

RRR

ROTHBARD-ROCKWELL REPORT

JANUARY 1991

VOLUME II, NUMBER 1

The "New Fusionism": A Movement For Our Time

by Murray N. Rothbard

At the historic first open meeting of the new John Randolph Club (see below), JRC President Dr. Thomas Fleming, editor of *Chronicles*, referred to the new paleocon/paleoliberalian alliance as "the new fusionism." It is an excellent term for this outstanding new ideological and political movement, the very first movement born of the glorious new post-Cold War, post-Communist era. For, as became evident at the JRC meeting and has been clear for some time, this new movement is far more than an "alliance," which implies two inherently separate entities. Paleoliberalianism and paleoconservatism is increasingly a great coming together, a fusion of different but complementary elements.

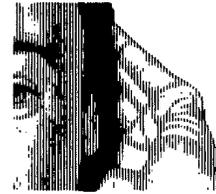
Problems of the Old Fusionism

"Fusionism" was originally a creation of the fertile mind of top *National Review* theoretician and editor Frank S. Meyer. It was a call for a unified conservative movement based on a fusing of the previously disparate and seemingly antithetical libertarian and traditionalist wings of the conservative movement. Frank,

an old and valued friend and mentor of mine, was basically a libertarian, or, a far better term, what we would now call a paleoliberalian. He believed in reason and tradition, believed in individual liberty and the free market, hated the public school system with a purple passion, detested hippie irrationality, believed in an objective ethic, and championed decentralization and states' rights (including those of the Old South) against federal tyranny. He was ardently in favor of, rather than opposed to, Christianity. (See my *Frank S. Meyer: The Fusionist as Libertarian*, 1981, Burlingame, CA: Center for Libertarian

Studies, 1985.) And strategically, Frank strongly opposed from within the Buckley-*National Review* policy of purging the conservative movement of all "extremist" groups: notably, the libertarians, the Birchers, and the Randians. Meyer had the unique gift of setting forth his own ideological position with great strength and vigor, initiating ideological debates with other conservative thinkers, while at the same time trying to keep together all the factions within the broader movement and maintaining personal friendships with most of the clashing factions. Meyer foresaw that purging extremists would in-

(Cont. page 3, col. 1)



THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

You heard it first from the Ear: that when Charles Murray was fired by the Manhattan Institute because his research into the welfare mess strayed into the h-o-t area of race and IQ, Murray called up his old friend and fishing buddy Eddie "Sexual Diversity"

This new movement is far more than an "alliance."

Crane. Remember that for years, Eddie had touted Murray far and wide as *the* big libertarian intellectual, a non-doctrinaire moderate compared to the first R. But Eddie gave Charles Murray the cold shoulder, Murray finally winding up at the AEI.

Months later, the story broke big in the *New York Times* (November 30). *Times* writer Jason DeParle interviewed Manhattan Institute head Bill Hammett who, pressed by DeParle, sounded increasingly inarticulate. First saying he worried about adverse publicity, Hammett finally stammered that "when you say this stuff it just

(Cont. next page, col. 1)

(THE EAR cont. from P.1)

sounds bad. I have to rethink this damn thing." Next came old buddy Eddie who tired to explain why he turned down Charles Murray flat: "It's not an area I wish to get involved in." DeParle, trying to pin down one of these slippery think-tankers, finally asked Eddie whether he shared Charles Murray's view that the entire question of white-black IQ and intelligence had "unfortunately become taboo." Said Eddie: "I think that sometimes taboos serve a legitimate social function." What happened to the fearless search for "truth," Eddie? Isn't that what your think-tank (Cato Institute) is pursuing with your tax-exempt funds?

It seems that while "S-D" Eddie is all in favor of Sexual Diversity, he is not in favor of intellectual diversity: in favor of intellectual taboos but not sexual ones. *That's* left-libertarianism.

When a famous journalist called the Cato Institute "libertarian neo-cons," Ear was unpersuaded. Then Ed Crane hired Roger and Juliana Pilon, the social democratic answer to Nicolae and Elena, and placed them in high positions. Then Charles Koch, The Funder, set up a globalist think-tank and endowed chair for ex-Fed official Manuel Johnson at George Mason University. Then a political scientist revealed that Cato gets \$1 million a year from Olin and other neocon foundations. Hmmm.

