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The Vital Importance of Separation

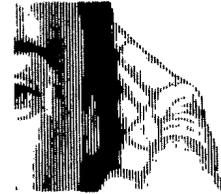
by Murray N. Rothbard

The brutal massacre at Hebron in late February was as fascinating for the inappropriate responses of the Israeli and U.S. authorities as for the dramatic nature of the act itself. The initial response of the Israeli government was the traditional reaction in matters of this sort: to blame it all on one lone, "deranged" nut, in this case Dr. Baruch Goldstein. But this first reaction fell through quickly when it turned out that, however nutty, Dr. Goldstein was scarcely alone: that he was, in fact, the leader in Hebron of the "Kachniks," the movement founded by the notorious Brooklyn Rabbi, the late Meir Kahane, which is now split into the Kach ("the way") Party and the smaller and even more fanatic Kahane Chai ("Kahane lives.") The liveness was further called into question when the Kachniks praised Goldstein's mass murder of Arabs while kneeling in prayer in their mosque, and mourned the "martyrdom" of Goldstein, who was beaten to death by the enraged remnant of those of his victims who had managed to remain

alive. World-wide television spread the remarkable comment of Rabbi Yaacov Perrin, at the Goldstein eulogy, a comment that was repeated by various of the mourners: "One million Arab lives are not worth one Jewish fingernail!"

It also turned out that elements of the Israeli army may have connived at the massacre, either by participating in the shooting itself, or by aiding and abetting the slaughter. We are supposed to be assured that an Israeli government investigation will get to the bottom of this issue. At any rate, we *do* know that Israeli soldiers shot at Arabs fleeing from the mosque, and that they killed many Arab rioters in ensuing days of protest. And despite talking tough at the Kachniks, it is still true, as the Palestinians have pointed out, that the Israeli army and police *only* use live ammunition when dealing with Arabs, never with Jews.

(Cont. page 3, col. 1)



THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

The Ear hears that the real motive for bumping off Vince Foster was his pending nervous breakdown, and his long-time role as Slick Willie's cocaine connection. Given all the cocaine running through the Mena, Arkansas, airport when Clinton was governor, and his protection of the dirty business, Vince would have made a mighty interesting witness. A person in the know, by the way, says that political murders are not exactly unheard of in Arkansas politics.

Also, by the way: a knowledgeable doctor says that Willie has the swollen, reddish nose of the cokehead, and that the resultant nasal drainage

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can cause perennial hoarseness and occasional voice loss. No wonder he wouldn't release his medical records!

Is it a coincidence that Vince Foster was rubbed out the day after Slick Willie fired Judge Sessions as head of the FBI, leaving the agency leaderless and punchy, and thereby not resisting the routing of the death investigation to the heroes of the Park Police?

What happens when a neocon tool forgets his place? He has to crawl, of course. So Ken Tomlinson, editor of the *Reader's Digest*, wrote a sweaty letter about John Podhoretz in the January *American Spectator* to apologize for not including Poddy Jr.'s book, *Hell of a Ride*, at the top of his recommended reading lists.

Hell, says Ken, is a "great leap from page to page," especially (heh, heh) the "settling of scores." Then, when he "read the book a second time", he "experienced some of the best writing anyone is going to encounter between hard covers." Sure you did, Ken.

Ken, by the way, claims credit for the *Reader's Digest's* vicious hit on Ollie North. But, as in all these affairs, he is rumored merely to have transmitted the order, which—now that I think of it—might have come from Norman.

Also vociferously opposing Ollie North is Norman's repellent son-in-law Elliot Abrams. What else do we need to know? Go Ollie!

Things just keep getting worse. Kurt Andersen, the new editor at lively *New York* magazine, has kicked out the scintillating free-market business writer, Christopher Byron, and replaced him with the obnoxious neocon Hollywood screenwriter, Ben Stein. When he is not recording his life and exploits, Stein spends a lot of space hailing the greatness of his papa, obnoxious Keynesian "free-market" economist Herb Stein. Even worse, *New York's* national political columnist, John Taylor, who launched the expose of "political correctness" and who had followed previous editor Ed Kosner to *Esquire*, is replaced by the unspeakable Jacob Weisberg, now at the *New Republic*. Weisberg was arguably the most hate-ridden of the anti-anti-Semitic smearbund who savaged Pat Buchanan when he ran for President.

