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For President: Pat Buchanan

by Murray N.
Rothbard and
Llewellyn H.
Rockwell, Jr.

In writing an article on strategy for this issue, one of us, demonstrating the crying need for a dynamic, exciting, charismatic leader to build a paleo movement, a right-wing populist movement to rouse the middle and working classes, to return America to a free and prosperous land of productive citizens enjoying their rights to person and property, ends with the cry: where is that leader? Where is that presidential candidate? As if our prayers were swiftly answered by Heaven, we now have that candidate and that leader: Patrick J. Buchanan.

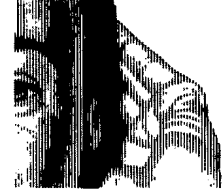
One might well ask: what about Ron Paul? In November, we called for Ron Paul to enter the Republican primaries, and we joined an exploratory committee to test the waters for that race. We generated an enormous and unexpected amount of interest, from libertarians and conservatives, and from the media, starved for some kind of contest in what had looked like a torpid and boring Bush coronation in 1992. Ron was determined that Bush would not go unchallenged, but he was not anxious for personal rea-

sons to make the race. When Pat phoned him, without hesitation, Ron welcomed Pat's entry into the race, and pledged his support to the Buchanan effort. Unlike most libertarians, Ron Paul understands the real world of politics, and he realizes that in Pat Buchanan we have an unprecedented opportunity to forge a powerful paleo coalition, to create a new libertarian-conservative, Old Right movement that can grow, can become extraordinarily influential, and that can even take over the presidency within a short period of time.

To libertarians: the opportunity is here. This is it. This is the real world. Get real!

Pat Buchanan is our ideal candidate. He is highly intelligent; he is deeply principled; he is known and loved by millions of Americans; he has a great deal of experience in politics, though not in running

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THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

At a recent meeting that Charles Koch's Institute for Humane Studies held for budding young journalists, the big buzz among the students was not the daffy but boring official topic, but... RRR! Student opinion was split 50-50; with half saying they couldn't live without us,

and the other half calling us Evil Incarnate. That's about the right proportion: they may love us, they may hate us, but no one can ignore us!

In case anyone wants to know whom Israel is backing in the Democrat presidential sweepstakes, general counsel for the Clinton campaign

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that gay marriage combines the "libertarian idea of open choice with the communitarian dedication to family-formation and fidelity."

The Cato Institute was recently feted by the *Wall Street Journal* for its influence in D.C. There were compliments from Bush aide Jim Pinkerton and Nadine Strossen, head of the anti-property, pro-criminal ACLU. The story noted that Cato spanned left and right: free enterprise economics and "positions on gay rights and pornography more like those of elements of the Democratic left."

In the *WSJ* story, Ed Crane felt forced to comment on the Rockwell-Tucker-Buckley charge about "child-molesting" in the LP platform. Ed doesn't like those planks, it turns out, but for very different reasons: they allow children to drink (did Ed favor raising the drinking age to 21?), and trying juveniles as adults for adult crimes (*i.e.*, he favors coddling young thugs). Unmentioned by Ed was the key point: the LP claim that parents or other adults have the right to molest children sexually with their "consent."

The heroic Walter Williams told a national TV audience that he would drive to school and beat up any teacher who gave his child a condom.

Flash! I've found the Ultimate Modal! He's Fred Orther,

assistant professor of economics at the University of North Carolina-Greensboro and disciple of nihil-hermeneutician and Left-Kochtopusian Don Lavoie of George Mason University.

Professor Orther has just established a new group, the Society of Indian Dead, dedicated to "Freedom" and "Anarchy," with a logo of the skull of a dead (American) Indian. The Indian Dead practice Satyagraha, the "living truth" (Indian Indian). Well, anything so long as it's "Indian," right?

Orther's inchoate manifesto, aimed at garnering "one million members by the year 2000," is dedicated to drugs, drugs, American Indians and their witchcraft, touchie-feelie love, "teaching people that the Earth is their Mother," reducing the world's population, abortion, never kicking your children(!), astrology, anti-racism, and hard rock. Sounds like my kind of guy! Feel like joining his "tribe"? Write the S.I.D. at P.O. Box 5639, Greensboro, N.C. 27435.

Orther recommends that Dead Indians join a crazy-quilt of organizations from Hell, including the Libertarian Party (natch!), the ACLU, the NAACP, Greenpeace, abortion rights groups, NOW, the Sierra Club, a whole slew of druggie organizations including the Friends of Hemp, and the League of Women Voters(!).

