

are beholden to their principles and to their constituents, not to the perks and power that might be handed out by Newt Gingrich and his cohorts. Many of them only became Republican candidates because the party elite had no idea that they would win. There are many hardcore paleos in Congress, and other sympathizers who are open to persuasion, either by conviction or because they realize that this is what their constituents demand. One of the leading Republicans in the Senate, for example, was converted against GATT by reading the Mises Institute's sparkling booklet, *The WTO Reader*. Such impact can be multiplied many-fold.

Of the many worthy freshman in the House, two can be singled out. One is Jack Metcalf, a new Representative from Washington State. I have met Jack several times. A former State Senator, Metcalf is a veteran paleo-libertarian activist, an Old Rightist champion of the Tenth Amendment and strict constitutional government, a knowledgeable advocate of the free-market gold standard, and an implacable foe

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of the income tax and of the Federal Reserve. A promising young newcomer to the House is the Texan Steve Stockman, who, with very little money, toppled the powerful liberal Judiciary Committee Chairman Jack Brooks. Stockman, who featured a poster "FIGHT CRIME, SHOOT BACK," stressed three magnificent themes in his campaign:

(1) an accountant, he has dedicated himself to the abolition of the dread Internal Revenue Service; (2) he hammered away at Brooks's sellout to the gun-control forces in voting for the ban on "assault" weapons; and (3) he played on TV, over and over again, spots of the Janet Reno-BATF holocaust of the Branch

Davidians at Waco, interspersed with Rep. Brooks's cruel pronouncement: "those people got what they deserved." No Jack, *you* got what you deserved on November 8.

The important thing now is for the mass of the public *not* to be lulled, *not* to think that the war is over, now that Gingrich has been elected, and that we all might as well go home. On the contrary, the first battle has been won, but

many others remain in this glorious but protracted struggle. The next vital step is to keep alert, study the continuing record of this Congress, and to keep putting the pressure on the Republican party and its elites. In short, to help the paleo-type populists in the House and Senate, the militant backbenchers and their sympathizers, to assist them in putting pressure on the reluctant elites of their own party. Keep their feet to the fire; never let up. And let us all remind the new Masters of the Universe, in their arrogance, that what the people have given them, the people can and will take away. They have two years to put up, to shape up or be shipped out. And if a threat of a viable third party, whether Perotvian or some other, begins to loom large for '96, so much the better. If Slick Willie and his rotten collectivists gang are doomed, as it certainly appears, great. It couldn't have happened to a more deserving crew. But the Republicans should be constantly put on notice that, if they don't get with the Revolution, they will soon follow Slick Willie into the ashcan of history. ■

### King Kristol

by M.N.R.

On November 8, the American people carried through a mighty and glorious revolution against Big Government and its embodiment in King Wil-

liam (Jefferson Blyth IV "Clinton"). But what we got for our pains is Big Government headed by yet another King William (Kristol). A Left-liberal (Socialist) in the guise of a New Democrat (Social Democrat) was replaced by a neoconservative (Social Democrat) in the guise of a conservative.

Officially, of course, our new Maximum Leader is Newt Gingrich, whose seat on the throne was hardly warm before he had maneuvered to grab more House power than any Speaker since the notorious Joe Cannon. Newt is a neo-conservative (Social Democrat, wacko techno-futurist division), in the guise of a fiery revolutionary quasi-libertarian. In actuality, however, we are now being ruled by a duumvirate, by two kings, a two-headed monster: King Newt and King Kristol. Newt is the nominal chief, the outside front man who deals with the media and the public; William is the shadowy inside man, the "theoretician" who sets the public policy agenda and cracks the whip over the "intellectuals," policy wonks, and strategists of the Republican Party.

There are advantages and disadvantages to each role, and who plays what is a function of many factors, including personal temperament. Gingrich, as the politician who gets elected, clearly loves the open exercise of power. Kristol, as the "intellectual" in this division of labor, is better suited for the inside handing down of the

policy line to pundits, think-tankers, and the battery of neocon syndicated columnists.