Fostergate Coverup: In every coverup, there is an Official Line. As embarrassing questions are raised, the Establishment prepares a series of Fallback positions which it can trot out if and

to the extent that the Official Line becomes untenable.

As the Line that Nussbaum & Co. removed the Whitewater files from Foster's office on July 22 got shot down with the truth that the removal took place on the day of his killing, July 20, an embarrassing point arose. For it turns out that the White House did not hear about the discovery of Foster's body from the police until 9:15 P.M. But if Nussbaum et al removed the Whitewater files on that day, then the conclusion arose that if, as seemed likely, they took the file during normal working hours, this means that they removed the files *before the body was officially discovered and reported*. As the horrendous implications of this point began to sink in, the White House quickly added that Nussbaum and the others removed the files from Foster's office between 10 P.M. and midnight of July 20. Technologically possible, no doubt, but is it *likely* that Nussbaum and his merry crew were roaming around the White House in the middle of the night? (Remember: Washington is an Early Town, featuring power breakfasts.)

Next, the *New York Post's* findings about the body casts enormous doubt on Foster's "suicide" in Fort Marcy Park. *The Ear* hears that the Establishment is preparing a Fallback on this one, which has not yet surfaced: that Foster committed suicide *in the White House* and his body was then moved by the White

House to Fort Marcy Park to spare the Clinton Administration from embarrassment!

Whether this Fallback will actually be trotted out is problematic. Even if it saved the "suicide" legend, it would surely bring down Impeachment of the Clintonian head anyway.

Calling Pat Robertson and Cardinal O'Connor! I'm not a Christian, but I'd still like to know why you and other Christian leaders haven't spoken out. Or am I the only one outraged by the anti-Christian films played continuously in the U.S. Holocaust Museum at American taxpayer expense?

Joe Sobran asks why our enemies bother to write essays and books attacking us. Why don't they save time by calling us SHARX? (Sexists, Homophobic, Anti-Semitic, Racist Xenophobes.) Gee, I can hear the theme from *Jaws* now. ■

(SEPARATION cont. from pg. 1)

The fallback position of the Israeli government was to deliver abundant expressions of regret and of shame, as well as angry denunciations of the evil Kachniks. Coupled with this verbiage was an insistence, backed fully by the Clinton Administration, on

the alleged importance of immediate resumption of the beloved "peace process." Not mentioned was the fact that the "process" had already foundered on the fact that, while the Israeli troops were supposed to be out of Jericho and the Gaza Strip by Dec. 13, they were still there, and in fact their numbers had even increased.

The Palestinians were all too aware of the emptiness of these gestures of shame and anger by Israel.

Talk is cheap; as we say in New York, *that* and \$1.25 will get you on the subway. Despite all the talk of moving against the Kachniks, in fact only a half-dozen have been proscribed by the government, and only one is actually in jail. The rage of the Palestinian Arabs is unbounded; even the usually passive Arabs of Israel proper have rioted against Israel; and even the traditionally pro-Israel Bedouin Arabs are talking about resigning from the Israeli Army. You know that matters are serious when Farouk Khadoumi, the "foreign minister" of the PLO, and a man who has always been an ultra-moderate, refused Arafat's call to meet

at Tunis because he didn't want even the hint of implication in a possible resumption of peace negotiations.

The Palestinian call for disarming the settlers is understandable, especially because the Arabs have always been disarmed, while the Zionist settlers stroll among them armed to the teeth. But gun control is not going to work, in Israel or here: sterner measures must be taken. The problem, moreover, is not simply

the fanatics of the Kach or of the Hebron settlement of Qiryat Arba, dominated by the Kachniks. It is superficial to concentrate on the Kachniks, and to dismiss them as "criminals" and "murderers." Criminals and murderers they surely are, but we must realize that the Kachniks are merely carrying out, more consistently than their Likudnik colleagues, the Zionist dream of a "Jewish state" in the lands allegedly "given" to them by God several millennia in the past. To these "hard," or consistent, Zionists, the areas designated for a Jewish State are all the lands allegedly governed by Jews at some point in the Bible, and they include the now heavily

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Arab "West Bank," which the Zionists designate as "Judea" and "Samaria." The State is also supposed to include the Golan Heights plus a larger chunk of southwestern Syria, as well as the now Jordanian "East Bank" of the Jordan River.

