

# AUSTRALIAN NATIONALIST IDEOLOGICAL, HISTORICAL, AND LEGAL ARCHIVE

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## **MISSION STATEMENT (as updated, August 24 2002):**

This Site is a document archive linked to other Australian Nationalist political and information sites. A few Australian authors are on-line. As further works are prepared for Internet publication, additional Australian authors shall appear here.

This document archive shall:

- (i) Ground Australian Nationalism ideologically and historically; this task is related to the legitimacy of the cause as well as the discussion of its favoured political expressions and historical place and activism; providing an accurate analysis is vital in combatting the misrepresentation of Nationalist ideology and politics by its opponents in politics and the media.
- (ii) Answer (when appropriate) the State-liberal-political-police propaganda which attempts to delegitimize the Nationalist organizations by an assertion that they have operated, or do operate, in a criminal manner; this task shall be addressed by relevant exposé of various "legal processes" operated against Nationalist leaders and other patriotic identities in the past.

This Archive shall be continually updated and maintained as a resource for the instruction of a new generation of Nationalist leaders and activists. Texts of a general relevancy to the development of Australian Nationalist ideology and politics will also be placed upon this site. This includes material drawn from the corpus of Euro-nationalist discourse. The Editors welcome that our attention is drawn to selective material.

The Editors will permit some debate around the issue of ideological and political formation and shall not censor any reasonable view on any subject which advances this objective.

The following documents are our current holding. We encourage downloading for personal use. Any enquiries may be directed to the Editorial Board at [radnat@alphalink.com.au](mailto:radnat@alphalink.com.au) (or by post to: P.O. Box N291, Grosvenor Place, Sydney, 1220).

The Archive also refers readers to the Rallying Point Information Service for your best Nationalist political literature. Quality pamphlets, tapes and other materials are available. Just click below.

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visits to this homepage since  
11 November 2002

# Titles And Descriptions Of Documents

## [The Workingman's Paradise](#) William Lane

This book, which appears here on the Internet for the first time, was a classic of the old Australian nationalist and socialist movement. Its author, a legend in Australian labour history, is a patron saint of our modern nationalist movement. The book deals with the underlying philosophy of a new Australian nation freed of the class hatreds of the Old World and which returned to the working man the fruits of his labour. Written as a novel, its impact - profound as it was over a century ago - will inspire Australians again.

## [The Failure Of Internationalism \(Extracts From The Remorseless Working Of Things\)](#). Dr. Joseph W. Smith

This item comprises extracts from a work composed by one of Adelaide University's premier academics. It is a strident and erudite criticism of the doctrine of internationalism and where certain contemporary realities as diverse as overpopulation, environmental crisis and AIDS challenge its precepts.

## [The Other Radicalism: An Inquiry Into Contemporary Australian Extreme Right Ideology, Politics And Organization 1975-1995](#). Jim Saleam

This Doctor Of Philosophy thesis can be found in the Fisher Library at the University of Sydney.

This thesis is an analysis of how Australian 'Right' forces acquired ideological and political independence of the State after the 'betrayal' of the White Australia Policy in 1966. It provides an interpretative narrative of the various ideological tendencies and their organizational manifestations throughout the twenty-year study period. Necessarily, the thesis refers to dozens of groups, from the well-known to the ephemeral and records the contributions of many activists. It demonstrates that the Australian 'Right' is the new radicalism, an internal enemy of Australia's international-capitalist state.

This thesis divides the Australian Right into ideological/political categories to explain its

divisions and to interpret how it mobilizes in action.

This thesis contributes to the debates on fascism, neo-fascism, neo-nazism, populism and conservatism in the Australian context, with historical material also referring to the periods 1919-1942 and 1945-75.

Some of the story was never meant to be told as it involved illegal and irregular activities of the security agencies which used the 'anti-communist Right' down to 1975, and thereafter the same agencies sought to restrict the development of the new (patriotic) radicalism in Australian politics.

Title Page, Abstract, Table Of Contents, Tables, Acronyms.

Introduction

Part One: Origins Of The Other Radicalism (division page only)

Chapter One: A Long View: The Question Of Fascism, The Extreme Right And The Conservative Right.

Chapter Two: The Prelude: From A Satellite Right To An Independent Extreme Right 1945-75.

Part Two: The Four Faces Of The Extreme Right. (division page only)

Chapter Three: Introduction: Developing A New Typology.

Chapter Four: Anti-Immigration Organizations Rebirth The Extreme Right 1975-82.

Chapter Five: The Radical-Nationalist Face Of The Extreme Right 1982-95.

Chapter Six: The Neo-Nazi Face Of The Extreme Right.

Chapter Seven: The Populist Monarchist Face Of The Extreme Right.

Chapter Eight: The Radical-Populist Face Of The Extreme Right

Part Three: Explaining 'The Other Radicalism' (division page only)

Chapter Nine: The State And The Extreme Right

Chapter Ten: Extreme Right Ideology

General Conclusion

Bibliography

Text: 99,000 words with additional bibliographical essays. Full bibliography and footnotes.

## [American Nazism In The Context Of The American Extreme Right 1960 - 1978.](#) Jim Saleam, 1985

This Master Of Arts (Hons) thesis can be found in the Fisher Library at the University of Sydney.

The text offered here is slightly different to the university version. Minor errors (including some factual errors) have been corrected. A few areas have been modified.

This thesis has now been superseded by academic material that has become available in the last few years. Much of this new scholarship centres on the career of George Lincoln Rockwell and the occult nature of the neo-nazi phenomenon. A special introduction has therefore been added to this text, which shall familiarise the reader with this new material.

This thesis provides argument concerning the neo-nazi phenomenon in the USA and elsewhere, which should serve nationalist politics in explaining the clear ideological difference between the two. It sets out many of the central contentions of the neo-nazis concerning historical fascism. It details the organizational histories of the various neo-nazi groups and raises the question as to whether Rockwell could ultimately be described as a neo-nazi.

Detail is offered on the history of the American Right from 1919 until 1978.

Title Page, Table Of Contents

Introduction To New Edition And Preface To 1985 Edition

Chapter One: The Background: The U.S. Extreme Right 1920-1960

Chapter Two: The Rockwell Period 1958-67

Chapter Three: The Post-Rockwell Period 1967-79

Chapter Four: The Racial Ideology Of U.S. Nazism

Chapter Five: Populism And Socialism In U.S. Nazism

Chapter Six: Conspiracy Ideology And World View

Conclusion

Bibliography

Text: 62,000 words. Plus new introduction. Full bibliography and footnotes.

## [British Neo-Fascist Politics 1960-1975](#). Jim Saleam

This document is an edited version of a previously unpublished 'Masters Qualifying' thesis submitted in the History Department at the University of Sydney (1977).

This document served privately as a guide to the British 'Right' scene for Australian Nationalists who had just begun to emerge on the political landscape.

A new introduction has been provided to direct the reader to the weighty scholarship that has since become available, and which fully describes and articulates the history of the British 'Right' since the First World War. The piece takes advantage in various places of the new scholarship.

The present document has the advantage of being written by an Australian Nationalist and can assist readers in clarifying the character of the contemporary British and international radical-nationalist movement. The term 'neo-fascist' had been used originally to satisfy examiners, but is otherwise employed shorn of any pejorative connection with the excesses of the historical

fascist regimes.

Title Page, Introduction

Chapter One: The Historical Background And The Question Of Neo-Fascism

Chapter Two: The Movements 1960-1975

Chapter Three: Racism And Immigration

Chapter Four: Economic And Social Ideology

Chapter Five: Nationalism And Historical World View

Conclusion.

Text: 21,000 words. New introduction. Footnoted.

## [Pardon Me: The Anatomy Of An Australian Political Trial.](#) Jim Saleam

This document appeared on the Internet in 1999. It was the first time a challenge to a false conviction was put on the world-wide-web.

The author was convicted in 1991 of organizing a shot-gun attack upon the home of Eddie Funde, Representative to Australia of the African National Congress. Two men who claimed to be the actual participants in the offence gave uncorroborated evidence that the author, then-Chairman of Australian National Action, actually planned the offence and ordered it.

This document 'de-constructs' the prosecution evidence to highlight its pandemic contradictions. It goes on to point to a conspiracy to pervert the course of justice from officers of the disbanded political police group – the Special Branch. The remarkable intervention of the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation is explained as decisive: the tape-recording of the legal preparations of the Defence to the benefit of the Special Branch.

The document also has political context – the attempt by the State to suppress Australian Nationalist and other patriotic opinion in a decisive period for Australia's "integration" with Asia (1988-91).

A version of this Internet document will eventually serve as the 'application' to the Supreme Court of New South Wales for a judicial investigation of the case.

Introduction

Section One: Prosecution Case/Defence Case: An Abstract. (The Cases As Presented At The Trial)

Section Two: A Political Case: A Conspiracy To Affect An Extra-Legal Result

Section Three: The "Doubt" on The Evidence At Trial: A Special Review Of The Evidence Of

Prosecution/Defence.

Section Four: Michael White: The Threat In The Police Cells; The Explosion Of Credibility.

Section Five: Catherine: Gross Irregularities In The Investigation. New Material Raises Questions.

Section Six: The Role Of Neville Ireland: Questions Concerning Ireland's Evidence And His Relationship To The Prosecution Witnesses And Their Evidence.

Section Seven: The Inadequate Appeal Process:

Doubts And Questions Raised By New Evidence And Argument At The Court Of Criminal Appeal.

Section Eight: The ASIO Operation, Special Branch And The Trial And Appeal Processes. New Evidence And The Need For An Inquiry Into Conviction.

Section Nine: A Table Of New Evidence In Support Of A Judicial Inquiry. Explanation Of The New Material. Its Relevance.

Text: 42,000 words.

## [The State Conspiracy Against National Action And The Australian Nationalists Movement.](#) Dr. Jim Saleam

This is the inside story of the attack made by the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation and the New South Wales Police Special Branch against the nationalist party, National Action, and the neo-nazi organization, the Australian Nationalists Movement. We see sensational material on offer. Conspiracy, perjury, dirty tricks of all sorts. Names are on show - like informers and bent cops. This pamphlet should serve to warn contemporary patriots of all descriptions what the State power signifies and how its political police function. This pamphlet is a companion to Pardon Me.

Text: 12500 words.

## [A Mace In The Face: Demolishing A Piece Of Anti-Racist Folklore.](#) Jim Saleam

This document is the story of a malicious prosecution launched against the author in 1985. The charge concerned the possession of a "prohibited article", a weapon known as a "mace". The case went on to be part of Sydney's 'anti-racist folklore'.

Was Australian National Action behind the fire-bombing of a vehicle belonging to a prominent 'anti-racist' activist?

This document analyses the hopeless police perjury ("verbal") which was so much a part of New South Wales police culture in those days. It calls for a new investigation and the prosecution of a still-serving officer.

Text: 7500 words.

## Integral Nationalism: The Reborn Spirit Of The Australian People. Brian Knight

This short piece is a concise statement as to the political character of the Australian Nationalist movement. Knight conceives of Australian Nationalism as an 'integral' one, which means it is not just a political movement, but a movement for the integration of the nation behind a project of national renewal.

Knight provides essential framework detail for understanding the quality of nationhood within the particular historical conditions of Australia. He speaks out against the threatened genocide of our nationality and alludes to strategies to avoid the internationalist or globalist 'future'.

Text: 3000 words. Some footnotes.

## Lessons For Nationalists: The Communist Party Of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) And Political-Industrial Violence: Rationale And Results. Jim Saleam

This former university paper has been edited for publication. Its interest for Australian Nationalists centres on (i) a certain dispute in the Australian Marxist movement which was a portent of the 'liberalisation' of the Left and its final passage to the side of the State on the issues of 'racism' and 'progressive social policy' (ii) the theory and practise of 'violence' by a Maoist-communist party in ways where it was able to destabilize State power and challenge dominant ideology. This party offers models for political conduct.

This Internet pamphlet is also a small contribution to Left/Right relations in a period of 'anti-communist' activism on the part of security agencies and the lack of an independent Australian Nationalist movement.

Text: 9,000 words. Bibliography and discursive footnotes.

## Foreign Policy Issues And The Struggle For Australian Independence

This page will be built over time with contributions from Australian nationalist publicists and other ideological contributors. It will discuss options in the field of foreign policy for Australia, what independence means and how to get it. In the developing climate of New World Order terror, Islamic terror and national liberation struggles, Australian nationalists need to address these issues.

## Anti-Racial Vilification Legislation: An Authoritarian Response To Criticism Of Immigration/Multicultural Policy. Jim Saleam.

Composed in 1995, this document is an analysis of the advent of "Anti-Racial Vilification Legislation". It links the liberal hypocrisy about "haters" and "hate ideology" to a need on the part of Big Business interests to stigmatize and delegitimize opposition to their plans for Australia's 'Asianization'. This document explains the genesis and history of attempts to pass laws on the restriction of free speech and brings light to bear on the pious fraud called the 'National Inquiry Into Racist Violence' (1988-91). This Inquiry was shown as a method of the Australian State which ensures the enemy-of-the-day is denounced as evil, a show-trial process not unlike the former Commissions on Communism and Espionage (1949 and 1954-5) .

The legislation, now on the statute books federally and state by state, is a reserve weapon of repression, ready to be employed at any time. The methods of repression are spelled out and the reader can appreciate the dictatorship being constructed around him.

Text 10,000 words. Bibliography and footnotes.

## David Greason: 'Racism Expert': Credibility Exploded. P. Giannopoulos.

This document is the Internet version of a widely distributed pamphlet, first printed in 1995 and updated in 1998. It proves that former "Australia-Israel Review" deputy editor, and widely published and quoted 'anti-racist' commentator David Greason, plagiarised his 1994 book I WAS A TEENAGE FASCIST. (Fitzroy: Gribble, 1994)

The proof is a devastating page by page analysis of Greason's work, comparing it with a number of texts, chiefly two authored by a 1949 defector from the old Communist Party of Australia, Cecil Herbert Sharpley.

The present Internet pamphlet also puts the reader in the picture as to the false nature of Zionist 'anti-racism' and Greason's role in fabricating usable material to serve those interests.

Since this text was widely distributed to the Australian Left – and to its credit – few mentions of Greason now occur in the Left press.

Text: 4000 words.

## We Knew The Teenage Fascist: Fractured Notes About The Fractured Life Of David Greason. Jim Saleam And Others.

This companion to the Giannopoulos pamphlet, is a thumbnail sketch of the 'life' and political activities of David Greason in 1981-2 (with some other background commentary), which explode the story-line of his I WAS A TEENAGE FASCIST (Fitzroy: Gribble, 1994).

This Internet pamphlet reveals a very different life-pattern in which psychological disturbance was obvious. This (concealed) truth raises fundamental questions about the script of 'right-wing history' authored by Greason. Indeed, many things ascribed to others seem to be matters carried out by Greason.

This document should finalise this gentleman's career in 'anti-racism'.

Text 5000 words.

## National Socialism And Race. Dr. A. James Gregor.

This 1958 article was published in The European magazine. Heavily documented, it is a discussion of the nature of 'race' doctrine during the Nazi regime-period. The article shows the excesses of the 'nordic' doctrine of Nazi theory and records the challenges to it inside the state. In the discussion of fascism generally, the issue of race is at the forefront of debate. It is ironic that those who have attempted to misquote Nazi race doctrine (whether they are liberals or neo-nazis) know very little of it. Gregor, now an internationally renowned expert on fascism, rectifies part of the knowledge gap.

Text: 5000 words.

## Inside The Kangaroo Reich: Selected Materials On Australian Neo-Nazis Jim Saleam And Others

This page goes inside the mini-world of Australian neo-nazism.

First, an Internet pamphlet under the title Inside The Kangaroo Reich sets out for the reader that neo-nazism is based on a false interpretation of German National Socialism (namely that it represented some sort of white race redeemer doctrine), and otherwise reflects an absolute ignorance of the colonial and imperial German Nazi attitude towards Australia. The key beliefs of the neo-nazis are recorded.

The pamphlet tells where the neo-nazi movement came from and how it developed, and why it eventually served the political police in their campaigns against Australian Nationalist and patriotic organizations. The document names certain persons and provides previously unpublished inside information which takes the reader into a madhouse of cranks, losers and perverts, those so beloved of the mass media. The document begins in 1985, but make references to earlier periods in Australia and overseas. Sometimes you are right there as the truth is told from eyewitness testimony.

The pamphlet is a good 'reference' for patriotic groups that are often the targets of infiltration by the neo-nazis.

Text 8,500 words

Other documents on the page detail assorted elements of the sad story of Australian neo-nazism, its political police connections and criminal harassments of patriotic groups. Essential reading for a subject that doesn't go away. The original Kangaroo Reich proved popular in Australia and overseas and it was decided to upgrade our holdings. It is expected the page will grow over time into a relevant resource for patriotic activists.

## [The Right-Wing Underground In Sydney 1973 - 1977 \(With Emphasis On The Special Branch Files\)](#) Dr. Jim Saleam

This article is both a history of certain events and a primary document in the field. The article discusses what constitutes a 'political underground' and then goes on to cover the history of a plethora of 'right-wing groups and individuals in Sydney in the period 1973 - 1977. It establishes the typology and the topography of its subjects. Much of the material in this item is new and builds in places upon other material. Recent released of New South Wales Police 'Special Branch' files provide important detail. Some information provided is 'sensational' in quality.

Text: 12,000 words

## Conservative Revolution, National Revolution And National Bolshevism Revisited: The Social Revolutionary Nature Of Australian Nationalism.

Jim Saleam

This Internet pamphlet examines three schools of radical-nationalist thought and their application by European (and then Australian) Nationalists, to the contemporary struggle. The document begins with a reference to recent scholarly analysis of the thought of Francis Parker Yockey and develops into a discussion of the history of Australian Nationalism and its struggle for an ideological outlook which challenges liberal-internationalist capitalism and today – the cosmopolitan dream of ‘globalisation’.

The document passes some comment on intra-nationalist dispute in Australia in the search for an appropriate road. It links contemporary tasks for an Australian Nationalist party with similar struggles in other European countries.

Text: 4500 words.

## On National Democracy. Jim Saleam

This document is the edited Internet version of a pamphlet that has appeared in Australian Nationalist booklists for some ten years. Updated.

This document sets out to explain the essentially undemocratic character of the Australian Westminster-style democracy. It goes on to suggest proposals for a system which can guarantee a synthesis of presidential government with popular authority.

This question has taken on historical dimensions amongst Australian patriots and this contribution to the debate places the question within the parameters of Australia’s unique history.

Text: 6000 words.

## Nietzsche And Ethical Socialism For The New Millennium Alec Saunders

This pamphlet is a discussion of Friedrich Nietzsche in the context of the development of a new social philosophy - ethical-socialism. Saunders looks at a number of Western social thinkers, searching for new syntheses and avenues of approach to build an ideology beyond the old limits of liberal capitalism and totalitarian communism. Indeed, he observes the curious confluences of liberalism and totalitarianism. The author is not afraid to look at developments in the old Eastern Bloc and in contemporary Russia as being of relevance. Ever thought-provoking, this work contains a lot of hard-to-access information. The author also examines certain areas of

esoteric thought and religion. He makes some use of the 'New Age' philosophic movement.

Text: 12000 words

## Christianity And The Survival Of The West. Revilo P. Oliver

This short work is now a classic in this discussion. Oliver argues that while Christianity is the 'religion of the West', it is in many ways at odds with the "Faustian spirit" of the European race and culture. Oliver maintains that Christianity can no longer serve as the essential glue of 'Western Civilization', although it can, and should, serve in some capacity in the resurrection of European culture. This is a balanced but challenging work from a prominent American thinker of the period 1960 ff. Other Oliver works are on the Internet, but the appearance here of this work - is a 'first'.

Text: 25,000 words

## Jean Thiriart: Biography And Interview.

This document, in eight parts, was an interview (in six parts) undertaken with Belgian national-revolutionary thinker, Jean Thiriart, followed by some political commentary in two parts by one of Thiriart's supporters. The interview predated the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union. Some of the material therefore makes some dated references. The additional commentary tells the reader how Thiriart's politics entered the Russian nationalist scene in the 1990's.

Thiriart who died in 1992, was the theorist of geo-politics in the European nationalist camp. This extract of his thought is provocative. No reader will agree with every aspect of his thought. It is offered on the basis that geo-politics can be learnt from first principles.

In the fight for Australian independence, an appreciation of Australia's geo-political circumstances are essential. This document assists in the learning process. Further, it offers certain interpretations of international politics possibly of service in gaining and defending Australian freedom.

Text (all parts) 20,000 words.

## The Social Revolutionary Nature Of Australian Nationalism. Alec Saunders

This is a set of documents, partly based on, and given the title of, a pamphlet issued by nationalists in the 1980's. Some of the the material comes from another pamphlet by the same author. Saunders looks at various significant trends in European nationalist thought and cites

their relevancy in particular local discussions. But he then goes on to address themes from Australian nationalist, labour and republican traditions. In particular, Saunders examines William Lane and Henry Lawson, determining that these writers fought an anti-national business oligarchy in their day, similar in spirit to the present enemies of Australian identity and independence. Saunders identifies a veritable civil war in Western Culture fought out between liberal cosmopolitans and those who represent culture and tradition. This battle in being fought out in Australia.

Text 10,000 words

This Collection will be expanded to include historical Nationalist material from selected authors.

### The Horst Mahler File.

This is a set of documents about, or by, the prominent German national-resistance theorist and activist, Horst Mahler. Mahler has a unique place in history as one of the three founders of Germany's 'Red Army Fraktion'. In the 1990's, he became a German nationalist. This file will be expanded over time as Mahler's writings are translated to English. For Mahler, the enemy of all humanity is the New World Order system.

### Germany's Third Empire. Arthur Moeller van den Bruck

A first on the Internet, this book was one of the classics of the German Conservative Revolution after the First World War. Moeller was usually regarded as one of the articulators of the 'national bolshevik' strand in that movement. Moeller offers a critique of the emergent internationalist capitalism and suggests a number of ways for his country to escape it. Moeller's challenge that we have the strength to "live in antitheses" may be more relevant today than in his time. New World Order capitalism is dominant. Ways and means to overturn this Order must be sought and then developed. In that sense, Moeller's text is not Germanocentric or constrained by its time. It is irrelevant irony that Moeller coined the term 'Third Reich', given he was a critic of Hitler's fascism long before it rose to power. In modern Germany, Moeller has been rediscovered by a new generation which yearns to transcend the present civilization-crisis brought on by internationalist capitalism. However Moeller had been rediscovered by de Benoist who took his thought out of its German context. In assimilating the lessons of history, we Australians may also find value here.

### The Decline And Splendor Of Nationalism. Dr. Tomislav Sunic

This article was composed by a diplomat of the new state of Croatia, a nationalist with a broad understanding of politics and history. This remarkable piece discusses the misconceptions about

nationalism and what a true nationalism can represent for a people and culture.

Text: 3000 words

### [Marx, Moses And The Pagans In The Secular City](#) Dr. Tomislav Sunic

This article discusses those ideologies which conflict with the 'European cultural spirit'. Sunic writes in similar mode to de Benoist but brings a fresh approach to those fundamental questions of identity amidst modernity.

Text: 3000 words

### [A Global Village And The Rights Of The Peoples](#) Dr. Tomislav Sunic

This article looks at the challenges to globalism. It looks at how resistances are building to enforced globalisation and at the ethnic and cultural bases of that resistance. It discusses the rehabilitation of nationalism from the excesses of fascism.

Text: 4000 words

### [History And Decadence: Spengler's Cultural Pessimism Today](#) Dr. Tomislav Sunic

This article looks at Oswald Spengler's 'pessimism' in the context of our own time, the decline of Western democratic life into crass materialism and capitalism. The author's own rich knowledge of history assists us in appreciating the crisis of a civilization distorted from its path by a globalist liberalism.

Text: 3000 words

### [Oswald Spengler: Biographical Essay; Extracts From The Decline Of The West; The Hour Of Decision.](#)

This document in three sections introduces the reader in a concise manner to the thought of Oswald Spengler. The essay, written by academic Donald L. Stockton, provides a summary of Spengler's life and achievements. It is critical of him from a liberal perspective. The chosen extracts from The Decline Of The West cover a number of areas of Spenglerian thought. And for the first time on the Internet, Spengler's influential 1934 book, The Hour Of Decision. Banned by the Nazis, this book pointed to the need for a European cultural renewal; it

repudiated the narrow chauvinism of official fascism. The role of Spengler as an underpinning force in modern Nationalist ideology and politics deserves recognition. Always 'difficult', Spenglerian thought can act as a critical tool in our analysis of the decadence of contemporary liberal values and politics.

## [The Turner Diaries And Cosmotheism: William Pierce's Theology Of Revolution.](#) Brad Whitsel

This article by an American academic is a reasonably objective account of the occult doctrine ('Cosmotheism') which lies at the core of the thought of the American 'neo-nazi', William Pierce. Pierce is best known for his The Turner Diaries, which made an appearance in the politics of the Australian 'Right' in the 1980's, and which continues to be circulated in fringe circles. The article, by bringing out that this work is a 'religious text' serves to illustrate the nature of the neo-nazi phenomenon and the unreal component of Turner-terrorism. This article complements other academic and polemical writing in this Archive.

## [Theories Of The Right: A Collection Of Articles.](#)

This will be a developing collection of articles by both participants and academics concerning the ideology and politics of the 'Right'. This term has been used for convenience only and we shall publish only that material which, even if critical, has value. The work of Roger Griffin initiates the collection.

## [The Francis Parker Yockey Collection.](#)

This is a collection of five documents authored by Francis Parker Yockey between 1939 and 1960 (the last is dated after his death). No editing has been done. Some introductory words appear on the index page. Yockey's thought is often misrepresented for a multitude of reasons. Liberal critics might characterise him as fascist, anti-semitic and obsessively anti-American. Right-wing critics have denounced him for national bolshevism and for the other idiosyncracies of his work. Some supporters see him within the tradition of Conservative Revolution with a collateral relevancy to contemporary national revolutionary struggle. In the interest of clarity, we let these documents speak for themselves. The student may also benefit.

## [The Alain De Benoist Collection.](#)

This small collection of articles by, and about Alain de Benoist, is a short introduction to the thought of one of the premier ideologists of Euro-cultural renaissance. The clarity of his thought comes through as does the 'quiet hysteria' which now greets his remarkable political influence. De Benoist has married the fine traditions of Conservative Revolution with a modern sensibility

for the value of a political and cultural struggle whereby all peoples may emancipate themselves from the hydra of void internationalism.

## [The Percy Stephensen Collection.](#)

This collection shall expand as time permits. P.R. 'Inky' Stephensen is a 'must' thinker of the past for the Australian nationalists of the present and future. Stephensen defined the Australian identity in a lifetime of literary-political creation. He was one of the first to contemplate how to actually win Australian independence. Interned on bogus charges during the Second World War, Stephensen's life was an expression of the Australian struggle to prevail over the comprador class which has dominated Australian politics since Federation.

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# The Workingman's Paradise

An Australian Labour Novel

*William Lane*

## Introduction

The appearance here of The Workingman's Paradise is the first Internet production of William Lane's crucial work. Its appearance in easily-accessible form was a necessity, not merely because it contains those mythic references to the Promise implicit in the *idea of Australia*, but because the totality of the work of William Lane can only serve to inspire as appropriate intellectual and cultural-emotional stimulation, a new generation of Australian nationalists.

It is truism to say William Lane was a giant in the history of the Australian labour movement and that his life has been mythologised. He was born in Bristol in 1861 and came to Australia in 1885 after a period in the United States. Lane worked in a variety of labouring occupations. In Brisbane in 1888, he became the editor of The Boomerang and later The Worker. These papers, which articulated the philosophy and politics of the nascent Queensland labour movement, advocated that peculiarly Australian synthesis of nationalism and socialism. It was this wild political brew that incited the nationalist, White Australia and labour political struggle; it underlay the early Labour Party and lingered long in Australia.

The Workingman's Paradise was Lane's second book. His first was entitled White Or Yellow? A Story Of Race-War A.D. 1908. In that work, Lane predicted a malicious alliance of Australian capitalists and intrusive Chinese in Queensland. This alliance, brought about at the price of the suppression of democracy and the Australian working class, was dealt with by the direct struggle of the ordinary people. Lane appreciated the power of the political novel in mobilising public opinion and he sought to popularise the notion that it was only by determined struggle, could social and political change become a possibility.

The present work was first published in 1892 under the pseudonym, John Miller. It was composed to raise funds to assist the families of those Australian workers imprisoned for the

participation in the great Shearer's Strike of 1891. The shearers, whose armed camps in Clermont and Barcaldine were broken up by soldiers, were made subject to political repression. A show-trial of the leaders was held in Rockhampton and lengthy prison terms were handed out. William Lane, dubbed by bourgeois commentators as the "most dangerous man" in Australia, was held up as the spiritual leader of the strike. Indeed. It was in the strike of 1891 that the Labour Party was born and the Southern Cross (Eureka) Flag flown to symbolise social justice and freedom. And for Lane it was a great drama that heralded a social revolution. He had his suspicions of parliamentary action, yet he was painfully aware that the moment for ultimate change had not arrived. Lane could not determine the hour, but considered preparatory action a necessity.

The Workingman's Paradise is a story of a man's journey to 'socialism'. It is held that all the characters of the tale were drawn from life. Lane takes his readers through the bohemia and poverty of 1890's Sydney to make the point that the promised land of Australia had, under the rule of the wealthy classes, fallen far below the vision of a paradise for the common man. The title of the work owed much to Lane's religious and cultural origins. His background in dissenting variety of protestantism, pointed him to Milton's great classic Paradise Lost, and thus his vision of a new commonwealth of social justice owed something to the Cromwellian revolutionary period in England. The idea of losing the opportunity for justice and the prescription of adventurist action to restore the opportunity - are interwoven themes.

Lane makes much of the 'communist' origins of our Indo-Germanic ancestors. He worked on the notion that the tribal communism of the past lived on in the organic democracy of the Anglo-Saxons prior to the Norman Conquest and that, in the English revolution, an attempt was made to restore this pre-Norman order. Whether this notion was absolutely true was not the point; it was considered so by many in that time and subsequently, and the idea entered the poetry of Henry Lawson. In the socialism of his day, Lane detected these older yearnings for the armed community exercising power directly and gaining full reward for labour. We may detect a soft hum of these theoretical postulates in the early programmes of the Labour Party: the civilian militia, direct democracy, equality before the law, learned enlightenment, ownership of property, legal equality for women.

The Workingman's Paradise identified the common oppression under capitalism of men and women. Like the others involved in the republican, nationalist and socialist movements of the day, Lane urged female suffrage and a common-sense equality. "You can't raise free men from slave women", he said. It is this spirit of enlightened logic that flowed in the writing of Lane.

Of course, it is a matter of record that Lane led a peculiar experiment: the establishment of an Australian colony in Paraguay. The failure of the strike movement and the waning of the avant guard nationalism in the 1890's, were body blows to optimism. It was conceived that a new racial community of working people far from corrupting civilization could achieve what Australia could not deliver. Interestingly, Lane imagined the project in revolutionary terms: the preparation of a new human type for the challenge of forging a new world. It was too ambitious,

indeed almost fantastic, and ultimately the Australian colony failed to prosper. Lane himself left Paraguay a disillusioned man.

So we are left here with Lane's most substantive contribution to the cultural and political life of Australia, his veritable manifesto for social reform. *We are introduced to Australian Socialism.* For Australians of the twenty-first century, the nineteenth-century term 'socialism' can hardly signify much by way of a solution to the economic and social problems of the present. The term is lifeless, and in so far as it is pushed about the Australian political discourse, it is effectively owned by those feral Trotskyist ranters who hardly enjoy much popular confidence. However, if we reconsider what it was that Lane *meant* by the term, we can appreciate the old ideal and learn from it, refer to it, and draft our programmes with the vision-splendid of Australian Socialism in mind. Most of all, it seems that Lane understood this unique Australian Socialism to mean the extension of property rights and the fruits of labour to the working people, in a commonwealth whose economy therefore was geared for the many - and not for the few. The abuses of capitalism would fade into memory.

The reader will find The Workingman's Paradise rich in philosophy, racial history, religious debate and Australian social history. It is a window onto the Australia we wish to 'recapture', not the yesteryear as it was, but as it should have become. It is not necessary, and indeed is impossible, for us in this century and given our collective experience of the last century, to agree with the pure-sentiments of a man the century before that. That is impossible. Rather, we must reduce Lane to spirit, the hand that wrote the paper, and thence move forward, secure in our Australianity!

Without further ado, we commend The Workingman's Paradise.

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# ***THE FAILURE OF INTERNATIONALISM***

*Extracts from the book, **The Remorseless Working of Things.***

*Dr. J.W. Smith.*

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*"...let's look at the potholes in the streets. There are potholes all over the civilised world, but is that any reason for setting up a global pothole authority to fix our potholes. Would the potholes be filled sooner if we globalized the problem?"*

*The moral is surely obvious: never globalize a problem if it can possibly be solved locally. It may be chic but it is not wise to tack the adjective global onto the names of problems that are merely widespread - for example, "global hunger", "global poverty", and "the global population problem".*

*We will make no progress with population problems, which are a root cause of both hunger and poverty, until we deglobalize them. Populations, like potholes, are produced locally, and, unlike atmospheric pollution, remain local - unless some people are unwise as to globalise them by permitting population excesses to migrate into the better - endowed countries. Marx's formula, "to each according to his needs", is a recipe for national suicide.*

*We are not faced with a single global population problem but, rather, with about 180 separate national population problems. All population controls must be applied locally; local governments are the agents best prepared to choose local means. Means must fit local traditions. For one nation to attempt to impose its ethical principles on another is to violate national sovereignty and endanger international peace. The only legitimate demand that nations can make on one another is this: "Don't try to solve your population problem by exporting your excess people to us".*

*What every progressive nation wants from others is ideas and information. But ideas don't have to be wrapped in human form to get them from one place to another. Radio waves,*

*printed documents, film and electronic records do the job very well indeed. There is no need to risk the civil disorder that can so easily follow from mixing substantial bodies of human beings in the same location, when these beings bring with them passionately held beliefs and practices that are irreconcilable with those of the receiving nation.....*

*Diversity is the opposite of unity, and unity is a prime requirement for national survival in the short run. In the long run, beliefs must be susceptible to change, but massive immigration is a dangerous way to bring about change in ideas and practices.*

*To nurture both unity and progress a double policy should be embraced: Great diversity worldwide; limited diversity within each nation.*

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# 1. Internationalism

I have discussed various environmental aspects of what has been called the 'global crisis'. As we have seen, various attempts at a solution to the cluster of problems contributing to the 'crisis' have been proposed, all involving some form of 'high tech fix' or attempt to reconcile economic growth with environmental conservation. We have seen that these strategies are failures. The situation is indeed a grim one. As Harwood has argued despite good evidence that humanity is hurtling towards the precipice of ecological collapse and that 80-90 per cent of the population of Australia, for example, are 'very concerned' about the environment, 80-90 per cent of the population still support the two party system. He notes that when either of these two parties are in power, they typically take environmental action only after a catastrophe. Yet to seriously deal with the environmental crisis requires making a political u-turn. However it is time to admit that this won't happen: "Given forty five years" support for mutually-assured destruction, it is utterly unrealistic to suppose that the prospect of irreversible global warming in the next century will radically alter current voting trends in time to break the "fossil fuel cycle". Indeed, none of this should be surprising if we are, according to Ornstein and Ehrlich, biographically programmed to respond to immediate local threats rather than global threats. If global action is needed to save humanity, then surely we are doomed.

But the problem here is an epistemological one. Why should effective strategies for survival be based upon global consciousness? If there is a dominant ideology in the world today, it must be the ideology of internationalism, globalism or 'one-worldism'. This is the philosophy of international capitalism and global financial alchemy, of transnational technocracy and global hyperactive programmed capitalism - but also of international socialism and environmental consciousness. Let us explore this issue in more depth. Within it lies the secret of our survival.

Henderson, a notable environmentalist, sees economic management questions as based upon "outdated concepts of national sovereignty". Marien also laments that "as globalism proceeds, the countervailing force of national and sub-national identity remains perhaps as strong if not stronger than ever" and in particular, poorer countries "are likely to embrace nationalism or regional self-reliance as an alternative". J.Porrirt in *Seeing Green: The Politics of Ecology Explained*, sees the need of renewed internationalism to achieve a 'new international economic order'.