The Koch anti-Austrian think-tank at George Mason, the Market Process Center, has closed down its irrationalist academic journal after the first issue, *and* its student

newsletter. The whole enterprise may be next. Since Profs. Don Lavoie and Jack High had used Nobel-prize winner James Buchanan to force money out of Koch the last time their center was slated for the junk-heap, it has been on the death watch list. Buchanan is now retired. Note: wielding the knife on his own people is Richie Fink, head minion in Witchita.

Last month, the Ear reported on Peace & Freedom, the new grassroots organization to be funded by billionaire David Koch and headed by Ed "Sexual Diversity" Crane of the Cato Institute. P&F was to wrap libertarian political ideas in the cultural agenda of the left, but no more. Apparently it's dead. (Excuse Ear for a moment while she changes into a black dress.)

Longtime Kochtopus'r Sheldon Richman blames the Ear's "sabotage." Flattering as this is, the Ear knows the left-libertarian extravaganza was vetoed by Ed's boss, Richie Fink.

Richie—a Koch Washington lobbyist—worried that P&F would mean too much notoriety just now, with legal troubles looming for the empire, involving an alleged Indian oil scandal and *hundreds* of millions of dollars. Stay tuned for further developments!

Speaking of Sheldon Richman, he and Bill Bradford denounced the second R's claim that left libertarians love Martin Luther King. Now they fulfill the paradigm. Sheldon's editorial in Bill's new *Liberty* defends King as "the essence of individualism," pooh-poohs his plagiarism, and

calls the statist cheat an "intellectual heir" to Locke, Jefferson, and DuBois.

In fact, King was an intellectual heir only to DuBois, for King was a life-long Communist fellow-traveler, and Dubois a long-time member of the Communist Party's central committee.

"Forced integration," says Joe Sobran, "is to racial harmony what a shotgun marriage is to romance." And King was holding the shotgun.

Why then would left-libertarians, who are supposed to believe in freedom of association, love King? Ear has a hunch that it's King's devotion to what Ed Crane praises as "sexual diversity." King bedded other men's wives, other wives' men, underaged girls, and young boys. Ear's guess is that even holes in the ground had to watch out. No wonder the LLs love him.

A famous conservative journalist recently explained Ed Crane's attack on Lew Rockwell: "Lew Rockwell thinks marriage is for men and women, rather than men and men, or men and sheep."

Jim Peron, who flew to South Africa to work with the libertarian Free Market Foundation, is back in San Francisco. Jim had leased his Free Forum Books to ISIL, the International Society for Individual Liberty (the old Libertarian International), but the contract allowed Jim to change his mind, and he has. Note: the contract had stipulated that ISIL keep the boy pornography corner of the bookstore in operation. ●

(Fusionism.. cont. from P.1)

evitably lead to a conservative movement shorn of all principle except respectability and a seat at the trough of government Power.

But there was one great flaw in Meyer's fusionism that proved to be fatal, and destructive of fusionism itself. In an era when many, if not most, conservative intellectuals were defectors from Communism, Frank took pride in being the top cadre Communist of all. A veteran Communist who got his start as organizer at the London School of Economics, Frank was a leading

theoretician, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, and head of the CP's second leading cadre training school, the Workers' School of Chicago. As a top defector, Frank was deeply committed to total destruction of the God That Failed, up to and including nuclear annihilation of the Soviet Union. Hence, Frank not only disagreed with the Old Right foreign policy of isolationism, his major interest was to reverse it, and he was the most pro-war of all the myriad war hawks of *National Review* and the conservative movement. Being militantly pro-war also meant being in favor of U.S. imperialism and of all-out military statism in the U.S.