If we take off our blinders, it should be stunningly obvious that what we have in the entire Israeli region are two absolutely irreconcilable claims, an

irreconcilability that applies equally well to Israel Proper as it does to the occupied West Bank. On the one hand, there are the Palestinian Arabs, who have tilled the soil or otherwise used the land of Palestine for centuries; and on the other, there are a group of external fanatics, who come from all over the world, and who

claim the entire land area as "given" to them as a collective religion or tribe at some remote and possibly legendary time in the past. There is no way the two claims can be resolved to the satisfaction of both parties. There can be no genuine settlement, no true "peace" in the face of this irrepressible conflict; there can be either a war to the death, or an uneasy practical compromise which can sat-

isfy no one. That is the harsh reality of the Middle East.

It should also be clear that this compromise cannot be "multicultural" and cannot rest on the Utopian dream of all parties and groups living together in multi-religious and multi-ethnic peace and harmony. From the irreconcilable conflict has come inevitable mutual hatred, and no propa-

ganda by liberal or neo-con pundits or by United Nations proclamations, can change this reality by one iota. It is the tragedy of the PLO that it has always rested on multicultural ideals. What it has always desired, as a replacement for the "Zionist entity," is one secular, democratic nation that guarantees full ethnic and religious freedom to Arab,

Jew, Muslim, and Christian alike. In a profound sense, the PLO was the other side of the coin of our liberal/neocon pundits who are always prating about "global democracy", "majority rule" and "minority rights." It should be obvious that this sort of rule, if it can work at all, can only work if there is a consensus of good will and of underlying agreement that bind all these groups and nationali-

ties. If not, and increasingly it becomes obvious that this sort of multicultural harmony exists almost nowhere in the world, then there must be group, ethnic, or national separation. "Majority rule" can only work in a territorial area that genuinely harbors "one nation;" but if there is more than one nation in a given land area, unless they are separated and move to their own separate land areas, eternal war and slaughter, permanent "ethnic cleansing," can be the only result. That is why, once Communism collapsed, there could no longer be one "Yugoslavia" incorporating ethnic and religious groups that have hated each other's guts for centuries; Yugoslavia was never one nation, but many nations, and there can only be harmony if these nations separate and go their own ways. Sure, they can eventually have free trade amongst them, as well as other forms of peaceful cooperation; but *first*, the independent sovereignties of each nation must be established, each on their own land area.

And so, in the West Bank, the problem is not simply the Kachnik "extremists"; it is all the 130,000 Zionist settlers who dwell in permanent disharmony with the 2,000,000 Arabs of the West Bank. These settlements were explicitly ideological; in other words, under the Likudniks but before that even under the Labor government, these settlers were, and felt them-

What we have in the entire Israeli region are two absolutely irreconcilable claims.

selves to be, the vanguard of the eventual Zionization of the West Bank. The fact that only a small minority wish to go out and slaughter Arabs is almost beside the point. Furthermore, "disarming" the settlers is absurd and cannot be done; the settlements have to be dismantled and the settlers expelled from the West Bank. Otherwise, the "process" will bring no peace.

Hence, the Palestinian bringing up of the problem of the settlers in the wake of the massacre, and the Israeli refusal, amidst the smoke-screen of denunciations of the Kachniks, to so much as discuss the settlers, since *that* discussion is supposed to come many years in the future. Rubbish! The good that has come from the Hebron massacre is that the problem of the settlers will have to be discussed and resolved now, otherwise Arafat and his peace-process crew will quickly find their corpses riddled with bullets by their outraged countrymen.