The position of internationalism or globalism is a common characteristic of green/environmentalist thought. In particular internationalism or globalism is often adopted as a consequence of acceptance of the limits-to-growth position. For example, *Mankind at the Turning Point: The Second Report to The Club of Rome* rejected "narrow nationalism" claiming "Global issues can be solved only by global concerted action" and by the development of 'world consciousness'. This would involve "a new world economic order and a global resources allocation system". This would seemingly require in the long term a world government, but the report denies this "Diversity of tradition and culture, a feeling for one's own place under the sun, is essential in order to mobilise the moral strength surely necessary for the required magnitude of change". No attempt is made to show how this is consistent with the emerging new world order and global consciousness.

The third report to The Club of Rome: *Reshaping the International Order*, looked forward to the creation of a global 'humanistic socialism' based on 'universal human values'. There needs to be a "voluntary surrender of national sovereignty" for the pooling of all the world's resources, material and non-material, for effective management of the world economy. Citing the example of French nuclear tests in the Pacific, violating Australia's sovereignty, this report whilst recognising the need for self-reliant development, points out that for national sovereignty to be effective requires international agreements and cooperation - which of course is true. From this however they then conclude on the basis of defending national sovereignty that what is required is "the progressive internationalisation and socialisation of all world resources - material and non-material-based upon the "common heritage of mankind' principle" This conclusion, needless to say, does not validly follow from its premises. This same theme, of 'one-world or no world' is repeated in *Goals for Mankind and Our Common Future*. The ABC's Radio Australia beams to the Pacific and Asia a weekly environment program called 'One World' which carries the same sub-text as the above examples.

The Brandt Commission report *Common Crisis* contained in summary many of the demands made by the South for the establishment of a 'New International Economic Order'. The report launched a savage attack against protectionism and proposed the following: that official debt be waived for the least developed countries, and an international revenue generation system or income tax be implemented; the elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers; the world control of the production and distribution of

foodstuffs and the creation of a World Central Bank and international reserve currency. These are centralist policies of enormous significance to the sovereignty of nations.

The New International Economic Order (NIEO) was first raised at the second summit meeting of the Nonaligned countries at Cairo in October 1964. The first concrete demand for the NIEO was at the Algiers Nonaligned Summit which adopted an Economic Declaration and an Action Programme of Economic Co-operation, which called for a special UN session on North South problems. Every Nonaligned Summit since then has stressed the need for a NIEO. But the first formal international recognition of the need for a NIEO at the UN was during the sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly. On May 1, 1974 the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, were adopted with majority support. The idea was to establish new world order based upon equity, inter-dependence, common interest and co-operation, for the present international economic order was seen to be in direct conflict with the interests of the developing world. Important proposals were made about the reduction of armaments, the end to mass hunger and poverty, that industrialisation endangers the global environment and that population growth endangers the environment and threatens the survival of future generations. However proposals were also made for a rapid industrialisation of the Third World and the end of the protectionism.

These objectives were given strong assertion at the Second General Conference of UNIDO held in Lima in 1975. There the target set for the share of developing countries in world industrial production by the end of the century was to be up to 25 per cent. To achieve this there would be a net transfer of technical, financial and capital resource from the developed countries to the developing countries. There should also be a progressive elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers and other obstacles of trade, and the adoption of trade measures designed to ensure increased exports of manufactured products from the developing to the developed world. Further, structural adjustments would be required within developed countries encouraging "their industries which are less competitive internationally to move progressively into more viable lines of production or into other sectors of the economy", with "redeployment of the productive capacities of such industries to developing countries". The consequences of this are enormous as Corea notes:

"The realisation of a target of this magnitude has major implications for the pace and pattern of industrial development in the developing countries in the period ahead. It implies that industrial expansion will accelerate from the rate of some 6-7 per cent per annum attained in the 1960s to about 10 per cent per annum in the next twenty years. Such a rapid expansion must be accompanied by changes in strategies that pay attention not only to the volume of industrial output but also to its structure and content, with particular emphasis on meeting the essential needs of the mass of consumers. These changes must seek to overcome past deficiencies and ensure that industrial development contributes

more directly to the relief of such major social problems as widespread poverty and unemployment. They must also seek to exploit to the full the potential linkages between agriculture and industry, so as to ensure that growth and development in the different sectors of the economy are mutually reinforcing. Above all, they must make a massive contribution towards enhancing the technological capacity of the developing countries and the technical and managerial skills of their people. The rapid and accelerated expansion of industrial capacity will have major implications of the transfer of technology to developing countries and the growth of their technological self-reliance. On the one hand, it will generate an increasing demand for technology, while, on the other hand, the resulting diversification of the structure of production could contribute to the process of creating a self-reliant technological base."

The absurdity of such a proposal is easy enough to see. As Mesarovic and Pestel note, if "an economy grows at a 5 per cent annual rate, it would, by the end of the next century, reach a level more than 500 times greater (or 50,000 per cent higher) than the current level". Supporters of NIEO have not explained how this is consistent with their assertion that industrialisation endangers the environment. Nor for that matter, have supporters of the NIEO, reconciled their endorsement of national self-reliance (that each nation do as much as it can for itself with the obvious centralising tendencies of many NIEO proposals. The issues will be discussed in more detail below.

Other arguments in support of globalism have a more sociological or politico-philosophical flavour, seeing humankind as a species-community, and advocating world citizenship where the entire world becomes a single 'place'. The situation today, is much the same as that described by Polybius in his Universal History in the second century BC with respect to the rise of the Roman Empire: "Formally the things which happened in the world had no connection among themselves. But since then all events are united in a common bundle". The creation of an integrated world system has led many intellectuals to support the creation of a world government. Within classical social theory we find Saint-Simon with a vision of the creation of integrated Europe and ultimately of global socialism; Comte with a vision of global citizenship; Kant advocating an international order involving mutual regulation; Hegel embracing universalism in his theory of the evolution of World Spirit, where the history of the world is the development of the idea of freedom; Marx condemning nationalism as a reactionary force and Weber expressing a vision of global rationalisation and the de-mystification of the world to produce a single rationality.

H.G. Wells in the Open Conspiracy, published in 1928, also supported the concept of a world government, but by 1933 in The shape of Things to Come, he had become desperate, arguing that intellectuals should seize control of the world by force. However by 1945 in The Mind at the End of its Tether, Wells had concluded that all was hopeless and that there was no way out of the impasse. Norbert Elias in volume 2 of The Civilising Process, published in 1939, wished to see a worldwide monopoly of physical force for the

'pacification of the earth', a world government. However by 1985 he believed that this was unlikely. Lewis Mumford, whilst being a sharp critic of modernity, advocated the creation of a 'world culture', where the 'destiny of mankind' will become 'one', "expressed in a world government that will unite nations and regions in transactions beyond their individual capacity". None of these collectivists however is a match for the metaphysical holism of Pierre Teilhard de Chardin who wrote about the formation of an organic-social, supercomplex field, a 'noosphere', connecting us all. This thesis has been taken up by 'new age' writers, some of who have positions at the UN.

Carroll Quigley in his *Tragedy and Hope: A History of the World in Our Time*, offers an intersecting interpretation of history which supports the idea of the emergence of a new world order consisting of a Universal Empire. Civilisations tend to pass through a common life cycle. The civilisation is born and expands in power and size until a 'crisis of organisation' develops. If the civilisation survives the crisis, it becomes stabilised until internal crises occur again. This time, Quigley says, "there appears for the first time, a moral and physical weakness which raises...questions about the civilisation's ability to defend itself against external enemies". The result of this internal conflict is typically catastrophic; "weakened by loss of faith in its order of ideologies and by the challenge of newer ideas incompatible with its past nature, the civilisation grows steadily weaker until it is submerged by outside enemies, and eventually disappears".

Western civilisation is different from this pattern in so far as many past civilisations, the Age of Expansion was followed by an Age of Crisis and then by a period of Universal Empire, where a single political unit ruled the world of civilisation. The Age of Conflict is a period of declining expansion of power and size, of growing conflicts and internal tensions, of violent imperialist wars and growing irrationality and otherworldliness. The Age of Universal Empire arises by the triumph of one political unit in the imperialists wars. The West itself did not pass to a stage of Universal Empire, but was able to reform itself and continue expansion. However, if previous arguments in this book are correct, physical expansion of capitalism is not possible, bar the colonisation of other planets. Hence if Qigleys theory is correct, the West should enter into the Age of Universal Empire-or else disintegrate. A number of intellectuals and elites would seem committed to the former position.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, the first director of the Trilateral Commission, noted in his 1970 book *Between Two Ages* the emergence of transnational elites, business people, intellectuals and public officials, constituting a 'global community', who make extensive use of a global information grid. Ultimately a community of nations will emerge embracing the Atlantic states, the advanced European Communist states and Japan. However, in less than twenty years, intellectuals and business elites have looked beyond even this trilateral vision. Reich in *The Work of Nations* sees more radical transformation occurring in the world order:

**"We are living through a transformation that will rearrange the politics and economics of the coming century. There will be no national products or technologies, no national corporations, no national industries. There will no longer be national economics, at least as we have come to understand that concept. All that will remain rooted within national borders are the people who comprise a nation. Each nation's primary assets will be its citizen's skills and insights. Each nation's primary political task will be to cope with the centrifugal force of the global economy which tear at the ties binding citizens together, bestowing ever greater wealth on the most skilled and insightful, while consigning the less skilled to a declining standard of living. As borders become ever more meaningless in economic terms, those citizens best positioned to thrive in the world market are tempted to slip the bonds of national allegiance, and by so doing disengage themselves from their less favoured fellows".**

**The theme of the dissolution of nationalism, and the creation of a 'borderless world' is developed further by Kenichi Ohmae in *The Borderless World*. But this fate is usually reserved for Anglo-Celtic nations, not Asian nations. Kotkin and Kishimoto recommended a rapid Asianisation of Anglo-Celtic countries and America with the passive acceptance of massive Asian migration. (They do not recommend the mass immigration of millions of Americans, Australians and Third World people to Japan.) Of course, any opposition to the swamping of these countries by this tidal wave of migrants is seen as 'racist' by a fifth column of internationalists in the host countries, for to be ideologically sound in Canada, Australia and the US is to long for the passing of one's own dominant cultural heritage. Japanese, Chinese, Indians and Africans typically do not act in this way, but this is no excuse for slackness or self-interest, on the part of those who aspire to the pinnacles of political correctness. They have a holy mission, to expose the sins of the West, before quietly passing out of existence with their dying culture to take their place with the gods in a multicultural heaven. But they are not the cause of the globalisation of their countries, let alone the world. They are the symptoms of a deeper disease.**

**Many have speculated that the internationalisation of the world and the breakdown of national sovereignty is the result of some form of global conspiracy. Now as we have seen, there are certainly many intellectuals and elites working for an internationalist agenda because the pay and conditions are good, but it is incorrect to speak of a conspiracy in this matter for their agenda is not hidden and information is readily accessible to those who wish to inquire into the nature of this matter. And if there was a conspiracy, we wouldn't know about it!**

**The erosion of national sovereignty and the creation of a global culture is largely the product of economic and technological forces. Herbert Schiller has pointed out that the dollar value of the economic activity of the leading transnational corporations, exceeds the entire GDP of many of the world's nations. Communications and information technologies have been of vital importance to the growth and maintenance of the transnational**

corporations' centrally controlled empires, supplying international information transfer through computer-to-computer communications systems. This power, and the centralisation of economic might, have directly contributed to the erosion of national sovereignty-the capacity of a nation to make policy-decisions reflecting internal interests. Schiller points out that whilst this is primarily a structural outcome of the process of transnationalisation, spokespersons for the transnationals do what they can to ideologically discredit the concept of national sovereignty. The reason for this is that in principle, national sovereignty, in the form of economic nationalism, is a force that places a limit upon capital's freedom to pursue profits without restriction. Governments in the past have made decisions to protect 'vulnerable' elements of the population, such as the young, the unemployed and the aged, which have not been consistent with unrestrained capital accumulation. These measures of protection and equity are under threat as the power of transnational corporations to make resource allocation decisions grows-along with their ability to escape national jurisdictions. As Schiller notes; "with the existing means of communication, capital can, with relative ease, shift production from one site to another and play off one (national) group of workers against another. The outcome of these tricks is job insecurity, lower wages all round, and increased transnational corporate profits and authority".

The ability to shift capital, data and production across national borders effortlessly, undermines economic nationalists attempts to protect home industry and the domestic economy. The internationalist Maurice Estabrooks in *Programmed Capitalism: A Computer Mediated Global Society*, recognises this in these words:

"The essentially free and uncontrolled flow of investors' and speculators' capital across national borders now represents a force over which few if any national governments have any control. Central banks and national governments are in a position whereby they are forced to look for new ways to accommodate and cope with this new world. They no longer have the discretionary-fiscal and monetary power they once had, and they can not operate as they have in the past to pursue and achieve their previous noble social and economic objectives. Instead of activist policies, they are forced to take reactive policy measures.

The rise of the computerised global infrastructure even jeopardises the power exercised by national governments through their ability to tax their citizens and their businesses. Global invisible money, capital, wealth, and other factors of production are highly mobile and know no political or geographical boundaries. They move to political regimes where their rate of return is highest and at the least risk. They put governments in a position of having to compete with one another for tax revenue, investment, and growth.

National governments no longer have the effective control they once had over domestic investment, employment creation, and economic growth. They no longer can control exchange rates and interest rates in the ways they did in the past. The best they can do is

coordinate what power they have left over the thousands of individuals, traders, institutions, and corporations that are playing their games, doing business, investing capital, and speculating in the global computer-medicated marketplace".

Toffler in *Powershift: Knowledge, Wealth, and Violence at the Edge of the 21st Century*, carries this scenario through to its logical conclusion. Multinationals are non national global corporations that have no loyalty to any nation.

There is no reason why these 'global gladiators' will not obtain their own armies to back up their economic muscle. If we take this scenario even further , there is nothing to prevent in the 21st century, the emergence of one giant super-super-corporation, controlling the entire world's production, and ultimately, wealth, supported and defended by high technology computer robotics and advanced weaponry. It would constitute effective world government by the backdoor.

## 2. Against Internationalism

So much then for an outline of internationalism. As would be clear, there are many arguments that can be advanced against internationalism to demonstrate its unsatisfactoriness. Internationalism and globalism seem to many irresistible - it is therefore worthwhile to offer a concise outline of critical arguments against these positions.

The first main class of arguments against internationalism and globalism are a series of organisation and systems arguments based on the diseconomy of scale. Berry has given a concise non-technical summary of this argument in the following words:

"We are not smart enough or conscious enough or alert enough to work responsibly on a gigantic scale...in making things always bigger and more centralised, we make them both more vulnerable in themselves and more dangerous to everything else".

Some arguments supporting this view have been given by Elgin. For there to be one world, there must be organisation, and at this scale, this is impossible without a bureaucracy. But as a bureaucracy grows past a threshold of size, a spectrum of complexity and a margin of interdependence, various effects are observed: (1) the bureaucracy becomes increasingly difficult to manage and comprehend because the rate at which problems arise, exceeds the rate at which knowledge is produced to solve them; (2) constituency participation in the bureaucracy will diminish; (3) the constituency's access to leadership will decline, in resulting in a failure of any form of representation; (4) the costs of coordinating the bureaucracy grow at a rate disproportionate to increases in size after some threshold of size; (5) the variety and diversity of constituents interacting with the bureaucracy are

reduced; (6) the level of alienation and depersonalisation will increase; (7) the number and significance of unexpected outcomes of policy decisions, which could be highly adverse for many will increase because increased size results in an increase in the complexity of problems; (8) bureaucracies become increasingly rigid and inflexible; (9) the creativity and diversity of policy responses will decline; (10) the legitimacy of leadership will decline; (11) the vulnerability of the bureaucracy will increase and (12) the effectiveness of the performance of the system will decline. The common denominator to all of these problems in scale. The law of diminishing returns can be applied to scale itself by making scale the variable factor, so that increases in scale of an activity or process, will result in diseconomies of scale, past a certain threshold. As we have seen, the lust for political power and the belief that 'bigger is better', will push any attempt to globally govern the world into a diseconomy of scale situation. For example, even with respect to environmental protection, attempts to manage the environment through international agreements to restrict access to the common have been a failure and time and time again it has been shown that big business and states are ineffective in protecting biodiversity - it is the local people whose livelihoods depend upon protecting their local environment, that have the most concern about conservation of their locality. What is the world but a system of localities?

The second major problem with internationalism is one that all centralisation doctrines have faced since the time of Ploughed: who controls the controller? In the case of super powerful entities such as reinvigorated United Nations flanked by American military muscle, there is of course no external force apart from the disintegrating Soviet Union capable of regulating it-and even then, only by mutually assured destruction. The following account of this fear of centralised military power comes from a Time magazine description of the concerns of many Third World countries about the creation of a new world order:

"Tell it to the Marines-or,rather, tell it to a world that is prey to worries about where the U.S. Marines might go next. The great majority of nations that remained dubious about the gulf war, if not actually hostile to it, tend to suspect Bush of bolder designs.

In the most critical view, the new world order carries the ring of a metallic tread, the flash of an electronic eye and the wind from a sudden whirl of high-tech weapons. It conjures up an amplified voice advising overly independent countries to face the wall and assume the position. By no means have all the governments entertained such extreme fears, nor can very many sympathisers with Saddam Hussein's exploits be found outside the Arab world. But whatever the Iraqi dictator's sins, large numbers of people on every continent discount the idea that the gulf war exemplified a moral ascendancy in the making. To them, NWO is code for U.S.A., and "collective security" translates into America as Globo-Cop".

It is important to note here, that the killing of 250,000 Iraqi people by high tech weapons was done by America, Britain, France and other nations with the U.N.'s blessing. In the

Western world today, this is equivalent to being backed by God. There is no doubt that if Saddam Hussein, had obtained nuclear weapons perhaps even more lives would have been lost. Yet the gulf war did not remove Hussein or solve the problem it was said to address, and 12 months later in February 1992 the same problem exists. The point to be made is that if the West was right about Hussein, surely there could be an alternative method of neutralising him, other than blasting Iraq in a high tech turkey shoot? It is ironic that the Left of the Australian Labour Party, supported the action of sending Australian forces to the gulf on the grounds that it was just to go to war for the 'new world order' and to strengthen UN power. None of these people, who mouth such phrases as 'anti-racism' and 'multiculturalism' and talk constantly about the guilt of the White Australia policy, seem to have much of the guilt complex about the loss of Iraqi life. Their hearts may bleed for 250,000 Asian business migrants who do not come to our shores, but not for 250,000 Iraqi dead. Of course this has nothing to do with 'racism' - if the gulf war was sanctioned by the UN - it could hardly violate human rights, could it? The philosophical point to be made here is that all power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. A centrally controlled world is one where the controllers are not merely likely to be 'corrupt' but one where democracy and freedom will not be able to survive - if you make a problem large enough and involve a sufficiently large number of people in the solution of it, then you guarantee that the one problem soon fragments into a thousand insoluble problems.

The third and most telling criticism that can be made of internationalism is, simply, that it does not work and, indeed, can not work. The evils of human condition, the mess and strife of life is such as to prevent any such ideal being achieved, even if it was desirable. Hardin has noted that the world state would in time disintegrate as "intragroup competition would be certain to shatter a single all inclusive group". With the break up of the Soviet Union, rising ethnic conflict and warfare in what was once Yugoslavia, and an emerging Islamic unification consciousness in Muslim societies, we can see how difficult it is to unite even a part of the world, let alone the entire world! We are not one world; as humans we share the same biology, but that is about all. This is the grim lesson which has destroyed most systems of social philosophy. It is time to heed its call.

But where then does this leave the problem of the global crisis - of over population, AIDS, the resurgence of diseases, and of ecological threats and disasters? The above reasonings lead me to conclude that no solution is possible to the global crisis. This is not to say that the world is therefore doomed. In fact our only hope lies with a decentralised approach: developing a nationalist and a localist perspective. I have outlined this position in detail in *The High Tech Fix*. This approach is not free of troubles and nor is it perfect, but it is less problematic than internationalism. Most of the growth strategies which stand to threaten the environment, such as the industrialisation of China and the consequent use of vast coal reserves, are intimately linked with being part of an international economy and one world - and global capitalism itself must either expand or die. Creation of a self-reliant conservative society would go much further along the road of achievement of ecological sustainability than the internationalist strategies considered above.

Indeed, it may well be that we are already approaching the 'lifeboat' situation described by Hardin where not every country can survive. In this case, the way of internationalism, is the way of death. It is better that some survive than none, it is better that some survive even for a little while longer, than for us all to go together in one united ball of misery. However, if it is possible to decentralise the world, to reverse globalisation, to develop local self-reliance, this stark conclusion, which is almost certain to grip us on our present course, is likely to be avoided. The creation of a decentralised self-reliant, conservative group of nations and locales, with tight immigration restrictions, would force each locale to live within its means and to deal with its population, AIDS and disease problems-or perish. Nothing, it is true, would prevent war in such a world, but nothing prevents war now. Human survival, in short, requires people developing a sense of place, a sense of culture, a sense of one's roots. The conclusion of this inquiry must be that the centrifugal force which allows us to go out and meet world problems also gives us, at the same time, the benefit of centripetal energy- a return to the centre of what we are individually and collectively as part of a national group. Thus, instead of a slavish dependence on 'one world' concepts trying to solve all problems for all peoples, there is engendered a resolute independence at the local level dealing with regional crisis as they arise. This would still allow for interdependence at those times, if and when it becomes necessary, for a wider co-operative effort to be made on global scale, while giving us at the local level, freedom from the multicultural tyrannies of 'one world', 'open borders' and 'the new world order'.

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# **The Other Radicalism**

## **An Inquiry Into Contemporary Australian Extreme Right Ideology, Politics And Organization 1975-1995**

**Dr. Jim Saleam**

This Doctor Of Philosophy thesis can be found in the Fisher Library at the University of Sydney.

This thesis is an analysis of how Australian 'Right' forces acquired ideological and political independence of the State after the 'betrayal' of the White Australia Policy in 1966. It provides an interpretative narrative of the various ideological tendencies and their organizational manifestations throughout the twenty-year study period. Necessarily, the thesis refers to dozens of groups, from the well-known to the ephemeral and records the contributions of many activists. It demonstrates that the Australian 'Right' is the new radicalism, an internal enemy of Australia's international-capitalist state.

This thesis divides the Australian Right into ideological/political categories to explain its divisions and to interpret how it mobilizes in action.

This thesis contributes to the debates on fascism, neo-fascism, neo-nazism, populism and conservatism in the Australian context, with historical material also referring to the periods 1919-1942 and 1945-75.

Some of the story was never meant to be told as it involved illegal and irregular activities of the security agencies which used the 'anti-communist Right' down to 1975, and thereafter the same agencies sought to restrict the development of the new (patriotic) radicalism in Australian politics.

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# On National Democracy

by **Jim Saleam**

(A booklet published by Australian National Action in 1990)

## Preface

Australian Nationalists have published 'criticism' of the principle and the actual workings of the Australian State.

It is the principle of Nationalism to understand that the Programme of Australian Nationalism cannot be actualised unless power is achieved to carry out this programme. However, we must ask ourselves a question: what sort of 'State' shall succeed the present order? We have, hitherto, only stated generalities of the vaguest or barely ideological sort; now we should be more specific. People are asking the question of us.

Some people seek to argue that Nationalists seek to impose a dictatorship over the Australian people. There have also been those calling themselves 'Nationalists' who have said that a dictatorship is indeed their objective. It is one thing to require political power to actualise Nationalist ideology; it is another to desire power for an indefinable purpose, and power of an extreme overbearing variety exercised by one or several 'leaders'.

So, what is the position? This short pamphlet contends that Nationalists will in fact create a new political order far more democratic than capitalist liberal democracy, our current political system; yet, it shall witness a new nation of discipline, direction and order. Can **Authority** and **Popular Power** be synthesised? Nationalists say, unreservedly - yes!

I hope **National Action** will encourage more discussion and debate about Nationalism by this publication. There are many movements in our country today which are, in their own ways, challenging Establishment ideology. Our task is to introduce the fermentation element: a new and revolutionary political faith. The present Constitutional-political-economic order is under real and increasing stress. Our sharpened criticism and action will be decisive in focusing on the faults of this old order and in drawing movements of popular democratic protest towards a Nationalist perspective.

# Section One: The C.E.D.A State

## I Form and Reality

It is the very first principle of our understanding of the Australian State to differentiate **form** from **reality**.

On the surface, at least, Australia is a 'democratic' society where decisions of national and local importance are reached by elected assemblies (parliaments or municipal councils) voting appropriately. All citizens over the age of 18 years exercise the right to vote for candidates to the assemblies.

It is the case also that a number of political parties exist, from the openly establishment parties (Liberals, Nationals, Labor, Democrats) through to minor and 'protest' parties. In theory, "freedom of speech" exists where any point of view may be espoused by any individual in a fair and legal manner. Supposedly, a free and liberal media will report accurately on all these parties and philosophies, allowing the people to make an informed choice amongst them in an election or as a personal faith.

the **form** of our State is "therefore" completely democratic. In theory, the "policies" of the State, its "ideology", everything, can be changed "legally and therefore - "democratically".

The **reality** is utterly different from this mythology as drummed into our minds from birth to adulthood.

## II The Ideology and Principles of the State

The Australian State, through its "representatives" (i.e. Governor General, Prime Minister, Ministers, State-Premiers, leading politicians), expresses its commitment to an ideology - liberal-democratic capitalism. The **kernels** of this ideology can be defined as follows:

- (i) The social order and political needs of the People are set by economic factors.
- (ii) "Consumption" provides social unity and represents the reason for "existence".
- (iii) Nations are simply "aspects" of globalism, - irrelevancies.
- (iv) Races are "irrelevant" to "consumption" on a global scale.
- (v) Economic life is best organised as a corporate financial enterprise.
- (vi) All men are essentially "the same" (equal?) : differences are only economic in nature.

The Australian State can translate these ideological concepts into principles of State policy. Some "**beyond dispute**" principles of the State would be:

- (a) Loyalty to the United States-directed alliance system. No serious challenge to our membership of ANZUS is permissible.
- (b) Australia's economic future lies within the Pacific Rim Economic Order.
- (c) Australia is, progressively, to become Asianised in population terms.
- (d) The present Parliamentary "Democracy" is sacrosanct.

These fundamental principles and policies are regarded as the "base-myths" of the society. A serious challenge to them - a challenge in deeds (i.e. not a challenge in words) - would be regarded as **subversion, sabotage, treason** (the words of the Commonwealth Crimes Act), or an offence of "incitement to racial hatred" etc.

In this "free" society it is possible, therefore, to challenge anything and change anything **other** than those things **agreed** to as fundamental articles of faith for the big parties - and for those who pay them.

Nationalists reason that a serious challenge to those "fundamentals" would, in the end, be answered with violence.

Consequently, pure democracy is a myth, a lie.

### **III The Big Business Power**

In a society where "consumption" is the highest principle, it is not difficult to see that the possession of wealth confers a **right** on the holder of wealth to manage the political process. The capitalist is not a man of the free enterprise type; rather he is an organiser of wealth, a mobiliser of resources - a monopolist, in fact.

Australia's major parties are machines for the "control" of the political order; they require vast sums of money to operate. A clear **nexus** exists between the organisations of finance and monopoly capitalism and these parties. All the major political parties are creatures of this **system** of organisation and manipulation. A vote for any of these machines changes **nothing** fundamental in the workings of the State.

A few years ago, National Action managed to identify C.E.D.A., the **Committee for the Economic Development of Australia**, as the personification of the system of fraud-democracy.

The CEDA, an ostensible think-tank-run-advisory-body to business and government, is in fact a central meeting place, a **policy making council** for representatives of all major political parties. Its membership comprises the directors and managers of nearly two hundred of Australia's largest local monopolies and banks, and many representatives of the multinationals and international banks. It is CEDA which has virtually "created" the Australian State's drive to integrate Australia into the Pacific Rim Economic Order. CEDA has literally **written** Australia's immigration policy. It has directed the **scrapping** of Industrial protection, and has formulated policies on matters such as Japanese investment and smashing the trade unions. CEDA could be more correctly dubbed, given its extraordinary work, the **political party of Big Business**, the

"holding company" for **all** the major parties, **the** State, in fact, if not in name.

The State **power** resides, not in Parliament, but in the agencies which control Parliament. No matter how democratic the State says it is, the question for Nationalists is: "**Who pays** the parliamentary parties?" It is the Nationalist contention that the CEDA corporation and others pay for the facade of democracy. It is also rather obvious that, in a society driven by commercial values, "one man one vote" is a lie; money has far more votes than persons. Money has "contracts" with the government; it supplies campaign funds for parties; money "promotes" leaders of the parties; it provides "advice" to government and is considered in every decision. The entire system operates by **near-osmosis**. What money "thinks", government carries out. The voter is an actor in the drama and occasionally a factor, but seldom a prime-mover. He is a passive unit within the regime. He rubber-stamps it all by voting for either of the big machines of party politics in an election. The CEDA State knows it well and governs along its merry way.

## Section Two: Westminsterism: a Fraud of Democracy

Westminsterism is the "form" of democracy which Australia inherited from British imperialism. There are many people today who believe that Westminster Democracy is the highest expression of democracy, even if manipulated and discoloured by the activities of a few politicians. These conservatives postulate that Westminsterism derives from Christianity. Supposedly Westminsterism is a perfect blend of Monarchy, Senate and House of Representatives. Rubbish.

Westminsterism grew from the English experience of Civil War. The system was designed to institutionalise Constitutional-tension. This was "resolved" by creating two houses of parliament both ruled over by a "limited" monarchy. Later, the system was modified to make parliament **itself** the monarchy, albeit, "limited" by the person of the monarch and tradition as represented by an "upper house". In the nineteenth century, when the franchise was broadened to include most adult males, it was held that freely choosing "representatives" in mass votes was the highest principle of the democratic parliament. The system was passed on to Australia in the 19th century.

Westminster parliaments encompass representatives "chosen" from geographical units called "electorates". The electorate includes a set number of voters on a set roll because of their place of residence. Such representation is an abstraction; it "represents" **numbers** of people, not the People itself. The parliamentary seat-holder is the creature of a party of which **only two** are the chief actors in the parliamentary drama. He chooses a "side" and speaks for it, and the people are expected (at least in the House of Representatives) to take a "side" - supposedly, by this action, allowing "stable government" to ensue. Yet the **People** are not represented here.

The fact is, **geographical areas** are represented, and the two parties are represented. Workers, farmers, small-men, students, old people, etc. are only "represented" insofar as one of the parliamentary parties feigns to so represent them. And, as we have observed, the Westminster system of the two parties **must** be based upon certain basic principles which cause it to stay intact. Once this is acknowledged the system can be seen to have an interest beyond the ranks of

the People. But is the **national interest** being served? - or the money interests of the few? And if we say - **the latter** - does the system fairly **represent** the People? What truly national interest could liars serve?

Westminsterism rewards those who play its games. Parties vie for "office" on the basis of winning a 51% majority of votes. Once in "office", the rewards are handed out. The party machines of Westminsterism have the game suited to them. There is a Government and an Opposition with the Speaker to run the game. Their game is played out in public with the intention being to prove the system is democratic and not a **facade** of democracy.

The ultimate yardstick is - **Truth**. In Parliament "truth" is a football of the public party squabble, something lost for the public in the war of words. An issue is distorted (intentionally?) from the People's attention, falsified and tarnished by "debates". Is this like a trial in an English-style judicial system - where it is **admitted** the aim is "**not to find the truth but weigh the evidence**"? Where went the truth? Lost in the evidence! (1) Parliament is like a court: (Government = Prosecution) (Opposition = Defence) (Speaker = Judge) (Voters = Jury), and its decisions, without truth, must be **false**. All is lost in the game. Can it be said that Westminsterism is "good" for anybody - except those who pay its bills?

The possession of a seat in a parliament does not, for a Nationalist, imply the possession of any real power at all. Even the possession of all the seats would not mean power unless once had dominance over those who operate Parliament. And if one did acquire power would one still want to operate the game?

Westminsterism encourages the growth of a permanent class of politicians, not statesmen, not leaders of the Nation and people (seldom do they emerge, though many are "created" by propaganda), but career-servers, corrupt play actors. No wonder in Australia it is a **Crimes Act Crime** to bring this system into "contempt"! Is it a lie to say that a politician wants to "serve his masters" and "feed himself" at the public pig trough? It is a sick game played out too often at the public expense.

Westminsterism is now to be challenged and criticised by many Australians. Parliament no longer has the "moral" authority it once seemed to exercise. All this is positive if we are to get rid of the fraud of democracy and struggle for popular power.

### **Section Three: Democracy and authority: Background to National Democracy: Redefining the Terms**

It was the original principle of liberal-democracy that "all men are equal", and this philosophical idea was translated into "one man, one vote". Democracy was perceived as the great equaliser, and its expression became a ballot-box majority - behind all parliamentary assemblies. The two principles of **Democracy** and **Authority** have existed uneasily within European societies since the French Revolution

The old democratic theory proclaimed not only equality, but that civil government was a sort of "contract" whereby the "consent" of the majority was given for the institution of governments among men. This "consent" could be arbitrarily withdrawn if the social contract was broken. This fine theory managed to disintegrate the community of Europe with its abstract logic. (note 2) In truth, Nations have governments based as much upon traditions and a certain idea of that nationality expressed in cultural life, as they do upon the mere "contracting" of people for that government. Let alone reaffirming that "contract" in "elections" every few years.

It is true **in a narrow sense** that there is a contract in government. A state has as its duty the preservation of the Nationality, its Culture, and to work for its general well-being. If this natural contract is broken, it is the duty of the people to **rebel** and "abolish" that government. But such a matter - as written in those words in the American Constitution - has little to do with a State denying people "the pursuit of happiness" - the fundamental liberal "idea" of human "wants". The "denial of happiness" is scant reason to overthrow a State.

**Natural institutions** The process of electioneering has undermined the natural institutions of society. Man does not live in his "party" in its "legislative majority" in a parliament, neither is he made "happy" by regular elections. Human society has its natural organic institutions, organisation of **labour**, of **family**, of **locality**, of **social purpose** and **cultural expression**. These institutions have usually been at war with formal "democracy", and have become victims of class warfare [ It was a product of the Age of Capitalism that the family would be assailed as out of date, that Labour would be oppressed by the rich and agitated to revolution by the Left, that culture and identity would be assailed by the Left as lies of the wealthy and by the bourgeoisie as threats to free trade]. For Nationalists, true democracy cannot even be said to exist if it is not **exercised by the whole Nation through its organic institutions**.

Those institutions belie formal "equality". Equality implies sameness and levelling. It often implies an endless demand for **rights** without a recognition of **responsibilities**. The natural institutions of society differentiate between people in terms of occupation, interest and talent. There is nothing truly anti-democratic or "authoritarian" in that, but there is most definitely a respect for those values and structures which guarantee **order** and **direction** in society.

The Nationalist State will come into being, not amidst stability and good times, but amidst disorder and crisis. It will find that the economic-social ravages of the free-enterprise liberal order will have hacked into the Australian social structure to destroy family life, labour structures and the traditional values of the Nation. We can see that already. The liberal ideology has set the search for **wealth** on a new level: the whole Nation is seen by liberals as simply an aspect of greater agencies of **economic growth**. Anything "inconvenient" to the new order (be it labour structures, traditional families, cultural pride) is to be mobilised against and, if necessary, legislated against - and finally suppressed by violence or threats of force. The perfect, free individual is to get rich in the new order of Pacific capitalism.

The alternative Nationalist State will first be a **power**, secondly the expression of the National

Heritage and only thirdly the means of constructing the organic institutions of the People. Why? Because it will have power in its hands, because it will be power exercised for the preservation of the National Idea, and because the natural order may scarcely exist; and, where it does exist, it may be polluted by liberal ethics and thinking. In Nationalist opinion, the State may have to create the climate for the evolution of the social order, not in the sense of the failed social engineering ideals of the old-liberalism or antiquated Marxism, but inasmuch as only by the **removal** of old anti-national pressures may the State experience the **regrowth** of natural (i.e. organic) structures.