One advantage to the intellectual slot is that the front man-politician gets the glory but also takes all the heat. Gingrich has already been subject to a lot of media "scrutiny" (the current euphemism for hostile profiles and articles) mainly by hard Leftists outside the "mainstream" left center-right center neocon/Social Democrat spectrum. But Bill Kristol has gotten no scrutiny whatsoever, and to my knowledge has never been subjected to this process. King William has become a king beyond criticism for one reason: because the general public has no idea of Kristol's enormous new power in tandem with Gingrich.

The neo-conservatives, after having been dominant under Reagan, grew to detest George Bush toward the end of the Bush Administration. And so the tightly organized neocon ranks, extraordinarily well-funded and represented way out of proportion to their numbers in the ranks of journalists and syndicated columnists (a common quip is there are 33 neocons in that country of whom 32 are syndicated columnists), openly or quietly threw their weight behind Bill Clinton, leading the Backstabbing Faction of the Republican Party. In fact, it was mainly the neocons, headed by their "left" faction who are nominal Democrats, such as columnist Ben Wattenberg and the media-hyped

Democratic Leadership Council, who persuaded the American public that Bill Clinton was really not a bad Old Liberal but a centrist New Democrat.

After he assumed power, however, King Willie, the Slick One, betrayed his neocon supporters. In two ways: first, his policies, driven by his Gorgon spouse, were much Harder Left than the neocons had been led to believe. (Yes, everyone, even neocons, makes mistakes.) But secondly, and more important, Clinton appointed almost none of the neocons to high office. Instead, the multicultural, multi-gendered Hard Left got the appointments. And patronage, of course, is the key to politics and to power.

Nothing is more dangerous than a neocon scorned. And so, the neocons joined the rest of the American public in revolt against the hated Clintons. While the lower ranks of the neocons had to make do with menial jobs waiting for Their Turn, the neocon rulers of course did not exactly suffer economic deprivation during the dry two years of the reign of King Willie. While Bill Bennett made a small fortune in no-show jobs at a number of heavily neo-con funded institutions, Bill Kristol segued neatly from his Bush-era job as chief of staff ("control") of Vice-President Quayle, to head of the new, munificently-funded "Project for the Republican Future." Kristol is chairman of the tiny board of

directors of the Project, which also includes *National Review* publisher Thomas Rhodes, and, most significantly, Michael S. Joyce, head of the extremely wealthy Bradley Foundation of Milwaukee. Joyce is a long-time protege of Kristol's father, Irving, the "Godfather" of the neoconservative movement. Irving had led the long march of the neoconservatives from Trotskyite to Democratic liberal to Reaganite, and is still the chief theoretician of the editorial page of the *Wall St. Journal*.

In recent years, however, the aging Irving has passed the mantle of power to his apostolic and dynastic successor, William. No sooner had William set up shop at the Project in Washington, than he began to issue ukases and edicts to his mailing list of God knows how many tens (hundreds?) of thousands, which includes every Republican, conservative, or libertarian leader or institution of any prominence. Strange to relate, his orders to the Republican/Official Con/Official Libertarian troops always seem to be obeyed. When the Clinton health plan took shape, King William issued a decree to the Republicans to close ranks and—sorta—oppose it. Sure enough, they did. Fortunately, the Clintonians stuck stubbornly to their Hillary-Ira Magaziner Hard Left health plan, so that Congress wound up passing nothing, nothing being a whale of a lot better than

Kristol's soft-core alternative. Before the election, moreover, William Kristol managed to "persuade" Jack Kemp and Bill Bennett to cut their own potential presidential throats by coming out strongly against Proposition 187, thereby going against, not only the overwhelming mass of the public, but also against Governor Pete Wilson and the bulk of the California Republican Party.