Two Kinds of Multiculturalism

The *bizarrieries* of ultra-left "multiculturalism" have obscured the fact that there are two different varieties of this ideological aberration. One is the ultra-left lunacy that all cultures and groups whatever are superior to the hated oppressors: the white, male, Christian Euro-culture. But there is another, far more respectable variant of multiculturalism which is con-

stantly pushed as sacred and Beyond Criticism by the left-liberal/neocon/Official Con Establishment: the "democratic" ideal of all groups and cultures living together in "integrated" harmony. To these dystopian ideologues, the United States is only the first "universal nation", to be globalized throughout the world. The point is that this ideal is just as dystopian and just as hostile to human nature as is the more obviously ludicrous and destructive leftist variant.

Apart from the special case of the United States, no other country has been in any sense multicultural or multinational. Every nation has enjoyed a homogeneous, and therefore successfully harmonious, cultural and ethno-national base. This does not mean, of course, that every single resident of say, Sweden, must be ethnically and culturally Swedish. But it does mean that beyond a certain tipping point, an infusion of heterogeneous elements into the Swedish mix will begin to tear the nation asunder. Beyond a small quantity, national heterogeneity simply does not work,

the "nation" disintegrates into more than one nation, and the need for separation becomes acute.

Note that recognizing the vital importance of separation of national groups itself bears no implication that one or the other group is "superior" to the other. To say that too many Swedes pouring into Finland, or vice versa, will bring about a destructive combustion and cannot work, clearly does not imply that either the Swedes or Finns are superior or morally more virtuous. It is just that they are different, a different nationality, and each should be able to possess and enjoy their own ethno-cultural home base, where each can speak its own language, and pursue its own values and mores undisturbed.

The Bosnian Mess

The Bosnian mess is caused, as we have reiterated many times, *not* by "nationalism" and ethnic cleansing, but by the misguided and counter-productive attempt, either by one of the nations or by outside busybodies, to im-

pose a multicultural solution on peoples whose hatred for each other was imbibed with

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their mothers' milk. At first, the Serbs, who dominated the former Yugoslavia from its inception after World War I, tried to maintain their old "imperial" hegemony over the other national entities. The United States, its foreign policy long dedicated to compulsory world multiculturalism, at first lined up to endorse the "territorial integrity of Yugoslavia." When the Slovenes and Croats displayed the courage to break loose from imperial Yugoslavia, and the magnificent Slovenes held off the aggression of the mighty Yugoslav (Serbian) army, "Yugoslavia" fell apart, and high time too. At that point, the Serbs intelligently decided to cut their losses, and gave up multinational integrationism in behalf of genuine Serb nationalism. As a result, Serbian guerrillas, aided by the Serb and "Yugoslav" army, began to carve out Serbian national areas in lands inhabited by Serbs, coming to dominate the one-third of Croatia that is ethnically Serb ["Krajina"], and the areas of Bosnia—never a nation or nationality in any sense—that are Serb into a Bosnian Serb republic. The Croats, at first allied with the Muslims because of a yen to get back the Krajina, themselves finally adopted the sensible policy of carving out ethnically Croat areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina, essentially the old province of Herzegovina, and set up their Herzegovian Croat republic.

No sooner had the Serbs

given up imperial dominance for nationalism, however, than the great champion of compulsory multinationalism, the United States, turned savagely on its ancient allies the Serbs, and clasped to its bosom the only ethnic group remaining who wanted "multiethnic" domination over others, the Bosnian Muslims. Employing the multi-cultural gambit, the Muslims were easily able to suck in the U.S. to support the "territorial integrity" of the great, if previously non-existent, nation of Bosnia. All the subsequent wailing and gnashing of teeth about Sarajevo and the "innocent" Muslims under siege of Serbian guns, ignores the fact that the Muslims and their beloved Sarajevo could have had peace a long time ago if they had been willing to settle for ethnic partition according to the guerrilla conquests on the spot in Bosnia—more or less an approach to ethnic justice. The wailing also ignores the fact that the Bosnian Serbs *have* to use artillery, because that is their only weapon against the more numerous infantry of the Muslims.