The Nationalist State therefore would not want to create the centralisation of all power within itself (totalitarianism). Certainly that part of political power relating to the national interest needs to be centralised in the State, but power is not simply a commodity. The Nationalist State should therefore be limited as to its power over the **private** world of the individual in his day-to-day life and existence. Power should in these matters lie in the Family, the Council, the factory Council, etc. **Over-regulation** - particularly in Australia - would be, not an expression of strength, but of weakness.

**For the Nationalist, the principles of Democracy and Authority need to be redefined, then welded together in a National Democracy.** We are going to forge a State empowered with the Authority to direct and secure the Nation. We desire a people which governs its own social life and which, through the organic power structures, empowers and structures its State. There can be no Democracy without the Nationalist State, and no Nationalist State without a National Democratic order.

## **Section Four: the Revolutionary Party and the State**

There have certainly been many revolutions in history, positive and negative revolutions. But common to all is the twisted relationship necessarily existent between the methods by which revolutionary organisations defeat the old-state power and the goals which that party supposedly promises: ideals for society and a better way of living for the people.

**Consider Marxism:** In theory at least, Marxism promises the poorer classes of society wealth supposedly denied to them by the politics of class exploitation. The struggle for the Marxist vision must necessarily be waged by a party of the Leninist type. The mechanics of a Leninist party, historically, have automatically led to ruthless dictatorship. The "workers and peasants' government" rules against its "own" constituency. The barbarities of Stalinist practice are well-known as the highest expression of Leninism. After nearly a century of such Marxist revolutionary action, we are entitled to ask the question: is the dictatorship in question related to the organisational forms adopted by the party in its struggle for power? I would suggest the answer is - yes. Insofar as the "vision" of Marxism is even worth considering as an alternative to liberal democracy, the reality of Marxism contrasts sharply with its promises. Somewhere the promises get lost.

**Consider pre-war Germany:** The German National Socialists promised a folkish-state, a state

of the whole people, a people's community based upon "Germanic democracy". Very early in the history of that movement, a **leader-idea** was grafted upon it. Dictatorship replaced the idea of party comrades forging a classless Nation; the party stagnated in government, becoming simply another agency of bureaucratic control and a machine for personal advancement.

But our story is a general one. Will our Australian upheaval be truly different? And I ask the question regardless of the differences in time, place and ideology which separate us from these examples.

In conditions of repression, censorship, violence, negativity, cultural nihilism or social disorder, a revolutionary organisation struggling for power necessarily needs internal order, discipline, stability, ideological cohesiveness. It replicates the ethos and agencies of the State. It may have its own internal police, its propaganda organs, its courts of honour, its ruffians and its own methods of raising funds. Each action or each department of the opposing state is faithfully reproduced. And, once power is gained, the revolutionary party is faced with the task of **suppressing** the ideology and organisations of the previous state. An "Extraordinary Commission for the Suppression of Counter-revolution..." (Cheka) in Russia was the forerunner to the NKVD/KGB: first it suppressed followers of the Tsar; later it enslaved the Russian people in the Gulag-state.

Australia's "time of troubles" will, of course, be unique. The conditions of the Nationalist Struggle will be likewise. But there is little doubt in the mind of this writer that the increasingly totalitarian anti-Australian methods of the liberal-capitalist state will call forth its nemesis: a **truly revolutionary-Nationalism**, harsh, intolerant, desirous of the energetic rescue of the Nation from its Pacific "destiny". The first objective of the Nationalist party will be power, power to **suppress** the ideology of liberal-capitalism and the organisations of the old-state.

However, there is a key point of **Programme** involved in the Nationalist philosophy of the State which clearly limits the "aims" of the party machine. The party does **not** aim to suppress the free expression of interests within the Nation. It aims to play a role, indeed the key role, in the creation of the new Constitution of the Australian National State. But it does not aim to abrogate the very **point** of its existence: to place the Australian Nation in control of the Australian State through the means of those institutions and conventions established by the Australian Revolution. Exaggerated authoritarianism is not part of the Australian character or cultural tradition.

It is the case also that **state-worship** is culturally delimited by the fact that the "state" against which we are in revolt (endowed as it is with its liberal-monarchist mythology) was and is the **captive** master of the true Australian culture-Nation; the revolution against this "State" is a liberating one. History has placed this revolution within its context: its aim is to restore the potential of a developing Australian national culture and ethos. It can hardly destroy the old-state only to fall in worship of state power; the true Australian character is suspicious indeed of authoritarian antics.

It is this Australian spirit which will run throughout Nationalist ranks in the struggle for political power. In power, the Nationalist party **must see to creation of the new institutions of the state**. Having defeated the old state-power, the party would be charged with the creation of the new Nationalist order. As the combat party or struggle, the party would transform itself into a vanguard of organisers for the new state organs of administration and political education. **That** is its clear constitutional role. How the party develops in power is irrelevant here; what its future would be does not concern us. Our objective can only be the National good as delineated in the Constitution of the National State and the growth of the new institutions of popular-power. **The new state will be the State of the whole Nation**; its interests necessarily overshadow the limited purposes of any political party, including our own party machine.

## **Section Five: Popular Power: National Democracy**

It is a general feeling in today's Australia that people, the ordinary citizens, are powerless to change things which govern their lives. Recently, this realisation has caused many people across the country to propose Citizens-Initiated Referenda, a proposal whereby voters can directly place measures before the whole people for a mass vote. National Action, it should be noted, has had this sensible suggestion in its programme since 1983. Such a campaign is a positive thing and would be an aspect of the National Democracy which Nationalists desire for Australia. But it is not good enough in itself; it is no panacea for social and political ills, either. The protagonists of C.I.R. are often Westminsterites. Nationalists reason that the unfortunate state of the Nation is related to its political forms. To see our goal as "power" within a parliamentary system is to leave **intact** one of the causes of the lack of national independence.

The Westminster parliament is the legislative organ of the old-state and cannot be separated from it. The National Revolution will shatter the old state in the process of its actualisation; to re-establish the political forms of the old-state, albeit with Nationalists "in charge", is to leave open the danger of a gradual restoration of the conditions of the former system. It must be a cardinal principle of Nationalism that it leave the forms of the old-state to the history books, that it shatter the old-order to fragments.

But what can take its place?

When one grows up under a particular political system it can be difficult indeed to formulate a real alternative to its "forms". But Nationalists can visualise an alternative: the creation from the local level of organs of popular authority and control, rising through a National Assembly and organs of power which reflect the social and economic units of the Nation.

The Nationalist concept of society is often called the **organic** idea. Nationalists cannot accept that a society is simply a collection of sovereign individuals contracted together for the purposes of economic production. It is this inorganic concept of society which lies at the basis of both liberalism **and** its mirror "opposite", Marxism. For the Nationalist, the Nation is an organic bonding of a people. Its "classes" are not economic units alone (though there are such units with such purposes) but spiritual and cultural "units" also. There are also units with no economic

functions at all. The Nationalist does not see society only as "workers", "farmers", "small-businessmen" and white-collar/managerial officers; the Nationalist notes the existence of **soldiers, families, localities, creative artists/authors, youth, the aged** as other "units" of the Nation - and there are much more such "units"!

In our analysis of Westminsterism we noted the essential fraud of bourgeois liberal parliamentary "representation". For Nationalists, the system of "representation" for the new state has to be less of an abstraction and far wider in scope. It has to encompass the whole Nation. Let us speculate on possibilities:

## **I. Local Power: the Popular Authority in Action**

Nationalists envisage the ordinary citizen becoming directly responsible for the maintenance of his local political-social environment and administration. Municipal power should be the first unit in the edifice of the Nationalist State. The local Council should not only exercise the "normal" powers of municipal government but should also be an agency for the in the actual life of the citizen. It could also be responsible for community policing, for the registration of the opinions and demands of the ordinary citizen, a unit for the improving of the quality of life of the Australian people.

"Representation" for such a council needs to arise from the lowest level of social inter-action - from organised labour, farmers councils, youth organisations, aged citizens' bodies, industrial-commercial bodies, etc. All deputies to such a council should be responsible to those who choose them and to a code of conduct; they should all hold **revocable** mandates.

The notion of municipal government being elected for long, fixed terms is a mechanism for ossification and corruption. A mayor may certainly be elected for several years - but a Council?

From the units of popular power, responsibility moves 'upward' towards state and national government.

## **II State Government: the Popular Aspect**

Nationalists are of the view that the number of states should be **increased** to favour national development and decentralisation of power and population. The state governments will not be "sovereign" as per the inherited colonial forms of the old "states" with their pretentious claims vis-à-vis the Federal Government. But they certainly **will** be units which express the popular will, and the professional opinion, of their needs and potential.

Such state governments need the leadership of their executive organs endorsed and regulated by the state assemblies. Those assemblies should be larger than existing parliaments and based on families, unions, local council representatives, specialised scientific-professional organisations, cultural bodies, planning agencies. The assemblies could meet in commissions to settle legislative proposals when the assembly meets and before it meets.

### III National Government: the Popular Aspect

The "National Assembly" would be a far larger unit than the current parliaments. Its representational procedures would be similar to the state assemblies reflecting both geographical occupational and other forms of representation - including representatives of the state governments and local councils themselves.

The National Assembly would include soldiers, unions and workers, farmers and rural organisations, municipal and state representatives, youth, aged people's representatives professional representatives and particular groups. The aim of such an assembly, "philosophically" speaking, would be to preach the common unity over sectional interest. By bringing all sections together to realise what can and should be done, the assembly of the Nation would bind the Nation to a common programme of action; it would bring government **closer to the people. We are not utopians**, nor do we have any difficulties in such a system of representation in formulating legislation and even avoiding some of the grossness of the old-state, but we are bound to work towards a system of truly National Democracy. We cannot see, today how, **precisely**, it will work; but we can see that popular representation is the only alternative to a system which rests on its "democratic" credentials but gives, as dictatorship of money over the people, a system of chosen politicians and not representatives of the organic units of the Nation.

### IV The Armed People

It is the liberal-state's dream to disarm the whole Nation, leaving only its police and its army equipped with fire-arms. Nationalists do not take this view. Nationalists believe the whole military-age adult citizenry, by households, should be **armed**, not only as a measure of defence (as in Switzerland) but as an expression of a fact. The Nationalist State does not fear its citizens, and that power in the State is not only an act of the executive government, but a function of the entire people. The Armed Nation is the firmest guarantee that the State is not a mechanism of some totalitarian clique of leaders; the Armed People ensures National Democracy.

Originally in the racial history of the Indo-Europeans, authority rested in military assemblies. In early England, for example, the Moot was such an assembly. It was the mark of a free man to keep and bear arms and his badge of admission to the assembly of his area. The citizen, **trained responsibly in civic duty**, armed, was the rock of a society of the European-type. It follows that such a people did not need special squads of professional men to suppress certain criminals or localised enemies. The authority of the local council was recognised.

Australia is a modern late-20th century society; nevertheless, for Nationalists, the **principle** remains. This does not mean that Nationalists seek to replace trained police and soldiers with popular militia - on the contrary. However, authority exercised by the state in its specialised areas is one thing; the right of a free people to **administer itself** - another. For Nationalists, it will be age-old but firm **principles**, codes of behaviour, which will replace the liberal state with its arbitrariness and its bureaucracy.

The National Democratic state must mould together Authority with Popular Power at every level.

## **Section Six: The Australian Constitution of the Future**

The present Australian Constitution, an Act of the British Parliament, is the paper document which sets out the working-rules of the present State. Needless to say, this piece of paper means little in the world of facts; the Constitution makes no mention of our national "obligations" to ANZUS, the International Monetary Fund, various imperialism's, etc. The victory of the Nationalist political struggle **necessarily** will see the **abolition** of the current constitutional order.

The working-rules of the old-State cannot serve the Nationalist State. The 20th. century has been a history of **dependence** for Australia; the 21st. century will be the century of Australian **independence**. A new Constitution will be necessary.

### **National State, One and Indivisible**

The Nationalists will proclaim Australia a **National State, one and indivisible**. The former hotch potch constitutional network of states, federal powers, conflicting interests - **all** dependent on imperialism - should be forced into history's dustbin. The Monarchy and the Constitution of 1901 could only be in stark contrast to the intentions of the Nationalists. The National State is not even a "choice" but a necessity which will be forced on the Nation by history. Only a National State can complete the evolution of Australian nationhood. The National State would be proclaimed a reality of law, history, tradition and biology. The Nationalist State would be sovereign; its "states" would not possess the sovereign power.

### **A New Tradition**

The Nationalist State, by the Programme of National Action, would summon a [real] Constitutional Convention to draft the new Constitution. This act would call to end the old constitutional-legal conditions and reaffirm the Nation on the basis of its true heritage, while initiating a new national tradition for Australia. The Nationalist order would proceed on the basis that no Constitution is perfect, nor permanent beyond the needs of Tradition, heritage and order. But it will certainly have to regulate (i) the powers of the key institutions and structures of the new state, (ii) the rights and duties of citizens, (iii) state the principles upon which the new state will be based.

The Nationalist party will have the moral right, born of its Revolution, to play a role in constructing this new constitution.

For Nationalists, their struggle is one of principles; their political victory would be a victory of those principles over liberal ideology. If that liberal ideology had led the Nation towards dissolution, Nationalists would have as their political objective the higher security and interests of the Nation. Those principles of national life are something without which, suggest Nationalists, the Nation cannot exist. Once such principles are adopted by the whole Nation, the

party interest of the Nationalists assumes a second place.

### **Authority and Popular Power**

The Constitution of the National State must express in law the relationship between the executive power and popular initiative and control. In this case: the relationship between the Presidential Government and the National Assembly, the Governors of the States and the State Assemblies, the municipal executive and popular councils, and the relationship of those tiers of government with each other.

The Programme of National Action suggests that ministers in a government need no longer sit in Parliament but should each be expert to their task. This demolishes one of the talent-destroying "principles" of Westminsterism, which forces members of cabinet to be self-serving parliamentary cretins. The Programme implies that the presidential authority shall have its rights vis-à-vis the organs of popular power, just as those structures have their function and rights which they can legally enforce. [The idea of a President to Nationalists implies not only a ceremonial head of state but a President with defined interventionist powers in the state: the right to conduct government in his cabinet, to command the armed forces of the Nation, to veto certain legislation, to propose legislation, to carry the right of presidential pardon, to be the first diplomat of the Nation etc. The President's powers would be those established by law; we do not consider dictatorial government wise nor desirable for Australia]

It is not for us here to build a Utopia on paper, but merely to illustrate the far-reaching scope of our constitutional revolution; not only a revolution against archaic colonialist legalism, but of the enshrinement of national sovereignty and the principles by which the Australian People can live.

## **Section Seven: National Democracy in the Social Republic**

The Nationalist State would be the first Australian State to be guided by a clear **ideological impulse**. Hitherto, Australian statecraft has been guided by the expedients of the liberal Establishment. The old-State has been anti-national, an enemy of national development. The Nationalist State has, as one of its duties, the encouragement and enactment of measures for the social improvement of the Nation. We have used the old term from our past, "Social Republic", as our description of **a Nation of Social Justice**. For Nationalists, the winning of national independence and cultural freedom for Australia would be meaningless without a social revolution. Our objective: the abolition of consumer ethos - a chief contributing factor to the current national malaise. In our opinion, the "alteration" of the social order is a guarantee against the return of liberal ideology to the command of the State.

Liberal-democracy can only exist in a particular environment. In a liberal-democracy the people must be reduced to a collection of "individuals", competing in an economic market, to produce and consume the most "products". Social order - indeed, the global political order - must, according to the liberal democrats, reflect the economic "realities". Nationalists, by working for

an organic social order, would see economics reduced in status, economic production subordinated to the Nation. The Nation, as a welding of all classes, would therefore **suppress** the capitalist-consumer "ideal". The Nation would be responsible, as a whole, for production and consumption. The Social Republic would see all classes in balance, not as "competitors" for resources, etc. by the normal rules of capitalist economics, but rather as mutually co-operative agents in the raising of production for development and consumption.

This fundamental re-ordering of the social-economic structure would guarantee the Nation against rule by its dregs - the capitalists. It is this small coterie of super-rich, allied with international money, which we have denounced previously as being those in command of the State. Such wealth could never again be permitted to accumulate; their social principles would also need repudiation. The economy, re-ordered - with its private sector, state sector, its co-operative sector (municipal intervention) - would be an economy out of the control of the mega-rich through their monopolies and banks. It is clear that the Social Republic would be one of genuine "development", far removed from the parasitic structure which today destroys the wealth of the Nation - for "trade".

The National State would therefore be based upon the productive classes of the Nation. Such classes are part of an organic social order.

National Democracy, by establishing new organs of political representation, would ensure the control of economics by politics. The councils of farmers, workers, small businessmen, etc., in conjunction with their unions or associations, would be primary organs for the planning and control of economic life by the Nation.

The New Australia will have little time for the antics of those who perceive the national wealth as a domain for rape and exploitation.

This voluntary upsurge by the whole Nation to assert itself over the few who own the State, would be one of the grandest periods of the coming Australian Revolution.

## **Conclusion**

Political Debate in Australia has been limited by its enforced confinement to discussion of variants of liberalism. Only two other forces - conservatism and Marxism - have existed at any time outside of the Establishment consensus, and often their doctrines have seen movements constituted on their principles, yet co-opted by the State. New Guardism (conservatism) in the 1930s and Marxists in the 1990s are two examples of Establishment usage of other ideological formations for particular ends. The New Guard assailed Lang's radical Nationalism; radical Marxists today make the best "anti-racists". Liberalism remains the dominant doctrine.

Today we are seeing an embryonic Nationalist movement raising a challenge to Establishment liberalism. A new aspect of political debate has raised its voice, much to the chagrin of the

Establishment.

Our doctrine is like no other. It calls for the **return** of the Nation to the principles which first gave Australia her statement of Nationhood and a national struggle towards Independence and Social Justice.

That Nationalism is the **only** revolutionary doctrine in Australia today is obvious, but Nationalism is not a utopian creed. It promises no dreamland, no utopia. However, it promises a Nation, independent and free, a state of the whole Nation, a state of direction and leadership, one of justice and popular power. If the Australian Revolution can deliver these promises it will have been worth the sacrifices it called for.

Notes to the pamphlet.

1. It is a legal textbook truth that trials under British "Justice" are exercises in proving or disproving whether the prosecution has a "case". Judges and prominent commentators recognise that the truth may never be found. This "CANT" which lies at the basis of British Justice is ridiculed in Europe.

2. By this is meant the excesses of the French Revolution and the collapse of the traditional foci of popular loyalty and authority. The search for "freedom" was a result of this period; it is debatable whether freedom resulted or tyrannies emerged.

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# **Anti-Racial Vilification Legislation: An Authoritarian Response To Criticism Of Immigration/Multicultural Policy**

**by Jim Saleam**

**October 1995**

On August 30 1995, the Federal Government accepted Senatorial amendments to its Racial Hatred Bill. As a result the amended Racial Discrimination Act (1975) permitted the "victims" of racial vilification to affect civil penalties against their persecutors. The Federal initiative was the product of some twelve years of lobbying and activism which had already brought results in most of the States; the achievement could be cited as a revolutionary political development.

There exists a sizeable activist bureaucracy dedicated to the political application of Human Rights ideology; this State activism has been endorsed, supported and developed by a vociferous academic group. Particular interest groups, from police agencies, business forums and ethnic spokesman, have focused together in action to create a climate of opinion supportive of "Anti-Racial Vilification Legislation" (hereafter: ARVL). Opposition to "racial discrimination" has been a key symbol of this mobilization.

This paper queries whether:

a) State "anti-racism" has proceeded to the point where an authoritarian repressive solution has been advanced to the perceived problem of racial vilification and violence in Australian society; and if b) there is a connection between ARVL (and related "anti-racist" strategies) and definable political, ethic and economic forces which have goals outside of the enlightened Human Rights liberal programme.

In this discussion, various agendas in operation are assessed in relation to ARVL. In some cases it appears the liberal protagonists of ARVL are in tandem with interests which have little commitment to the other planks of the "Human Rights" platform and this relationship casts a shadow over the motives for ARVL and raises concerns as to its future operation.

This paper confronts one other problem. In any discussion of State policy some material cannot be publicly known; certain lines of internal debate cannot be determined. The researcher is left with traces of evidence, impressions and stray facts. Conspiracy theories are unfashionable although conspiracies occur; in this case ARVL, if viewed in its context could be viewed as the fruit of a concerted effort, although points of linkage between the actors are often obscured. What follows does not suggest that every advocate of ARVL has pushed a secret agenda, nor that every aspect of the logic for ARVL is flawed on its own account. However, ARVL is criticised within a particular political-economic context; generally it is regarded as a dangerous attack upon civil liberties in Australia possessed of ulterior objectives.

## **BACKGROUND**

There is a problem of definition of Orwellian proportions in this debate.

ARVL advocates have asserted that United Nations "Conventions" (and European Parliament pronouncements) upon racial vilification have a quasi-legal and moral standing in Australia. (1) The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination has been touted by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) as a model for Australian law. Article 4 condemns:

"all propaganda and all organisations which are based on ideas or theories of superiority of one race or group of persons of one colour or ethnic origin or which attempt to justify or promote racial hatred and discrimination in any form and undertake to adopt immediate and positive measures disguised to eradicate all incitement to, or acts of, such discrimination".

In his Second Reading Speech on the need for a Racial Discrimination Legislation Amendment Bill (1992), Attorney General Michael Duffy asserted Australia had an "obligation" to give legislative force to this Convention so as to curtail "extremist organisations" and "serious" public acts to the detriment of certain minorities (2) The logic was not concealed; the "extremist" organisations (i.e., those of any significance) could only have been Australian National Action (ANA) and the Australian League of Rights and the public acts would be demonstrations or public meetings.

The HREOC has also written favourably of European Parliament pronouncements of similar quality. The European Parliament (June 11 1986) issued a Declaration Against Racism and Xenophobia passed a Resolution on the Fight Against Racism and Xenophobia (May 29 1990) and created a Declaration on Racism and Xenophobia (December 29 1991); these 'enactments' advocated an array of legislative, educational and coercive measures to overcome "incitement to hatred and violence" against migrants to the European Economic Community. (3) Most European governments have enacted laws upon these predications. However, it appears that it is not disaffected youths, violent skinheads or foul-mouthed members of racist sects who have

been the systematic targets of such laws. Rather, regular targets have been nationalist political parties and their officers - National Front (France), Republican Party (Germany), Flemish Bloc (Belgium), Centre Party (Holland) and similar Extreme-Right parties. The European legislation and pronouncements may mix terminology ("racism", "xenophobia") and define such entities as expressions of hatred and intolerance; however the intent has been to blunt criticism of the growth of Third World communities in Europe and restrict the expansion of parties which could capitalise upon concern at this trend. (4) Although the European legislation has generally been a failure, Australian observers have not been deterred. Rather, the European experience has been studied closely for lessons and arguments.

Two anomalies in the discussion are noticeable. Firstly, there is an assumption made by proponents of ARVL that criticism of immigration into European societies (including Australia) is "racism" and that racist ideology as expressed in any racist sect (e.g. by neo-Nazi groups in Germany) must also motivate the leaders of the "nationalist" parties. Secondly, whilst there are major organisations of the "Extreme Right" in Europe (as mentioned), the same cannot have been said for Australia in 1995. Australian ARVL might therefore have been "pre-emptive" in character; while some "racist violence" may have existed along with some grouplets which are labelled "racist", there were only tentative signs in 1995 that any anti-immigration party could advance beyond the margins. "Hate organisations" were/are inconsequential and eschewed by Extreme Right groups.

## **THE NATIONAL INQUIRY INTO RACIST VIOLENCE**

The HREOC is itself in an anomalous position, it is a mechanism for the enforcement of particular legislation and has been an active lobby for the adoption of "anti-racist" strategies including ARVL. The Commission can also serve to engender a moral-political climate to sustain ARVL; it may be fair to say that it has done so. In 1988, HREOC Race Discrimination Commissioner Irene Moss announced the National Inquiry into Racist Violence; the fruit of this Inquiry was a weighty Report published in 1991. Moss chaired the Inquiry.

Moss, who is of Chinese ethnic origin, could not be considered as an unbiased investigator. Moss has said:

... estimates are that Asians will comprise 7 per cent of Australia's population by 2020. This growth is magnifying the visibility of Asian Australians ... it is part of a broad Asianising of Australia as we recognise that our future lies in Asia. (5)

Moss's figures were false and misleading.' However, given that Moss could scarcely sympathise with any criticism of "Asianisation", a question could be raised as to the integrity of the Inquiry. Indeed, before the Report was published, Moss wrote material about its processes and the collected evidence in *Without Prejudice*, a Zionist publication dedicated to the enactment of ARVL. (6)

In contradiction to Moss some experts like Bob Birrell have predicted a 20 per cent Asian population by 2020. Birrell would be more reliable than Irene Moss. Media misrepresentation of the numbers of persons of Asian origin in Australia has regularly taken place.

A Federal Attorney General's document said of the 1992 ARVL said of the ARVL proposal:

"The legislation largely stems from the findings and recommendations of a National Inquiry into Racist Violence ... (and) was motivated by a widespread community perception that racist attacks both verbal and physical were on the increase. During 1988, a number of church and community leaders and other prominent anti-racists were subjected to what seemed to be a well-organised campaign to intimidate and deter them ..." (7)

This "campaign", if it existed, was largely ascribed (by innuendo and indirect allegation) to Australian National Action in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide; an implication was made that the present writer was involved in this campaign. Whilst the denials of the accused do not necessarily carry much evidentiary weight, they were made to the Inquiry.(8) It can be shown that some of the Sydney incidents nominated as expressions of racist violence could have been the labour of a neo-Nazi cell of the Australian Nationalists Movement (ANM) which was an organisation certainly involved in Perth in semi-serious violence in 1988-89. However, this cell may have had a provocateur quality in that an informer-connection was later proved between its NSW "leader" and the Police "Special Branch" (9) Even so, the violence which prompted the establishment of the National Inquiry was directed at liberal "anti-racists" and not at migrants or citizens of non-European origin. Of course, any such violence, whether part of a "campaign" or otherwise, may be blameworthy; nonetheless to predicate an Inquiry into racist violence upon the existence of violence directed at Australians by other Australians, was a curiosity. A putative campaign of violence aimed at Australian liberals would suggest a political struggle in operation between a radical force and an element of society which worked in favour of a State 'policy'. It may be the Inquiry's existence was partly an ideological statement in support of open-immigration multiculturalism.

Indeed, Duffy's pronouncements (1992) would indicate that ARVL was not simply about the harmonisation of Australian race-relations but about a political struggle over national identity. He said:

Australia is a multicultural society. Its survival as a multicultural society demands that communities ... live in peace and harmony. Inciting hatred and hostility against sections of the community is an affront .." (10)

It cannot be denied that any struggle over Australian national identity, over the position of Australia vis--vis "Asia" (such a "campaign" would cover not only foreign policy issues, economic questions and immigration) could only place the strident "critics" (who are best described "nationalists" since this term implies sovereignty and a definable sense of identity) in a

position where some "affront" must be caused. However, the essential issue would remain the political contention between the two sides of the "debate" (i.e. State and the Nationalists); there would be an absence of intention to create tensions.

An analysis of the Report of the National Inquiry is necessary that the campaign for national (Federal and State) ARVL be understood. This Report was a gem for what it implied and threatened; it may be the quintessential document of the ARVL debate.

(i) The Report began by referring to HREOC as a product of legislation pursuant to Australia's "international obligations" and noted various measures already undertaken to eliminate "Racial Discrimination". It reviewed ARVL proposals in the context of Commonwealth Crimes Act provisions on "sedition" but concluded this Act was unsuitable for the purpose; the Report maintained the definition of sedition had an "excessively wide application to curb political expression". However, the Report did observe various State laws on "violent disorder" and "affray" were available to deal with particular political displays of racist sentiment." (11)

Some conclusions follow:

\* HREOC likened "racism" to a sort of political crime otherwise the discussion of the (flawed-for-the-purpose) Commonwealth Crimes Act could not have occurred.

\* HREOC did not consider "racism" any form of legitimate political viewpoint.

Allowing the definition of racism to be that established by the United Nations Convention quoted above, such reactions would have some collateral moral merit; however it would be open to dispute if racist organisations have any strength or presence in Australia. Other than some members within ANM (1985-90), a couple of minor Skinhead fractions, a crank "Nazi" party and some individual bigots, no serious racist organisations were known to the author during the previous period. However without doubt the definition is, for every interest group, elastic - which is a serious problem.

All the foregoing notwithstanding, the Report was clear that organised racism was the enemy. The issue is whether HREOC was actually more concerned with opponents of immigration (specifically non-European immigration) and advocates of some sort of Australian Nationalism than with "racism" as by definition established. Certainly HREOC has ignored real divisions in 'multicultural Australia' and pursued only native-Australian organisations which it has attained to the moral obloquy of racism. (12)

(ii) The Report developed themes of violence and discrimination directed at Aborigines. (Significantly, no political organisation was cited for such present day conduct.) There was one central fault in the rendition of this victimisation.

If Australia's future is "Asian", as the Report suggested, the place of a structured "Land Rights" allocation was not defined; the place of Aborigines in the new order was not explained. It is most unlikely that the Pacific Rim Economic Order (PACRIM) could offer much in the resolution of justified Aboriginal grievances against "White" Australia; the notion that Aboriginal Land Rights could be protected by a State which has abrogated its independence to PACRIM may be a dangerous fiction. As the pattern of demographic and economic Asianisation proceeds apace, Aboriginal Australia may be faced with a new (and perhaps 'fatal') challenge. The authors of the Report reasonably knew all of this. Graeme Campbell's conclusion that references in the Report to anti-Aboriginal racism served as type of propaganda designed to induce "white guilt" and to delegitimise the European State has some validity. (13)

Ironically then, the Report was a racist document.

(iii) The Report analysed the public distribution of material which was supposedly "racist". It said:

"Witnesses stated that constantly seeing posters and graffiti made them feel unwelcome and dispossessed in Australia (141); and ... the existence of an environment in which members of minority groups felt under threat from unidentified and probably unidentifiable assailants is likely to lead to both psychological stress if not damage and to a defensive attitude which enhances the probability of violence (150).

The Inquiry gathered the testimony of a few "witnesses" to formally establish this point. The Report did not call for Australian ratification of the Genocide Convention which cites "mental harm" inflicted upon a minority as an element of genocide, however it raised this theme. How psychological damage could be assessed reliably was not explained. Nonetheless, the implication stood that certain "racist" material was a moral-evil and an effective-evil which had no remedy.

Officially, this issue is much of the *raison d'être* of ARVL. The problems ARVL is meant to address could be summarised as: i) injured dignity; ii) personal anguish; iii) dissemination of group-libels which demean collective character; iv) stereotyping or group-imputation which would serve to incite persons to acts of violence; and v) creation of fear and alienation in target communities.

Particular types of "racist literature", it is conceded, could on occasions achieve any number of the wrongs cited (although assessing the degree of "harm" would always be problematical). It would not be conceded all persons collectively libelled would feel "vilified"; it would be difficult to know if some cases where a truthful exposition of a wrong might yield to opportunistic allegation. With these qualifications there would be for example grounds to consider motivation in the sentencing of an offender for property damage or assault, if the crime was one which arose merely out of "racial" considerations; as a factor in sentencing it would be a

powerful one. However, ARVL implies a separate legal recourse.

The author has examined the ARVL logic in the process of composing academic material on the politics of the 'Right' in Britain and in America. For one, the UK Race Relations Act has certainly dealt with offenders who vilify; some persons set out to vilify and enjoy doing it. There is an element of the psychological - and hence ARVL is, without pejorative, thought-crime legislation.

The type of "racism" decried is an entity difficult to expiate. Unemployed, impoverished, marginal, alienated lumpenproletarian youth are not likely to modify their slurs, crude graffiti or violence because of the ARVL sanction. Even a criminal prosecution would give their victim(s) only the relief of - the imprisonment of the offender (a sanction available under criminal law). Nor would autodidactic publishers of group libels be deterred from continuing to publish; their own intellectual stupidity would drive them on. Other examples could be rendered. These objections to ARVL have been explained throughout the theoretical contributions of both the pro and contra lobbies. There is an element of futility in the construct. While this paper would dispute the amount of such vilification (it is not widespread and could be theoretically "treated") it is actually not capable of easy counteraction. Symbolic ARVL would not assist every "victim" of vilification or "racist crime". Powerful lobbies are more likely to monopolise the complaints system - which would distort the supposed purpose of ARVL. They would decide what material was "offensive".

Lastly, it was likely that the material condemned at the Inquiry was not generally 'racist' material, but material pillorying Asianisation. Whilst some "racist" material has certainly been issued until even recently, it has not enjoyed wide public circulation. The fair conclusion would be that the National Inquiry deliberately cast the allegation of racism upon criticism of immigration-multiculturalism and economic-political Asianisation.

(iv) The Report strongly implied that discussion of public interest topics needed some control:

"... racist violence is particularly linked to debate about the ethnic composition of Australia, immigration policy or the economy. Ethnic community organisations maintain that when issues such as foreign investment, immigration and multiculturalism receive extensive media coverage ... they can expect an upsurge in racist violence ... (21. ... The role of organised racism is essentially one of inciting and maintaining prejudice ..." (221).

It is to be noted that the Federal ARVL does not penalise public interest discussion of immigration/multiculturalism issues. However, the Report's logic contained a recipe for information-control; this may suggest something negative about the character of HREOC. Given that the National Inquiry produced recommendations for the policing of the media, the authoritarian cast of mind is demonstrated. This policing can proceed by "regulation" and "policy guidelines".

(v) The Report maintained:

"The activities of racist groups, some of which have resulted in prosecutions, show a clear connection between racist propaganda and racist violence (388)."

It is conceded that in particular cases this could be demonstrated or be inferentially reasonable. The case of the ANM would establish the proposition. The ANM Perth campaign of Chinese restaurant burnings was based upon *The Turner Diaries*, a work of racist fiction from the United States. However, other racist and anti-immigration propaganda has not produced any similar result. One or two cases cannot establish a general rule and the notion that "propaganda leads to violence" may admit to vicarious liability. (14) The issue is a broad one. The National Inquiry ignored the Constitutional and other free speech issues arising from the High Court of Australia judgment on the Communist Party (Dissolution) Bill 1950-1951. If there was any link between Marxist theory on the state and revolution and political violence and sedition, Australia disavowed suppression of the free discussion of ideology as a means to overcome violent and subversive elements. Nonetheless, HREOC has not resiled from its position since the Inquiry; hence when, in 1993, the High Court determined an implied right to freedom of expression resided in the Constitution, it raised a barrier to the enforcement of ARVL. (15) But HREOC has been silent.

There may occur the ultimate irony in the enforcement of Federal and State ARVL. The legislation may call calumny upon fringe racist crankery while political expressions of "nationalism" may escape the net. Environmentalist anti-immigration parties such as *Australians Against Further Immigration and Reclaim Australia* (which also criticised Asianisation) escaped prosecution in the period through to 1998. So far the various State ARVL has not produced a prosecution where Constitutional arguments could be involved.

(vi) The Report envisaged a comprehensive strategy to curtail "organised racism" through integrative social-police methods. Firstly it quoted approvingly the UK (1989) Report of the Interdepartmental Racial Attack Group:

".. one agency, usually the police, should take the lead in establishing multi-agency groups ... represent(ing) education, social services and housing departments of the local authority, involve community organisations and be chaired by someone independent (247).

Secondly, it argued:

".. that higher priority needs to be given by police and intelligence agencies to the investigation of racially motivated offences. This would encompass both the activities of organised racist groups and sporadic incidents of racist violence (316).

Thirdly, it demanded:

"... police training should include appropriate education in cultural issues (330) (with the) ... screening ... (of) ... new recruits (331) ... and ... (with the appropriate anti-racist attitude being one of the) ... prerequisites for promotion ... (333). (16)

The proposal was clearly for a sanitised anti-racist police force involved in the close investigation not only of crimes of "racist" motivation but of political organisations on a community level; such police would oversee the establishment of new social-political structures to 'combat' as well as "monitor" racism. Whether Australians would sanction such a role for police is problematical, but the blandness of these declamations is disturbing. HREOC clearly favoured the foundation of a new order of political surveillance and control; those "ad hoc" forces currently in the field against "racism", and other existing structures, would be centralised, formalised, empowered and funded.