Frank Meyer's devotion to the global crusade against Com-

munist and the Soviet Union did not only poison the conservative movement's explicit foreign and military programs. For it led Frank, even though personally strongly anti-socialist, to embrace warmly as comrades any wing of socialists who were defectors from or converts to anti-Communism. In

short, Frank's strategic focus, The Enemy for him and for the conservative movement, was not statism and socialism but Communism. Hence, it was under Frank's theoretical and strategic aegis that the conservative movement rushed to welcome and

honor any species of dangerous socialist so long as they were certifiably anti-Communist or anti-Soviet. Under this capacious umbrella, every variety of Marxian socialist, whether right-wing Trotskyite, Menshevik, Lovestonite, or Social Democrat, was able to enter and infect the conservative movement. The invasion and conquest of the conservative movement by Truman-Humphrey social democrats calling themselves "neo-conservatives" happened after Frank's death; but the way had been paved for that conquest by the uncritical embrace of anti-Stalinist socialists that Meyer's theoretical and strategic vision had called for and orchestrated. And so tragically, Meyer's fusionist doctrine had paved the way for its own

destruction; for the tough Marxist and Leninist-trained neocons were able, by paying lip service to such venerable conservative principles as the free market, to destroy Meyer's own conservative guiding principles and replace them by warmed-over social democracy in the guise of "neo-conservatism," "global democracy," "the Opportunity Society," "progressive conservatism," or whatever other slogan of the moment might prove opportune.

In opposing the old fusionism, I tried vainly to argue with conservatives that the Enemy was not Communism or the Soviet Union but statism and socialism, and that once one embraces that wider vision, it would become clear that the main enemy of both American liberty and traditional Americanism resided not in Moscow or Havana but in Washington, D.C.

The Main Menace: from Communism to Social Democracy

Whether or not I was right about the Soviet/Communist menace, and I still believe that I was, the course of human events has, thank goodness, now made that argument obsolete and antiquarian. The sudden and heart-warming death of Communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has put an end to the Communist menace. We have stressed in these pages the enormous implications of this revolutionary event for our foreign and military policy, and for making viable, more than ever, the Old Right policy of "isolationism." We have also discussed the fact that the death of centralizing commu-

**But there
was one
great flaw
in
Meyer's
fusionism.**

nism in these countries has liberated the long suppressed and oppressed ethnic and nationality groups, each of whom are once again demanding freedom and independence from their national oppressors. In many ways, we are living in a "time warp," as 1990 and beyond take on many of the features of 1914 or 1919 or 1945.

But another vital aspect of this new post-Communist world is that The Enemy of liberty and tradition is now revealed full-blown: social democracy. For social democracy in all of its guises is not only still with us and has proved longer-lived than its cousin, Communism, but now that Stalin and his heirs are out of the way, social democrats are trying to reach for total power. They have to be stopped, and one of the objectives of the new fusionism of the paleo-libertarian and conservative movement is indeed to put a stop to them.

At the end of World War II, at a moment in history when social democrats and Communists were allied, what is now called "the new world order" was already prepared for us. The idea was that a new United Nations, the old League of Nations plus enforcement power, would function as an effective world government in the form of a condominium of the world's superpowers, those blessed with a permanent seat and a permanent veto on the Security Council: the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France, and China. The United States, in short, was to run this world government in collaboration with its junior partner, the U.S.S.R. But the Cold War split the superpowers apart, and as a consequence the U.N. was

reduced to the status of a debating society, and became an institution hated and reviled both by the conservatives and by social democrats. But now that Communism and the Cold War are ended, the U.N. is back, hailed as the governor of the new world order by a conservative movement that has now been captured and ruled by the social democrat neo-cons.

Social democrats are all around us, and so it is all too easy to discern their reaction to the great problems of the post-Cold-War era. Whether calling themselves neoconservatives or neoliberals, they stand foursquare in favor of statism in every instance: that is, strongly opposed to isolationism and in favor of U.S. intervention and war, almost as a high principle; and secondly, as bitter opponents of the ethnic nationalisms liberated at long last by the collapse of centralizing communism. Read a social democrat anywhere, and you will find hysterical attacks on nationalisms and national aspirations as against centralism everywhere, whether it be in Poland, Croatia, Lithuania, the Ukraine, or the Russian Republic. And the great smear whether it be within the United States or against emerging Eastern European nations, is almost invariably to raise the spectre of "anti-Semitism," to wield against nationalists or isolationists.