The groveling adulation of Bill Kristol by virtually every conservative leader in the country has to be seen or read to be believed. Conservative bigshots vie with each other in heaping the kind of extravagant praise upon William that Ayn Rand devotees used to heap upon their Leader. Thus, Bill Kristol is routinely referred to by virtually everyone as "the most brilliant conservative intellectual in the country," the only permissible range of dispute being those who gently demure and claim that Bill is merely second in brilliance to his beloved poppa. Liberal pundits go along with this assessment, in their case with grudging but not worshipful admiration. To paraphrase Tom Fleming's pungent comment on the allegedly increasing brilliance of *The Bell Curve's* heralded "Cognitive Elite": If the Kristols, William & Irving, are the "most brilliant intellectuals" in the conservative movement, that movement is in deep doo-doo indeed.

When the American people voted on November 8, they

were not consciously voting to elevate William Kristol to Supreme Power. Indeed, the vast majority of the American public, fortunately for their peace of mind, have never heard of William Kristol. But such are the wonders of the Guided Democracy that the neocons have arranged for us, that that is what has happened.

No sooner had the election been won, than Bill Kristol leaped to assume the reins of command. The first order of business of the Betrayers of the Revolution was to rush GATT/WTO through the lame-duck Democrat Congress. It should occasion no surprise that one of Kristol's first decrees after the election was to order the Republicans to "Pass GATT-Quickly!" Of course the Republicans, including the "libertarian revolutionary" Gingrich, hastened to obey.

Of some interest is the quality of the intellectual reasoning that Kristol used in his "Memorandum to Republican Leaders" of November 21 to persuade them to obey. The Republicans, said Kristol, have won, they should be strong and confident, they should stick to principle and not compromise or dicker with Clinton—and *therefore* they should hasten to pass Clinton's GATT proposal right away, without delay or qualifications! If you can make sense out of *that* line of reasoning, you're a better man (or woman) than I. But sense, intellectuality, persuasive reasoning, have nothing to do with the case. Argumentation

is here only a figleaf for the naked exercise of power, in this case the power of King William K. and the neocon movement which he heads and controls.

After succeeding in suppressing Bob Dole's abortive attempt to delay GATT in order to gain more concessions from Clinton, King K. turned his attention to shaping up the conservative intellectual front. On December 16, he headed a panel of Official Con/Left Libertarian think-tankers on "What to Kill First: Agencies to Dismantle, Programs to Eliminate, and Regulations to Stop." Despite previous bold talk by Kristol and the others about "principle" and rolling back the welfare state, Left Libertarian thinktankers, under King William's watchful guidance, decided to suddenly "mature," to "grow in stature," to "accept the responsibilities of power," as the liberal media always like to dub sellouts to statism. Except for Wall Street's favorite, capital gains tax cut, no calls came for cuts in taxes, only their "limitation," in effect, the stopping or slowing down of tax *increases*. No appeals rose up for *abolishing* any agency or program. The merger of neoconservatism and Left-libertarianism, of Official Conservatives and Libertarians, is now virtually complete.

King K. followed up this panel with a foreign policy panel a few days later. The "spectrum" on foreign policy was narrowed to one tiny

band of "bipartisan" neocon interventionists and warmongers, including former Defense Department biggie Paul Wolfowitz, and former State Department heavies Robert Kagan and Robert Zoellick, topped off by the sinister syndicated columnist Charles Krauthammer. How's *that* for a broad range of "Republican" opinion?

And yet, in all of the commentary on the election by conservatives and libertarians, only one person has broken into print with sharp criticisms of King Kristol. As might be expected, that person is our very own paleo point man, my colleague Lew Rockwell. Writing in the *Washington Times* ("Striking the Pose on Welfare Reform," Dec.4) Lew revealed William Kristol's repeated post-election denunciations of any attempt to carry out a revolution or genuine rollback of the Welfare State. Lew points to Kristol's execrable advice to the neocon-controlled (Kemp-Bennett) "Empower America" conference: "Don't take a kamikaze approach," ordered King K. For that would "wipe out everything at once that took 60 years to build up." Awww! Perish the thought!