ARVL on its own account should not be assessed for its credibility outside of a consideration of these questions; indeed, the HREOC raised these matters in the document which lay at the base of the 1992 and 1995 ARVL Federal proposals.

(vii) The Report did not disregard the instruction of Australian youth. It said schools presented:

"... unparalleled opportunities for developing anti-racist strategies (346) (where) ... multicultural and anti-racist education ... (can occur) ... (Indeed) ... each campus or education centre requires an anti-racist policy (352)."

It was also suggested:

"Some education courses are important to any wider action against racism ... (and) ... should all incorporate core units in cross cultural studies and anti-racist strategies ... (353)."

Without overstatement, HREOC was advocating the politicisation of Australian education; perhaps the Commission desired Australian students to be taught to accept that Asianisation was a praiseworthy course for Australia. This is stated in the knowledge that HREOC confuses (albeit: consciously) racism with opposition to Asianisation. (At the least HREOC was in favour of propaganda in favour of multiculturalism, a policy which has critics even in academic circles.) Such strategies and courses now exist.

(viii) The Report did not neglect infiltrating youth subcultures either:

"... specific strategies could be linked with ... the growth of an urban youth culture for whom particular forms of music, dance and style may be more important bases of identity and friendship than presumed race or ethnicity (383)."

HREOC was probably cognizant of organisations such as the Anti-Nazi League (Britain) and SOS Racisme (France). These bodies link indirectly with establishment parties and media and employ the strategy indicated. They unite urban alienated youth across racial lines; these bodies are counter-criticised on the basis that they animate decultured youth. (17) It appears HREOC was advocating the organisation of specific youth subcultures into a generalised anti-racist mobilisation; some of these subcultures may themselves be antisocial in character. ARVL would thus be buttressed by mass-pressure, irregular, structures. (Some trace evidence may suggest this 'process' is under way.)

(ix) The Report advocated the use of mass-media for "anti-racist" education. It was noted the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal and the Australian Journalists' Association enforced codes of ethics against racist-reporting (366-7). It was recommended that awareness of cultural and inter-racial issues be included in cadet journalists' training (372). Perhaps these "new" journalists would thence report and interpret the news in ways favourable to State policy and, as noted above, avoiding issues which fuel 'racism'. (18) In such a system the public would receive 'managed' news. Indeed, the Report urged:

"Broad based public information campaigns using the print and electronic media can be a useful part of a strategy to influence peoples behaviour and attitudes (380)."

The Report did not explain how such campaigns would be organised; none- theless HREOC must have understood that either itself or some related agency would be required. While various methods to influence "people's behaviour" have been noted by the author in recent years ("multi-racial advertising" "We are Australian" and others), no agency seems to manipulate such processes.

It may be reasonable to conclude that ARVL is the bludgeon for those who fail to think correctly.

(x) Local Government was also to be mobilised (and some evidence would be available to indicate it has been):

"Their attitude to racist posters and graffiti and their public commitment to all residents can affect the whole climate of an area (377)." Councils could bolster unresourced community organisations with their "wealth of knowledge" of racist violence".

The Report suggested Councils sponsor "area Committees". "Schools may be the best focus for coordinating committees" (378).

The phrase a wealth of knowledge could have dual meaning; given HREOC's scheme that police become involved in local community anti-racist structures, a question arises as to whether a local-

informer network akin to Neighbourhood Watch was not flagged. In the contrived environment of antiracist correctness, social acceptability (and advancement?) this could easily develop. Informing of any description would be reprehensible. A taste of the programme was informally developed in 1988-89 with a Sydney Community Alert Against Racism and Violence. Posters appeared in inner-Sydney calling upon people to report "racists" to police if a suspicion existed persons were engaged in property damage against "antiracists". A thin-line separates reporting crime - to naming suspect people. Informers could also recruit complainants who may then enmesh persons in the ARVL penalty process.

ARVL was linked by HREOC to a local programme of action; the debate should concern a political system of control of thought and deed. Some general conclusions can be advanced. Firstly, no commentator has drawn the parallel between the National Inquiry into Racist Violence and the "Petrov Commission" and the Victorian "Royal Commission on Communism". Similar processes of vilification operated; similar moral judgments were passed against the evil of the day. While it cannot be denied some racist violence was detected by the Inquiry, its measure was overstated. The ANM case (which came to light during the Inquiry) shows that police-intelligence methods were effective in destroying ANM. ARVL could not have achieved any similar result. ARVL would not have deterred ANM violence. So, what was the point?

The National Inquiry not only envisaged the passage of ARVL but the establishment of a new system to manage Australian race relations. The patchy collection of evidence on violence and vilification (with the exception of ANM and a couple of National Action incidents) could not sustain the thesis that Australia was in that period a society plagued by generalised violence and rancorous hatreds and group libels. There was a McCarthyist-type hysteria at the Inquiry which demanded racism be found everywhere.

This may have partly arisen from the input of a mass of anti-racist activists. A tangled network of groups - People Against Racism, Community Alert Against Racism and Violence, Anti-Apartheid Movement, Campaign Against Racist Exploitation - were involved. In the period 1988-89, these persons were reputedly the victims of that violence which justified the establishment of the Inquiry. (19) The Report recommended (but it failed to be implemented) that such persons be protected by Federal ARVL. It is yet to be verified that those persons will be empowered by either State or Federal ARVL to staff "area committees", assess the operation of "racists", report racist violence and recruit complainants.

The National Inquiry conceived ARVL as only one link in a chain. However, the observer is left to ponder whether the new order is to be established because of a perceived need or because there was always an overriding agenda quite separate from whatever quantity of violence and vilification was actually in existence. Cranky publications may "upset" but can be ignored; localised violence could be dealt with by energetic police. Political violence is the province of special agencies. It seems demonstrated ARVL is not really about racism but primarily about political opposition to economic, political and cultural Asianisation; it is desired the opposition

be prosecuted for a crime it does not commit such that favour be earned from elsewhere. The Report confirmed this argument. It quoted Ross Garnaut's *The North-East Asian Economic Ascendancy* (1989) with fervour and favour. The Report discussed Australian economic advancement through integration with Asia: "These positive achievements are only possible in a society which disavows racism and racist violence" (225). (20) If this is the bottom line, ARVL was the result of a "conspiracy", howsoever the desired result was procured.

## **THE POLITICAL CHARACTER OF ARVL: SOME HISTORICAL COMPONENTS**

The debate on Federal ARVL began in 1973 with Al Grassby's proposal for a Racial Discrimination Act which would have created offences of incitement to discrimination and hatred. The Liberal Senate amended the Bill and the Act was proclaimed devoid of such provisions. Transient propaganda concerning the "outlawing of racism" surfaced occasionally until the Blainey Debate on immigration (1984) drew the issue into the public arena.

In 1983, the Human Rights Commission had discussed "anti-semitic" propaganda and this internal debate intensified over the furore surrounding Professor Blainey's criticism of immigration-multiculturalism. Majority community support favoured Blainey. The HRC replied with the Proposal for Amendment to the Racial Discrimination Act to Cover Incitement to Racial Hatred and Vilification (1984).

This document was a major position statement. It urged that jury trials for two projected offences (incitement and vilification) should be avoided since juries may "sympathise" with the racists' case. (21) A Star Chamber logic affected this document; the Commission sought to "try" such cases (under the present Federal ARVL, HREOC will conciliate the current contenders and award civil penalties) which would probably have precluded procedural fairness. An examination of this Proposal reveals a lack of tangible cause for ARVL; again, it had the pre-emptive quality. (The later National Inquiry might therefore be seen as the eventual mechanism to "find" the cause.)

The push for State ARVL in Western Australia and New South Wales directly arose from the activities of ANM and National Action. Pierre James commented:

".. the Law Reform Commission of WA was asked by the Attorney-General in November 1988 to investigate possible changes to the law ... to deter acts which incite racial hatred. This was in response to the activities of the Australian Nationalists Movement (ANM) which had been placing racist posters and printing over signs ... (in) Perth ... a very important aspect of ARVL is its symbolism ... a direct attack on racist organisations . . (designed to) ... create a social norm which ... most people will conform to." (22)

Some of the ANM material was, by any standard, offensive; some of the material was rational criticism of immigration-multiculturalism and designed by persons who may have not endorsed

the idiosyncratic opinions of the leader of the organisation, Jack van Tongeren. ANM however had little actual community support and perhaps only one hundred supporters across Australia. The reaction was an over-reaction. The ANM violence, however, appeared to justify the contentions asserted against it (further below).

Meanwhile, the NSW debate ginged after December 1988 when a (Chinese) Liberal Member of Parliament was heckled at a semi-private Party function by members of NA. There was a strong indication that the 1989 NSW ARVL was a public order consideration arising from this and similar National Action incidents. (23) The degree of "criminality" was minor.

Whilst NA's support was greater than ANM's and the organisation more sophisticated, it was greeted with some hysteria. Taken together, neither NA nor ANM were sufficiently strong entities to warrant special legislation for their effective suppression. This never excluded it as a target for supporters of ARVL. Quite the contrary. NA was an increasingly effective propaganda organisation which warranted suppression on that account alone.

The various State ARVL enactments (Western Australia, Queensland, NSW and South Australia soon to follow) generally created the two categories of offence: incitement to racial hatred and discrimination and an offence of vilification where persons are held up to serious contempt. The first offence being also criminal would proceed only by direction of an Attorney-General.

James added:

"There is a danger that the consent of the government to such trials may indeed politicise this aspect of the judicial process, raising questions as to the true motivation of the government. In England, the Attorney-General has been accused of bias in deciding whether or not to prosecute for what is often a quasipolitical offence." (24)

Setting aside any prosecutions of eccentrics or malcontents, major prosecutions could only really be brought against members of political organisations. Politicisation of the prosecutorial process would be inevitable; allowing this was certain, it could be queried whether ARVL proponents accepted that as the purpose in hand.

The brief overview of the emergence of some State ARVLs reveals that it was political legislation. The review of the National Inquiry Report also suggests Federal ARVL arose from political considerations around "organised racism". The "criminalisation" of political conduct should be the substantive issue of public discussion (rather than a debate over "hurt feelings" and "libels"). The "sources" for the ARVL mobilisation should demonstrate this in practise.

#### **FOUR PILLARS OF AUSTRALIAN ARVL**

The State enactments of ARVL and the National Inquiry took place in a special political

environment which was indicative of a concerted offensive. From 1984 when the Proposal appeared until the 1989-90 National Inquiry the tempo of Asianisation had intensified and some resistance had unfolded. It appeared that a political struggle had begun over those questions; there was substantial public contention. The debate on Australia's future is continuing.

ARVL cannot exist in a vacuum; nor could the pressure for its adoption have been simply the agitation of liberals ensconced in HREOC and "victims" directly and through their agents. This paper detects four groups which laid the basis for the adoption of ARVL. Each of these forces has been positive towards economic Asianisation; each has opposed "racist" organisations; each has operated as a representative of power and legitimacy (this paper will deal with class, state and power below) in a liberal society.

### **a) Political Police**

Of course, political police have existed long before the period under review. However, with the wind-down of the Cold War, the function of such agencies has been publicly reassessed. The Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) redefined its role in its Report to Parliament (1991): ... (to) develop and execute the Organisation's intelligence collection and analysis effort against ... those activities in Australia relating to acts or threats of violence or other unlawful harm to pursue political objectives ... (to) reduce as far as possible within the scope of ASIO's legislation the level of any identified threat. (25)

ASIO Director General, David Sadlier, said of the "racist Right" (1993):

"Generally, these groups are liable to remain small and politically isolated though we shall need to keep a close watch on them so long as unemployment offers recruits from angry and alienated youth and our universally based immigration policy provides a grindstone for prejudice." (26)

ASIO played a role in the suppression of ANM once it was suspected of, then connected to, arson and other politically motivated violence. That Premier Brian Bourke toured Asia to reassure investors the ANM campaign was contained indicated State concern. ASIO's writ to act would likely have been exercised because damage to trade and investment through violence was "sabotage". Premier Dowding also used strident language about ANM (27) and urged legislative and police action to ensure the ANM was not revived. Some strands of evidence and reasonable reference suggest ASIO formulated a programme to destabilise and undermine ANM (and National Action) some time in late 1988. (28) Once police obtained evidence of criminal ANM conduct, ASIO acted to streamline police efforts to a successful outcome. It might also be the case that an informant, code-named CC18 by the NSW Police Royal Commission, provided information on ANM's involvement in the restaurant arsons some time before another informant was obtained to provide court-room evidence. If CC18 gave earlier evidence, it suggests ASIO was not beyond allowing "racist crime" if it served the higher result.

ASIO meanwhile worked with NSW Police Special Branch (which was working with the anti-racists who were linked to the National Inquiry) to initiate and sustain prosecution against NA members.(29) ASIO later said it:

"... increased effort under the Politically Motivated Violence Programme ... to maintain coverage of the activities of Australian right-wing racist groups with a proven history of violence ... During 1990-91, ASIO achieved considerable operational success against violent racist right groups ... (with) ... the arrests of members ... concluding intensive investigations with police."  
(30)

Special Branch "briefings" of NSW Cabinet Ministers probably played a role in encouraging the passage of ARVL in June 1989 (31) In this way, the integration of Intelligence, police action and legislative process, the prescription for a broad anti-racist effort per the Report, was actually anticipated eighteen months before the tabling of that document in Federal Parliament. This could not really be accidental.

Noam Chomsky argued that whilst Western liberal-democracies seldom murder their political opponents, they are adept at the management of the opposition. (32) Political police are a vital feature of the system. The Australian method appears to have become a politicised Northern Ireland model: surveillance of "targets", information collection-assessment, special harassment programmes, legal actions against radical leaders, physical-violence intimidation, support for legislative sanctions, supergrass witnesses, infiltration of target organisations, support for provocateur organisations and disinformation campaigns. Britain's Special Branch/MI-5 has applied such tactics to mainland Britain as tactics for dealing with the Extreme Right (1984-90) with some success. (33)

Given the broad similarities of applied method and the special relationship of Australian and British intelligence forces, a transfer programme has probably occurred. (34) The Report's references to area committees and local surveillance also has a Northern Ireland odour; the recommendations of the Report for the effective ghettoisation of political-racism and the willingness investigation thereof, is suggestive of a special input into the National Inquiry or other HREOC deliberations.

This paper would reject the confluence of HREOC and political police prescription for the anti-racist fight, being the result of osmosis. The work of political-police in "proving" the existence of racist-Right violence was a justification for ARVL in 1988-91; such agencies have continued their labours into the present. Political police would necessarily view ARVL as a weapon of control over a particular form of dissent.

### **(b) Australian Capitalism: Business Lobbies and the Political Economy of ARVL**

Economic force has produced an array of public policy advocates and other persuasion agencies,

on the issue of multiculturalism-immigration, far stronger than critics of Asianisation. (35) Australia's immigration policy in the 1980s was a plaything of business. The Committee for the Economic Development of Australia (CEDA) 1985 Report, The Economic Effects Of Immigration On Australia, served as the basis of national immigration policy for 1985-7. (36) CEDA, which is more than a think tank but less than a party of Big Business, has generally asserted that Australia's progress in PACRIM is served by immigration from the region; CEDA's corporate membership is a who's-who in Australian capitalism. One CEDA member, Phil Ruthven, has called for massive migrant intakes - to "Asianise Australia". A CEDA connected New Right think tank writer, John Hyde, said:

". . . there are two good reasons to increase Australia's population density by accepting more ... (migrants) ... Immigration is likely to improve the functioning of the economy, particularly if the newcomers do not come from a unionised workforce." (37) )

Ross Garnaut's CEDA-sponsored The North-East Asian Economic Ascendency was adopted by the Federal Government as a mandate for 1990's economic development. This document (as above) inspired the National Inquiry. Significantly perhaps, CEDA member, Macquarie Bank Director John Moss, was (is) the husband of Irene Moss. (Macquarie Bank has issued material lauding Garnaut's thesis.) Interestingly also, CEDA writer Professor John Niland was (is) the husband of former NSW Anti-Discrimination Board President Carmel Niland - another supporter of ARVL. Whilst these points should not be overdrawn they suggest linkage of various agencies in the ARVL debate.

CEDA's "vision" is one of an Australia open to Asian trade, immigration and investment; deregulation of the economy is a moral imperative. Professor Wheelwright's criticism of 1980's Australian capitalism was one involving an assessment of internationalisation-rationalisation and its link to attacks on labour rights and civil rights. (38) Australian capitalism would remake the country a merchant's republic attuned to Asian development needs. This unconcealed programme has been endorsed by commentators as diverse as Gerard Henderson (who has called, since 1989, for political police resources to fight racism and for ARVL) to William Keys (the ex-RSL President who operated a Korean contract labour company) who demanded a public commitment in the fight against "racism". (39)

The Wheelwright critique may be capable of logical extension to ARVL. Breaking militant unions and smashing "racist" organisations implies no great moral leap. It should also be remarked that dominant liberal-capitalist open borders-free trade principles were espoused by vociferous media throughout the 1980s; hysterical abuse of various critics of immigration/multiculturalism ensued.(40) This abuse needed no HREOC advice, but approximated the admonitions of the Report. The independence of media under capitalism has been questioned by various studies; its line was demonstrated by CEDA journalist Peter Robinson who asked in 1978 "do we sincerely wish to be rich or white?" (41)- a theme continually developed thereafter. In 1988, many media outlets took up the themes of racist

violence and reported on the martyrdom of those anti-racist activists victimised by racist violence. These themes have also been developed in Adelaide (1994-5) concerning National Action demonstrations and the "need" for restrictive ARVL.

This paper does not argue a mechanistic-materialistic relationship exists between the political requirements of capitalism and ARVL. Nonetheless, capitalism has a Gramscian ideological hegemony the political process is one attuned to the sustenance of this economic order; government agencies develop policies to ensure the best operation of the free-market Asianising system. Marx's prescription, "the modern state is an executive committee for the management of the common affairs of the bourgeoisie", neatly applies to the Australian State. Either we assume HREOC's "creation-logic" for ARVL involved an independent process based upon the input of objective community groups or aggrieved individuals or we should conclude ARVL was a response to the requirements of dominant social-economic forces; logic inclines to the latter position.

### **(c) The Zionist Intervention.**

The major ethnic player in the ARVL debate has been the "Zionist lobby". Various representations were made to the National Inquiry by Zionist spokesmen (1989). Zionists marshalled some "ethnic leaders" to complain of racism and -libel. The intervention became heavyweight in 1994, when a major Prime Ministerial statement in favour of ARVL was made before the Zionist Federation of Australia. Immigration Minister, Senator Bolkus, also told the meeting:

"Some Australians have not had direct experience of racial hatred. Many in this room have families who have perished as a result of it." (42)

Although the United States achieved (purchased?) the rescinding of the United Nations Resolution which equated Zionism with racism (1991), doubts would certainly exist in Australia's Middle Eastern communities as to the credentials of the Zionists as non-racists. Islamic communities seem not to favour ARVL (43) The pitch of the Zionists and the acceptance of Zionist impact includes an element of the absurd: there is no anti-semitism in Australia. This is not to say that some anti-Jewish incidents did not occur in the 1980s, around the time of the Gulf War and so forth; nor does it exclude the occasional distribution of anti-Jewish texts and the episodic pasting of offensive posters (as ANM did, and skinheads do, on various occasions). However, anti-semitism is an assayable entity.

Anti-semitism could only be defined historically as a social-cultural movement against Jewry. In that way, anti-semitic platforms in Russia, Poland, Germany and France (1880-1945) could be assayed. However, to defend the Federal ARVL proposal with a contention anti-semitism of a genocidal nature existed at a time and place outside of Australia - and that anti-racist legislation could prevent it again (or atone for it) would demonstrate that ARVL has no intellectual

credibility. An untutored mind may make the leap in logic; an academic analysis could not concede the point.

The Zionist interest in ARVL was endorsed by fanfare. There were concerns directed at the "historical revisionist movement" (which denies the historical basis of the Holocaust), criticism of Israel and worries of some fringe anti-Jewish hate propaganda (which commands no public acceptance). (44) There may also be a general Zionist suspicion of Nationalist movements, whereby it is imagined somehow that the extreme Right is "neo-nazi", although a long bow would have to be drawn to establish that point.

Zionist pressure for ARVL has been intense over the last years; however there is hypocrisy. Isi Liebler, President of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, commented:

"Intermarriage rates of Jews across the world are astonishing and communities must take steps to stem the tide (of assimilation) which is fast approaching" (45)

In his The Israel-Diaspora Identity Crisis (1994), Liebler developed his argument to advocate forceful intra-community policies to obviate cultural-physical assimilation; Liebler would set Jewry apart from all other communities.(46) This "racist" view received no criticism from the ARVL lobby. Liebler, a leading proponent of ARVL, established two value systems: one to maintain a ghetto and another open-society ideology for consumption by the wider community. Senator John Stone and Philip Adams observed this contradiction in Australian Zionism: it was both liberal and-anti-liberal in the ARVL debate. (47) (They recognised the organised Jewish lobby as the main "ethnic" protagonist of ARVL.) Further, Liebler demonstrated the postulate that ARVL is enmeshed with a general civil liberties danger; he has previously established Zionist domestic surveillance of suspected "anti-semites" and some extreme-Right figures (the Anti-Defamation Commission}, liaised on this basis with political police agencies and propagandised against opponents. (48) Recently, Liebler aides have worked closely with David Greason, a possible provocateur who has mobilised ultra-left activists against extreme-Right groups. (49) Liebler's connections with the US "Anti-Defamation League" may also be ominous: ADL has been cited by California District Attorneys for spying and illegal activities. (ADL has also been linked to fake anti-semitic incidents.) Today, ADL style activities centre in the Australian Institute of Jewish Affairs from whence propaganda attacks are launched at a plethora of conservative and radical Right groups; the columns of Australia Israel Review are usually the medium, although Without Prejudice magazine has performed the role. AIJA was, naturally, an ARVL lobby force.

The Zionist intervention in the ARVL debate was one where a specific agenda was in motion. The involvement of Jewish organisations in "anti-racist" activities is an international phenomenon and not surprising. In Australia it may be a demographically explainable obsession set to weaken with the enfeeblement of the Holocaust generation (which is massively-over-represented in Australian Jewry), assimilationist trends and diffusing of Middle East tensions.

Disturbingly, Ron Castan, Co-Commissioner of the National Inquiry, was close to Australian-Israel Review indeed he guardedly "predicted" in its columns the general findings of the Inquiry eighteen months prior to the publishing of the Report. (50) Castan's commitment to ARVL was recorded prior to the Inquiry during his period at the Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission in the 1980s. His neutrality in the collection of evidence and its interpretation would be suspect. Castan's close relationship with other Jewish ARVL lobbyists (Colin Rubinstein and Michael Kapel) is unfortunate in that their extremism upon the subject has coloured their objectivity over several years in the assessment of alleged Extreme Right racist groups and the need for the legislation. (51) Lastly, Doron Ur, President of the Western Australian Council of Australian Jewry and Without Prejudice contributor, may have let the mask slip in 1994:

"If it was up to me, we would have a Bill to sentence all people who incite racial hatred to death". (52)

Ur's 1980's career in the Multicultural and Ethnic Affairs Commission led him to sponsor ARVL in relation to the ANM and make a submission to the National Inquiry.

It is fair to comment that prominent Zionists, given their access to political leaders, have ensured their impact was pivotal. This lobby has publicly sought to induce general community support for ARVL. Its last mobilisation in favour of "war crimes legislation" actually engendered ethnic tensions; there was a gap to bridge and not all ethnic groups were in support. The Jewish community is clearly sensitive to particular criticisms; its endorsement of ARVL may actually encourage some prejudice symbiotically creating the deplored situation. Nonetheless, "holocaust denial" has been assailed in various ways, criticism of Israel has not been historically confined to the extreme-Right and some minor anti-Jewish incidents have been dealt with by police action (i.e. synagogue damage). Sometimes "anti-anti-semitism" has gone too far, as in the July 1995 desecration of Jewish graves in Adelaide; it spurred the ARVL debate and legislation is was advanced in the State Parliament. It transpired finally that the incident which sparked parliamentary action was the labour of ordinary vandals However the media has not corrected itself for its effusive claims of anti-semitism.

The Zionist role in ARVL while strident and weighty could be a false one. The Zionist leadership appeared to be playing a complex game concerned with the maintenance of community solidarity and the preservation of its "influence" in Australian society. The Jewish community considered it was under some amorphous threat whether this was rational or otherwise; whatever agenda arose from these concerns, it was an idiosyncratic one, but its siren call was acknowledged. How the Zionists will use State/Federal ARVL may be illustrative of the themes of this paper.

#### **(d) The Liberal Intelligentsia and ARVL: An Intellectual Logic for Repression**

Australian liberal opinion has been divided about ARVL. A survey of some major newspapers

produced many editorials dismissive of ARVL in 1994. (53) The Free Speech Committee denounced the proposal, as it had the NSW legislation of 1989. (54) Peter Costello, speaking for some liberal "Liberal Party" opinion, said:

Our response will be based upon the balance between our commitment to act against people who vilify or incite violence against others on the basis of race and our concern to protect the right of free speech. (55)

However these fractious liberals would be under pressure from a more energetic and sizeable array of liberal intellectuals. Katherine Betts has located the existence of a new intellectual caste which emerged in part from the former leftist milieu; this group, now middle-aged, financially secure and internationalist, is ensconced in the Social Policy areas of universities and government. It has embraced anti-racism with vengeance, as the anvil for the reshaping of the social order. (56) Betts composed these thoughts in 1988; the caste at issue achieved its prominence upon the exegesis of anti-racism earlier that decade. Mark O'Connor of *Australians for An Ecologically Sustainable Population* described this "class":

"... as different from a traditional aristocracy in that it does not depend upon inherited wealth. Its ... is largely intellectual ... many members of this class entered the bureaucracy ... By the 1980s if racists (i.e. anti-egalitarians) had not existed, it would have been necessary for the new meritocracy to invent them." (57)

A roll call of its "representatives" would include Joan Pettman, Kay Sanders, Kath Cronin, Greg Tillet, Mary Kalantzis, Stephen Castles, Jock Collins, Andrew Markus, Andrew Jupp and Colin Tatz. Some were coruzected variously with the National Inquiry; each cited author has contributed to the trenchant criticism of Australia's historical "racist" legacy. Graeme Campbell criticised liberal intellectuals for their domination of the race debate:

"Though many instinctively know that this white guilt view is biased and unfair, they are unable to match the sophisticated assaults of people who have the resources of universities and other publicly funded bodies ... So at the very time Australian History comes to be widely studied, it is studied as a history of shame." (58)

This caste has posited the non-existence of a contemporary Australian Nationality in favour of a "multiculturalism" where diversity is the expression of singularity (!). These ideologists favour an Australian identity as a reflection of a cross-community commitment to a liberal civic culture; they have denounced the Old Australia as a creature of genocidal colonisation, anti-Asian paranoia and prejudiced assimilationist migration policies. The Report, in drawing upon the work of such persons, empowered their theoretical description of Australia; it notionally also endowed contemporary "racists" with the sins of Australia's "racist heritage". Their delegitimation would be the essential psychological political basis for ARVL.

Essentially, this "denationalisation" of Australia delegitimised the claim of Australia to independence - vis--vis "Asia" - or to a right to control its borders. The value of such an ideology to a PACRIM system would be inestimable. The intertwined relationship between the National Inquiry and such theories implied the illegitimacy of protest against immigration patterns or multiculturalism. Such intellectuals symbolise the hegemonic nature of liberal-internationalist principles in the broad Australian race debate; their labour therefore assists in placing ARVL within its context.

*Some general conclusions emerge from the discussion of these four pillars of ARVL.*

The input into the discussion of Australian race relations was/is varied; however in the actual struggle to restrict those who challenge immigrationmulticulturalism it has been political police, business, Zionists and the liberal intelligentsia who have been the most vociferous. There was a pattern of linkage of personnel, principles, and legal sanctions involved in the 1980's/1990's march to a national (Federal and State) ARVL mecharusm. ARVL could not have existed without these forces; without their input, government would have been left with the lobbying of the "victims" and occasional unpleasant harassment or violence or "libels" but no ideological and generalised justification for legislative action. Nor would a motive have existed to politicise the issue into a crusade against organised racism; the stability of the multicultural system and economic-political stability may not have been discussed without these major players.

Whatever else may be said of ARVL, it must be tainted by the means of its gestation.

### **BY WAY OF CONCLUSION: THE SECRET STATE AND ARVL**

This paper has advanced the proposition that ARVL was/is part of a broad strategy: i) to achieve the marginalisation of organisations and persons who publicly oppose Australia's "Asianisation"; and ii) to ensure the intimidation (imprisonment, penalisation) and isolation of persons who harbour such opinion. An historical overview is appropriate.

The Australian State is no newcomer to the politics of marginalisation and intimidation. Michael Cathcart detected the old Imperial Establishment of the 1920s/1930s achieved not only a cultural-ideological hegemony over its left and labour-nationalist opposition, but ensured their suppression. Various legislative "emergency", "essential service" and "sedition" enactments were available. On occasion, violence was affected in defence of ruling class interests. It would be theoretically possible to transpose this methodology upon ARVL; it is noted, of course, the present "ruling class" lineally and corporately descends of its forebear. Significantly, also, Cathcart reasoned these methods to be, in various degrees, similar to those employed by Nazism, Marxism-Leninism, and Australian multiculturalism (59)

This "secret history" of Australia has been revealed over the last two decades in a growing academic literature. David McKnight has demonstrated the extent to which the Australian

Security Intelligence Organisation, behind the shield of the dominant-anti-communist ethos, waged an intense three decade struggle to ensure Australia's commitment to the American Alliance and the defeat of the left; but he noted the modern ASIO is directed at "the racist Right". (60) ASIO once operated through Royal Commissions in the 1950s, ensured the gaoling of some communist leaders for sedition or treachery, demonised the left and paraded its secret-police "dirty tricks" methods as protection of the majority from hateful individuals. McKnight's observation of the new ASIO should distil the logical comparisons: reasonably, the methods of yesteryear are being adapted to the present and ARVL may serve as a secret state recapitulation of the anti-communist laws of past decades.

Andrew Monre developed Cathcart's themes; he demonstrated the close union of imperial faith and capitalist class rule. Moore maintained the vision and the sentiments of imperial-nationalism had considerable moral power to the point where opposition was characterised as incendiarism, social pyromania, beastly nihilism. The ultimate sanction was not so much legislative but violence; he noted the "absorbing" of actual secret armies into a more regular political police methodology in the 1950s did not change the realities of class rule.(61) It could be queried what has changed since the 1950s to alter the capitalist basis of the Australian State. If anything, the system has become merely more sophisticated and "racist extremists" are the new Bolshevik "beasts" and "Asia" our new "great ally".

Joan Coxedge also argued Australia (1950-1980) had a "clandestine" history; she referred to a pervasive political police arranging surveillance, informing, fake prosecutions and media demonisation of opposition (usually Left) groups. Coxedge noted such methods were assisted by various other restrictions on speech, movement and assembly. (62) Such references echo portions of the Report of the National Inquiry Into Racist Violence.

The 1980s also produced an instructive "conspiracy" which approximates the ARVL mobilisation and the National Inquiry method. The New Right assault on industrial unionism, the media vilification of Norm Gallagher's Builders' Labourers' Federation and a Royal Commission in Victoria which produced evidence that led to Gallagher's imprisonment, demonstrates the point. While it could be disingenuously said the BLF was a maverick union which strayed beyond the law, and Gallagher a corrupt official, it could also be argued an agenda was in operation to ensure not only his fall but the destruction of militant unionism as the pace of "restructuring" was intensified. Dissembling on 'public order' matters is not uncommon. Speaking in favour of Federal ARVL, Senator Chris Evans said:

"Public speech with the intent of inciting racial hatred is not an expression of opinion or ideas. It is dangerous conduct that is designed to intimidate, frighten, harass and discriminate." (63)

In view of this analysis of the Australian State such a representative declamation in favour of ARVL could be reinterpreted as moral propaganda.

This paper noted the advocates of ARVL established a broad definition of racism. It has analysed the Report of the National Inquiry Into Racist Violence and found it in favour of an authoritarian order and predicated upon false assumptions. ARVL was a response to what the State labels as "organized racism" and that issue was the crux. ARVL was pre-emptive in character designed to ensure no challenge to "Asianisation" could emerge. It was questionable if ARVL had much to do with simple violence and libel which had some recourse in ordinary law. This paper located political police, business lobbies, Zionists and liberal intellectuals as intermeshed forces bearing upon the ARVL debate as part of a system of "authority"; in motion, each could represent the exercise of State power. As observed, the Australian State has never been remiss at the utilisation of weapons of self-protection.

The only proper conclusion is that ARVL is an authoritarian response to criticism of Australian immigration policy and multiculturalism. As dangerous legislation, it is certain to be a focus of contention as opposition to Asianization intensifies. The debate about ARVL could be seen as an existential one with the State and its opposition at loggerheads, the State in fear of its own population and acting to defend specific interests behind a Kafkaesque facade.

[Books](#)

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26. Wheelwright, E.L.(ed.) Australia And World Capitalism. Sydney: Penguin, 1981.
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July 1989, p. 12.

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3. James, Pierre. "Legislating Against The Racist Right," Without Prejudice, December 1991, pp. 30-37.

4. Moss, Irene. "The National Inquiry Into Racist Violence," Without Prejudice, No. 1, September 1990, pp. 7-16.

5. O'Connor, Mark. "Where Does The Politically Correct Line On Immigration Come From?," AESP Newsletter, No.21, March 1994, pp.3-5.

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7. Stone, John. "How Prejudice Push Upset An Enjoyable Long Weekend," Financial Review, June 16 1994.

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2. Australian Jewish News, Sydney, 1994-5.

3. CEDA Bulletin, newsletter of the Committee For The Economic Development of Australia. Mixed numbers, 1985-91.

4. Duffy, Michael. Second Reading Speech by Hon. Michael Duffy, M.P. and Attorney-General. The Racial Discrimination Legislation Amendment Bill, 1992.

5. National Action, Sydney, 1988-89.

6. National Action News, Adelaide, 1994-5.
7. A large quantity of newspaper reports, commentaries, radio and television news etc. as cited.
8. A quantity of material issued by various "Radical Right" organisations, as cited.

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2. Michael Duffy, Second Reading Speech by the Hon. Michael Duffy, M.P. Attorney-General, House of Representatives, Canberra, 1992.
3. Christianne Duparc, The European Community and Human Rights, Commission of the European Communities, Bruxelles, October 1992, pp. 35-37, 43-47.
4. P. Robert-Diard, "Time To Ban The National Front?," Le Monde, in The Guardian Weekly, 27 May 1990, p. 13; I note also John Tyndall of the British National Party, "Just What are Our State Security Services Up To?," Spearhead (reference lost), passed comments upon MI-5 and "racial hatred and xenophobia" legislation. Tyndall has been imprisoned thrice for "incitement to racial hatred" in obviously political prosecutions.
5. Irene Moss, "Plotting A Path To Change," The Weekend Australian, May 30-31 1992, p. 21. Moss also wrote to the Sydney Morning Herald on Feb. 5 1994 a letter to the editor; here she took a keen interest in Asian trade and investment.
6. Irene Moss, "The National Inquiry Into Racist Violence," Without Prejudice, No. 1 September 1990, pp. 7-16.
7. Attorney General's Department, Factsheet: Racial Vilification, Canberra, 1992, p.2.
8. James Saleam, letter to the National Inquiry Into Racist Violence, January 1989.
9. Peter Coleman in evidence, Transcript, R v James Saleam, Parramatta Local Court, November 22 1990; Detective Neville G. Ireland gave confirmatory evidence saying Coleman had been a

Special Branch "contact". Coleman was "state leader" of ANM in NSW and he distributed material which advocated racial violence.

10. Duffy, op. cit.

11. Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, Report Of The National Inquiry Into Racist Violence, AGPS, Canberra, 1991, pp. 30-31.