In short, on all crucial issues, social democrats stand against liberty and tradition, and in favor of statism and Big Government. They are more dangerous in the long run than the Communists not simply because they have endured, but also because their program and their rhetorical appeals are far more insidious, since they claim to combine socialism with the appealing virtues of "democracy" and

freedom of inquiry. For a long while they stubbornly refused to accept the libertarian lesson that economic freedom and civil liberties are of a piece; but now, in their second line of retreat, they give lip service to some sort of "market," suitably taxed, regulated, and hobbled by a massive welfare-warfare State. In short, there is little

**The
Enemy of
liberty and
tradition is
now
revealed
full-
blown:
social
democracy.**

distinction between modern social democrats and the now-discredited "market socialists" of the 1930s who claimed to have solved the fatal flaw of socialism first pointed out by Ludwig von Mises: the impossibility of socialist planners calculating prices and costs, and therefore planning a functioning modern economy.

In the collectivist arsenal of the world of the 20th century there used to be various competing statist programs: among them, Communism, Fascism, Nazism, and Social Democracy. The Nazis and Fascists are long dead and buried;

Communism is not quite fully buried but is still dead as a doornail. Only the most insidious remains: social democracy. Amidst a liberal culture captured by crazed leftist social programs, with a conservative movement lying supine before the social democrat neocons, only the paleo New Fusionists are rising up to thwart social democrat plans for total power, domestic and foreign.

But why are the regnant social democrats worried and trembling at the upsurge of the New Fusionism?—and believe me they are. It is obviously not because of our formal numbers or our limited access to funding. The reason is that the social democrats and their ilk know full well that we express the deepest

albeit unarticulated beliefs of the mass of the American people. Clever and cynical control of the opinion-moulding media and of once-conservative money sources are what enable a remarkably small group of energetic social democrats to dominate the conservative movement and to battle, often successfully, for the levers of power in Washington. But they are vastly outnumbered if only the American people were clued in to what is going on, and that is why the social democrats fear our seemingly small movement. What we need to learn is how to mobilize

Only the paleo New Fusionists are rising up to thwart social democrat plans.

the overwhelming support of the mass of Americans, and thus to undercut, or short-circuit, their domination by a small number of opinion-moulding leaders.

The Litmus Test: Sidney Hook

If my characterization of neocons and neo-liberals as essentially social democrats seems exaggerated, let us ponder the status of undoubtedly the most beloved figure among all these groups, as well as in the modern conservative movement: the late Sidney Hook. Long a fixture at the conservative Hoover Institution, Hook was everywhere, at every conservative intellectual gathering or organization, his every word

and pronouncement hailed adoringly by all respectable folk from the AFL-CIO to the *New Republic* through *National Review* and points right. (Indeed, the *New Republic* has recently canonized Sidney in a worshipful elegy.) Sometimes it seemed that only Communists or thereabouts could possibly have a sour word to say for Hook.

What made Sidney Hook so universally beloved, so seemingly above the merest hint of criticism? Surely it was not his personality, which was neither particularly lovable nor charismatic. Indeed, in his enormously

overpraised autobiography, *Out of Step*, Hook reveals himself as a petty, self-absorbed prig. The book is filled with brusque and remarkably unperceptive dismissals of his old friends and acquaintances, none of whom seemed to be worthy of Hook's alleged wisdom and advice. Take, for example, Hook's portrayal of his long-time colleagues at *Partisan Review*, once the quasi-Trotskyite, modernist center of American literary and intellectual life. That chapter is typical of this dull, flat, and monotonic book. Every one of his old colleagues is depicted as an unintelligent, quasi-ignorant dolt, all of whom stubbornly failed to follow Hook's invariably wise counsel. Hook comes across as petty, peevish, narrow, and self-important, lacking either wit or insight, either into his friends or into the world at large.

Neither can Sidney's popularity be explained by the greatness or profundity of his intellectual contributions. In political philosophy, he was a simple-minded pragmatist and social democrat, solving all social problems with the fetish of "majority rule" and "democracy." Knowing the clichés of pragmatism and social democracy he mastered little else, whether of economics, esthetics, history, or any other discipline.

