned from the old government in protest at their shelving her inquiries into crookery by the "ex" Communist party. La Parenti, who had been slated to become minister of justice in a Berlusconi cabinet, has denounced Berlusconi's "personal dictatorship" over the party. (What did she expect?)

But these are all growing pains and creative tensions within a suddenly burgeoning movement. One important point: Umberto Bossi has given Berlusconi six months to transform the constitution of Italy from a centralized State to a genuinely federalist one; and we can all hope that he succeeds.

The Other Europe

There is another hopeful force arising in Europe, and one that fits in well with the

Quotes That Need No Comment

You could write an article about the horrors of Russian supermarkets, just by going to our supermarkets here [in New York City]. The mess. The lines. The filth! And everybody is very, very rude.—Karen Iless, culinary historian, *New York Times*

The "reform" [Yegor] Gaidar gave out was brainless. I refuse to recognize that this is reform.He freed prices while monopolies were still intact, enabling them to charge whatever they wanted while reducing production.—Alexsandr Solzhenitsyn, *New York Times*

She [Hillary] certainly got favored and preferential treatment. Somebody else put up the money to finance her trades. [Asked if others could get similar treatment] No way—not unless you're my sister and I own the firm.—Chuck Levitt, senior livestock analyst at Alaron Trading Corp., Chicago, *New York Post*

It is immoral and unethical to encourage more war in Bosnia. As for a multicultural Bosnia, it won't work because people no longer want it.—Conservative French writer Guy Sorman, reacting against pro-war agitation by Bernard-Henri Levy and other French intellectuals, *New York Times*

rise of the Forza Italia. For decades, one of the sinister developments in Europe has been the burgeoning of a regional Euro-bureaucracy of European managers and administrators, of a European State that will be accountable to no one, neither taxpayers, nations nor voters. This monstrosity has grown like topsy, adding layer after layer of European Community economic regulation, of Maastricht currency regulations, all designed to march toward the goal of one supranational Euro-government, to submerge all the wonderful particular nationalities of Europe into a monstrous, denatured, statist, and cartelized "One Europe", dominated by one tyrannical, multicultural, multiethnic government, issuing one paper currency. This horrendous Euro-ideal is, of course, precisely the ideal of our New World Order left-liberals, neoconservative Mensheviks, and Rockefeller multinationals: that is, a super-One World Government built upon such regional Euro-governments as its building blocks. Hence, the enthusiasm with which the U.S. liberal/centrist/neocon/Official Con Establishment greets every step along the path to regional, and eventually, world government.

Every fibre of the being of every paleo yearns to disrupt, to block, to smash the march toward this World Government. Unfortunately, the Thatcher wing of nationalistic

British Tories have been so far submerged by the Euro-Major liberals or "wets". Fortunately, on the other hand, economic realities managed to break apart the European Currency Union before it could unite on a single currency, or even on a single set of fixed exchange rates, Britain being forced to leave the Union. But still it is touch and go.

Up till now, opposition to Eurocracy has been scattered, confined to dissidents in each nation (such as Britain and Denmark) and unorganized.

Now, however, there is good news. The formidable English billionaire Sir James Goldsmith, who resides in Paris, has thrown his energies into organizing a determined anti-Eurocracy movement. On April 22, "Sir Jimmy's" brainchild, *L'Autre Europe* (The Other Europe), was organized, signing a Declaration of Paris in a solemn ceremony at the George V Hotel. The Paris accord commits its signatories to fight implacably for a new Europe—or rather for the Old Europe—of sovereign states. Just as Pat Buchanan and the paleos want to Take America Back to restore the Old Republic, *L'Autre Europe* is determined to Take Europe Back, to restore the Old Europe, what General de Gaulle called *L'Europe des patries* (A Europe of Fatherlands.) Goldsmith, who at 61 has retired from high finance, is devoting himself to this great cause. His *L'Autre Force* intends to battle for seats in the next elections to

the European Parliament, and it feels it can take 30 seats at the first try. Goldsmith recently wrote a runaway best seller in French, *Le Pieu* (The Trap), which sold 100,000 copies. This 200-page book is anti-Maastricht, anti-Gatt, anti-Brussels, anti-Eurocracy.