When it finally looked as if the Serbs would wind up

with their own nation in Bosnia, the U.S., instead of getting out while the getting was good, dreamed up a brand new multicultural idea: an imposed "mini" multi-ethnic state consisting of some sort of cockamamie "federation" of Croats and Muslims. The Muslims, if they didn't dream up this kooky plan, took to it like a duck takes to water: for it is the only way of getting more territory from the Croats, including an "outlet to the sea" on the Adriatic, a port that is Croat but has to be handed over to the Muslims. Why did the Croats sit still and surrender to this U.S. imposed scheme? Under a thinly veiled threat that if the Croats refused, the US/

UN/NATO would bring Croatia up on charges of war crimes, aggression, ethnic cleansing or what have you, and use force to deprive them of their just territory. So the Croats, clearly made of less stern stuff than the Serbs, knuckled under. But don't bet your life on this crazy Croat-Muslim shotgun marriage

under the guns of Papa Clinton lasting beyond a very brief "honeymoon."

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South Africa

But, the multiethnic integrationists will retort to the above argument: aren't you calling for "apartheid"? The very invocation of this dread word is supposed to end the discussion, and carry the day, so discredited has the outgoing South African system been made to appear by many years of frenetic propaganda. This propaganda has been beamed at us by the entire spectrum of Respectable, and even not so Respectable, American opinion. From Commie and loony Left to Left-Liberal to neocon to Official Con, all have agreed that the South African regime was the quintessence of evil, so much so that any cautionary word was dismissed as *ipso facto* "racist." [Somehow, the Establishment in this case was not able to work in the rest of the Holy Litany: sexism, anti-Semitic, homophobic, logist, et al.]

South Africa has had a complex history, which can only be inadequately summarized here. In the first place, the aggravated racial problem entered the scene, not with the sturdy agrarian Boer Republic, but with the advent, as has often happened, of British imperialism. There is a great difference between "imperialism" and "colonialism". The Boers were not instruments of a Dutch Empire; they were colonists settling in the wide expanses of South Africa and farming its rich soil. All they

wanted to do was to be left alone. No so British imperialism. Lured by the prospects of gold and diamonds, the British government, propelled by Cecil Rhodes and his ally the Rothschilds, repeatedly aggressed against and conquered the Boers. Rather than live their own separate lives in their own culture, the British needed to coerce large supplies of black labor to work the gold and diamond mines. The large-scale pattern of racial domination was the product, not of the reviled Boers, but of the "liberal" and "good-guy" Brits. The system of legal apartheid, too, began when British workers, led by the Communist Party of South Africa after World War I, went on a general strike to force black workers out of being foremen and skilled craftsmen and back down into the ranks of the unskilled.

As the white civilization developed, and the Afrikaners (Boers) finally took control of South Africa from the British, they were faced with a crucial choice: whether to continue the pattern of racial domination by means of State laws, or to *really* bring about apartheid, that is, true separation of the races, so that each totally dissimilar ethnic and racial group could separate and go their own ways undisturbed. South African premier Hendrik Verwoerd worked out a plan for what he called "Grand Apartheid"—that is, genuine separation—which would have ended the

pattern of racial domination in "Petit Apartheid". However, Verwoerd was mysteriously assassinated—naturally by a "lone nut"—and the Nationalist Party remained in the hands of the petit apartheid "moderates".

Quite apart from any moral problems, the trouble with petit apartheid is that in the long run it cannot be sustained: that is, in the long run a small racial or ethnic minority *cannot* maintain a dominance over a large majority. And this is what happened in South Africa. After Grand Apartheid was abandoned, a combination of growing revolutionary, Communist-led consciousness among the blacks, aided by fierce US/UN sanctions and boycotts, finally persuaded the Afrikaners to give it up, fall on their sword, and surrender to left-wing, black majority rule.

And yet, the only hope right now, for liberty, prosperity, or any shred of civilization in South Africa is the adoption of Grand Apartheid: a partitioning of South Africa into the various separate cultural and ethnic groups: not just cantonization, but separate sovereign nations in the territory of the exiting Union of South Africa. So far, only the Afrikaner "extremists" of the Conservative Party and further right are calling for partition into separate nations, along with the heroic Zulu nation, which, in contrast to the majority of blacks [tribally Khosas] is tribal, conservative, and free-market

oriented. At present writing, the right-wing Afrikaners and the Zulus are boycotting the election, and are grouped into the aptly-named Freedom Alliance.