What distinguished Sidney Hook was, first, that he was an ex-Communist, not since the 1930s like his colleagues, but way back, from the 1920s. In short, the older and precocious Hook was a Communist from his adolescence. Despite the story in his self-serving memoir, he remained close to the CP for a long time, on

into the late 1930s. Contrary to his grotesque title, Sidney all of his life was *In Step*, always being among the first to adopt the newest intellectual fashion. In that way, he showed himself to be a good "intellectual entrepreneur." Communist, Hegelian, Deweyite, Trotskyite, defender of World War II, anti-Communist after the war, *Partisan Review*nik, and finally extreme right-wing social democrat, Hook veered and tacked with the intellectual fashions, and on into the "left" fringes of neoconservatism and the conservative movement. More honest than his colleagues, he referred to himself candidly until the end as a Marxist and as a socialist. It is a measure of the intellectual and political degeneration of the modern conservative movement that Sidney put no one off by his lifelong avowal of Marxism.

Thus, Sidney Hook, the Nestor of social democracy, was in his own unimpressive person the living embodiment of what the conservative movement has become: i.e., the disastrous subordination of every cherished principle to the slogan of "anti-Communism," and hence the permanent embrace of war and statism. One's attitude toward Sidney Hook, only recently deceased, therefore provides a convenient litmus test on whether someone is a genuine conservative, a paleo, or some form of neo. Needless to say, all the New

Fusionists are anti-Hook to the core.

It is important to consider a final point on Hook and modern conservatism. In his odious book of the early Cold War, *Heresy Yes, Conspiracy No*, Hook set forth a theoretical justification for an assault upon civil liberties and academic freedom. Heresy is OK and deserves the right to dissent, maintained Hook, but "conspiracy" is subversive and evil and has no rights, and therefore it is legitimate and necessary for government to crack down upon them. Note that this is a crack-down upon speech,

press, and teaching, and not upon actions such as concrete plots to overthrow the State. The overt use of this doctrine by Hook and the social democrats was to enable purges of Communists. But what was overlooked at the time was Hook's general theory of "conspiracy" which included, not simply Communists, but anyone whose mind, according to Hook, was enthralled to some sort of external cadre, some organization external to the person or to the university where he teaches. Such a theory could just as readily be used, e.g., to bar Jesuits from teaching as it would Communists.

All this fits with an important insight of paleocon political theorist and historian Professor Paul Gottfried: that the social-democrat/

neocon assault on free speech and free press "absolutism," and their insistence instead on the importance of "democratic values," constitutes an agenda for eventually using the power of the State to restrict or prohibit speech or expression that neocons hold to be "undemocratic." This category could and would be indefinitely expanded to include: real or alleged Communists, leftists, fascists, neo-Nazis, secessionists, "hate thought" criminals, and eventually... paleoconservatives and paleo and left-libertarians. God knows which individuals and groups might eventually come under the "undemocratic" rubric, and therefore become subject to neocon/social democrat crackdown. To paraphrase an old leftist-interventionist slogan of the 1930s and 1940s: ask not for whom the neocon bell tolls; it tolls for thee.

The New Fusionism: The John Randolph Club

Which brings us to the unveiling of the New Fusionism at the first open meeting of the John Randolph Club. The meeting was held at the scrumptious Marriott Mandalay Hotel at Dallas on the weekend of November 30-December 1. The theme of the meeting was "Confrontation and Convergence," with a leading paleolibertarian and a leading paleoconservative debating each other on a hot political topic at which they would likely be at odds. Each debater presented a 10-15 minute talk, followed by replies and then questions from the floor. After a rousing keynote talk on Friday night by M.E. Bradford, all day Saturday was devoted to the debates: on foreign policy, civil

Sidney Hook was in his own unimpressive person the living embodiment of what the conservative movement has become.

rights, immigration, and the New Puritanism, an hour-and-a-half being devoted to each topic. Both members and non-members were included in the 90-odd attendees.

Virtually everyone had a fine time, debaters and attendees alike. The point of the panels was not to score debating points but to try to find common ground, and "convergence" was achieved with remarkable ease on almost every point. The only protesters were those few libertarians and traditionalists in the audience who suffered from culture shock, facing this ongoing paleo-dialogue for the first time. By the end of the day, however, even some of them showed signs of adjusting to the new dispensation.