HEREAFTER, because of the number of references to the Report in the text, the page number will be given there.

12. "Multicultural Australia" can produce many tensions/vilifications based upon historic rivalries. Greek-Macedonia 1993-4 tensions are a case inpoint. No prosecutions were launched under State ARVL.

13. Graeme Campbell, "The National Inquiry Into Racist Violence," The Record, Spring 1993, pp. 39-46.

14. An argument for ARVL in the case of The Turner Diaries could be made - although other mechanisms could be found to deal with its import into Australia or distribution. This book advocates racial murder and other criminal conduct to achieve racist ends. Some persons in Australia (beyond van Tongeren of ANM) have used the book as "inspiration" although few (if any) offences have come of it - and these would not have been serious.

15. I refer to R v Theophanous (which involved Bruce Ruxton), as reported in the media.

16. Such programs are now in place in NSW and Western Australia Police; I refer to various media reports.

17. The Anti-Nazi League is a cause-celebre on the Left, noted for "anti-racist rock carnivals" and violent demonstrations against "racist" organizations. I have examined Socialist Workers Party material per ANL and the National Front's Lifting The Lid On The Anti-Nazi League.

18. A personal observation based upon dealings with a swathe of journalists including - Malcolm Brown, Graeme Williams, Elizabeth Wynhausen, John Birmingham, Sandra Cook, Mari Mohr, Andrew Olle, Ray Martin, David Margin, Marti Georgieff, Howard Gipps and up to another 40 or 50 persons of similar disposition. The liberal sentiment was absolute; it could be said the National Inquiry scarce had to proclaim the need for a more faithful media. It was already in existence.

19. Ross Garnaut, The North East Asian Economic Ascendency, AGPS, Canberra, 1989, p. 330.

The timing of Garnaut's tome was interesting: congruous with the Inquiry and suppression operations against "racist" organizations.

20. From a mass of journalism in the Sydney Morning Herald in 1988-89 which quoted Rev. Dorothy McMahon, Betty Hounslow,

journalists and Special Branch detectives; all claimed "harassment".

21. Human Rights Commission, Proposal For Amendment To The Racial Vilification Act To Cover Incitement To Racial Vilification, Sydney 1984; the document was launched almost in secret.

22. Pierre James, "Legislating Against The Racist Right," Without Prejudice, December 1991, pp. 30-37, p. 30.

23. "Jail For Racists Under New Law," Sun Herald (date uncertain); I reprinted the article, but lost the reference. It quotes from NSW Attorney General, John Dowd.

24. Pierre James, op. cit., p.31.

25. Australian Security Intelligence Organisation, Annual Report ToParliament 1990-91, AGPS, Canberra, 1991, p.16.

26. David Sadleir quoted by Bernard Lagan, "Spies Still Needed Says ASIO Chief," Sydney Morning Herald, 22 April 1993, p.3.

27. Dowding quoted by Debra Read, "Dowding Blasts Race Hate Group," Western Australian, July 1989, p.1 (exact date lost; I reprinted the article; clipping in possession). Van Tongeren was arrested a few weeks later.

28. James Saleam, We Accuse! The State Conspiracy Against National Action And The Australian Nationalists Movement," NA, Sydney, 1990, passim. The document brought together various strands of material,direct evidence and hearsay in support of the argument.

29. New South Wales Court of Criminal Appeal, Judgment in R v James Saleam, February 11 1994; it was shown ASIO conducted contemporaneous "enquiries" with Special Branch into National Action; ASIO staged electronic surveillance operations and thereby acquired knowledge of legal preparations in defence of Special Branch charges; the allegation is to be tested that ASIO provided such informationto Special Branch in order that it pervert the course of justice.

30. Australian Security Intelligence Organisation, op. cit, p. 37
31. Hon. E. Pickering, Hansard: The Legislative Council, 3 May 1989, pp. 7225, 7226. Pickering expressed the "outrage" over the harassment of the anti-racist activists cited by the Inquiry. He referred to Special Branch arrests. He noted officers had supposedly been threatened. Helen Sham-Ho, MLC, another "victim" of National Action moved the question and was cited subsequently as a symbol for NSW ARVL.
32. Noam Chomsky, Manufacturing Consent, SBS Television, December 15, 22, 29, 1992.
33. Nick Griffin, Attempted Murder: The State-Reactionary Plot Against The National Front, NT Press, Norwich, 1986. See particularly pages: 24, 25, 29, 54-55.
34. Frank Cain, The Origins Of Political Surveillance In Australia, Angus and Robertson, Sydney 1983, linked Australian Intelligence organizations to British parents (McKnight, Coxsedge as below, concur). The formation of ASIO, reform of Federal Police after the Hilton Bomb etc., all involved British Intelligence. A British Special Branch officer was imported in 1978 (Norman Ferris) to  
  
combat the National Front.
35. Lionel Duncombe, Immigration And The Decline Of Democracy In Australia, Kalgoorlie Press, Canberra, 1993, pp. 81-104.
36. Committee For The Economic Development Of Australia, The Economic Effects Of Immigration On Australia, Sydney, 1988; Minister Hurford regularly referred to the document and the Immigration Department praised it as a rationalisation for policy.
37. John Hyde, "Why Growth In Population Is Environmentally Sound," Australian, 1 June 1990, p.9
38. E.L. Wheelwright (ed.) Australia And World Capitalism, Penguin, Sydney, 1981; The Third Wave: Australia And Asian Capitalism, Penguin, Sydney, 1988; assorted Transnational Brief. Wheelwright argued that the "Asian model" of successful capitalism and the pressures upon local business to "compete" would force political leaders to attack structures which inhibited the free market and other "reforms."
39. William Keys, A Personal View: The People Of Australia - A Special Report. Sharing Our Future, Office of Multicultural Affairs, Canberra, 1989.
40. From extensive clipping files maintained by the author upon subjects such as - pro-

immigration, denigration of anti-immigration/multiculturalism, use of multiracial actors' groups in advertising et al.

41. Peter Robinson, *The Future of Australian Capitalism*, *The Financial Review*, Sydney, 1978, a chapter title.

42. Senator Bolkus, quoted in, "Ministers Differ Over Race Laws," *Australian Jewish News*, 3 June 1994, p.2.

43. "Race Laws Criticised," *Australian Muslim News*, 15-28 November 1994, p. 1

44. Jacqui Seaman, "Racial Vilification Legislation And Anti-Semitism In New South Wales: The Likely Effect Of The Amendment," *Sydney Law Review*, 12 (2/3) March 1990, pp. 597-615, pp. 600-602.

45. Isi Liebler quoted in *Australian Jewish News*, April 29, 1994.

46. Isi Liebler, *The Israel-Diaspora Identity Crisis: A Looming Disaster*, AIJA, Melbourne, 1994, *passim*.

47. John Stone, "How Prejudice Push Wrecked A Good Long Weekend," *Financial Review*, June 16 1994; Stone attended with Adams the Without Prejudice Melbourne seminar on ARVL.

48. Liebler's "strategy" in dealing with critics of Israel has been longstanding. His Anti-Defamation Commission was first reported in the *Age* on May 30 1974; he explained his anti-Right ideas in *Australian Jewish News*, 15 July 1988 and he once authored a booklet (which illustrates anti-semitism has been an obsession) *The Escalation Of Anti-Israel And Anti-Semitic Agitation*, Melbourne 1974. The scourge of anti-semitism has been a long-time-coming.

49. *National Action News* (various numbers) 1993-93 has covered Greason's work with the *International Socialists*; *The New Citizen* of the Citizen's Electoral Councils noted the Liebler provocations affected via Greason. Greason's *I Was A Teenage Fascist*, McPhee/Gribble, Melbourne, 1994, was raised up by liberal media as "fact" rather than a fiction about a plethora of Extreme-Right personages.

50. Ron Castan, "Inquiry Into Racist Violence," *Australia-Israel Review*, Vol. 14, 10, 27 June - 9 July 1989, p.12.

51. Colin Rubinstein and Michael Kapel, "Racial Vilification Bill Is A Crucial Test For the Coalition," *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 7 1994, p.13.

52. Doron Ur's words were quoted in Hansard by Graeme Campbell per his 1994 broadsides at ARVL. Ur once wrote in Without Prejudice to the effect that ANM was a movement with no public support which would raise the question as to why ARVL was necessary.

53. "Tolerance Is Not Made By Laws," Canberra Times, 30 May 1994; "The Coercive Utopians," Herald Sun, 30 May 1994; "Dangers In Racial Laws," West Australian, May 31 1994; "Race Case Unproven," The Age, 31 May 1994.

54. Tony Katsigiannis, "How The NSW Anti-Discrimination Laws Threaten Free Speech," Policy, Summer 1989, pp. 29-31; Australian Civil Liberties Union, Your Rights, Carlton, 1994, develops the same theme at several points. Its editor, John Bennett, is also a denier of the Holocaust.

55. Peter Costello. Speech To The 36th Biennial Conference Of The Zionist Federation Of Australia. Melbourne, May 29 1994.

56. Katherine Betts, Immigration And Ideology: Australia 1976-87, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1988, pp. 99, 118-119.

57. Mark O'Connor, "Where Does The Politically Correct Line On Immigration Come From?" AESP Newsletter, No. 21 March 1994, pp.3-5.

Alvin Goulder, The Future Of Intellectuals And The Rise Of The New Class, Seabury, New York, 1979, argued a similar position had been arrived at in America by the mid-1970's. Joseph Smith in two works, The Remorseless Workings Of Things, AIDS And The Global Crisis: An Ecological Critique Of Internationalism, Kalgoorlie Press, Canberra, 1992 and The Beginning Of The End? Technology, The Environment And MFP-Australia, Kalgoorlie Press, Canberra, 1992 - contended that the liberal intellectual caste had hegemony over other rival schools of thought and pursued an intellectual terrorism in the enforcement of their opinions.

58. Graeme Campbell, The Record, op. cit. p.42 If Campbell was referring to S. Castles, M. Kalantzis, B. Cope, M. Morrissey, Mistaken Identity: Multiculturalism And The Demise Of Nationalism In Australia, Pluto Press, Sydney, 1988 - he was correctly stating the position. By these authors, there is no Australian Identity.

59. Michael Cathcart, Defending The National Tuckshop: Australia's Secret Army Conspiracy Of 1931, McPhee/Penguin, Melbourne, 1988, pp. 123-126.

60. David McKnight, Australia's Spies And Their Secrets, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1993, p. 300 and passim.

61. Andrew Moore, The Secret Army And The Premier: Conservative Paramilitary

Organizations In New South Wales 1930-32; this is the central theme of Moore's work.

62. Joan Coxsedg, Rooted In Secrecy: The Clandestine Element In Australian Politics, CAPP, Melbourne, 1982. Coxsedg's long campaign against political police and dirty tricks was waged for over 15 years.

63. Senator C.V. Evans, Current Senate Hansard, 23 August 1995, p.222

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# **Pardon Me:**

  

# **The Anatomy Of An Australian Political Trial.**

**James Saleam**  
**January 27 1999**

Edited and updated February 2 2002

## **Introduction**

This is the first time an Australian has argued on the Internet that criminal convictions won against him, were the fruits of corruption.

It is, at the time this document was placed upon the Internet, exactly 10 years since the original crime was committed.

The author has served four years prison (May 14 1991 - May 4 1995).

I have no doubt that this case would make an excellent book. It has everything:

Spies, the kidnapping of a defence witness by secret operatives done to the movie script of Mississippi Burning, the mis-use of an informant whose code-name and purpose were analogous to the script of Betrayed, secret Australian Security Intelligence Organisation tape-recordings of

the Defence's trial preparations, the murder of my co-accused recorded as it actually took place courtesy of the same surveillance operation, a drunken, corrupt police officer discredited at the Royal Commission Into The New South Wales Police Service (1994-97) whose obsession to convict the accused created the parameters of the case, fabricated notebooks, wildly contradictory prosecution witnesses, some prosecution evidence which seemed to be re-run of the script in the Ananda Marga and the Hilton Bomb frame-ups, political pressure to win a conviction, a prosecution witness with an effective-indemnity for perjury, a Court Of Criminal Appeal ruling which said that I convicted myself at the Trial by leading certain evidence, facts which just don't fit - and the crime victim, the Representative to Australia of the African National Congress.

I hope I have your attention.

The style of this document however, is not really meant for the general reader who enjoys the sauce. Rather, I have two inter-related convictions to overturn, and I must appeal to a different audience. I am writing for those opinion makers, lawyers, policemen, analysts and victims of the organized system of perjury which flows through the Courts. Hence, this document has a "legal" quality. However, I have little doubt, that Internet readers of all types will find something to interest them.

I can tell you that I am now engaged in a political campaign to over-turn these political convictions. This campaign will take many courses. However, I truly hope that the officer who framed the case (pardon me for such a bad pun) might consider libel action. He has his chance. In the final analysis, a political trial is one recourse of State authorities which perceive as a threat any sort of political challenge to State power. It would seem I was involved with people who were perceived as enemies of the Australian State and we had the temerity to question particular policies.

"Pardon Me" for my presumption.

The text which follows is essentially the same (minus certain corroborative documents and with some necessary alterations) as that which will be lodged as an Application to the Supreme Court of New South Wales for the exercise of its independent authority to order an Inquiry under those provisions of the New South Wales Crimes Act (Sections 474D/E) - into two convictions recorded against James Saleam in the District Court (Downing Centre) on May 14 1991.

The convictions referred to followed my (unsuccessful) defence of two charges heard before His Honour, Judge Ducker, and a Jury of twelve.

The charges stated:

(1) For that he on the 27th day of January in the year 1989 at Tempe in the state of New South Wales did have in his possession a firearm, to wit a 12 gauge shotgun, with intent to commit an

indictable offence, to wit malicious damage to the property belonging to another.

(2) Further for that Michael George White and Jason Roderick Frost on the 27th day of January in the year 1989 at Croydon in the state of New South Wales did maliciously damage the door and wall of premises at 40 Tahlee St., the property of Margaret Galik and that he, the said James Saleam before the said felony was committed in the manner aforesaid, to wit on the 27th day of January 1989 in the year 1989 did incite, move, procure, aid, counsel, hire, command the said Michael George White and Jason Roderick Frost to commit the said felony in the manner aforesaid.

An Appeal against Conviction and Sentence to the New South Wales Court of Criminal Appeal was heard on June 11 1993 and dismissed on February 11 1994. An Application For Special Leave To Appeal To The High Court Of Australia was made, but subsequently withdrawn following advice from the Legal Aid Commission.

An Application will be made in order to establish (Crimes Act, Section 474E(2)):

"that there is a doubt or question as to the convicted person's guilt, as to any mitigating circumstances in the case or as to any part of the evidence."

Each Section of the Application will be constructed in such a manner as discharges this obligation.

This Internet text is generally prepared in the first person; occasionally, for clarity, the third person is employed.

NOTE:

After the proper identification of each person, witness, court process or transcript:

- (a) Saleam Committal Transcript - CT
- (b) Saleam Trial Transcript - TT
- (c) Saleam Appeal Transcript (Nov. 23 1992; Dec. 8 1992; June 11 1993) - CCAT (with date)
- (d) Court of Criminal Appeal Judgment (CCAJ)
- (e) Surnames for each person after identification.

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# The State Conspiracy Against National Action And The Australian Nationalists Movement 1988 - 1991

**Dr. Jim Saleam**

*This pamphlet is under production. You may read the following introduction, which we hope will cause you to return here in due course. Publication, originally planned for April 2003, has been delayed. It is not possible to indicate when the item will appear. The Editors*

I authored a pamphlet under a similar title in 1990. That document was constructed to assist nationalists to struggle against a conspiracy then in motion. The state was attempting the suppression of National Action (NA) and the neo-nazi Australian Nationalists Movement (ANM). Both these groups, despite their divergent ideologies, had performed certain actions which 'warranted' a state response. By the time I wrote my pamphlet, the conspiracy had been under way for twenty months. The state perception of its' targets meant that the operation was run against both simultaneously and with the advantage of an overlap of organization and means. The suppression operation was to be run *by any means necessary*. At the time, there were some persons on the fringe of nationalism, in other patriotic groups, and even a few nationalist leaders, who found the facts (as they were), difficult to accept. Some considered that the author was exaggerating, or wrong, or distorting the circumstances of criminal investigations - to allege conspiracy. This was despite the fact, that to this time, a number of people had been 'charged' with an array of offences and the leader of the ANM (Jack van Tongeren) was on remand without bail, amidst sensational reports of informers, tape-recordings and murder. There were some who, because of their criticisms of van Tongeren's ideas and methods, refused to draw the lessons from his prosecution. There were others who, with the media-police targetting of National Action, ducked for cover. And there were venal elements, jackals, who perceived the crisis of whichever group, an opportunity to peddle personalist messages and ideas.

The present pamphlet includes the weight of information which has since become available to prove the conspiracy-case, absolutely. The old pamphlet has therefore been drastically overhauled and expanded. That pamphlet was itself part of the struggle and was at one point, 'used in evidence' - against me. For that reason, as well as simplicity, I prefer the title.

There was a three-year state conspiracy that functioned on multi-levels. It had some real

success. Indeed, the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation, in its Report To Parliament 1991 - 1992, would claim "operational success" against the two organizations at issue. What does "operational success" - mean? During the later stages of one of the 'legal processes' (sic) directed at me, I asked this question in 1992, of the New South Wales Court of Criminal Appeal. I received no answer - save the loss of an appeal and the continuation of a prison sentence. Or possibly, I did get an answer. Graham Barr QC, the Crown advocate (now Mr. Justice Barr), told the Court that I: "*had an obsession with spies and spying*". Silly me, I must have been paranoid! Obviously, the notion that the state's agents would conspire to pervert the course of justice is never to be formally considered by our state-paid 'legal-minds'. Mr. Barr's argument was tacitly accepted and he too - was ultimately rewarded by promotion.

In this pamphlet, the story will be told as the events unfolded. You will observe what "operational success" involved. It meant: *perjured witnesses, the misuse of electronic surveillance, perverting the course of justice, rape, assault, informers, dividing families, intimidation, media disinformation, lying politicians and legislative action, show-trial processes and fake public inquiries*. Everything was employed to break the target groups, and divide their parts against each other, break individuals and take advantage of the destabilisation. In a phrase: it was political warfare.

The lessons are there to be learnt. Of course, back then, the state did not get what it wanted. One of the targetted groups survived in a more limited form - and moved on. Some of the target-individuals escaped the net while others endured imprisonment, but made other 'gains'. Certainly the state's agents did not come away unscathed. No sooner had the state won its "operational success" against the target groups, than new patriotic groups grew into sizeable formations in new political circumstances. But the contours of much patriotic action (good and bad) was set in the suppression-operation period. I am sure the reader will note this. Today, as the Australian state becomes ever more authoritarian in its push to be part of the New World Order system, it is inevitable that some of the circumstances of the past, will repeat themselves. There is a new broad nationalist and patriotic movement in the field and the hour is late for Australia's Identity, Independence and Freedom to be secured. We must ensure there will be only 'operational defeat' for the political police.

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# Inside The Kangaroo Reich

## Selected Materials On Australian Neo-Nazis

October 2002

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The success of the Internet pamphlet, [Inside The Kangaroo Reich](#) (as available on this page, click below), and the need for a continually updated information source on Australian neo-nazism, has demanded the construction of this special page. We will update this page from time to time. Australian nationalists are of the view that neo-nazism will continue to play a disruptive and on occasion provocateur role in its 'relationship' with nationalist politics. The page might also play a useful role for students and honest-journalists.

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[Inside The Kangaroo Reich: Australia's Neo-Nazis Under The Microscope 1985-2000.](#) Dr. Jim Saleam

[Submission To The Western Australian Police Royal Commission, October 2002](#) Dr. James Saleam

[Interview With Leon Gregor On The Infiltration Of The Neo-Nazis Into The British-Israel World Federation](#)

[Complaint To The Australian Press Council Against New Idea And Its Reportage Of The Neo-Nazis, March 2002](#) Dr. Jim Saleam

[Speech To The Inverell Forum, Saturday, March 21 2001](#) Dr. Jim Saleam

[German Neo-Nazi Skinhead \(State-Paid \)Provocateurs Revealed: Australian Implications](#)

[Sponsoring A 'Terrorist Scare': New South Wales Police Special Branch And Neo-Nazis Manufactured Olympic Games Threat](#) Dr. Jim Saleam

[Criminal Complaint Against Debi Marshall And David Palmer: A Neo-Nazi Confesses To Serious Crime And A Journalist Fails To Report It To Police: Why?](#) Dr. Jim Saleam

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# **American Nazism In The Context Of The American Extreme Right: 1960 - 1978 Jim Saleam**

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# **British Neo-Fascist Politics 1960 -1975**

**Dr. Jim Saleam**

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# **Conservative Revolution, National Revolution And National Bolshevism Revisited: The Social Revolutionary Nature Of Australian Nationalism**

**Dr. Jim Saleam**

**August 1 2000**

(This pamphlet was slightly edited on November 5 2002)

## **Introduction.**

The publication of Kevin Coogan's *DREAMER OF THE DAY: FRANCIS PARKER YOCKEY AND THE POSTWAR FASCIST INTERNATIONAL* (New York: 1999), brought into focus alternate 'radical-nationalist' ideology, politics and organizational-method to challenge the forces of seemingly 'triumphant' New World Order capitalism. It reminded Nationalists that in a world no longer divided between 'Eastern' and 'Western' (ie. communist and capitalist) blocs, a way would have to be found to mount a credible challenge to the dominant liberal-internationalist/free-market ideology. In the past, Nationalist forces in every land were pressed by the East/West divide. Some erstwhile 'nationalists' took the Western road, often ending up as agents-in-all-but-name of Establishment parties (or utterly marginalised 'electoral' parties with a tough-guy conservative image and programme), while others took the more dangerous roads of absolute neutralism or an 'Eastern' tilt. The latter positions also had consequences for policy and political style, as we shall see in our review of the debates within Australian Nationalist ranks in the past, and in discussions currently under way to define future activism.

Coogan's study of Yockey was of a 'neo-fascist' philosopher and activist who in the post-1945 period down to his death in 1960, did locate a 'possibility' for the forces of nationalism. Described by scholar Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke in his introduction to Coogan's text as a "pro-Soviet fascist", Yockey sought to mobilize the then-communist camp behind a project which was crafted to lead to a European Revolution to free the old-Continent of the dominance of American capitalism. For Yockey, the overturn of Marxist internationalism and the 'Jewish

component' of the Marxist state, by Stalinist practise, had created a peculiar situation with which any national revolutionary project would be forced to confront. The latter facts explained much of the 'Western' hostility to the Soviet bloc. It helped to explain why the Eastern Bloc was not the 'first' enemy of the Euro-nationalists, but a secondary opponent whose internal order could be changed by a slow penetration of new Euro-nationalist politics.

Yockey's belief system challenged dominant dogmas on the international 'Right' in his day. There is no need to discuss the 1950's here. The reader may refer to Coogan's excellent book for the full context of this struggle. Our interest is more immediate. Nonetheless, the matters raised by Yockey have had 'life' on the Australian Right in the last 20 years and have been the bones of ideological contention. Some will be fought over – again. As Australia sinks into the Asian Pacific Economic Order, a factor of the New World Order (NWO) system, clear thinking alone can serve the development of a radical-nationalist party in this country. We ask: how did Australia get into its present position?; who is the enemy?; how do we struggle against the system and the 'American' philosophy which inspires it?

The revival of interest in Yockey's work (IMPERIUM, THE PROCLAMATION OF LONDON, THE ENEMY OF EUROPE, WORLD IN FLAMES) has of late inspired various European and American radical-nationalist organizations. Yockey has been linked by one 'International' (ie. an international liaison agency which interlinks several parties, publications and groups), to Jean Thiriart (died 1993) and Otto Strasser (died 1972), two thinkers who long-advocated: a federation of Europe involving Russia, a revolution against both capitalist and Marxist ideology, a system of popular but strong government, the decentralisation of property and the aggressive measures to save the embattled 'white race' - which sustains the European Civilisation - from biological and other challenges.

It is the broader-than-Yockey issues of ideological clarification, which shall be addressed here. Yockey was just one figure in a wide movement of thought and today this 'thought' is being utilised as one 'base' for the creation of new ideology for new times.

In the struggle at Russia's 'White House' in September-October 1993, the forces of nationalism (former communists included) fought with guns-in-hand against a creature called Yeltsin, a lackey of the NWO system. Followers of Thiriart - calling themselves the European Liberation Front - from other countries, fought with the anti-Yeltsin forces grouped around the National Salvation Front. Since that time, a flowering of new alliances and the blending of ideas in Russia, to challenge the new 'evil empire' of globalist capitalism, are matters of fact. The experience of the NATO attack on Serbia in 1999 brought the matter into relief again. Again, young European nationalists fought with Serbia, while others demonstrated in the streets of their homelands, against the New World Order. Open nationalists found themselves in 'alliance' with some members of the Left, while in Serbia itself the 'communists' serve as pro-national elements against internationalism. Old labels are becoming meaningless. Commentators are talking of 'red/brown' (ie. communist/fascist) alliances, and of new hybrids of thought, which could undermine liberal internationalist capitalism.

Indeed! Coogan told us that Marxism was played out; but issuing from its organizational debris were people who were looking for an alternative to the destruction of all nationality in the global market. Coogan wrote that the 'Right' forces were not the neo-nazis of the journalists' dreams, but people with visions of a different world – of peoples, nations, cultures and identities – in struggle against the drab marketplace system.

Our task as Australian Nationalists is to serve the Australian People and Nation, to find allies across old divides and to develop an ideology which can sustain a determined attack upon the New World Order traitor class in our country. We are not in Europe. We are an ex-colony of one European state, part of the 'European Civilisation', but with practical problems unique to ourselves. Nonetheless, the birth of the New World Order system and emergence of European nationalist challenges to it, are decidedly to our interest.

First: we shall go over the past debate on the character of Australian Nationalism. Second: we shall discuss those ideological concepts, which can serve our challenge to the new capitalism. Third: we shall discuss the political and organizational consequences that flow from a new course.

## **1. A Pamphlet Sets Up An Argument.**

In July 1984, a pamphlet appeared under the signature of Alec Saunders. Entitled, "THE SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY NATURE OF AUSTRALIAN NATIONALISM, the pamphlet set out to do a number of things. First, the Nationalist movement (represented then, chiefly by Australian National Action) was young, and it was necessary to differentiate its beliefs from either old-style rightism or neo-nazism. Second, the pamphlet referred at length to the thinkers of former German schools of thought – to Ernst Niekisch, Arthur Moeller van den Bruck and Oswald Spengler, thinkers who were styled by France's 'New Right' theorists as part of the broad 'Conservative Revolution' in 1920's/1930's Germany. This non-Nazi German system was examined for qualities which supported an 'anti-American'/anti-consumer capitalist /anti-liberal, politics. Third, the pamphlet set out to argue that aspects of Australian Nationalism from the past shared reference points of this system. Certainly, the 'revival' of the principles of the Conservative Revolution, lie at the basis of much of the present activism of the Euro-nationalist forces.

The Saunders' pamphlet set off in the right direction. Because certain points made are relevant to the present discussion, I shall record the key findings.

(i) The Second World War, which permitted the hegemony of the 'Western' liberal ideology, was a sort of intra-European civil war. However, in counter-argument to those 'tiny minds' who tried to make too much out of the fascist experience, it was suggested that Nazism/Fascism (ie. the German/Italian states) represented a last gasp of the old nationalism. They encouraged petty

state-ism and were even in alliance with Japan against 'White Australia'.

The implication was, that a genuine concept of 'white racial interests', could not be found within the experience of the fascist states.

(ii) The former and present Australian Nationalists were rightly opposed to Zionism, but were not 'anti-semites'. It was implied that the old conservative Right and the copyists of fascism might head in that direction, but that it was a diversion.

(iii) The main enemy of entire humanity was the cosmopolitan plutocracy (ie. the money elite); it was seen that this international class ruined the natural environment of the planet to feed its "growth" and compelled 'sameness' to overcome all diversity amongst the races and nations.

(iv) The Eastern Bloc, whatever its ideological and internal shortcomings, was an enemy of the emergent World Order. This enmity was based upon the "Slavic renaissance" which had occurred in the USSR during and after the Stalin period.

(v) There were other objective challenges to the plutocrats in movements such as Gaddafism, Black African Socialism and with Tito, Castro and the Islamic Revolution.

(vi) The Australian 'Socialist' school of William Lane and others, by identifying a value in the Indo-European heritage of 'barbarian' ethics, of the old tribal-communism, of the old paganism, was linked with Niekisch, van den Bruck and Spengler. This vitalism offered a possible ideological anvil for philosophic and political opposition to liberal-internationalist values.

The Saunders' pamphlet was essentially a new dimension for Australian Nationalist ideology.

Needless to say, these core arguments created a storm in so-called nationalist circles.

## **2. Neither Left Nor Right.**

The Australian Nationalists had to confront the question: was our Nationalism really "social revolutionary"? Was it 'Right' or 'Left' or something else? Who was the enemy?

The Australian National Alliance (1978-80) addressed some related questions: was Australia's real enemy the American alliance or the USSR?; was it not America which was condemning the Nation to an 'Asian future'?; was the conservative Right wrong to push old anti-semitic arguments about the "Jewish nature of communism"?; was it advisable to bloc with "anti-communist" rightists, if that only led back to Establishment politics?; was it okay not to criticise capitalism?

The Australian National Action also published THE RUSSIAN QUESTION (1982), which argued against any support for 'Cold War Two'. It suggested that Soviet "imperialism" was an enemy of the then-operative Peking Tokyo Washington Axis, not of Australian Independence.

This party's programme, A POLITICAL PROGRAMME FOR AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL ACTION, advocated a policy of non-alignment with all superpowers and showed a commitment to the support of national independence movements everywhere; but our main target remained the domination over Australia by the American superpower. The slogans of the party attacked multinational capitalism.

Throughout the 1980's it was Australian National Action which maintained Australian Nationalism was 'Neither Left Nor Right', but represented a third way or third position in politics. The collapse of the Eastern Bloc after 1989, problematicized that argument; thereafter, there was only one dominant ideology and system – capitalism (although not all countries were integrated into it and while Red China was a defacto superpower). Since then, the 'propaganda' of advanced Australian Nationalists has taken these facts into account.

But in the context of the 1980's the fight to build Australian Nationalism upon a sound ideological footing (and party-building must be placed upon a rock-solid foundation), was not easy. We shall discuss this struggle – which clarifies where we will go in the near-future.

### **3. Conservative Revolution; National Revolution; National Bolshevism: Traditions For Mobilization.**

It is necessary for our readers to be clear as to the significance of these ideological traditions. They embrace in fact some of the most significant theorists of European politics: Oswald Spengler, Carl Schmitt, Ernst Junger, Arthur Moeller van den Bruck, Ernst Niekisch, Friedrich Hielscher and Otto Strasser of Germany and a veritable host of publicists of inter-war Europe. Some have been categorized by New Right theorist Armin Mohler into three different schools (as above). This need concern us only in generalities. Commonly, they represented the Conservative Revolution.

In the context of Germany-before-Hitler, these theorists offered an alternative to the disaster for any idea of European Revolution, which Hitler symbolised, and ultimately – became. For Spengler, the issue was not German revanchism and eastern expansion, but the international position of the "white world"; this leader of the 'Conservative Revolution' school desired the moulding of a new state of 'Prussian-Socialism', the inter-linked union of the classes. For Schmitt, a new European political idea would overcome the old narrowness of the nations; this Conservative Revolutionary saw each state, supreme over the former divisions of class and party, individualism and liberal weakness, perfecting a cooperative European commonwealth. For Junger, a new state must perfect the total mobilization of the people towards modernization and the creation of real social wealth; this leader of the 'National Revolution' school saw a new 'Worker' of brain and brawn, utilizing technology to conquer the future. For Moeller van den Bruck, the 'young peoples' of Germany and Russia were in revolt against the Western capitalist path; this thinker who spanned the three schools called upon youth to reject materialism and capitalist atomism and seek a higher mission. For Niekisch, there was the call of a new

‘barbarism’ against capitalist rationalism; this prominent ‘National Bolshevik’ urged a revolutionary alliance with communist Russia (he predicted it would soon become ‘national’), to overturn the burgeoning international capitalism and argued for a union within Germany of all revolutionary anti-liberal forces against the status quo. His fellow ‘National Bolshevik’, Hielscher, recognized in the various oppressed nationalities of the earth, potential allies not enemies in a massive program to strangle the false-international order of capitalism. For Strasser, the man who quit the Nazi party for his principles, there was a blending of the schools in his ‘Black Front’ party, a plan to revitalize Europe in a commonwealth, neither capitalist nor Marxist, based upon organic social classes and a genuine division of wealth and responsibility.

The reader can assess the strengths and viability of these systems by reading: James Ward, "Pipe Dreams Or Revolutionary Politics: The Group Of Social Revolutionary Nationalists In Weimar Germany", *Journal Of Contemporary History*, Vol.15, 1980.

Nazism had other ‘traditions’. Its great strength was ‘organization’ with which it out-played its ‘competitors’. We know now that Nazism’s racial doctrine, while relying on a lot of ‘Volkish’ notions, was driven by an occult system called Ariosophy. This ‘system’ of racial-theosophy was born in the old Austro-Hungarian Empire in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It believed in a war of the Aryan Light against the Jewish Dark, of the timeless Aryan struggle against the debased races of Eastern Europe, of the inferiority of the Slav, of the need for ‘scientific breeding’; the Ariosophists thought a new knightly order would return the civilisation to the past of the lost worlds of Aryan greatness. For those interested in this doctrine and its undeniable impact upon Hitler, the work by Nicholas Goodrick Clarke – **THE OCCULT ROOTS OF NAZISM: THE ARIOSOPHISTS OF GERMANY AND AUSTRIA 1890-1935**. – is essential and ‘final’.

It has been established by Goodrick-Clarke that the Nazi Party melted together the synthesis of nationalism and socialism with this madhouse of the occult. Does this idea not explain why Hitler planned his war of genocide against the Russian people? If anything, it invalidates absolutely the perverse proposition of the neo-nazi sects that German Nazism was some sort of white-race-redeemer-doctrine.

The Nazi state did not destroy the rival schools of Conservative Revolution, National Revolution and National Bolshevism. Far from it. They operated within the state and were locked in struggle against the dominant ideology, but were unsuccessful in supplanting it. The destruction of Nazism in 1945 released these tendencies of thought back into the German Right and eventually they took on a European significance as the formative ideas of new movements.

For the impact of the whole pattern of Germany’s Conservative Revolutionary heritage (which includes the three specific ‘schools’ named here), on contemporary radical-nationalist thought and action, see: Goran Dahl, "Will ‘The Other God’ Fail Again? On The Possible Return Of The Conservative Revolution", *Theory, Culture And Society*, Vol.13, No.1, February 1996.

Regrettably, these 'schools' had little following in Australia and were essentially unknown regardless of whether any individual theorist was available to Australian readers. This presented a problem for the processes of ideological formation here. These ideas were relevant, but were not accessible. This meant that ideological formation within the ranks of would-be Australian Nationalists was occasionally in the hands of those who had come from the anti-communist Right and hence they could not be expected to understand the nature of the liberal-internationalist-capitalist enemy. Criticism of this enemy often led to genuine Nationalism being denounced as "communism".

## **4. Rebel Against Reactionaries!**

The presentation – ultimately – of ideas drawn of the German 'schools' of radical-nationalism was, to certain so-called nationalists, a veritable 'red flag' (and not 'to a bull' as the saying goes).

In the struggles that went into the creation of an Australian Nationalist position, the Nationalists had been forced to address these so-called nationalists. They wanted a "strong" anti-communist foreign policy for Australia, an alliance-system that relied on Britain, and an economic system which basically left Big Business alone, but promised to tear away its internationalism. Their 'parties' would be built on the 'rightists' within the Liberal and National parties (initially) and would appeal to 'middle class voters' of all parties; these 'nationalists' would aim for respectability. They would deny the native-Australian national identity in favour of the "British" formula so popular amongst old conservatives. Small numbers of neo-nazis took the road of appealing to the conservative rightists, "cos that's what Hitler did".