Why does the majority African National Congress fiercely reject any idea of partition? Why do they retort by invoking the absurd idea of the "indivisible nation" and the "territorial integrity" of the Union of South Africa, when this country was never a "nation" but a bastard product of British imperialism ruling over a myriad of different and clashing nations? Why must there be majority rule *in the one territory* of the Union of South Africa?

The real reason, of course, is that the ANC ranges over the tiny spectrum from Socialist to Communist, and they want and need a unitary nation so they can loot and plunder the successful white minority. That is the long and short of it. One nation and its "territorial integrity" is a requisite for organized theft and plunder on a grand scale, a process that will eradicate the prosperous economy and civilization that the South Africans have built.

Is a genuine apartheid solution "racist"? But what sort of ideologues combine together two very different doctrines: racial domination, and racial separation, and call them both "racist"? Why is it "racist" to want to be left alone?

The Good Old USA

Across the entire globe, we

are left with only one nation where ethnic blending and multiculturalism, where the "melting pot" or the "gorgeous mosaic," seems to have worked: the good old US of A. Our Mensheviks and global democrats always and inevitably fall back on the U.S. as their model. If it can work here, why not anywhere or everywhere else?

The proper answer is a blend of two basic points: (1) American Exceptionalism. There were unique historical conditions here that differed from other countries and allowed the multicultural experiment to work. And (2) America was never all *that* multicultural, and even to the extent that the experiment did work, it is now increasingly falling apart.

In the first place, in contrast to European nations, we began on a vast new Continent that was truly an "empty land." (All right, there were some Indians around, but, compared to the extent of the land, they didn't amount to very much.) A crucial point about America (or at least North America) is its vast land area in contrast to what originally was almost no people. Even now, the U.S. is far less densely populated [measured by people per acre] than Europe. And so, emigrating to a vast, productive, and empty land, different ethnic and religious groups could settle happily in different parts of America and not get into each others' hair. Agricultural patterns were,

from the beginning, very different. In Europe, where land has always been the scarce factor of production, farmers were anxious to maximize the yield per acre, to engage in "intensive" agriculture. In North America, in contrast, land was plentiful and labor was the scarce factor, and so farmers were more interested in "extensive" agriculture, in maximizing yield per person. But by the turn of the 20th century, as the great land area of the United States began to fill up, and the "frontier," in the famous phrase, "was closed," immigration and population growth began to generate problems and conflicts. Americans began to rub each other the wrong way.

But there is also another crucial point, as was developed in the remarkable work on colonial American history by David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed*. The founding colonies of North America, the groups that came here in the 17th and 18th centuries, all came from different regions of one country: England, or Britain to get more technical. They were very different, in their religion, their mores and folkways, their culture, their ideologies. They came from different regions of Britain and they each settled in different regions of North America. The Puritans came from East Anglia and settled in New England; the Cavaliers came from southern England ("Wessex") and colonized the tidewater

South; and the Scotch-Irish came from the Border areas of England and Scotland and settled in the great back-country of north (at least as north as Pennsylvania), west and south. And even though these groups all hated each other and differed mightily on many issues, they all came from Britain, and they were all imbued with the same foundation of British culture. Not just the English language, though that is important, but also the ideologies, values, and institutions descended from Britain: the liberty of the individual and the family, limited government, parliamentary institutions, trial by jury, the rule of law, and all the rest. And we should not overlook one or another form of Protestant Christianity among these key formative influences.

Not only that: it was these three groups of Brits (plus a smaller group, the Quakers, who came from the English Midlands and settled in the Philadelphia-Southern New Jersey area) who fought the great Revolution against Britain, who founded independent sovereign state republics, and who formed the American

Every immigrant and immigrant child happily formed himself into a higher identity, of being an "American."

Constitution. In a deep sense, the Founding Fathers were not just the genuine heroes who made Revolution and who argued about the Constitution; they were all the generations of American settlers who set the framework and institutions of America for the first two centuries of American existence.