I was particularly surprised and gratified to find that what I thought would be the most controversial topic—foreign policy—sailed through with virtual unanimity, from the audience as well as on the panel. Not only was everyone opposed to the Iraq War, but there was even enormous theoretical overlap between my own "isolationism" and the paleocon panelist, Dr. Samuel Francis's "conservative nationalism." In my own talk, I set forth the basic two foreign affairs paradigms: world government, a despotic horror which must be opposed with all barrels, and independent national states (pending, of course, the arrival of my own ideal of world-wide anarcho-capitalism). I then outlined old-fashioned libertarian "international law" (pre-World War I) for the way nation-states should behave toward one another, an ideal that began with the Catholic Scholastics and continued through Hugo Grotius and 18th and 19th century interna-

tional law. The idea was to laud the policy of "neutrality," and to grant neutral countries definite rights as against belligerents: specifically, that neutral shipping must be free of any interdict except for "contraband" goods: strictly defined as only arms and ammunition. This means, of course, that such a monstrosity as the Bush-U.N. embargo against Iraq, which even includes food, is a flagrant violation not only of the rights of person and property, but also of old-fashioned international law. The second important international law restriction on warring states is that they must never target civilians of the other warring country. In short, if there must be a war, it must be limited to the respective State apparatus and armies; civilians, being deemed innocent, are off limits to either warring government. A final important foreign policy principle for a world of nation-states is that no state should go to war except for defense of its own borders, since it is only within those borders that its own monopoly of force can extend. In short, States with a monopoly of force over their own territory should not try to extend their jurisdiction; any violation of that principle can only be a recipe for maximizing conflict.

In short, libertarian foreign policy for a world of nation-states is: (a) no State should try to expand beyond its own borders; but (b) if it does, other states should stay out of the squabble, retaining the vital

On foreign policy, there was virtual unanimity.

rights of neutrals. The exact opposite of this "isolationist" foreign policy is, of course, the Wilsonian U.S. policy, pursued ever since World War I, of intervening everywhere and attempting to establish a New World Order based on "collective security" to participate in all minor wars everywhere. This

interventionist foreign policy was rightly termed by the great Charles A. Beard a policy of "perpetual war for perpetual peace."

Sam Francis' policy of "conservative nationalism" did not differ very much in practice from my own: the main difference being that I would confine the U.S. government to its own borders, whereas Sam would reserve the right to intervene in at least the northern parts of Latin America. (Interestingly enough, this variance replicated one of the few differences among the Old Right advocates of isolationism, from the 1930s through the mid-1950s: To what extent should the U.S. intervene in our "back yard" of Latin America?)

On "Civil Rights" there was very little difference between paleolibertarian Joseph Sobran of *National Review*, and paleocon Dr. Thomas Fleming, editor of *Chronicles*. As indeed there should not be, since both groups are solidly committed to the view that the civil wrong mislabeled "civil rights" has created a malignant system trampling upon the rights of private property. There was

some nuanced difference, with Joe Sobran speculating that the civil rights movement was originally well-intentioned, but getting corrupted later, whereas Tom Fleming took a much harder line. (As one wag observed: "This is one of the very few gatherings in the United States where Joe Sobran looks like a left-liberal!")

It was on Civil Rights indeed that a few of the libertarians in the audience loudly protested. In the course of blasting the civil rights movement for wrecking American liberties and culture, especially in the South, Tom Fleming made what should have been an unexceptionable point: that while he is opposed to all oppression, it is better for 90 percent of the people to oppress 10 percent than for 10 percent to oppress the other 90. One would think that any libertarian who understood simple arithmetic would agree; and yet so infected have many libertarians become by our leftist egalitarian culture that they could only see red (or black, to be more precise).

But these are passing concerns for the New Fusionism. A more important and intriguing question, still to be resolved by the group, is the proper role of the federal judiciary in insuring even legitimate rights. Many libertarians have an understandable tendency to ignore the Tenth Amendment and to seek salvation of liberties by the federal judiciary. It seems to me that the evidence of constitutional history is opposed; that once you entrust the centralized judicial oligarchy with the protection of individual rights it will soon become a monstrous engine for tyranny and deprivation of genu-

ine rights. This problem needs further discussion, but it certainly looks as if we need a return to the grand old Jeffersonian principle of eradicating federal tyranny, of the judiciary as well as of other organs of central government. Perhaps the entire Leviathan legacy of the lame duck High Federalist John Marshall and his successors needs a caustic reappraisal. There is a real "strict constructionism"!