As Sir Jimmy explains his position: I believe in "a Europe built on a base of nations, and not a United States of Europe. History shows that an excess of centralization of power always unleashes a reaction of dangerous centrifugal forces. Belgium, Italy, and Yugoslavia, artificially created states, are in full explosion. A vote for Maastricht is the best way to destroy Europe—the appetite of Brussels for bureaucratic power is so voracious it will sooner or later boomerang."

A running mate of Goldsmith's on the anti Maastricht list is the conservative Catholic French politician Philippe de Villiers. In Germany, the major *L'Autre Force* leader is Manfred Brunner, leader of the Bund Freier Bürger (the League of Free Burghers).

How does the new Italy fit into this picture? Because a Berlusconi Italy is expected to abandon the old Christian Democrat enthusiasm for One Europe, and to join the ranks of *L'Autre Force*. Sir Jimmy states that "it looks very much as if the Italian government...will be anti Maastricht." In particular, Antonio Martino, Berlusconi's Austro-libertarian economist, is a long-time "Euro-skeptic"; Martino was the only Italian

founding member of the Bruges Group—an organization set up to counter One Europe along nationalistic Thatcherite lines.

We can see, rising out of the mist, out of this ferment, a new Nationalist International, a Right-wing International, a Fifth International, an international of disparate and sovereign nationalities, each free and independent, each on its own land. Contrary to popular notions, there is nothing at all contradictory about a nationalist international, a free and genuine comity of sovereign nations.■

The Franciscan Way

A review of Samuel Francis, *Beautiful Losers: Essays on the Failure of American Conservatism* (University of Missouri Press, 1993), 237 pp.

by M. N. R.

In the Introduction to this brilliant collection of essays, Dr. Samuel Francis crystallizes one of his unique contributions to modern conservative thought. Since World War II, he points out, conservative

intellectuals and theorists (and this would be true in spades for libertarians) have concentrated on what ideas *should* be adopted in society. In the famous phrase of Old Rightist

Richard Weaver, "Ideas Have Consequences." Of course, Sam Francis concedes, but what they have all neglected are the crucial questions: *what* and *who* decides *which* ideas get adopted, to generate those consequences? As Francis puts it, with his typical blend of powerful reasoning and mordant wit: "Ideas do have

consequences, but some ideas have more consequences than others, and which consequences ensue from which ideas is settled not simply because the ideas serve human reason through their logical implications but also because some ideas serve human interests and emotions through their attachment to drives for political, economic, and social power, while other ideas do not." (p.3).

Realistic Analysis First

Which ideas get adopted, in short, is not simply a matter of pure reason in behalf of moral principle or of what system of laws or institutions

will best serve society. It is more often a matter of whose interests will be best served in a drive for political power. As the late Max Lerner put it in the title of a book written during his overtly Leftist period: *Ideas Are Weapons*.

Thus, whereas most conservative and libertarian intellectuals, including his two fellow paleo syndicated columnists, Joe Sobran and Pat Buchanan, are grounded in a moralistic tradition of political *philosophy*, Sam Francis brings to us the fruits of a quite different tradition in Western thought: realistic, hard-boiled political *analysis*. This is the tradition pioneered by the notorious Machiavelli, developed by the great turn-of-the twentieth century Italian political theorists Vilfredo Pareto and Gaetano Mosca, and brought to modern conservatism by James Burnham, on whose political thought Sam Francis has written a previous volume. It is a tradition crystallized in by far the best thing V.I. Lenin ever wrote: the title to one of his numerous essays: *Who? Whom?* In other words: in analyzing politics or any actions of the State, the crucial question to ask is *who* is shafting *whom*? Or, to put it in the language of modern game theory, politics is a "zero-sum game," and so all State action is a process by which winners can only benefit at the expense of losers. As a result, while moralistic political philosophers think or write in terms of moral

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