The real Nationalists rejected all of this. From around 1977 onwards, there were Nationalists who argued for Australian Independence in foreign policy, who put no emphasis on Britain at all, who promised the nationalization of multi-national capital and the development of a planned economy which permitted small scale private enterprise, but no monopoly. They looked to working people of all classes for support and were aware there was no 'respectability' to be had. They favoured an Australian nativist concept of our European identity. The main external enemy lay in Asia; the main general enemy was international capital and there was an internal enemy: the internationally connected traitor class.

Unsurprisingly, the old 'nationalists' rejected the real Nationalist position. They went one step further and some openly stated that we were "communists" or "national bolsheviks". The latter term was thought to mean 'communists who were somehow nationally oriented'. It was on that basis, the struggle between the National Alliance with the "National Front of Australia" and its co-thinkers, was fought (1977-82). It was on this basis the struggle continued between National Action and the neo-nazi, but-also-conservative (per the above) - "Australian Nationalists Movement" (ANM).

The genuine Nationalist position became a bugbear with ANM and some other conservative

groups, and was regarded as a proof of 'leftism' in the former National Action. It was no such thing. When stripped of all rhetoric, it was all about a search for possibilities. The old reactionary line had no potential. A radical-nationalist line offered a way forward.

Sometimes the rebellion against reactionary rightism was personalised. Throughout the period 1977-90, the attack of "national bolshevism" was married to all-out slander against genuine Nationalists. In that way, false 'nationalists' were exposed and the cause grew stronger.

It was through the insistence of Australian National Action that the three German schools of thought entered into the open use of Nationalists from that period in the 1980's. Not that they were unknown amongst advanced Nationalists. But now they were invoked – where relevant – in the ideological struggle.

The collapse of the Eastern Bloc changed Nationalist politics in Australia. The Nationalist rebellion against the uselessness of 'rightist' positions was vindicated by history. There were now only two real positions in Australian politics: the liberal-internationalist position and the Nationalist position. The so-called Left, made up mainly of the Trotskyist organizations, is fundamentally liberal. It stands for open borders, free trade and mass immigration. It will subordinate everything to the "struggle against racism". The Left is on many occasions nothing but a stormtroop for capitalism.

So: how can we develop Australian Nationalism if not as a social-revolutionary force?

## **5. Against The New World Order**

We understand now the type of world under construction. It was implicit in the history of imperialism and capitalism since the Second World War.

There has been a steady internationalization of capital leading to the growth of the multinational corporations and the international banks to a stage where their power is organized through international institutions- the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the General Agreement On Tariffs And Trade forums and the European Economic Community bureaucracy. The forces of global capital have created political 'clubs' such as the Trilateral Commission and the Bilderberger Group. In Australia we have the Committee For The Economic Development Of Australia. We are witnessing before our eyes the emergence of a transnational class. This group has no allegiance to any 'Western' state, to any race or cultural identity. It is beyond the structures of international politics as have developed over centuries. The ownership of capital is not the sole entry ticket to membership of this class. Service in politics, management, the arts, academia or in certain professions, will win admission.

The "values" of the transnational class are economic. In the free-market of goods and ideas, a New World Order of plenty and peace will be built. All countries, all peoples are welcome to "join". All barriers to the movement of money and people will come down. Philosophies and

religions will all become aspects of a cultural pluralism which can be 'chosen' by people on the basis of taste. Like a new Roman Empire, all is permissible if loyalty is rendered unto Caesar.

This New World Order was proclaimed the moment the old Eastern Bloc disintegrated. It is obvious that there are peoples who are not part of this Order. The Chinese superpower is not a member of the club; nor is India, and Russia remains unwelcome. The Islamic world cannot be part of a system that directly involves Zionism. African countries scarcely count at all. This does not mean that these lands are not penetrated by international capital, nor that they don't contain sectors who would dearly welcome globalism. It does not mean that cheap labour countries are not exploited to provide cheap products – or immigrants to the factories of the home-bases of the NWO. The fact that whole areas of the globe are outside this system means that its claim to political normality is a basic lie. It must thence rely upon the impact of economic globalisation for its power.

In the struggle against the New World Order it is necessary to appreciate the presence of peoples and states outside of it, and possibly opposed to it. Not all these forces are fulsome or even conditional friends. Some are eyeing Australia also as an open-land available for possible settlement. Yet, in the world of realpolitik, facts are facts and it is necessary to surrender to the facts. It is obligatory that we mobilize our ideological weapons to win allies where we can, or to disintegrate or damage those structures imposed upon any people by the new Order. We must weaken this system.

This means we understand that if we demand national freedom for ourselves, we cannot repudiate it for others. We must favour national independence struggles. We must accept the genuine plurality of cultures and peoples, as opposed to the false pluralism of liberal-internationalism, which seeks to standardize humanity and culture. We must encourage armed neutrality against alien blocs and support - even critically - any regime bullied by the new Order.

Inside Australia, we must not engage in confrontation with groups that are not really our enemies. We must also avoid the leftover Trotskyite Left wherever possible; the Trotskyites are satellites of the Establishment, those who defend its liberalism by other means. We must not be sidetracked in our quest for defacto friendships and alliances with groups that in any way oppose or challenge significant aspects of the new Order.

We must forge a new strategic plan for Australian Nationalism.

## **6. Full Circle: Ideas To Serve A New Path.**

Our discussion of earlier ideological traditions and their value in defining Nationalist ideology, now turns full circle. How can we creatively apply historical ideas to the present external and internal situation for Australia?

1. It is a fact that Australian Nationalism rests mainly upon three nineteenth and twentieth century Australian historical traditions: the labour movement, the republican movement, the native-nationalist movement. These elements constitute the core belief system. From there, we obtain our emblems, our idea of a new social order of class unity and equality of opportunity, our commitment to the 'Promise' of a new European nationality upon a continent, our essential native-land reference points, and very concept of identity. This Nationalist Idea is necessarily a social-revolutionary one, directed as it is against foreign imperialism and its internal traitor class.
2. We recognize however, that we live in the modern period. Consequently, we shape this core system into a modern propaganda. We place it amidst issues such as the population/food crisis of Third World, the environmental crisis of our own country, the issues of globalisation and the New World Order, the collapse of old ideological certainties and the absence of any credible new radical discourse.
3. Because we concerned to express the core Australian Nationalist Idea in the modern period, we are aware of the ideological struggle waged to delegitimize us. It is at this point the hoary old claims that we are linked to "neo-nazis", or that we find some inspiration in German Nazism, are raised. Here, we can rely upon the ideological traditions of Conservative Revolution, National Revolution and National Bolshevism to critique both the Nazi system, and the inadequacies of historical fascism.
4. These traditions pointed also towards collaboration with world and local political movements that managed to challenge dominant alliances and forces. Because these systems did not preach, and in their contemporary European applications do not preach, doctrines of race-hate and imperialism, possibilities exist for challenging new political patterns.
5. We Australians develop our ideology from our native-history and international facts, but we are also part of the 'Western' culture and are defined that way. It follows that the schools of radical-nationalism assist us in developing doctrine on the higher philosophical level. In opposing the development of the cosmopolitan 'Westernism' or Americanism of the last 50 years, we 'require' a counter-system of thought. We must be able to examine the spiritual syphilis which the cosmopolitan liberal doctrine is; we must be able to show that this system is itself a type of decadence now rampaging across the planet destroying anything 'traditional' or valuable.

6. The radical-nationalist schools of the Conservative Revolution examined the bourgeois ideology of wealth-worship. In the 1920's and 1930's, this illness was still a baby! This liberal ideology is now the substantive enemy of our movement. A 'return' to philosophy which was not contaminated by the rightist fixation of 'fighting communism' assists us in moving beyond any remains of the old Left/Right divide.

The year 2000 does not signal for us the birth of the market millennium. Quite the contrary. It indicates the continuation of the 'civil war' inside our Western culture. The two sides are drawn in bold relief.

## **7. Special Task Of A New Party.**

The revisitation of the three schools of radical-nationalist ideology took place in the context of examining whether Australian Nationalism is a social-revolutionary proposition. We decided that it was, and that it is. It is irrelevant as to how it expresses that principle. It would change Australia's position in the world by winning Australian Independence. To sustain the new nation against external threat and internal traitor class challenge, it would be a Nationalism compelled to alter the domestic political and economic order in the favour of the working people of all classes.

The crucial issue for Australian Nationalists is the creation of a party to wage the struggle. However, at no point can ideology be forgotten. This short pamphlet is nothing but a call to ensure that the deeper questions of political philosophy are also addressed. Spengler observed: "in the final instance civilization is always saved by a platoon of soldiers". Correct. However, we political soldiers must fight with an ideology grounded in modern facts and with a higher political-cultural significance.

In the future others will necessarily develop upon the themes here and equip our political soldiers with this vital armour in the struggle for the resurrection of our Nation and our European culture. I leave the last word of our commitment to these tasks, to Francis Parker Yockey:

"This is promised, not by human resolves merely, but by a higher Destiny, which cares little whether it is 1950, 2000 or 2050. This Destiny does not tire, nor can it be broken, and its mantle of strength descends upon those in its service. What does not destroy me makes me stronger."

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# Foreign Policy Issues And The Struggle For Australian Independence

The idea of Australian independence inspires all true patriots. The quest for Australian national independence has been a strong aspect of the national story. Australia began as a colony of the British Empire. Before independence could be won, Australia was passed over into the control of American imperialism. Some Australians considered both these imperial arrangements - quite proper. In the case of the British Empire, it was held by the ruling class that Australia was beholden to its motherland and bonded by sentimental and cultural ties. In the years of the Cold War, new ideological justifications were constructed which posited that Australia was a 'liberal state', and thus this implied a natural solidarity with the American system. Since the collapse of the Eastern Bloc, the American system has moved to globalize itself into the New World Order system.

It is against the emergent New World Order system that Australia must vie for independence. This page will see various contributors offer their views on matters of foreign policy. They may suggest ways and means for the achievement of national independence. It will not be necessary that they agree with each other on every aspect of the struggle or to every element of the problem. It is necessary that nationalists develop perspectives that can be applied to the political movement for independence.

We will update this page as necessary.

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[Red-Brown Politics In Eastern Europe](#) Dr. Jim Saleam

[Neither Washington Nor Mecca But Australian Independence](#) Dr. Jim Saleam

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# **A Mace In The Face: Demolishing A Piece Of Anti-Racist Folklore**

**Dr. Jim Saleam.  
September 1 2000**

With amendments and extra detail, June 2002.

**Reader: This text contains material which accuses – albeit with evidence – various persons who were police officers, and a current police officer, of offences. If you are offended by such argument, do not proceed. Exit this piece immediately.**

**In the interests of clarity, this text is written generally in the first person**

## **By Way Of Introduction.**

I had a conviction recorded against me in the Local Court at Newtown on 4 June 1986. It was upheld on Appeal to the District Court at Sydney on October 30 1986.

I was found guilty of "possess prohibited article", an offence under Section 55 of the Firearms And Dangerous Weapons Act. The "article" was a "mace". I was fined and given a suspended Sentence

To fight against any unjust conviction is never easy, even when the matter is seemingly petty. This matter however, went much deeper. A book, recently published by Random House in Sydney, highlighted the fact that this petty affair will not go away (see: John Birmingham, LEVIATHAN: THE UNAUTHORISED BIOGRAPHY OF SYDNEY). My conviction was related to an aspect of Sydney's "anti-racist folklore", which I shall deal with shortly.

I am therefore moved to reveal the truth, regardless of the consequences; this discussion will thereby contribute to the on-going struggle to have the history of nationalist, patriotic and "anti-immigration" groups written without the additive of "anti-racist" propaganda.

This Internet pamphlet will delve into the murky area of the former Special Branch, a corrupt organization disbanded in the wake of the 1994-7 Royal Commission Into The New South Wales Police Service. I will also name a Special Branch informant connected to this "mace-case" and discuss his possible role in the offence for which I was convicted. I will suggest he assisted Special Branch to change its story-line after he had a conversation with me. I will discuss documents recently released by the Police Service regarding the Special Branch. These documents reveal the intense interest of the Branch in the affair which lay behind my prosecution for possessing this "mace".

This Internet pamphlet discusses one serving and several former Police officers. The serving officer is:

(i) Detective Sergeant Stephen Geoffrey Kerridge

The former officers are:

(i) Detective Inspector Darryl Kevin Wilson

(ii) Detective Senior Constable Robert John Brown

(iii) Detective Sergeant Garry Clement Hunt

(iv) Detective Constable Alan James Spencer

(v) Detective Inspector D.T. McCusker.

I will say that these officers committed offences; these offences were serious, and given also the exposure of Special Branch corruption at the Royal Commission Into The New South Wales Police Service, we can assume Special Branch condoned these offences. The whole business was "politics".

The Police Integrity Commission should investigate these allegations further. That one of the named officers has reached a rank where further promotion would bring "authority", the task of ensuring Police integrity at the higher levels of management could demand attention by the Commission. Indeed, a version of this document was served on the Commission some time ago without action being taken.

Neither I nor my comrades who were victims in this affair intend to allow the matter to die death by-age. Corruption and political-police crime remain matters of public interest. It is even more important that "anti-racist" propaganda be challenged whenever possible. As the struggle for Australian Independence and Identity deepens and grows more critical, this "literary" task shall serve the overall political struggle.

Abbreviations:

Local Court Transcript: LCT; District Court Transcript: DCT

## **SECTION ONE: BACKGROUND CIRCUMSTANCES.**

On the evening of June 15/June 16 1985 (at approximately five minutes to midnight), a car belonging to Bronwyn Ridgway of the New South Wales Nurses Association, was set ablaze in the Sydney suburb of Enmore. It was reported in the media at the time that this offence could have been performed by members of Australian National Action.

I was the National Chairman of Australian National Action (ANA) at the time. The allegation was vehemently denied to both police and media.

It was my understanding that Ms.Ridgway identified a member of ANA - Mr. Evan Raftery - as the offender. When Raftery was interviewed by Special Branch officers and other detectives on June 21, it was obvious he had sustained injuries prior to the offence which would have precluded him as a suspect. This allegation against Raftery should not be forgotten as you proceed through this pamphlet.

Ms. Ridgway was in 1984-5 a key organizer of a group called the Combined Unions Against Racism (CUAR). This group was hosted by ALP Sydney politicians like Frank Walker (he was rumoured to be one of her ex-lovers), involved the Communist Party journalist Denis Freney and the support of key union leaderships; prominent "anti-racist" Meredith Burgmann was a main spokesperson. National Action was leading the public exposure of this CUAR, pointing out how it integrated "leftists" with State figures in an alliance to push immigration, multiculturalism and the removal of industrial "protection". There was no love lost between us.

Ridgway knew Raftery because of a Labor Party connection between their respective fathers. If Ridgway claimed to have "seen" Raftery commit the offence, then this would not be poor "identification evidence" but very powerful evidence.

On the night of June 15 1985, there was an informal gathering at the ANA offices. I was there as was Raftery. A man named "Peter" was there at one point. "Shane Rosier" (as below) was there in the early evening. A man called "Simon" came and took stickers and leaflets, but left before 8p.m.

But there was another visitor who stayed between about 7.30p.m. and 9p.m. This was Mr X. who could not have failed to observe the persons who came and went. In 1999, thanks to the release of the Special Branch File on Rosier (hereafter: Rosier File), a document signed by Detective Brown came into my hands. This was a letter (for a magistrate), used by Brown originally to obtain a search warrant for Rosier's home. It referred to:

"An informant who has previously supplied reliable information that Rosier was in the company of the persons responsible for the Malicious Injury mentioned on 15.6.85 at Enmore."

I have raised the question of Mr X in other legal correspondence with the New South Wales Attorney-General. Basically: it is understood by ANA activists that Mr X was recruited by Special Branch as an informant in March 1985. He had been a member of ANA, but entered into internal opposition, initially based around his idea that the organization should cease political work and adopt "armed struggle". He subsequently abandoned this idea in 1984. He continued to offer the party "assistance", although the question of his membership was unsure. It is understood that Mr X desired career-advancement and traded certain ANA records to Special Branch for a security clearance to work in the courts-system. Mr X also went on to travel to Libya as a "member" of groups operated by Brisbane identity, Robert Pash (1986). He was "debriefed" by ASIO upon his return to Australia. He became a public servant and a union official. His last "association" with ANA concerned telephone harassment in 1990 when his voice was heard as background to other threats received at the party offices. In 1994 he was imprisoned for 12 months over his involvement in a drug crop. In 1999, he was allegedly caught by Police Integrity Commission tapes discussing a new drug crop- with ex-detective, Roger Rogerson.

If Mr X informed, he did not provide Special Branch with precise information regarding Raftery's injuries. This was explicable, since Raftery was working at a desk in the upstairs section of the building for most of the time of his visit and would only have been viewed "quickly".

For the record here, I state that I too left the building with Raftery at about 11.15 p.m. and travelled to the Newtown area for coffee. We were able (had it ever been formally called for) to produce unshakeable alibi evidence as to our whereabouts at the time of the fire-bombing.

So WHO fire-bombed Ridgway's car? No responsibility was claimed by any person or group. Ridgway was then locked in a bitter internal row for control of the Nurses' Association. That was a source of possible violence. There was the issue of provocation. I do NOT accuse Mr. Mr X; however, there were persons associated with him who understood the "touchy" nature of the CUAR/ANA struggle. I simply do not know who committed the offence. I do know nonetheless WHO was to be blamed in the press – and in court, if possible. I know who was "blamed" in the police station!

Again, the Rosier File was of great help. The Special Branch received a telephone call from "someone" (named blacked out) who protested their inaction over the Ridgway matter. This call came in on June 18. We believe it came from the Premier's office. Such high-level pressure always conditions the "zeal" of underlings and hirelings to do the master's bidding.

On Friday June 21 1985, the ANA offices were subjected to a search under warrant. It was abundantly clear the search was occasioned by the Ridgway incident; it was claimed explosives or illegal weapons could be on the premises. Four officers played a role in this operation which resulted in their giving evidence against me upon the charge of "possess prohibited article"; these officers were named above:

(i) Detective Sergeant (later Inspector) Darryl Kevin Wilson (Arson Unit)

(ii) Detective Sergeant Garry Clement Hunt (Arson Unit)

(iii) Detective Senior Constable (now Sergeant) Stephen Geoffrey Kerridge (Newtown Detectives)

(iv) Detective Senior Constable Robert John Brown (Special Branch)

A number of other detectives were involved in the operation although they did not give evidence; some things said later by some of these detectives are of utility to this discussion of corruption.

Detective Brown had figured in exposure literature issued by ANA in 1984 and 1985. This made various allegations against his conduct towards ANA members on other occasions. The other officers were unknown to me. As a result of the raid, a number of other matters arose aside from my arrest on the "possess prohibited article" charge.

A complaint to the Ombudsman was made and on October 31 1986 (the day after the conviction was upheld in the District Court), all complaints were found "not sustained". The Internal Affairs Branch has been shown to have been useless in the investigation of police conspiracy and the Report of Inspector McCusker to the Ombudsman was issued with one major contradiction unnoticed (see Sections Three and Four). Other pieces of confirmatory material did emerge (see Section Three) to support my allegations to the Ombudsman. These points shall become clear as this pamphlet develops.

In 1997, I advised the Police Integrity Commission of three broad questions:

- (i) the technical and evidentiary fabrication of police Statements and how far this fabrication suggested a conspiracy to pervert the course of justice
- (ii) the demonstration of the bad character of the officers involved (as now exposed) and,
- (iii) further in view of the evidence originally given by the Defence (and some contradictory Prosecution evidence) it would now be possible to find the truth.

I have set the scene. The reader can now judge how "payback" (if the Special Branch truly believed ANA was guilty of the Ridgway crime), or "load-up" (if they knew otherwise), was to be organized.

The following analysis of "evidence" is necessary to prove to the reader that justice in Australia is political, that the process of "legal" harassment operates to blunt the free organization of political groups, that it conceals the actual truth behind court-process. Courts rubber-stamp the activities of the political police. This case will show the reader the methods employed to curtail the struggle of Australian National Action.

## **SECTION TWO: THE VERSIONS OF EVENTS OF PROSECUTION AND DEFENCE.**

In assembling this Section, I rely on the Statements served upon the Defence (and entered into evidence) from Detectives Brown, Hunt and Kerridge; and the oral evidence given by these officers (and Detective Wilson) in the Local Court Newtown on June 4 1986 and the District Court Sydney on October 13 and October 23 1986.

I have consulted that File (at Newtown Local Court) and a Transcript of the evidence is attached to it. Two original Police Statements are contained in the File and these Statements are vital to the credibility of this pamphlet.

I have urged upon the Police Integrity Commission the proper acquisition of these documents such that Perjury, Forgery and Conspiracy can be demonstrated, initially against Detective Kerridge. As correspondence between myself and the Attorney General of New South Wales (I possess these original letters), I have attempted to have these documents forensically examined by an independent expert. My application was declined. Why?

I examined the District Court Criminal Registry File of the Appeal heard in front of Judge Knoblanche on October 13, 23 and 30 1986.

Transcript for the latter date did not exist (and in view of the guilty finding may never have been made). Nonetheless, the evidence of the Detectives appeared there in full. This File has been returned to District Court Archives.

## **The Prosecution Case In The Prosecution's Words:**

The Prosecution case was very simple. On Friday morning, June 21 1985, a number of Detectives from Special Branch, Newtown Detectives and the Arson Unit raided the National Action offices at 725 Princes Highway Tempe. Detective Brown produced the warrant at the door and the detectives entered the building. I was spoken to, as was Mark Joseph Ferguson, who was then residing on the premises. A loaded M-1 Carbine was found in the downstairs area. Upstairs, next to my bed was found a mace (a stick wrapped in tape with a bolt through the end). I had a conversation with Detectives Brown and Kerridge in the hearing of Detective Hunt. I admitted possession of the item albeit only since the early hours of the morning. Later, I was conveyed to Newtown Detectives where I explained I had returned home at 3 a.m., found the mace in a box in the kitchen area and took charge of it for my own personal protection. I was then charged.

Detective Wilson gave evidence to rebut a suggestion he had found the mace in the box and spoke to me about it in the kitchen area.

## **The Defence Case (As It Actually Occurred):**

Three witnesses gave evidence for the Defence. I deposed that I left my premises in the evening of the 20th June 1985; when I returned home at 3a.m., there was a box in the kitchen area. It was not there when I left many hours before.

It held a whisky bottle, chicken wire (protruding), some books etc. I never specifically noticed any mace. I went to bed to be awoken by the Police at about 8a.m. Detective Wilson (not Brown) had possession of the warrant, explained it at the door, and the officers entered the premises. At some point after their arrival Detective Wilson spoke to me in the kitchen area; he had the mace in his hands. He implied it had come from the box. He said I would be charged. I dressed and was then conveyed to Newtown Detectives; there was some desultory conversation in which I indicated how I had gone out for the evening and returned to find the box in the kitchen area of the premises. I was then charged.

Mark Ferguson said he had returned home to the premises after 3.30 a.m. from a shift as a taxi driver. He had observed the box. During the raid he was spoken to in the shop area at the front of the premises. Some time into the raid, he observed me conversing with Wilson in the kitchen area; Wilson had the mace.

Shane Rosier was arrested by Wilson some days after the raid on the Tempe premises, and on a separate charge. Rosier maintained Wilson admitted he found the mace.

I submit to the reader:

The issues were very straight forward: either the mace was found downstairs by Wilson in circumstances under which I could maintain I did not have knowledge of possession of the mace; or the mace was found upstairs in circumstances where possession could only have been deliberate and, in view of the confession, definitely so.

I submit to the reader:

This case would match the classic model of "verbal"; there were no independent witnesses to the event and the police version was denied by the accused; there was no corroborative or scientific evidence to support the police case which stood upon the supposed credit of the police witnesses.

Other "police" like Mohr gave Records Of Interview which corroborated in general ways the version of the police witnesses.

# **SECTION THREE: CHALLENGES TO THE PROSECUTION VERSION.**

Whilst a number of propositions were put to Detectives Wilson, Hunt, Kerridge and Brown, these propositions were denied and were never the subject of further action. The Appeal was conducted in the same manner as the Local Court hearing. After the Ombudsman's Report (ie. the Report of Detective Inspector McCusker, further argument was put (as below) to the Ombudsman regarding the forging of the Police Statements), but no further action was taken. Hunt's "bad character" had not been demonstrated at that time either.

I would re-analyse parts of the Prosecution story ,and add new material.

It will become obvious that the case was a conspiracy to procure a false conviction.

## **(a) Who Had The Warrant? Brown And Kerridge Commit Perjury.**

Brown and Kerridge maintained in their Statements that the door of the premises at 725 Princes Highway Tempe was opened by Saleam and a conversation with Detective Brown ensued; Brown indicated the nature of the warrant and they entered.

In his Statement to McCusker of 30 July 1986, Wilson said he and a Sergeant Mohr (this officer is, of course, the same Inspector Mohr who has figured in the "Justice Yeldham" phase of Royal Commission evidence) of Special Branch led the raid. I said at Court, Wilson had the Warrant. Why Brown would have the Warrant if Wilson and Mohr were in charge would be a pointless aspect in the Prosecution case unless claimed to contradict what would be thought to have been my version of events. It would be unlikely Brown would have had the Warrant.

As it transpired McCusker's interviews revealed Brown and Kerridge as untruthful. I note there would have been no reason for the officers cited hereunder to have lied by giving a version of the incident which contradicted Brown and Kerridge.

Garry Hunt in his Record Of Interview with McCusker of 6 August 1986 ,said:

"Q.12 Did you see or hear any other police have a conversation with Saleam whilst at the house?"

A. I think Detective Sergeant Wilson spoke to Saleam initially in regards to the contents of the search warrant. Other police may have spoke to him, but I am not aware of the contents of any conversation."

Darryl Wilson in his Record Of Interview with McCusker of 30 July 1986 said:

"Q.7 Would you tell us what occurred when you entered the premises?

A. The contents of the search warrant were made known to Mr. Saleam and I assisted Detectives from the Special Branch, Arson Squad and Newtown Police Stations with a search of these premises."

Grahame John Merkel in his Record Of Interview With McCusker of 6 August 1986 said:

"Q.13 Do you recall who spoke to Mr. Saleam at the house?

A. Detective Wilson did speak to him briefly at the door then I entered the premises along with other police and carried out a search of the ground floor. I do not know who spoke to him once inside the building."

It is reasonably the position I was truthful in my sworn evidence in respect of the entry into my premises being affected by Wilson who had the Warrant.

I submit to the reader:

Brown and Kerridge committed Perjury after crafting their Statements. That this seemingly minor piece of Perjury was deliberately manufactured indicates a fundamental desire to falsely convict me and a cunning and resourcefulness in realising this objective.

The contradictory version of Wilson, Hunt and Merkel was available to McCusker to have passed to the Defence at the October 1986 Appeal, but the Statements were not passed over; the Defence did not know this material existed to contradict Brown and Kerridge. I obtained the Statements with the Ombudsman's Report several weeks subsequent to the Appeal. The contradictory version on the issue of the warrant confirmed the Defence position and is new material which could be considered by the Police Integrity Commission to initiate an investigation. However, our purpose here is more basic: the "police"/Special Branch lied.

I submit to the reader:

This behaviour of the Internal Affairs Branch officer, Detective Inspector McCusker could amount to an attempt to pervert the course of justice. By not disclosing evidence, he helped to

secure the conviction which assisted him in establishing the complaint as "not sustained."

## **(b) The Issue Of The Box / The Issue Of The M-1 Carbine And Other Weapons.**

There seems to be no dispute that a peculiar box was situated in the kitchen area of the premises. A box containing whisky, books and wire was in various ways mentioned by certain officers:

See: Wilson (LCT17; Statement to McCusker p.1); Hunt (Statement to McCusker p.1) ,Kerridge (Statement to McCusker) p.2 ; Brown (LCT29) Saleam (Statement to McCusker 14 August 1985 p.1 - a Statement made nearly a year previous to the police named here).

It is reasonably clear, that had the mace been recorded as found downstairs by any officer, it could have been suggested by the Defence that it was not a "knowledged possession". It was clear to the police the box could have been delivered during the previous evening and it may have been apprehended that witnesses could have been found to allege the box was delivered the night before. It was also clear to police (per the conversation alleged and partly confirmed by me) at Newtown Police Station that I was claiming to have been out all evening, returning at about 3 a.m. To make the charge stick, it was necessary I have the mace in a place where knowledged possession could be claimed.

At no time did the police fingerprint the mace. This would be suggestive. I never touched the mace.

For the police case to be acceptable, it must follow (since no challenge was ever put up to the proposition I returned at 3 a.m.) that I searched the newly-arrived box and abstracted the mace. The verbal coiming I took charge of the item for the purpose of my self-protection.

The Statements of Brown and Kerridge (as tendered in evidence) establish (and I agreed) other weapons were also found on the premises. Two rifles (including an M-1 carbine), a mattock and a hammer handle were located in the kitchen/dining room area. It could never be explained why I would have sought to protect myself upstairs in the premises against an offender who could break-in in the downstairs area and use on me - the rifles and other weapons.

It reasonably follows the mace weapon was originally located in the box; there were other weapons on the premises, two of which were vastly superior to the mace. It would be a peculiar course of events which would have seen me pick up the new weapon for "protection".

Wilson also made a curious slip at the Appeal under professional Cross-Examination. He was asked about the box.

Q. Why didn't you search it?

A. No reason.

After being reminded of the contents of the warrant and the Ridgway car-fire-bombing investigation:

Q. Didn't you feel it appropriate to search the box?

A. Not at that time (DCT 22)

This ridiculous claim could pass in the mid-1980's; but it has no credibility after the Police Royal Commission. It would make sense of course - if Wilson knew there was nothing relevant to the fire-bombing investigation and the Search Warrant because he had indeed searched the box when he found the mace.

I submit to the reader:

The contorted sequence of evidence/information regarding the box and other weapons on the premises does not really favour the Prosecution/Police argument; it does favour me. The weapon was in the box. The weapon would not have been taken upstairs for protection, because if protection was the issue, a weapon of superior quality would have been chosen. The improbability of the Police case is a high one, although in all "verbal" cases, this seldom moved the courts in this period. This reinterpretation of evidence supports other points raised in this Section.

## **(c) The Similar Spelling And Other Qualities Of The Police Statements.**

If Brown and Kerridge were to be believed, they certainly conferred at the Special Branch headquarters regarding their Statements (Kerridge LCT8 DCT13-15 ; Brown LCT24). It would most likely have been the case.

The Statements present a number of signs of fabrication:

(i) The doorstep conversation has Brown and Kerridge recording the events and conversation identically:

"Your James Saleam, aren't you? He said "Yes". .... We have a warrant to search these premises, can we come in? He said "Yere". Brown p.1/Kerridge p.1.

The spelling of "your" and "yere" could only occur if one officer was copying from some record made by the other.

(ii) Each writer used the same grammatical formula:

Kerridge: "..whilst in the loungeroom/dining area section..." p.1

Brown: "..whilst in the lounge/dining room area..." p.1

Again, it is likely one officer was copying from the other.

(iii) Each writer used a peculiar expression in the alleged conversation which suggests fabrication:

Kerridge: "I said "I believe you have rivalry with other political sanctions in New South Wales?""

Brown: "Detective Kerridge said "I believe you have rivalry with other political sanctions in New South Wales?""

When Kerridge gave oral evidence, he changed "sanctions" to FACTIONS (LCT2) Brown maintained the phrase was "sanctions" (LCT22). Brown was cross-examined as to the meaning of the word "sanctions" (At the Appeal, the Statement of Kerridge was simply tendered whole):

"Q. Can you tell us what a political sanction is?

A. A sanction could be described as being a particular person who would be attracted to a particular type of group" (LCT25)

This idiosyncratic meaning of the word sanction may have occurred to Brown in the same manner but its proper meaning was understood at all times by me. As is a matter of public

record I had attended a university and received degrees. It could be fairly assumed I knew the meaning of the word 'sanctions'! If I had confessed to possessing the mace, I would have used the word of Kerridge's revised text - "FACTIONS".

The likely source of the fabrication is this: whosoever copied his notes from the other misread the word SECTIONS, a common police phrase which does denote different organizations or groups. He wrote the word as - SANCTIONS.

(iv) It can be assumed I was somewhat acquainted with Police methodology and the nature of "verbal". The Kerridge/Brown Statements record that I was given the opportunity to make a written Statement, but declined. Why I would have bothered to confess so completely and later repudiate the tale, was perhaps the central problem inherent in this type of fabricated evidence.

It can be observed the confession followed the standard formula of this type of confession.

(v) A blemish developed over the spelling of the name "Rosier". Kerridge recorded (p.1):

"Detective Brown said "Who owns the rifle? He said Shane Roster of Stanmore".

While Brown (p.1) recorded it correctly as ROSIER, Hunt's version was more peculiar. Hunt at page one recorded ROSIER and struck it out and in handwriting made it ROSTER. Hunt agreed he made no notes in his Notebook (LCT16), nor could he recall being present on another occasion not long after the Tempe raid when Rosier was arrested (LCT13). I have inspected the original Statements and Rosier was correctly recorded in Hunt's version and then altered in pen to ROSTER. This strange act may show intent on the part of Hunt or another person to guarantee the surface-plausibility of the Statements.

I submit to the reader:

The preparation of the Statements clearly demonstrated spelling and other peculiarities which could only have emerged if a concerted effort was made to coordinate the evidence. While this may at be suggestive of wrongdoing it is not necessarily proof of criminal conspiracy. However, there was a clear implication that the Statements were produced from some central record and in the case of "sanctions" show fabricated conversation. No civilian would confess in police language. A doubt as to the veracity of the Statements' content has been demonstrated.

## **(e) A Lie From Inspector McCusker.**

Inspector McCusker of Internal Affairs also told a lie to the Ombudsman and to his superior. He had the material in front of him. He reported to the Chief Superintendent of Internal Affairs (p.8

of his Report):

"It is quite clear in my opinion that Mr. Saleam read the prepared Court brief against him and disputed the evidence in the location of the mace. There is absolutely no evidence to support the allegation of conspiracy and inquiries show that Mr. Saleam was convicted of the offence and I find that this issue is not sustained."

McCusker interviewed me on August 14 1985 at the Internal Affairs Branch and a Statement was taken. At page one of this Statement it was said Wilson found the mace in the kitchen area.

The Statement of Brown was allegedly made (see below) on June 25 1985 and those of Kerridge and Hunt on August 7 1985. However, in Brown's Record Of Interview To McCusker of 30 July 1986 we read:

"Q.37 Do you know if a Solicitor named Peter Pearsall received a copy of your Statement at Court in December, 1985?"

A. Yes, Mr.Pearsall was representing Saleam and he was allowed to read the brief prior to the Court to allow us to read them in the witness box. When the case was called before the Court, the Magistrate disqualified himself because he had had a prior dealing with Saleam and Mr. Pearsall obtained a copy of the Brief."

We also read in Kerridge's Record Of Interview with McCusker in Questions/Answers 51-57 a confirmation of the Brown version. With one exception, McCusker asks about the Statement of Facts in the case and when these Facts were made; Kerridge did NOT say these Facts were given to me (they never were, but McCusker had them; see below) at my first court appearance on July 4 1985. The charge was simply read and the matter adjourned.

Hunt was asked in his Record Of Interview with McCusker, Questions/Answers 45/46 about Pearsall possessing the Statements in order that they could be read from the witness box.

It was clearly on this occasion that the Police version of events was first aired to the Defence. Given I made a Record Of Interview with McCusker on August 14 and raised the matter of Wilson finding the mace in the kitchen, and given the comments of Brown and Hunt to the Internal Affairs interrogator, it cannot follow that the story told by Saleam/Rosier/Ferguson could have been fabricated from the reading of the Police Brief of Evidence.

I submit to the reader:

Detective Inspector McCusker deliberately distorted the truth in his Report to the Internal Affairs

Branch of the Police and to the New South Wales Ombudsman. He was seeking to give some reason for why the Defence story varied from the Prosecution/Police. Given his other failure in respect of the issue concerning the possession of the Warrant, he was clearly conducting an inadequate and skewed inquiry. It follows I was not done justice in this case and McCusker's Report may well have conditioned the Ombudsman against further investigation. It follows that for me to have told the story to McCusker on August 14 1985 as I told it, I could not have obtained that story from the Police Brief of Evidence. That makes no sense – unless I was telling the truth.