Immigration had proved a thorny problem within the Old Right; libertarians are committed to freedom of mobility, and hence to open migration, whereas paleocons tend to favor immigration restrictions. Lew Rockwell, paleolibertarian speaker on this issue, stressed correctly that open immigration implies, for libertarians, neither any sort of right or access to government welfare, nor does it imply any "right to vote." For libertarians, voting, unlike the right to private property, is in no sense a natural right. Indeed, voting makes sense most as the voting of parcels of ownership over resources, e.g. the owner of five percent stock in a corporation properly has the right to five percent of voting power over its assets. If an immigrant has no right to welfare nor necessarily the right to vote, this would go a long way to allay paleocon concerns. But Lew also made a

deeper point: That in the ideal libertarian society, where there is no public property, e.g. no public streets or lands, there is no place for anyone to immigrate to, unless that person is invited onto that property (or sold the property) by existing private property-holders. Private property owners who refuse to sell, rent, or invite foreigners onto their land will, in this ideal society, not have to put up with their unwanted presence on that land. Lew also called for making legal the old 19th century practice (outlawed in the late 19th century at the behest of the A.F. of L.) of

"contract labor," i.e. of American employers traveling abroad and hiring immigrants for jobs before they come to American shores, thus insuring they will neither be unwanted nor become public charges.

The paleocon speaker on immigration, *Chronicles'* book review editor Chilton Williamson, did not take the typical paleocon view on this issue. As an environmentalist, Chilton did not worry about unassimilable cultural groups, as do many paleocons. Instead, he wanted to bar all future immigration whatsoever, in order to preserve the pristine natural environment of the West. Lew Rockwell, our Mr. Anti-Environment, rose to the challenge, and affirmed that, as

**Voting,
unlike the
right to
private
property,
is in no
sense a
natural
right.**

far as he was concerned, the Grand Canyon should be used for landfill. Chilton was obviously horrified, but even this disagreement was pursued in good humor and without rancor.

More importantly, when Chilton was asked by the libertarians what gave government the right to ban immigration into the U.S., a ban going far beyond the will of private landowners, he answered: "sovereignty." A fascinating reply: since he thereby implied that the U.S. government is really the owner of the entire United States land mass, overriding the rights of private property.

Problems of jurisdiction and territory also came up prominently in the final session, on "the New Puritanism." Libertarian Professor Ronald Hamowy gave a talk, marked by his characteristic wit, denouncing the outlawry of drugs. Interestingly, paleocon debater Professor E. Christian Kopff of the University of Colorado, did not call for a war against drugs; instead, he stood for local community control and decision-making on all such social questions. Knowing that paleocons tend to be Christians, Hamowy challenged Kopff: Would you advocate the right of a Hasidic Jewish neighborhood in Brooklyn to outlaw Christian churches in that neighborhood? Without hesitation, Chris Kopff said, "Yes, of course." Discussion then ended on a vital and fascinating note: What exactly *is* a "community"? Paleolibertarians, unlike nihilos, are not opposed to the concept of community; we simply insist on narrowing it to the voluntary actions of property-holders; whereas paleocons tend to conflate volun-

tary community with local government (making that mistake much less for state, or *a fortiori* for the federal government).

The Higher Synthesis

At these sort of conferences, what goes on in private discussions and bull sessions is often more important than the formal proceedings. Late Saturday night, after proceedings were over, I sat down with one of the top paleocons to discuss what appeared to be the two principal differences of opinion during the day between the two paleo-groups.

One was "sovereignty," and does the State have the right to exercise dominion over the entire territorial area? The other was the question of community: How far does it extend beyond private property owners? My paleocon friend said he had always been

opposed to the English concept of sovereignty, which still rules in the U.S., where government is coextensive with its territorial area. He said he preferred the continental concept of sovereignty as being attached to a community of persons, rather than to the land. From there we proceeded to discuss the community question, and here our discussion was inspired by some of the contributions from the floor during the day of Howard Phillips, head of the Conservative Caucus, and who proved to be

one of the real stars of the conference. Howie stressed the idea of "community" as a voluntary contractual or covenantal community of neighborhood property owners. Suddenly I realized that the Phillips concept provided a way to a higher synthesis of paleolibertarian and paleoconservative: and all in a manner perfectly consistent with anarcho-capitalism! In short, in a country, or a world, of totally private property, including streets, and of private contractual neighborhoods consisting of property-owners, these owners can make any sort of neighborhood-contracts they