So this meant that when later immigrant groups began to pour into this vast and free country, to find freedom and make their future, they were not all equal and starting from scratch. When Germans and Irish and Scandinavians, when Lutherans and Catholics, came to the United States, they adapted to, assimilated into, a dominant set of institutions and values and culture that had already been established by the founding generations of colonial America. That assimilation was less than a "melting pot" but considerably more than a "mosaic." These varied groups assimilated, first and foremost, to the English language, but more than that, they assimilated into the guiding values, mores, institutions and principles of the founding British American Republic. It was less

than a melting pot because none of these ethnic or religious groups were expected to submerge their identity into one homogeneous blob. But it was far more than a mosaic, because every immigrant was expected to and actually became what used to be called, with pride, "an American." Being an American meant an abiding respect for American institutions embodying what were seen as American principles: love of liberty, of thrift and hard work, a respect for private property, and a belief that government must be strictly limited or else we would descend into despotism and tyranny.

And that too is what made America work so well. While keeping their own ethnic and religious identity, every immigrant and immigrant child happily formed himself into a higher identity, of being an "American," in which the American nation, unique among countries, was not an identification with one's tribe, religion, or ethnic group, but loyalty to a set of principles and customs founded by Brits and adopted by others, which made up "America." America was more than a tribal group but much less than the "universal national idea" trumpeted by neocons and global democrats. This America was profoundly libertarian but it was far more than the instantiation of an abstract idea. It was liberty embedded in a set of institu-

tions, and customs, a set of people, that made liberty work. Unlike an abstract idea, a liberty embedded in culture and institutions is not easily transplanted to other lands. And unlike an abstract idea, the Old American Republic was something which millions of people loved, for which millions of people were willing to fight and die.

Separation?

Unfortunately, it is evident that the assimilation process has increasingly broken down in the twentieth century. There was little trouble, during the nineteenth century, in assimilating Europeans, but as the quantity and variety of immigrants expanded, the assimilation process began to collapse. Partly it was a problem of sheer quantity, partly it was the types of immigrants of later decades. First Europeans, and then Africans, non-Spanish Latin Americans and Asians began to swamp and overwhelm the original British framework necessary to maintaining the Old Republic.

We must face the fact that more and more we are no longer one nation. In a famous phrase during his

leftist period, John Dos Passos wrote, in *USA*, "all right, we are two nations." We are now probably a lot more than two nations, and we had better start giving serious thought to national separation. To those who think that the main problem is restricting the number and types of immigration, the best answer is that such a policy is decades too late. We are already far more than one nation within the borders of the U.S.A., let alone worry about immigrants. To greet the very raising of such questions with the mindless cry of "racism" or "chauvinism" misses the entire point. To close one's eyes, to "deny," in current psycho-babble, the existence of critical problems can only

lead to disaster. We might not be able any longer to bring back the Old Republic across that entire land area of the 50 states. But we may be able to bring it back in a substantial part of that land area.

Certainly, the matter is worth serious pondering and discussion. Above all, we must throw over the frozen categories of thought ram-med into us by our ruling elites, and think hard about where we are and

what we can do about it. We must dare to think the unthinkable before we can succeed at any of our noble and far-reaching goals. ■

The Foster Body and The Park Police

by Murray N. Rothbard

Among the entire mass of American media, only one man has bothered to investigate the mysterious shooting death of White House counsel Vincent Foster. We have already brought you findings of heroic young *New York Post* journalist, Christopher Ruddy, whose reports ripped open the Foster case and helped lead directly to the Fiske special counsel investigation. (*RRR*, March.)

Now, Ruddy reveals, from FBI sources and corroborated by a Park Police source, some incredible blunders committed by the Park Police in their investigation of the Foster killing. (*New York Post*, March 7).

First and foremost: the Park Police failed to take a photo of the crime-scene Foster body before it was moved. Not only do all of us know from crime movies that the first task of the police is to photograph a body before it is moved, but, far more important, all the authorities agree, standard police practice dictates that such crime-scene photographs be taken when-

We must face the fact that we are no longer one nation.