## **(f) The Missing ‘Statement Of Facts’ Damns Them All.**

The Statement Of Facts was located by me in the Ombudsman’s File. It was signed by Kerridge. It does two things:

(i) It did not mention at all where the "mace" was found. Logic says the Statement was prepared very early for the magistrate who first dealt with the matter. It said: "Whilst searching the premises in company with the defendant, a mace was found ....."

(ii) The Statement also demolished absolutely the issue of "political sanctions" and "political sections".

The Statement appeared to paraphrase me. It referred to me telling Kerridge of a "number of other groups in the area" "opposed" to National Action. "There has been friction between these groups for some time". The defendant "has had damage done by members of these rival ‘groups’ (Kerridge supplied the inverted comma as if he was quoting me!!)" to my premises.

Unfortunately, this Statement was not dated. At least it is not dated in the photocopy provided to the Ombudsman.

McCusker had this document which should have suggested to him that it was the FIRST version of my "confession" to possessing the mace. If anyone changed his story about where the mace was found – it was not me.

Why the story changed from the time of the preparation of the Statement Of Facts through to December 1985 when police statements were served on the Defence brings us back to Mr X.

## **(g) Did Mr X "Assist" The Police Case?**

I reveal here that despite Mr X NOT being a paid up member of ANA in the period after the mace arrest, he was still spoken to on various occasions by me and other members. It is absolutely certain Mr X obtained the full details of the case. Mr X knew how the box was delivered the night before; he knew an argument could be made that I did not have knowledge of possession of the mace.

Mr X would also have informed to Special Branch about my belief that acquittal could follow the clear statement of the truth.

At this time, I am in legal struggle with the Police Service over the files of the former Special Branch. All reports given by Mr X to this agency should now be brought forward. It also follows the

Police Integrity Commission should debrief Mr X in full and make its findings available. The use of informants in this way occurred throughout my entire experience of the Special Branch and is a singular indictment of the corrupt character of our political police.

## **SECTION FOUR: A SCIENTIFIC PROOF OF THE FABRICATED NATURE OF THE STATEMENT -DOCUMENTS. A PROOF OF CRIMINAL CONSPIRACY WHICH CHALLENGES THE EVIDENCE.**

At the time of the Local Court hearing, on 4 June 1986, it was rather clear to me that there was one glaring problem with the Statements which were passed to the Defence Solicitor Peter Pearsall in December 1985 (note: Pearsall did not represent me at the hearing). I was reasonably sure all three Statements (Brown, Kerridge, Hunt) had been typed on the same typewriter. Between that date and the Appeal I also formed the view that Kerridge forged Hunt's signature onto "his" Statement.

This latter question was not asked of Hunt at the Appeal. I also asked counsel to request an adjournment to have the three Statements scientifically examined, both in respect of Hunt's signature and in respect of identical typewriters, but counsel claimed it to be "irrelevant" to proving/disproving their content.

On Friday July 11 1996, eleven years after the events, I finally inspected two of the three Statements at Newtown Local Court and held them myself in my hands (previously I had only sighted copies). At this time, I was under the supervision of the Clerk of Court. The forgery of Hunt's signature was clear (ie. the letter "G" is identical to the "G" for Geoffrey in Kerridge's middle name. Further: the signature (albeit in photocopied form) upon Hunt's Record Of Interview with McCusker cited above was vastly different from the obviously affected signature on "his" Statement. I obtained this particular Record Of Interview only subsequent to conviction.

I also examined the typewriter faces and it was reasonably clear the Kerridge/Hunt Statements were prepared on the same typewriter. This is not necessarily surprising since each was allegedly made at Newtown Police. Unfortunately the original of Brown's Statement was not contained in the Newtown Local Court papers or in the District Court Registry File. Whether it exists in the files of Special Branch is unknown but it was my request to the Police Integrity Commission that a search be conducted for it. It is very likely it was also typed upon the same typewriter.

At Local Court I asked Brown particular questions regarding the typewriter issue and Brown recalled Kerridge attending Special Branch headquarters:

"I remember him typing some notes but to be quite honest I'm not sure if it was a Statement at all because I was sitting some distance from him." (LCT24)

"Q. To the best of your knowledge, the Statements made by Detectives Hunt, yourself and Detective Kerridge were not made on the same typewriter?"

A. To the best of my knowledge yes, possibly a similar brand.

Q. But to the best of your knowledge, they were not typed on the same typewriter?"

A. That's correct. (LCT25)

This interchange was highly suggestive. Brown was quick enough to suggest the typewriters for the three Statements could have been the same brand - a rather inventive comment. His admission Kerridge typed notes was perhaps a slip, but important in context: it was an admission Kerridge attended Special Branch and typed something.

At the District Court Appeal, Kerridge admitted attending Special Branch and substantial material emerged which favours this argument:

Q. Did you type any document at all at the Special Branch in relation to this matter?

A. I attended Special Branch and saw Detective Brown where he had a Statement typed which I compiled my statement from that document.

Q. At that time?

A. No.

Q. At any later time?

A. 7th August I think is the date of my statement. (DCT14)

Kerridge also provided the date of his visit to Special Branch:

Q. So it was - what date did you go to the Special squad to see Detective Brown?

A. 7th August I think it was.

Q. 7th August did you say?

A. Yes.

Q. And that was the date of your Statement?

A. Yes. (DCT14)

This was significant. If Kerridge was truthful, then the date provided upon Brown's Statement (June 25 1985) was wrongly recorded and this could not have been accidental. Kerridge was also uncertain as to what he should say about the course of events in his dealings with Brown in the production of the Statements. There is the third problem:

If Brown's evidence is truthful: then what was Kerridge typing at the Special Branch headquarters?

Kerridge also confirmed again that Brown's Statement had been prepared on August 7. He said:

Q. Now when you prepared your Statement, where did you prepare it?

A. I went to Special Branch and Detective Brown had this statement typed out I think. (DCT15)

Kerridge may have also been confusing the actual course of events with the lies he was telling. Later he did add:

Q. So basically you just copied the statement down, did you?

A. Well, I read - from memory, I read through Detective Brown's notebook and then I think I must have got a copy of this statement and took it back to Newtown and compiled my statement from that statement. (DCT15).

I submit the evidence discloses various contradictions which suggest the history of the Statements

is different to that deposed to with the reasonable inference the content was false.

I also undertook to have the Statements of Kerridge and Hunt forensically examined. I commissioned Mr. Paul Westwood of Forensic Document Services Pty Ltd. I was told by Mr. Westwood that he had performed certain work for the Royal Commission. Westwood viewed the documents at Newtown Local Court. Of course, no detailed scientific examination could be under such conditions. However Westwood came to a preliminary opinion based simply upon his sight and his experience. Westwood affirmed there was a real likelihood the "Hunt" signature had been forged by Kerridge.

It is therefore appropriate the Police Integrity Commission have this possibility confirmed. Other tests are likely to reveal additional anomalies to sustain my allegations. It is also fairly clear to the reader that if I gave my story about where the mace was found to McCusker on August 14, then for his lie to the Ombudsman to have been presented as a fact, it was necessary for the police to have provided their August 7 statements to me in the intervening week. Brown's Statement belied that.

## **SECTION FIVE: THE "BAD CHARACTER" OF THE DETECTIVES.**

At Local Court, the Magistrate referred to the "totally unshaken" testimony of the Police officers when he found the offence proved (LCT42). Judge Knoblanche was in fact - more scathing of the Defence. As I rose to give evidence, a band began to play outside. At that moment, Knoblanche said I had "musical accompaniment" for my "evidence"; Rosier was denounced as a "black liar" for his challenge to Wilson. Ferguson was called "untruthful".

Knoblanche, at my sentencing, took additional time to suggest I was a "book-burner" with a desire to "square up" with whomsoever "crossed" me. Hardly very "judicial" and "impartial"!! For Knoblanche, let this document settle the account; this disgrace to the bench (scorned by innumerable lawyers as hovering on crazy), has the satisfaction of reading the truth.

It is also clear in those cases now open to challenge as a result of the Royal Commission Into The New South Wales Police Service, that "totally unshaken" police evidence was nothing unusual; rather, other methods have had to be employed to break the solidarity amongst the perjurers.

### **(a) The Bad Character Of Detective Garry Clement Hunt.**

On July 5 1986, Her Honour Judge Angela Karpin sentenced Garry Hunt to one year's imprisonment. Hunt had been found guilty in the District Court Sydney of stealing from a child's Trust Account to support a heroin addiction. Hunt had also committed a similar offence and was serving periodic detention.

It appears Hunt resigned from the New South Wales Police Service in 1989.

The character of Hunt raises a question as to his integrity in the past. A question also exists as to the reason for his quitting the Police Service in 1989. As the Royal Commission has revealed, corrupt officers were often given silent removal from their position, rather than criminal

Prosecution or other discipline. I appealed to the Police Integrity Commission to investigate Hunt's activities in the Police Service.

Should it be the position that adverse findings on Hunt had been made, further investigations into this officer should be undertaken. From hearsay, I believe Hunt to have been a corrupt officer with substantive corrupt connections within the Police Service. Whether Hunt would cooperate with the Commission in resolving my allegation is a matter the Commission must assess for itself.

I submit to the reader:

Any intelligence which suggests corrupt conduct by Hunt in the period of the 1980's be used to assess the veracity of evidence given by him in my criminal proceedings. It is further a matter of public concern that citizens have had convictions recorded against them through the testimony of a person of revealed bad character; it is in the public interest convictions achieved through uncorroborated "verbal" evidence from Hunt whether in company of other Police or

otherwise - be reviewed. Any evidence from Hunt instrumental in achieving a conviction would now be suspect precisely because of his convictions in the 1990's.

## **(b) The Character Of Detective Darryl Kevin Wilson**

Detective Wilson resigned from the Police Service in 1987. Wilson's resignation coincided with media reports of a relationship with disgraced former Detective (and heroin criminal) Bill Duff.

It may well be the position Crime Intelligence holds information on this relationship and the importation of drugs via an aircraft (jointly owned by Wilson and Duff) into Australia from Papua-New Guinea.

I understand Wilson rejoined the Police Service and became a Chief Inspector. He left the Police Service in May 1999.

I submit to the reader:

Any adverse Crime Intelligence information held on Wilson is crucial in the assessment of any conviction secured by his testimony - regardless of whether such evidence was corroborated or not by other New South Wales Police. It is in the public interest this present allegation be pursued. It might open doors to the amassing of new criminal-intelligence. As was only recently established (through an analysis of a certain District Court Criminal Registry File, Wilson was acquainted with Brown in the 'Special Breaking Unit'. This unit was noted for corruption.

## **(c) A Question Concerning Detective Robert John Brown.**

Detective Brown resigned from the Police Service in 1989. There is no adverse information known concerning Brown. Yet his clashes with ANA in 1984-5 must raise a fundamental question of his honesty. We published his photo – twice. We accused him of wrongdoing. Are we to accept our policemen were men of steel, concerned only for the "job", who rise above personal rancour. No! Brown was a strutting little man whose conduct indicated extreme prejudice. In his Record Of Interview with McCusker, Brown spoke of my "long termed desire to get at Special Branch, because of previous problems..." Tsk Tsk!! The cant of Special Branch was well known until the Royal Commission Into The Police Service tore off its veil of secrecy.

To suggest my allegations of police misconduct in 1985-6 were simply "political" gives hypocrisy an entire new meaning.

## **(d) Detective Stephen Geoffrey Kerridge.**

Detective Kerridge is a serving Officer.

I do recall however, a confrontation with Steve Kerridge outside court, and out of earshot of other "police" involved in the case. I said: "I know you were never keen to load me." Kerridge grimaced

and said "okay".

Steve Kerridge is revealed here as a corrupt officer. Even now, he has an opportunity to come forward, acknowledge the conduct complained of, and attempt to undo a malicious conviction. I have provided details of this Internet pamphlet to the Police Integrity Commission; I have written to Steve's commander. The genie is out of its bottle. If he did come forward, the truth about political policing in New South Wales (and Australia generally) would become just that little bit more 'manifest' to the average Australian.

## **SECTION SIX: GETTING THE TRUTH ABOUT SPECIAL BRANCH.**

The investigation of the "mace case" had other elements. We return now to the question of pressure placed upon Special Branch to show "results".

The reader probably accepts by now that the police group (Wilson, Brown, Hunt and Kerridge) lied to obtain a conviction.

But there was more. We now meet ex-Special Branch detective Alan James Spencer. This mace case was – after all – really about Bronwyn Ridgway. Either the police might turn up information about the crime, or inhibit and penalise its suspected perpetrators.

Spencer, Hunt and Wilson interviewed Raftery and Ferguson about the Ridgway crime. Both have made serious allegations against these "detectives". Raftery recounted a screaming session on June 21 1985 in which Wilson accused him of committing the Ridgway crime and a serious arson. Despite Raftery's injuries, Wilson persisted. Raftery claims Wilson was motivated by intense political passion. Ferguson alleged that he was offered money to testify falsely against me.

These "interrogations" had Spencer saying that he would "take a piece of Saleam and fry it." He was also disturbed that another prosecution launched in 1984 could fail.

Special Branch was at all times an instrument of the State. It was no "intelligence" group, but a cudgel to be wielded at unpopular persons (ie. unpopular with the Establishment). It was the Ridgway case which settled the Special Branch's attitude towards ANA. Henceforward, any means was taken as justified in dealing with us.

As I have revealed in PARDON ME: THE ANATOMY OF AN AUSTRALIAN POLITICAL TRIAL (also an Internet pamphlet), this malice went to the extremes.

## **SECTION SEVEN: 'ANTI-RACIST FOLKTALE' – VALUELESS.**

Bronwyn Ridgway became a martyr to Sydney "anti-racists" after 1985. The story of how ANA members really did the car fire-bombing was recited in the Left press and by bourgeois liberal journalists. Denis Freney, editor of the Communist Party's "Tribune" newspaper, was her main press agent. Unsurprising too, as the Rosier File revealed, Freney, may well have played A CLOSE GAME WITH Special Branch in 1988-89 (but that is another story!).

Ridgway went on to give "evidence" to the utterly bogus Human Rights And Equal Opportunity Commission's "National Inquiry Into Racist Violence" (1989-91). She was portrayed as one of the heroic "victims" of a party committed to violence.

The successful prosecution for the possession of a "mace" set up the author as a man of violence, armed with illegal weapons. It became a matter of "delegitimization".

But when the prosecution is looked at, it is obvious as to who the "victims" might be. We have a party dedicated to Australian national rebirth and a corrupt political police prepared to go to all lengths to restrict its organizational success.

If the prosecution was an act of institutional corruption: what does it say about the Ridgway crime itself? Could it too, have been a provocation?

We will never know. However, the truth about the mace-case will be brought back into a court for final disposal.

The real "folktale" might be that of the energetic fighters of Nationalism who stood up to the corrupt liars of Special Branch.

## **SECTION EIGHT: CONCLUSION. WHERE TO NOW?**

The publication of this Internet pamphlet is about overturning an "anti-racist folktale" in its entirety. And that means breaking a conviction founded upon perjury. As the reader can appreciate, this method of highlighting State crime is new.

It is about generating media coverage, bringing about new "legal" contention and finally returning this case (petty though it is when compared to others) to a court. That court can now only be the Supreme Court of New South Wales for an application for an "Inquiry" into conviction.

There are other places for this case: the Police Integrity Commission and a "report to the Attorney General" which recommends pardon.

But I know there will be resistance to any "pardoning" of the author for anything. The author, like other Nationalists, was targeted in the 1984-91 period for malicious prosecution, the prime "management technique" used against patriotic dissenters in modern Australia.

For Detective Sergeant Kerridge, I offer a final word. He had an opportunity to fight against political police crime by refusing to participate. He chose to go with the flow. Oddly, he will become the final victim of this "anti-racist folktale". If he is at some point charged and convicted of the Crimes Act offences of "forge instrument to be used in legal proceeding" and "perjury", he would most certainly suffer imprisonment.

**End.**

**[Homepage](#)**



# **Lessons For Nationalists: The Communist Party Of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) and Political/Industrial Violence: Rationale And Results**

**Dr. Jim Saleam**  
**September 18 2000**

## **Preface.**

Australian Nationalists study the strategies, tactics and organizational forms of all political movements, in a 'neutral' way. We are not put off an investigation because we do not 'approve' of the subject. In that way, we can approach a remarkable (now dead) experiment in Australian communism – the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) (hereafter: CPA (M-L)).

One work (published unfortunately in French) which explained how nationalist forces have 'approached' the Left for conduct-models, was: Louis Depeux, National Bolchevisme: Strategie Communiste Et Dynamique Conservatrice (Paris: Editions Champion, 1979). This work discussed the propensity of some activists to divorce Marxist ideology from its political and organizational methods and study the latter in a 'neutral' manner. Of course, this approach has been evergreen in nationalist circles across the globe for too many years to recall. There is an extensive Euro-nationalist literature that weaves around this subject.

The present text was the product of an interest held by some Australian Nationalists in the strategies, tactics and organizational methods of the CPA (M-L). In 1971, I first became aware that nationalists had drawn upon Left models, after coming upon an article concerning the Italian "People's Struggle Organization"; the article jokingly referred to this group and others as "Nazi-Maoist" in tone. Indeed, many persons who subsequently came forward as founders of Australian Nationalism in the period 1976-78, had gone down the road of studying the Left.

Subsequently, in the practise of Australian National Alliance (1978-80) and Australian National Action (1982ff.), some 'Left' ideas were applied to their methods. It could now be appropriate to restudy these questions as the tasks for an Australian Nationalist party are now very urgent ones.

The CPA (M-L) was a Maoist-style communist party. Our study of it here will be of interest to Australian Nationalists in several areas:

(i) We shall observe particular Maoist criticisms of other Australian communists; this will help us understand how the Left in the 1980's and 1990's became a cheerleader and erstwhile bash-squad for internationalist liberals in business and politics.

(ii) We shall see how particular political-police operations directed at the CPA (M-L) drew on the blind anti-communism of certain Australian "rightists"; the method of the political police has stayed the same in the new "anti-racist" struggle to strangle Australian Identity and Independence.

(iii) We shall see in the Maoist organization particular ideas of great worth in the struggle to construct a Nationalist party able to challenge State power. We accept that this party caused the Australian Establishment grave concerns at different points.

(iv) We shall see in the overall crisis and decline of Australian communism an obvious reality: that the Left was irrelevant to the Australian People and that any challenge to the liberal regime had to come from elsewhere.

This paper has been adapted from a 1995 version that was read as an academic paper at the University of Sydney. Footnotes are provided at the end for any reader interested in pursuing this subject.

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## **Introduction.**

The Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) (CPA (M-L)) was part of the Australian working class movement in so far as Australian communism was a reflection of the socialist tradition. Despite its impact on Left politics, particular trade union/labour struggles and the political contention surrounding its activities, it has been somewhat ignored by scholars. I shall offer an interpretation of its impact upon the working class/Left milieu given its commitment to non-reformist activism and its consequent use of various forms of violence to achieve its objectives. Simultaneously, this overview illustrates the marginalised nature of Australian revolutionary-socialism in the pervasive sea of Labor/social democratic politics, and whilst under a generalised long-term imploding of support for Marxism as a political option. The use of

violence did not overcome these constraints. Two sets of conclusions shall follow: those relevant to the evidence as it flows and those of immediate concern to Australian Nationalists.

## 1. Basic Foundation Logic.

In 1963-4, the 'Marxist-Leninists' under the leadership of Victorian barrister, E.F. (Ted) Hill, split from the Communist Party of Australia (CPA). The CPA (M-L) was founded in March 1964. This split was part of an international crisis for the hitherto pro-USSR communist movement, provoked by Mao-Tse-Tung's resistance to Moscow's claim to supremacy and orthodoxy. The resulting creation of 'Maoist' parties in western industrialized societies was not as incongruous as appearances suggest. Traditional Marxist-Leninist programme and method contrasted with the theory and practise of the largely parliamentarist, unionist and reform-oriented communist parties. In their search for political power and influence, these parties had made ideological and political compromises, many openly subordinating themselves to the requirements (and dictates) of Soviet foreign policy. (1) It was perhaps inevitable that some intellectuals, older Stalinist cadre and younger Left workers and students, would reject collaboration with social-democratic parties, anti-war liberal peace fronts and reformist trades unions - and opt for a new militancy. The situation in Australian communism favoured this course.

The CPA in 1963 was a tired party, long on heroic memories, but battered by Cold War isolation. With perhaps 4,000 adherents, it had embraced Khrushchev's idea of a 'peaceful road to socialism', a doctrine Mao-Tse-Tung called - "revisionism". (2) There was certainly a nexus between the USSR's attempt to ameliorate superpower contention into a controlled or managed system of disputation and agreement (which some European nationalists have called the 'System Of Yalta'), and the revision of class struggle doctrine to permit the peaceful transformation of capitalism into a Marxist socialist order, by democratic means. (3) The obverse doctrine espoused by the Albanian and Chinese parties was that capitalist and socialist 'rivalry' could not be addressed by cooperation, disarmament and 'détente', but by support for all anti-imperialist struggles, that one system would not yield to the other except by revolutionary violence. Clearly, the latter doctrine did not appeal to the CPA's trade union officials and the bourgeois intellectual group around Laurie Aarons, the CPA's rising star. Yet, for some Australian communists, the CPA's failure to achieve any measure of success (beyond influence in the unions and certain protest movements), was held as indicative of mismanagement and betrayal.

The logic of Maoism possessed an undeniable appeal for frustrated Australian communists. Revolution was held as the dominant trend in the 1960's world; national liberation struggles were seen as universal and people's war was announced as the best method of struggle. The combination of national struggles in the post-colonial world, and revolutionary action in the industrial world, would 'overturn' imperialism. The new theory contained germs of the apocalyptic and the romantic. A heady revolutionary myth had also spawned the CPA in 1920 in the wake of the Bolshevik Revolution. Then, the CPA saw this Russian experience as a model

for the forward march of Australian socialism. While rejecting the politics of the Industrial Workers Of The World and their 'class against class' direct action unionism, the CPA saw itself as the inheritor of their revolutionary impulse. It took over certain visions of Australia as a 'working man's paradise', but married these images to the goals of the Third International, the Bolshevik organization which would direct the world revolution. The CPA (M-L), with perhaps 300-400 members in March 1964, reasoned that it represented a restatement of the principles which created the CPA and had sustained it until the then-recent period. It anticipated that a successful new course was being charted through the international rupture with 'revisionism' and the Soviet communists. (4)

Any missionary psychology is a powerful inducement to action, and the followers of a revolutionary movement may feel less restraint than members of a 'soft' party, in determining whether or not to break rules and break laws. As the decade of the 1960's unfolded, this became more obvious. Hill reflected upon the schism:

"The former Communist Party was deluded by legality and parliamentarism into failing to explain we live in conditions of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.....a ruthless implacable enemy which resorts to the foulest deceit..." (5)

The formal embracing of Maoism, in so-called 'Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse-Tung Thought', would have remained nothing but a storm in a Marxist intellectual's teacup, had not the CPA (M-L) tried to apply it as a revolutionary method in Australian labour politics, and place the 'class struggle principle' ahead of any notion of social reform.

## **2. The Rationale For Violence**

Several of the defining elements of Chinese Maoism were those which emerged as a response to the necessities of waging a military-political war against the militarily and politically stronger 'Kuomintang' party in a country controlled by a vacillating bourgeoisie under pressure from imperialist forces. Mao's guerilla warfare and protracted war ideas used in that war, were later adopted or adapted to other insurgencies. Mao constructed his party in a permanent struggle that disintegrated the opposition as it proceeded. (6) Demonstrably, no such conditions favourable to armed struggle operated in Australia. However, the general concept of a guerilla-protracted-political warfare could be applied to a civil society: guerilla war without guns! This was the key ingredient of the CPA (M-L)'s strategy and tactics for over twenty years.

The 'revival' of Marxism-Leninism in its new Maoist clothing was held as a crucial event; but in a standard formulation offered up continually, it was necessary to "integrate Marxism-Leninism with Australian conditions". The manner in which this was attempted became a justification for political-industrial violence, the basis of the way forward to armed revolution. Some ten central Maoist principles reveal themselves from the literature and are worthy of consideration outside

of their content. They are composed here according to Maoist terms:

(i) The Labor Party should not serve as a centre of communist interest. It was not a party of socialism or even of 'genuine' social democracy. As laid out by Lenin in a 1912 article, it was a party of liberalism - with some 'national' or reformist colouring. Accordingly, the CPA (M-L) rejected the class collaborationist pro-ALP CPA. It then went on to reject Trotskyist theory of 'entrism' (into the Labor Party) as a failed model for action. The alternative was an energetic opposition to the Labor Party and its union allies. (7)

(ii) Australian law was class law and a cover for bourgeois dictatorship. Courts, police, jails, secret police and Acts of Parliament were all aspects of this dictatorship. Illusions in the 'neutrality' of the State had created a subservient labour movement – and false communists. The alternative was to challenge or 'contest' law and authority, to demonstrate in struggle the essential nature of State power. (8)

(iii) The CPA had operated a false conception of organization – large offices, open membership, position-taking in unions and social campaigns, Left-bureaucratic attitudes in such structures and sectarian conduct otherwise. The CPA (M-L)'s alternative was for a few publicly known communists to be supported by a secret organization which sustained union and political action. Communists would move guerilla-like in a sea of sympathetic 'workers and working people' (ie. industrial working class and other working groups), inciting strikes and political action, their party connection concealed from the enemy. (9)

(iv) Parliamentarism was a sham which had caused the CPA immense harm and which liquidated communism into the Labor Party. Since communists could not be elected or effectively alter State policy, the CPA (M-L) advocated non-participation in the electoral process. The Maoists sought, hence, to advance the class struggle directly at the base level. (10)

This position was unique on the Australian Marxist Left. It certainly released energies which otherwise would have been wasted on electoral work. The general failure of the Communist Party, Socialist Party, Socialist Workers' Party and Socialist Labour League candidates during three decades of parliamentary elections to win more than a few percent of the votes in 'traditional' inner city 'Left' areas - was marked.

(v) A secret organization of the Leninist type was necessary. (Ironically, the CPA (M-L) never held a public meeting until 1990 when it counted for nought) The CPA (M-L) believed that secret police were pervasive and an open party was therefore ripe for disruption. It reasoned also that open-membership encouraged ideological division and rivalries; whilst the closed party was not immune to policemen and dissension, the sanction of expulsion, with or without physical compulsion, could be employed. The 'secret' party maintained a stronger public profile as it encouraged a reputation founded upon determination to politically succeed; it could better combat political police efforts at destabilization. (11)

(vi) The Maoist Chinese party discipline-technique of criticism/self-criticism was adopted. (12) The CPA (M-L) sought to inculcate a strong internal discipline just as the CPA had done in earlier times. It wanted to encourage a high degree of homogeneity of thought. With a cadre firmly and consciously motivated, it could mobilize more energetically. Energy and violence are occasional partners.

(vii) The CPA (M-L) was proclaimed to be the party of the Australian working class. This sectarian device (and the Maoist party was not alone in asserting this claim), sharpened the distinction between both Marxism-Leninism and the ALP, and the CPA (M-L) and the "fake-Left" (CPA, Trotskyists, SPA). (13) It was a recipe for intolerance of other Left perspectives and for militancy.

(viii) The CPA (M-L) addressed itself to unskilled and semi-skilled workers (builders' labourers, wharfies, tramworkers, process workers, labourers). The Maoists made a 'virtue' of an accident: most of their initial cadre was located in these areas. They attempted to develop upon this base. Such workers were held to be less trade-routinised, more informal, volatile and organized in larger (usually Multinational owned) enterprises. (14) Confrontationism could be developed outside of 'soft' unions or even under the direct control of Maoist organizational structures.

(ix) A 'Mass Line' was the essential element of party activism. Since "revolutionary consciousness" could only be introduced to the "proletariat" (ie. the working class) "from without", the clarity of this 'Line' was essential. The CPA (M-L)'s publications and actions showed a remarkable consistency over time. While much of the Australian Left was lost in pseudo-popular campaigns and mass movements, the CPA (M-L) maintained its "independence and initiative". The Mass Line involved:

- a. Contestation at selected points of the State's authority (Arbitration Act 'penal powers', police powers, university authority and others).
- b. Erection of 'tension' around selected issues of public propaganda (demonstrations, arrests).
- c. 'Spontaneous' malicious damage to property of targeted opponents (eg. Damage to buildings operated by Honeywell Corporation in Melbourne and Sydney in 1971-2).
- d. A propaganda with defined mass slogans around specific issues.
- e. 'Vanguard', the party newspaper, had to be "studied" in order to apply the given 'Line' on pressing issues, to develop party consistency and single-mindedness. (15)

The 'Mass Line' was all about 'psychological action', the creation of an impression of social

disorder which would encourage the destabilization of opposition and invite the solidarity of radical activists with CPA (M-L) perspectives. Mass Line implied also that communists would work without the "Left bloc" atmosphere of special intra-party political and social meetings that narrowed contact with the people. Rather, communists would "merge with the workers", "learn from and teach them". This application of Maoism varied from CPA (and later Socialist Party of Australia – SPA) practise. It had variable success, but demonstrated missionary zeal. Zealousness and violence are traditional partners.

(x) The youth were the objective for recruitment. (16) The CPA (M-L) expansion period (1968-78) coincided with a particular phase in Australian society. The Maoists set out to capture the 'radical youth market' and did have some success. Whatever the difficulties involved in the education of young supporters, the activism and latent violence of the target-market, could be counted upon and refined.

Taken in combination, these ideological principles, when added to traditional Marxist-Leninist arguments regarding the violent nature of class struggle, established the CPA (M-L) as a definable Left current. In effect, it raised the issues of terror and violence with stodgy, contented of reformist leftists. Terror and violence are systems and methods. Historian Andrew Metcalfe theorised:

"A terror is the enforcement of a pledge. The insistence anyone disloyal is an enemy .. (ensures that) .. terror 'closes' the group. It involves sanctions against both the enemies and members of a group and the sanctions are commonly but not necessarily violent ..... Not all group terror is violent, but because class struggle is about control of the means of production it is possible to ... say that the organization of the class struggle is the mobilization of violence ..." (17)

Violence separated the Maoist party from the Labor Party and the Marxist Left. The use and justification of violence was a call for the 'renewal' of Marxism. Just as Georges Sorel had once attacked official Marxism in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century for its fear of violence, effectively showing why the Social Democracy of that day was doomed to falter and split, so the CPA (M-L) explained the failure of Australian Marxism of the modern period as arising from its refusal to appreciate the essential nature of the class struggle. The 'terror' united the Maoists and propelled both anti-establishment and anti-Left violence.

It is argued here that the implicit and explicit basis of Maoism's break with the 'revisionists' centred on their acceptance of the notion that the Australian State was a machine of capitalism, and it represented nothing more and nothing less than congealed violence in the defence of that system. The militants believed that the violence of this State would 'one day' perish in the revolution. In the interim, the logic of the Maoist dispensation meant a guerilla fight with State power. Violence was not relegated to some distant day-of-the-barricades, but could be applied at various points in the present. There was hence an open exhortation to violence. Violence is as much psychological as physical. The Maoists sought to answer the threat of State violence (and

even terror) with their own mystique. To strike at State supporters, police, provocateurs, media, academics and other allies of 'capital', would be to cut off the tentacles of the State, just as the armed guerilla would strike at the immediate representatives of State power in the colonial countries– to induce fear!

And where would this political guerilla war - lead? It would escalate step by step as the system disintegrated. The path would open at some point of the system's crisis, to general strike action, armed violence, and in due course (if necessary or possible), a seizure of power by an armed body.

### **3. The Application Of Violence 1969-74.**

The CPA (M-L)'s first taste of revolutionary labour-political violence centred on the Clarie O'Shea struggle of April 1969. O'Shea, Maoist secretary of the Victorian Tramways Union, was imprisoned over his non-compliance with orders of the Arbitration Court (the so-called 'penal powers' residual in the Arbitration Act). Over a million workers went on strike throughout Australia in protest and there were violent clashes between workers and police in several cities. The Vanguard wrote:

"How do workers break from the grip of trade unionism? When the working masses took action recently against the imprisonment of C.L. O'Shea, people from all sections of the community rallied to their support. The class clash became clearly defined .. it went past the boundaries of orthodox trade unionism. It defied the trade union bureaucrats." (18)

O'Shea, in his WORKERS' POWER VERSES PENAL POWER, argued that: workers acted spontaneously in their interests outside of the "economist" trade unions (economist: purely economic-struggle structures). The ALP and Left union leaders tried to contain mass action; the violence of people directed against the police was healthy. (19)

O'Shea's position as a Maoist was strengthened in his union and the CPA (M-L)'s reputation for militancy was enhanced. A group of "rebel unions" inside the Victorian trade union movement coalesced around this time. The Building And Construction Workers/Builders' Labourers' Federation (BLF), Painters And Dockers Union, Waterside Workers' Federation, Tramways Union, Clothing Trades Union and twenty-two others, represented a so-called "class struggle" wing of the movement for several years. Maoist influence was strong. In a repeat of the O'Shea situation, Norm Gallagher was jailed in February 1971. Local strikes in Melbourne and clashes with police resulted. (20)

The O'Shea affair occurred as the CPA (M-L) intersected with a growing Left student movement in Melbourne universities. Barry York, one of the activists later wrote :

"Student movements arise during periods of acute and rapid change in institutional structures and traditions are made obsolete or less relevant." (21)

So it appeared. In the 'new' universities such as Monash and La Trobe, some students were attracted to Maoist politics. After an "Anti-Imperialist Week" in September 1970, a student march saw violence with Special Branch police. Another march occasioned police violence visited upon hundreds of students. The shift to the Left on campus was obvious. (22) Students began to 'contest' university authority and several Maoist students – Albert Langer, Brian Pola, Barry York, Fergus Robinson – were imprisoned for violation of university orders which banned them from campus grounds. Their struggles also took on a non-university setting after heavy cultivation of the leading activists by CPA (M-L) leaders.

In 1970, the CPA (M-L) initiated a broad front organization – the Worker Student Alliance (WSA). It was to serve as (i) a public transition belt for militants to progress into the communist cadre organization (23) and (ii) a force for the development of street action, student activism and factory organization. It has been estimated the WSA came to have 500 Melbourne members, with 150 in Adelaide and smaller groups in Sydney and Perth. (24) The WSA was to carry out Lenin's WHAT IS TO BE DONE? plan to construct a union of the intelligensia and workers in a single structure. It also united various strands of radicalism: student-vanguardism, spontaneist-Maoism and romantic militancy. The WSA was dominated by the students, with Albert Langer (later a party Vice-Chairman), as its public spokesman.

The WSA was the agitation-propaganda organization par excellence. It sought to apply CPA (M-L) slogans and strategies to immediate situations. Its newspaper – Struggle – attempted to demonstrate that Maoist cadres could "raise the level of consciousness" through each "people's struggle" (ie. anti-war, anti-imperialist, labour or student issue) while winning ground-level victories. It had some successes, but stumbled absolutely over the issue of fascism.

Maoists were proud of violent confrontations in which Left activists and workers played a role. Vanguard reported anti-police violence at a demonstration against U.S. Vice President, Spiro Agnew (25); representatives of U.S. corporations were assailed at Monash University (26); Builders' Labourers had clashed with police (27). In MEET FASCISM'S CHALLENGE, the CPA (M-L) "recognized" State violence could only be answered by counter-violence – particularly at demonstrations. (28) In January 1971, the WSA applied violence-in-mob-action in a curious watershed in Left-Jewish-Police-Right relations.

On January 31 1971, a mass rally on the Yarra Bank in Melbourne drew thousands of Melbourne Jews, 'anti-fascists' and the WSA supporters to protest the activities of the neo-nazi 'National Socialist Party of Australia' (NSPA). Langer incited a considerable part of the crowd to ignore prominent Zionist leader of the Jewish Ex-Servicemen's Association, Abraham Cykiert, and march on the Nazi headquarters in Carlton. In the ensuing riot, the building was ransacked. (29) The incident set off a gang war between the NSPA and the Maoists in several cities; but the

NSPA's retaliatory effort had another dimension.