wish. In practice, then, the country would be a truly "gorgeous mosaic" (in the famous words of New York Mayor Dinkins), ranging from rowdy Greenwich Village-type contractual neighborhoods, to socially conservative homogeneous WASP neighborhoods. Remember that all deeds and

covenants would once again be totally legal and enforceable, with no meddling government restrictions upon them. So that considering the drug question, if a proprietary neighborhood contracted that no one would use drugs, and Jones violated the contract and used them, his fellow community-contractors could simply enforce the contract and kick him out. Or; since no advance contract can allow for all conceivable circumstances, suppose that Smith became so personally obnoxious

The Howard Phillips concept provided a way to a higher synthesis.

that his fellow neighborhood-owners wanted him ejected. They would then have to buy him out—probably on terms set contractually in advance in accordance with some “obnoxious” clause. Libertarians have always believed that, given full scope, the free market could handle all problems, and sure enough here is another area that can be satisfactorily tackled by full freedom—which means full scope for the rights of private property.

The exhilarating saga of the Dallas meeting demonstrates that the alliance of paleolibertarians and paleocons is more than a flash in the pan, more even than a strategic alliance against the Welfare-Warfare State that oppresses us. The alliance is not only here to stay: it is converging into a New Fusionism shorn of the global warmongering that damaged and ultimately brought an end to the Old Fusionism of Frank Meyer. It is a fusionism passionately dedicated to liberty and to opposition to the Leviathan State; to devolving State power from large central agglomerations into smaller and smaller units, and eventually down to proprietary neighborhoods; to unyielding opposition to all forms of social democracy; and it is a fusionism dedicated to bourgeois morality and individual achievements, and opposed to the nihilism and egalitarianism of contemporary culture.

For libertarians, entering into the glorious era of the new fusionism requires only that we rise above the different rhetorics and languages that have

separated us from the paleo-conservatives, that we grasp the vital common ground beneath them. And above all, that we enter into this dialogue and fusion in a spirit of good will and a willingness to learn from each other, rather than reach quickly for the axe at the slightest difference of opinion. And we can do all this without the slightest surrender of libertarian principle. But such an advance is possible only for those libertarians not hopelessly poisoned by our egalitarian culture, or trapped by moral nihilism. •

On Being Negative by M.N.R.

We at *RRR* have often been accused, *mirabile dictu*, by friend and foe alike, of being “negative.” Being negative has a bad press in our contemporary culture, largely because there is so much to be negative about, and our ruling elite would much prefer if everyone were oh so positive about nearly everything they are handing down to us. But several things need to be said, once and for all, about negative and positive.

First, all those positive thinkers out there don’t seem to realize that they are trapped in self-contradiction and self-refutation. Because by attacking us as being negative they *too* are being negative...about *us*! It seems that it is impossible to escape being negative in this world. You have a choice of two alternatives. Our critics have chosen to be negative about us, but positive about everyone else in the world. Or, you can, like us,

be positive about the good and very negative about the evil and the meretricious. Take your pick: there is no middle ground.

Second, we believe in being negative about the bad precisely because we are devoted to the good, the honest, and the true. If, on the other hand, you choose to be positive about *everything*, you devalue the applause due only to the good and the heroic, reducing them to the level of the rotten. The good can only be truly honored by apportioning praise and blame as they are due. And by the way, notice how the present culture denounces anyone who is “judgmental,” assuming apparently that value-judgments are always negative. On the contrary, human beings are particularly distinguished by making value-judgments, both positive and negative; it is impossible to avoid being “judgmental” unless one is reduced to the status of a robot or machine.

And finally, being “negative” is such *fun*! •

The Case for “Hypocrisy” by M.N.R.

Paleos and other moral traditionalists have long been effectively skewered on the charge of “hypocrisy.” Viz., Mr. X, stumping the country denouncing the perils of drunkenness, is exposed by pro-drunk forces as a secret tippler. The Reverend Jimmy Swaggart, denouncing the sins of what is now euphemistically called “sexual diversity,” is brought low