Presumably, Professor Orther is neither Indian (American or Indian) nor dead, but with Modals, who knows? Or who can tell? ●

(BUCHANAN...cont. from P.1)

for office. He is a superb public speaker; and his is personally a remarkable blend of reason and passion, which enables him to rouse the masses as no one else can do in our lifetime. He is a paleo through and through; he stands for America First, and for an older and finer America, an America of liberty and individual responsibility, of a culture permeated by sound religious values, and marked by a happy and optimistic view of mankind and of the universe. He speaks to the best in every American, and he has the capacity to get them to listen. He is the best hope for bringing back that kind of America.

And wonder of wonders, they can't demonize him. he is not only loved by millions, he is warmly liked by everyone who knows him, even those who disagree violently with every one of his ideas. Liberal after liberal pundit in the media has gotten up and said: "I haven't agreed with Pat for twenty years, but he's a great guy, and will bring principle back into politics." The reason is that he is indeed a great guy, friendly, and humorous, and has the rare ability of stating his position strongly while remaining on personally friendly terms with his opponents. And that basic likability comes through on the tube.

They tried hard to demonize Pat a year ago, when the neo-conservative, neo-liberal/leftist Smear Bund launched a vicious concerted attack on Pat for being "anti-Semitic." The smear campaign

failed badly—and how often has that happened in recent decades? It failed because Pat fought back hard, and nailed and named the enemy, so that the truth plus his basic likability carried him through with scarcely a scratch. In other words, Pat has shown the unique capacity to battle against an elite smear campaign—and win! Pat is our leader.

We can already hear the small Modal voices bellyaching: But Buchanan's not a purist, *e.g.*, "he's weak on free trade." To this we say: Come off it! To call for purity in a Libertarian Party candidate makes sense; the whole point of a libertarian political party is to expound a consistent doctrine. But to expect libertarian purity in a real-world candidate comes close to imbecility. On television and in his column, Pat has expressed forceful views on hundreds if not thousands of political, social, and cultural topics. Do we agree with every one of them? Of course not, and so what? That misses the point. The point is that Pat Buchanan is strongly infused with libertarian principle, and that he is as close as any real-world candidate could possibly come to paleo-libertarianism. All of us should be proud and delighted to work as hard as we can for a Buchanan presidency.

What are the prospects for a Buchanan race? *At minimum*, he can throw a big scare into Bush, build a movement for the future, as-

sume leadership of the conservative and paleo ranks, marginalize the Bush conservatives and neocons, and make a tremendous splash at the Republican convention. *At maximum*, he can knock Bush out of the box—in the same way the Gene McCarthy did in 1968. By getting large (though not winning) percentage of votes in New Hampshire, McCarthy forced Lyndon Johnson to retire and not run for reelection. Consider this: suppose that Pat gets 30 or 40 percent of the vote in New Hampshire. Bush then faces a year of Pat on his neck through the convention, perhaps an independent Southern race by David Duke in November, and perhaps also a strong Democratic challenger like Cuomo—capped by an ever-deepening "recession" (read: depression). Is it so crazy to envision Bush, a few weeks after New Hampshire, announcing that for the sake of his health, for the sake of Barbara's health and blah blah, he has decided not to run in '92? Would you bet your life *against* this scenario? And at that point of course: Pat could actually win it.

We have a dream: and perhaps someday it will come to pass. (Hell, if "Dr." King can have a dream, why can't we?) Our dream is that, one day, we Buchananites can present Mr. and Mrs. America, and all the liberal and conservative and centrist elites, with a dramatic choice. We can, in the scintillating terms of Tom Wolfe, "Mau-Mau the Flak

Catchers," except usually it's leftists Mau-Mauing liberals. We can say: "Look, gang: you have a choice, it's either Pat Buchanan or David Duke. If you don't vote for us, baby, you're going to get Duke. And how do you like *them* apples?"

Note: This personal endorsement does not imply endorsement of Buchanan by the Center for Libertarian Studies, which is a non-partisan, non-political organization. ●

Right-Wing Populism: A Strategy for the Paleo Movement

By Murray N.
Rothbard

Well, they finally got David Duke. But he sure scared the bejesus out of them. It took a massive campaign of hysteria, of fear and hate, orchestrated by all wings of the Ruling Elite, from Official Right to Left, from President Bush and the official Republican Party through the New York-Washington-run national media through the local elites and down to local left-wing activists. It took a massive scare campaign, not only invoking the old bogey images of the Klan and Hitler, but also, more concretely, a virtual threat to boycott Louisiana, to pull out tourists and conventions, to lose jobs by businesses leaving the state. It took a campaign of slander