Would K.K. take the same view toward the painstaking 72-year "buildup" of the Soviet Union? Bill Kristol elaborated by telling the *New York Times* that Republicans "should shed the minority mindset" of "let's do everything we can all at once." Instead, he explained, the important thing

is not to worry about principle or rollback but to elect a Republican President in '96 (i.e., do *nothing*). In short, don't do what we told the American people we were going to do. Instead, wait comrades! Wait for a Republican President! And then it will be wait for his reelection! Wait for the Second Millennium! Wait for the

light at the end of the tunnel! Pie in the sky bye and bye!

During the first two years of the Clinton Administration, our prime political task was to expose, expose, and attack, attack the collectivist schemes of the Clintonian Democracy, and to help build a right-wing populist revolution against Clintonian rule. Now that the people have made that revolution and it has already been betrayed, our task is to expose, expose, and attack, attack the leading betrayers, the Gingriches and the Kristols as

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well as their support system of the neocon/Official Con/Official libertarian punditocracy. The grass-roots right-wing have marvelous

libertarian and anti-statist instincts, but they are unsophisticated about people and political leaders, especially those who clothe their treason in the fair garb of rightist and libertarian-sounding rhetoric. Our task is to strip the glowing rhetoric from our misleaders, and reveal the ugly reality underneath. Our

task, in short, is to show, once again, that despite the systemic deceit practiced by our Official movement apologists and word-spinners, our Emperors, be they Willie or William or Newt, are wearing no clothes. ■

### *A Rivederci, Mario*

by M.N.R.

In one sense, of course, the toppling of Mario Cuomo from his New York throne was part and parcel of the nationwide people's revolution against the Democrat Party.

But the shock was a lot greater in New York than in most of the country. In the first place, Mario had for years been the Great Shining

Prince of Democrat left-liberalism: witty, brainy, eloquent, left-Catholic theologian (an *acceptable* Catholic, for Heaven's sake, now that Teddy was old, fat, and discredited), a man who had taken the nation's liberals by storm at his speech at the Democrat convention of 1984. Ever since, he had been the

*Numero Uno presidentabile*, if we may coin a term.

But secondly, and more strikingly, Mario was *supposed* to win; until Election Day, the polls had Mario comfortably in the lead. In contrast, for example, everyone knew that Speaker Tom Foley was doomed many weeks before the election. And the Cuomo lead was not part of what looked like a massive media disinformation campaign from mid-October on. Nationally, the Democrats were first supposed to lose badly, and then came the Gingrich contract, and then Clinton looked Presidential while out of the country, and the media began to hype the

Comeback Kid and the Comeback Party. The polls claimed that the Republican surge had stopped; they peaked too early; Clinton is up in the polls; the Democrats are now surging ahead; the public has had a chance to look at the "contract" and blah blah. The Democrats are up again! I had been optimistic about a Democratic collapse before that, but by the final weekend before Election Day I was getting worried, snowed by the "scientific" media onslaught. But then, magically, the day before Election Day, whoops! the polls showed that the Democrat surge had magically stopped; the Republicans are up again, and by Election morning the polls were at least in the ballpark (although plaudits to political analysts Robert Novak, Michael Barone, and Stuart Rothenberg for getting the Senate shift right on the button, and they called the House pretty closely as well.)

What was with the media? My astute colleague Lew Rockwell plausibly speculated that the media, after trying to hype their wish-fulfillment as long as they dared, *had* to preserve their credibility and start telling the truth by the Monday before Election Day.

But in any case, New York was different. *Everyone* in the media expected Cuomo to win handily down to the wire by several percentage points. Instead, Pataki won by 4 percent. What in the world happened? One straw

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