The CPA (M-L)/WSA maintained continuously throughout 1971-3, that the NSPA was a creature of the ASIO/Special Branch network, designed to curb the Maoist upsurge and otherwise damage the Left's potential. This pamphlet affirms that this position was correct. The political police were concerned and decided to act. This truth was to remain – concealed.

The Maoist commitment to violence had not damaged Hill who served as the keynote speaker at the Melbourne 1971 May Day. The Left across Australia seemed to be developing a menacing capability. It was a time of economic-slowdown; the Vietnam War was at its height and the youth culture had elements outside of mainstream views. The presence of a Cold War political police almost rendered certain that a Dirty Tricks operation would be directed at the Left. We now know that ASIO targeted Left activists in a project called 'Operation Whip' Ultimately, the use of the NSPA allowed the political police to answer Maoist violence outside of the law, dealing with their violence measure for measure.

Vanguard reported that a Brisbane Nazi had entered the East Wind Bookshop (the Maoist shop) and:

"claimed the police on duty at their punch-ins were there to protect them from effective retaliation from those against whom they used violence." (30)

The man at issue was Gary John Mangan. In an interview with the author in the 1980's, he confirmed that these words were the truth. Indeed, in 1971, Mangan was expelled from the NSPA because of a loose-lipped attitude to the political police connection. (31) It was Nazi leader Cass Young who had removed Mangan from the NSPA and it was this man who collaborated closely with the political police. Vanguard had reported Young was "under the control of Special Branch" and so friendly with them in Victoria that he "conferred openly with Inspector Larkins" at the trial of a Nazi charged with assault. (32) One former NSPA member, Claude Woods, named Special Branch detectives "Shuert" and "Luks" as Young's regular contacts. He said Young "accepted" a sort of "guidance" in selecting Left targets. (33) Special Branch detectives in Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane provided the neo-nazis with the addresses of various Maoist and Left activists, and often refused by obstruction to investigate property damage and other attack. (34) The Maoists countered: Woods said the homes of Nazis were singled out for vandalism in 1971-3. (35)

The Maoists made another enemy: Cykiert. From late 1971 until 1973 he met in secret with Cass Young. (36) Precisely how the meetings were first initiated could not be determined. Yet, this unholy alliance was 'logical'. Zionists could employ a neo-nazi anti-semitic group on several levels. The Nazis could operate against pro-Palestine Left groups and ensure the Zionist structures had time to 'reintegrate' into controlled groups, those Jews who had followed Langer in the Carlton riot. The subterranean Maoist/Zionist struggle continued until 1979, when the

Maoists lost effective control over 3CR radio which had to its credit, intensified the spread of anti-Zionist, and pro-Palestinian propaganda in Melbourne. Vanguard published a welter of anti-Zionist material in the 1970's and Langer subsequently founded a 'Jews Against Zionism And Anti-Semitism' to reply to mainstream Jewish sympathy for Israel. It was perhaps this anti-Zionist line taken by the CPA (M-L) and the Zionist reply to it, which introduced pro-Palestine positions into the Australian Left. Cykiert urged the Nazis to act against the CPA (M-L), and from my interpretations of discussions with Young in November 1981 and January 1982, suggested the NSPA would enjoy support if it did so.

The relationship between Young and Cykiert was known to many in the former NSPA; the author is further advised the subject was discussed at a disorderly meeting of the Victorian Jewish Board Of Deputies after this fact was publicly exposed by me in the 1980's. I also state here for the first time in print, that in January 1973, after an 'information-collecting-visit' to Young's Nazi headquarters, I was driven by him to Melbourne city. Curious as to his conversation, I subsequently concealed myself, and witnessed a meeting commence between the two conspirators in Queen Street, Melbourne. This relationship must have been known to ASIO. I confirm the information in David McKnight's AUSTRALIAN SPIES AND THEIR SECRETS, whereby it was said that ASIO ran an agent in the NSPA. This agent was close to Cass Young and wrote in the NSPA magazine under the nom-de-plume – "Ravensbruck". This "Ravensbruck" wrote articles against the WSA and contributed his own photographs of WSA leaders taken in unlikely settings (which implied the photographs were from ASIO).

For the CPA (M-L), 'anti-fascist politics' was correct because fascism was considered as the final reserve weapon of capitalism in crisis. A survey of Vanguard (1970-77) and Struggle (1971-3), carried out for this discussion, revealed a preoccupation with fascism. It was understood broadly (too broadly) for a communist position, as any authoritarian use of courts, police or parliaments, any increase in police or secret police funding and so forth. But there was no fascist movement and neither the neo-nazis (who saw themselves as potential allies of the Liberal-Country parties in suppressing communism) nor the League Of Rights, could really satisfy any acceptable definition of fascism. The Maoists therefore, made a major error of judgement, and were responding to phantoms in league with the police and other Establishment figures. Their fury was 'understandable', since Maoist bookshops in Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane in 1971-3, were regularly vandalized; but it was a misplaced concern.

On some occasions, persons with NSPA or Right connections were apprehended for anti-Maoist offences and were treated leniently by the courts. (37) WSA leaders were attacked and homes damaged. In one piece entitled "Violence And The Law", Vanguard urged self-defence against all provocation. (38) Eventually, they opted for direct action. In June 1972, 100 WSA supporters broke into the Nazi office, a house in St. Albans. Vanguard said:

"..the seizing and destruction of all Nazi files and propaganda ... is not individual terrorism It is correct mass action." (39)

Struggle went on to publish the names and addresses of all Melbourne Nazis seized in the 'mass action'. It defended the protestors who were arrested for malicious damage of the St. Albans house. The February 1973 court appearances of the Maoists involved, led to further clashes with police and Nazis. Eventually in August 1973, one wharfie, Harry Bouquet, was imprisoned for assaulting Nazis at the courtroom fracas. Maoist Ted Bull who controlled the Waterside Workers' Federation, called a waterside strike on August 23 to demand Bouquet's release. (40) Clearly, the actions of the NSPA had fed a vociferous counter-action.

The NSPA's campaign of violence continued in early 1973 with arsons and shotgun attacks upon Maoist premises. Finally in May 1973, at Melbourne's Dallas Brookes Hall, during a meeting addressed by the Deputy Prime Minister Jim Cairns to welcome a Viet Cong delegation to Australia, Nazis left off poison gas. (41) Maoists attacked police and Nazis outside, and the police responded avidly. This incident however, provoked a security crisis. The poison gas affair was possibly a 'payback' by ASIO against the ALP government's endorsement of the "raid" carried out by Attorney General Lionel Murphy upon ASIO's Melbourne headquarters earlier that year. (42) Murphy alleged publicly that ASIO officers had set up a parallel shadow structure to snipe at the government as retaliation for his investigation of political police links with the Croatian Ustasha. The NSPA now found itself under intense scrutiny. It was a weak link in the political police chain of operations.

In late July, Young shut down the NSPA. A deal was struck. If Young moved from Melbourne and abstained from political activity, no further investigation of the poison gas incident would take place. There would be no other investigation of other offences including weapons matters. Young moved to Sydney in August 1973. The released files of the New South Wales Special Branch corroborate the evidence of an eye-witness who told the author that the NSPA's membership and other records were passed over to ASIO at police headquarters. It is clear that Special Branch had a copy of the NSPA membership records and other documents, duly provided by "X" and "Y" (Young and his wife). Ostensibly, these materials were given over in December 1973.

The NSPA melted away; as an auxiliary force of the political police, it was now a 'dangerous' tool. 'Disengagement' from it appears to have occurred in all states. Abruptly, one of the main 'targets' of Maoist activism – disappeared. In a sense, the Maoists were now in a cul de sac. Of course, the WSA still had support, such as the group around the activist cell at the Broadmeadows car plant (Melbourne) which helped incite anti-police violence in June 1973. However, the WSA was in crisis.

Violence had been engaged in by the youthful WSA members, particularly against the neo-nazis. Although violence can isolate an organization from its actual purposes, it can also enforce group solidarity which was important for the youth generally. It demonstrated purpose and commitment and when successfully employed showed the 'potential' of the movement. It can also exhaust its participants when it leads to no over-riding political result. The "anti-Nazi"

struggle contained a 'moral' aspect whereby the students and young workers would extirpate a group dressed in the clothing of Hitler's 'genocidalism'. However, politics and morality can be poor lovers: the Nazis were essentially provocateurs and straw-men and the moral display did not move labour into the Maoist camp. The Maoists had limited resources and the toxic wine of violence clouded judgement; at the end of the day, there were no fascists, and the sidetracking of the CPA (M-L)/WSA was a victory for the political police.

## 4. Violent Confrontation With The Left

For the Marxist Left, Maoism was a destabilizing influence. The exclusivist CPA (M-L) had proclaimed that the "splendid working class" had "cleansed the ranks" of Australian communism in the 1963-4 schism. Little dialogue with the CPA occurred thereafter. Rather, the scene was one of rancorous abuse directed at the CPA leaders – Aarons, Bernie Taft, Pat Clancy, John Halfpenny, Laurie Carmichael, Jack Mundy Peter Symon and others. (43) The name-calling and labelling perhaps obscured the crisis within the CPA where pro-Soviet and 'Euro-communist' ideas clashed, and where the 'revisionist' line and the New Left pseudo-militant posture all struggled for predominance. The mutual-aversion did encourage some verbal and physical harassment of CPA union officials and some clashes on campus (44) The exclusion of the CPA's faction in the BLF by an aggressive nation-wide takeover by Norm Gallagher in 1974, also involved violence. In fairness to the argument advanced by the Maoists which is under investigation in this pamphlet, it is noted that the CPA (M-L) considered the CPA as an obstacle to the further radicalization of the Left. This judgement, given the 1980's development-towards-dissolution of the CPA, was probably one with merit. It was sensed by the Maoist leadership long before, and the push was on to occupy 'territory' before the CPA destroyed potential recruits and cadre.

The further split in the CPA in 1971, which produced the rabidly pro-Soviet Socialist Party of Australia (SPA), did not change Maoist attitudes to the other fractions of Australian communism, but merely gave them a new whipping boy. The SPA was variously tagged as a vehicle of "Soviet social-imperialism" and a means to shackle the workers to the Labor Party "left wing". (45) In the 1970's, various SPA offices were damaged, student activists harassed, and union leaders (particularly in the Building Workers' Industrial Union) intimidated. Some SPA members spoke of the Maoists with a mixture of trepidation – and loathing. (46)

However, it was not the more traditional Marxists who roused the CPA (M-L)'s ire so much as the revived Trotskyist movement. The CPA (M-L) was not simply 'Maoist', but also 'Stalinist'. The Socialist Youth Alliance/Socialist Workers' Party (SYA/SWP), the Socialist Labour League (SLL) and the Australasian Spartacist League, became 'targets'. The Maoists clearly conceived of Trotskyism as a competitor for the same political niche and clientele. The SYA had formed in 1970, participated in anti-Vietnam War activism and appealed to leftist students and youth. It sought to pick up the mantle of revolutionary socialism from the "Stalinist" CPA. (47) The SLL, which formed in 1971, opted for a recruitment program amongst working class youth, fielded

candidates in Labor electorates and tried to represent a pole of attraction for Left-Labor workers. (48)

Abuse preceded violence. In "Youth Are The Most Vigorous Force In The Revolutionary Movement", Vanguard equated Trotskyism with drug-taking, sex-obsession, homosexuality, pop-culture and apoliticism; it was dubbed a "diversion". (49) At the base level, Trotskyism's history in Australia shows that appreciation to have remained correct. At a 1972 Adelaide anti-war march, while Maoists waged "guerilla" hit and run efforts at police lines, Trotskyists were supposed to have buckled under to police directions. (50) When Maoists demanded (at meetings or in propaganda) the expulsion from Australia of U.S. military bases, Trotskyists would criticise them for "chauvinism". (51) In 1976, Adelaide Maoists accused Trotskyists of misusing young people (SYA) and using gangsterist methods to raise funds off unemployed youth for an irrelevant newspaper-building campaign (SLL). (52) One Maoist accused Trotskyists generally – of cowardice. (53) One Adelaide Maoist militant (Louise King) told the author that SYA members were assaulted at Flinders University in 1972. She also added later, that activists from the "Worker Student Alliance For Australian Independence", would jostle or punch sellers of the Trotskyist papers Direct Action and Workers News – particularly at the gates of the car plants where Maoist cells were active in 1976-77. (54)

The Spartacist League became a victim of a series of bashings. Neil Florrimal, Spartacist activist at La Trobe University was beaten unconscious in 1977 by three students from the "Students For Australian Independence". In 1978, another La Trobe Spartacist Andrew Georghiou, was thrown through a plate glass window. The organizer of this assault, Danny Hacking, told the author that his action was not spontaneous. The use of violence against the Trotskyists was supported by "Independence Movement" (usually CPA (M-L)) officers. (56) Hacking also participated in assaults on SYA/SWP and Spartacist members at union rallies. Trotskyists denounced Maoists for regularised thuggery. It could be concluded this anti-Left violence was widespread and indicative of a type of 'commitment' the Trotskyists did not share.

## **5. The Independence Movement Phase Of Violence 1975-80.**

The transmutation of the WSA groups in the various states into "Independence Movement" sections (1975-6), was a major CPA (M-L) initiative which brought the Maoist movement to its apogee. The CPA (M-L) adhered to Mao-Tse-Tung's "Theory Of The Three Worlds". This theory argued that the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. represented the superpowers – the "First World"; advanced industrialized countries like Australia were in the "Second World"; the post-colonial states of Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and Asia were the "Third World". The 'racist' nature of this "theory" was overlooked by all and bore that curious echo of Mao's 1920's mentor, Li Ta-Chao who saw the colonial world as a "proletariat" and the white world as a "bourgeoisie". In the Australian context the Three Worlds ideas was applied this way: since the

Second World countries were victims too of imperialism, revolution "would proceed through stages", the first stage being "anti-imperialist national independence" struggle (57). This struggle would unite all against the superpowers. This notion placed the CPA (M-L) in contradistinction to Trotskyism which continued to maintain the validity of "permanent revolution". The basis for violent confrontation was set. Further, Maoism was in conflict with the CPA. Laurie Aarons sniped:

"The Maoists, in a ridiculous extension of ... Chinese experience speak of a national bourgeoisie with potential as a revolutionary ally in the struggle for national independence ... The Maoist nonsense should not blind us to the fact that they have given voice with some success to deeply felt national sentiment." (58)

Of course, the Maoist party did transpose Chinese precepts onto Australian conditions, a factor which demonstrated too, the difficulty of building any sort of domestic communism. Yet, the main point conceded by Aarons was the fact that the CPA (M-L) in raising the slogan "Independence For Australia", had struck a responsive chord.

The 'independence line' was developed consistently after the Fraser-Kerr "coup" against the Whitlam Labor government in 1975. The CPA (M-L) argued that superpower contention lay at the basis of the misuse of the monarchy's reserve powers to secure Australia politically and economically for "U.S. imperialism" and to "counter Soviet imperialism". (59).

The 'independence line' broadened the potential of the CPA (M-L). The Eureka Flag was raised and other nationalist iconography utilised (Ned Kelly, Blinky Bill, colonial patriotism and old-Labor icons). The "Independence Movement" groups could recruit amongst republicans, anti-foreign bases campaigners, anti-uranium protestors, unions concerned with deindustrialization, Left-culture groups and anti-war campaigns. This Independence Movement contained some 4000 members in 1977-78. The CPA (M-L) controlled organized 'muscle' and held influence over various cause-movements. It was a turf the Maoists sought to protect against any and all challengers. This Stalinist exercise may have been a case of cynical marketing, but, and it was a big but, many people attracted into the Independence Movement found the goal of Australian Independence in a world of Multinationals, global banks and superpower rivalry, satisfying and logical. To protect this 'potential', the sanction remained - violence.

One victim was Alan Birtley, coordinator of the Eureka Students' League (ESL), a Nationalist student group based mainly at Melbourne University (1974-6). The ESL had also taken up the Eureka Flag. Vanguard called for "appropriate action". (60) In August 1976, Birtley was violently assaulted by Maoist militants in an incident described by Vanguard as a "meting out of people's justice". (61) The ESL was terrorised in various ways and essentially ceased operations. A similar Nationalist challenge over the Eureka Flag and ironically the very slogan "Independence For Australia", was also met with violence. Frank Salter, secretary of Australian National Alliance, was clubbed down at the University of New South Wales in February 1979

(62) This time however, there was no back-down by the 'Right' to Maoist violence. The University of New South Wales had been a 'Maoist stronghold' for some time, clashes occurring there previously in 1976 between the "Independence Movement" and SPA/SWP students during a visit by a Soviet Embassy official (63). But Australian National Alliance continued to appear there and contributed to wresting the Eureka Flag off the Maoists.

The student milieu provided Maoism with a layer of activists who were inclined to accept violence as a political means. The President of Melbourne University Students' Council, Jewish 'conservative' Michael Danby, also felt the impress of Maoist terror. Fingered as an informant for the Commonwealth Police on the activities of anti-Zionist students, he was bashed and hospitalised for two months in 1977. The Zionists retaliated through the media with the inevitable charge of "anti-semitism" and the drive to eliminate Maoist control over the radio-broadcasts of 3CR.

The Independence Movement also contained an 'ex-criminal' thug element. One-time National Action organizer in Melbourne, Eugene Donnini, was recruited into the Independence Movement courtesy of Maoist infiltration of the Prisoners' Action Group; he was at Pentridge gaol under sentence for armed robbery. Donnini told the author that upon release from custody, he and some other ex-prisoners, were "provided" with jobs on BLF building sites. They were obliged to enforce Norm Gallagher's authority. Donnini maintained it was an "open secret" that malicious damage to the property of "anti-independence" companies or persons, was sanctioned. Left opponents, Right opponents or police at demonstrations, were all targets. Violence was just another "weapon". (64)

The Independence Movement was expected to establish a façade for, and a commitment to, striking at rivals or enemies. This atmosphere created one peculiar 'cultural inter-action'. The popular bands, Bushwhackers and Redgum, joined the Movement and promoted its message at performances and through their widely available records and tapes. These bands authored many songs justifying violent national and class struggles. (65) They often appeared on building sites and Eureka Day celebrations to 'normalize' the violence the Maoists enforced. Margaret Panter, CPA (M-L) member and secretary of the Australian Independence Movement (Victoria), told the author in private conversations, that the "cultural struggle" would "implant Marxism-Leninism firmly inside" a cultural movement. These bands offered a "response" to the violence implicit in the Australian State, "Australianizing" the Maoist argument on the "need" for violent revolution. (66) This also encouraged to action, those involved in the immediate 'dispensation' of violence pending revolution.

An 'ex-criminal' component was also present in the Adelaide group. Vanguard reported violence at car plants in that city, aimed at "reformist" union leaders. Louise King told the author that former prisoners who obtained work with 'Chrysler', controlled the Maoist cell. (67)

The ex-prisoner element (see also below) might also admit the conclusion that Maoism sought to

harness the larrikin element in Australian working class culture, to provide occasions or circumstances where it could be relied upon. Larrikinism is however, spontaneous in character. Yet the anti-law element in Maoism was present and organized, and in the creation of a sub-culture harking back to bushranging and even convictism, it was attempting to create a type of 'permanence' to ground struggle, a no-go culturally autonomous area from which political guerilla war could be built.

Generally, Independence Movement militants did move guerilla-like in the various mass protest movements of the Fraser years. 'The Australian' newspaper spoke of a "Growing Threat" from "anti-democrats" within the broad labour movement and protest groups. (68) Jefferson Lee, Maoist president of the Australian Union Of Students (AUS), used that organization to garner campus support for 'anti-Kerr' demonstrations, anti-uranium and anti-U.S. bases campaigns. Tasma Ockenden, 1977-78 AUS president, told the author that the Maoists sought to coordinate and activate the mass campaigns of the time, to turn the "maintained rage" (of the Kerr 'putsch') into continuously fuelled confrontations. (69) The character of some of the demonstrations in the years 1975-8 did seem to justify the intolerance of a party attempting to gain hegemony over a large phenomenon. Although the CPA (M-L) employed a subjective logic – which always had 'people's struggle' reaching 'new heights' - there was something to crow about. The potential was present to establish Maoism as the dominant Left current, the advent of which would have altered the quality of Left politics and undoubtedly too – the evolution of the Right. A 'national communism' would have presented a curious political circumstance that would have demanded a different Right (I touch on this in the conclusions).

But none of this speculation was to take substance. The crisis - and then decline - of the Independence Movement and of the CPA (M-L), had nothing to do with any idea that confrontation, intimidation and violence lost it public acceptability. Rather, it came from internal disputes over the direction of the Red Chinese state and the local Maoist movement. 'Rebel!', a journal issued by a dissident Maoist organization, the 'Red Eureka Movement' (REM), wrote:

"The Independence Movement ... is far wider than AIM and similar organizations. The way to build strong, genuinely broad mass organizations for independence is not by watering down our line in the hope that masses will come and join us ... but by taking our line of revolutionary Independence and Socialism out to the masses ..." (70)

These Maoist dissidents, who then set up a front movement – the Movement For Independence And Socialism (MIS) – saw the disappearance of the socialist content of their effort inside the broad church. Further, they believed (correctly) that the CPA (M-L)'s fullsome devotion to Mao-Tse-Tung Thought had degenerated into an uncritical devotion to the Chinese state and its anti-Soviet foreign policy. (71) The issue which caused the 1963-4 split had returned in a new way. Indeed, it was precipitated by the fall of China's 'radicals', the 'Gang Of Four' who denounced the growing trend of revisionism in the Chinese party. Hill's group followed the Chinese "revisionists" who focused on building an international front against the Soviet Union – which

included Fraser's Australia, Japan and the U.S.A.

One REM/MIS supporter saw the CPA (M-L) as losing its balance; it had pursued a one-sided approach in attacking "Soviet imperialism", while ignoring the obvious fact that the Australian State was a creature of the American imperialism. This pleased China, but did not serve in mobilizing an Australian audience. It was one thing to say the Soviet Union was the rising imperialism, and correct to notice it had interests in Australia, but it was not the dominant imperialism and certainly not in Australia. The cadre split deepened, with Langer taking charge of REM/MIS. The Independence Movement did not recover.

It is unnecessary to carry out further discussion into the logic and history of this schism; but this dispute was noted at the time by the anti-Maoist Left as hastening the demise of the broad movement. By 1982, the Independence Movement was a small 'front' group operating nationally, but a mere shadow of the force of 1978. It drifted into the ridiculous. By following the shifts in Chinese foreign policy, it toned down its attacks on the pro-Chinese Malcolm Fraser and the "anti-Soviet" U.S. military bases. (73) It condemned itself to utter sectarianism, confusing the 'mass' membership and public influence – which drifted away. In a happy sequence of events, the Eureka Flag and the idea of 'Australian Independence' fell into the possession of Nationalists.

## **6. The Builders' Labourers And Maoist Violence.**

By the early 1980's, the only real repository of CPA (M-L) influence was within some Victorian unions and the national BLF. It was a bad time for unionism. Unions were abandoning the old class notions of the past, but this did not help the movement. It was under pressure from new economic rationalists and a rampant, aggressive, reconstructionist economic ideology, which sought to recast the fundamentals of Australia's protected economy towards free trade, service industries and high immigration. The Maoist movement was now isolated and while it could score points off the CPA/SPA influenced unions which were hardly 'militant' defenders of members' rights, it was now 'set up' and ripe for destruction. The press was eager, ready to label violence and militancy as pariah behaviour. Allies for any determined effort to do anything – would be hard to come by.

The one major study which does exist of the BLF neither made reference to Gallagher's membership of the Central Committee of the CPA (M-L) nor to the use of its facilities by communist activists. There was also no reference to the strategy/tactics of the BLF in union matters being in any way related to Maoist precepts. (74) Incredibly too, the 1982 'Report' of the Royal Commission into the BLF, ignored this issue also. It did say however: "This organization is run by a relatively small number of autocratic personalities." (75). The men named – Dalton, Wallace, Cummins, Materson, and Donnelly – were all believed members of the CPA (M-L) or the Independence Movement. Originally, Gallagher's power developed out of a

Victorian CPA cell in the BLF which defected to the Maoists at the time of the split, and a steady recruitment in the other state sections of the union over a ten year period. Control was institutionalised in 1976 by a 'Building Workers For National Independence'; this cell within the union served to discipline it ideologically and organizationally, as the control mechanism for Gallagher/CPA (M-L) authority. (76) From this time, Gallagher's Maoists, in undisputed authority since the 1974 purge of a CPA group in the New South Wales branch, imposed "guerilla tactics" on the BLF.

The Royal Commission referred to "sudden stoppages of work, banning of jobs or sections of jobs, banning of overtime, banning of the use of cranes .. stopping of concrete pours", all designed to "create an image of irresistible power". (77) A BLF journal defined these methods as "Guerilla Tactics". It argued that the scheme was a product of "cold hard political thinking", and contained three elements: selective targetting of uncooperative bosses, no general strikes or whole-site strikes unless necessary, selective on-site action with relaxation and intensification of pressure to enforce the demands. (78) The Royal Commission described these tactics as "vindictive" and – blackmail. It probably was the case. To enforce its image the BLF also took to public demonstrations, office occupations (of insurance companies that refused to pay injury claims) and other intimidation. (79) Gallagher was nicknamed 'The General' within the BLF.

Necessarily, these principles of conduct were the application of Maoist ideological-political-organizational principles to the conduct of labour struggles. It was innovative. However, it was nurtured into 'adulthood' at a time when the political environment was unfavourable (as above). To become effective in reversing the crisis of the labour movement, it had to be adopted or imposed upon a significant section of the labour movement. By the early 1980's the 'attrition' of the old-Left labour leaders who might have been responsive to a new 'class struggle' trades union wing was obvious, and the new softer union leaders worse than unresponsive. (80) The Liberal government had been determined, but the new consensus Labor government in office after 1983 desired to manage the internationalization of Australian capitalism in a way that the Left would fall into line behind promises of a 'social contract' (the 'Accord') between business and labour.

The BLF was placed under attack at first by the Liberals. The Laborites continued the offensive. The existence of a defacto conspiracy to break the BLF is not the issue here. After Gallagher's imprisonment and other intra-BLF problems, the union was ultimately 'outlawed' (deregistered) and taken over in its functions by the 'Left' Building Workers' Industrial Union (BWIU) and the 'Right' Australian Workers' Union. Ironically too, the SPA had influence in the BWIU, a fact which bore out the Maoist thesis on the essentially 'reformist' nature of that party. The State and its reformist union bureaucracy had snuffed out the BLF by 1989, and with this came the veritable end of the CPA (M-L) as it had been. It was thence a party of about 150 diehards with no discernible base of support.

## **7. Final Phase.**

By 1986, the CPA (M-L) leadership had time to think again, after the resignation from the leadership by an aged Ted Hill and the infirmity of much of the older membership. Gallagher's trial for corruption had generated a few sympathetic noises from the CPA and the SWP; some attempts were made to mobilize labour support for his plight. However, the Australian Left in general was adrift by the-mid 1980's. The New Right had organized against it too efficiently, and the 'Accord' politics of the ALP had marginalized it. The Left sponsored several talk-fests in these years to debate where it was going but while long-standing enmities were muted (81), no road forwards was discerned. The CPA melted into 'social movements' (dissolving in 1990), and while the Trotskyists screamed and shouted at whatever demonstration was going, there was no avenue for a fresh approach. The SWP actually 'dumped' Trotskyism and in 1989 renamed itself the Democratic Socialist Party and moved off to pose as a "Green" as well as "Left" party. At least, it tried! Other Trotskyists were not as sophisticated!

The CPA (M-L) called off its war without due ceremony. In 1989, the Berlin Wall came down and within two years, the Soviet Union was a memory. By 1993, the CPA (M-L) was talking about common ground with the SPA, a party 'lost' after the collapse of its respective 'worker's fatherland'. It was then clear too, that China had taken off down the capitalist road. If the public cared about these fractions of the Marxist Left, a quiet laugh would issue at the broken hopes and the search for new alliances with former enemies when old systems broke up. But it was the Trotskyists who now 'represented' the Australian Left. The Maoist experiment in Australian communism was dead.

## **8. General Conclusion.**

This section, as promised, divides. We first review what we can conclude from the evidence presented. Then, we apply the evidence and our findings to base conclusions relevant to the development of Australian Nationalist ideology, politics and organization.

### **(a) Conclusions From The Evidence.**

The CPA (M-L) undertook an experiment. It brought together Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist purists from the CPA and sharpened their capabilities with Mao-Tse-Tung Thought. These Australian Maoists had a romantic perception of the Australian proletariat and a faith in the viability of the communist myth. They attempted to fuse their dream with a fighting organization. It could be said by some that the CPA (M-L)'s belief in armed revolution against the Australian State was unreal at all times, particularly so in the 1980's period of New Right offensive, with the grind down of the old Cold War (which shrank the 1960's/early 1970's anti-war movements which offered illusory hopes to much of the Left) and under the new conditions of Cold War 2 after 1980 (the advent of Reaganism in America). Possibly so. Yet the other parties of the Left had no success at all. Was the Australian Left simply destined to wither and die? Misled as it was by all

sorts of ‘theorists’ and opportunists, all with an angle which failed to confront the essential nature of State power: that it rested upon force and illusion?

The Maoists understood from their time of party-foundation through to their schism in 1977-8, that a Left party with elan and clarity could possibly take charge of the various class-struggle unions and social protest movements, outbidding and out-performing their Left rivals in the process. Maoist violence made sense when viewed in this context. From these realizations, sprang the CPA (M-L)’s strategic-tactical principles enumerated above. The gap between resources and opportunities would be bridged by systematized violence; but short of weapons and terrorism, this violence would have a sharp physical yet political-psychological content.

Maoist violence was consequently directed at State agents, Right groups, Left competitors and employers. Violence against police and political police brought a stern reaction that then fed retaliation during the period of the student dominated WSA. We saw the political police use phantom Nazis and then a program of counter-violence which won the Maoists support in some areas thereby threatening the influence of the CPA/SPA and Trotskyists. Yet the Maoists ‘lost’ this contest since the fascist enemy did not exist (!) Violence against employers upset the union movement generally, if not every worker, and was a recipe for marginalization under specific conditions which, as it turned out, did eventuate. Violence against other leftists was nonetheless logical. A revolutionary force whatever its quality, competing against ‘similar’ formations for the same clientele, is all-but-propelled into pre-emptive violence. It must strike before the opponent can occupy the ground, or push him off what he has before circumstances develop that allow this rival to mislead a mass upsurge. Since the CPA (M-L) was never concerned with public image, it had only to ponder the effect of its violence upon its potential market. Hence violence aimed at the Trotskyist movement was inevitable and ‘rational’ since they challenged for the student/youth ‘radical’ market. This slice of Maoist violence was a failure, as it was apparently not generalized to the point where any and all means were being used to fatally undermine the target. The Trotskyists too, showed resilience. Other targets for anti-Left violence like the CPA/SPA were larger entities with support bases slow to disintegrate; they were also supported from the ‘outside’ – the CPA by the international ‘Euro-communist’ style Marxists, and the SPA by Soviet money.

Further: Australian Maoism had particular problems of its own:

(a) When the WSA was liquidated into the national communism of the Independence Movement, some tension existed about the place of ‘socialism’ within it.

(b) The contortions of Chinese foreign policy acted eventually to create a rift between the Stalinist cadre type loyal to his new workers’ fatherland under every circumstance, and the ‘idealists’ who were loyal to Red China only for as long as it appeared to follow the revolutionary vision. China’s tilt towards America became too much for the latter to swallow, and schism followed.

(c) The Gang Of Four affair in 1976 signalled that China too would go down "the capitalist road". The schism in 1978 was partly fought over the contradiction between Mao-Tse-Tung Thought and the Chinese post-Mao system, wrecking the revolutionary purism of the CPA (M-L). (82)

(d) The split in Australian Maoism was mirrored globally; the international rifts then intensified local divisions from 1977 onwards. (83) These divisions remained permanent, reducing Maoism to sectarian existence.

(e) Because other Left forces were never so-successfully intimidated by the Maoists, that they were overcome, they remained in the wings, ready and able to exploit opportunities granted them by the faltering trend.

The movement's singular problems were such that violence could not overcome them. The class struggle agencies were withering away by this time in the late 1970's. The last hope in the unions (specified by the BLF's growing economic guerilla warfare campaign) could not be realized, leaving Maoism an anachronism by the mid-1980's.

The whole Left was in crisis by then making any effort to redefine Maoism impossible. The Left milieu was imploding. The Maoists needed their help to fend off the attack on the BLF by the State. Yet much of that Left was 'liquidating' into social movements (homosexual 'rights', environmentalism, Land Rights) which never challenged the State at all. Indeed, on 'anti-racism' and opposition to industrial-protection, the Left (particularly the Trotskyists) became indistinguishable from the capitalist parties. The implosion of the Left became a creeping disease that destroyed its political will.

This paper was about political/industrial violence and hence was restricted to this issue and was not meant to be any sort of patch-history of the Australian Left. Certainly, this subject has been touched on. The final point here derives of a lesson the rest of the Left forgot: the Maoist party was the only Left party to recognize the importance of violence to a radical movement and which accepted it as a political norm and hence a weapon like any other. That may be their legacy to the political discourse of Australian Left politics.

## **(b) Lessons For Nationalists.**

The evidence and our findings tell us that the Australian Left had enmeshed itself with liberalism long before the 1990's. By refusing to properly characterise the State as a coercive weapon, it fostered dreams about 'reform'. No wonder it has followed the anti-racist/one world/open borders/free trade philosophy with consistency since the late 1980's. The Maoist criticism of the 1960's Left was therefore 'correct' in these terms. Today, the Trotskyist Left deludes itself that in the conditions of New World Order capitalism, the one-world revolution

can draw nearer. Because it defends this aspect of globalisation, it is co-opted by the State when these 'principles' are challenged.

The Trotskyist reaction to the One Nation Party and Nationalist activism are well known and illustrate this point. Because the Left abandoned the idea of violence in its own interest, this did not mean it might not practise it when 'encouraged' by the State. The Trotskyists therefore find themselves in the same relative position to the State that the 'anti-communist' Right did in the 1960's/1970's. Trotskyism serves as an auxiliary of the globalising system it verbally criticises.

The experience of the CPA (M-L) shows that any party which refuses to accept the 'democratic' pretence of the State, can expect to be the victim of processes to restrict its potential - or to break it. The Maoist experience shows the State's program can be fought against, but that it might take unusual forms (in their case, the neo-nazi violence campaign) and a guard must therefore be kept against provocation. In the contemporary time, Nationalists would therefore guard against Trotskyist and 'anti-racist' provocation as well as keep a dark eye upon the activities of rightist cranks who can also serve State requirement.

The CPA (M-L)'s prescriptions for a successful strategic and tactical approach should also interest us. Should we be concerned with 'public image' when it is a hostile media that shapes the public's perception of our politics? Of course, there are things one would never do, but image-driven politics could only be a falsity. Why would we therefore tailor our politics and our structures for momentary 'support', usually thought of as ballot box support? Why would we embrace parliamentarism when it is impossible to win that way? Could we learn to apply the idea of a closed party, democratic but thoroughly disciplined, pursuing a defined political line on both long-term and short-term issues? Could we target specific groups for recruitment because we can build support there? Can we not wage political-guerilla war against the State and its support agencies in commerce, academia, media and elsewhere? To wage a legitimizing struggle as we go, creating new sub-cultures and 'autonomous areas', building a new reality as we destroy the old?

The specific character of communism demanded that it talk about armed revolution. Certainly, the Australian Nationalists do not 'advocate' armed struggle. But we must recognize the paramount function of force in the modern Australian State. We will 'get nothing' we are not prepared to take.

There is an ideological-political matter of no little relevance. The CPA (M-L) set out to mobilize the particular Australian republican/nationalist/labour heritage. Of course, it did so selectively. After all, one aspect of this heritage (pointed out endlessly by those good internationalists – the Trotskyists) was a commitment to 'White Australia'. However, it did show there was a broad public sympathy for the political 're-activation' of this heritage in the service of winning modern Australian Independence. Times have moved on since the 1970's and certain pools of old-labour supporters have dried up in the ravages of age. But there are still blocs of working class people

who revere the old traditions and people of all ages who adopt the tradition as the only one for Australia. The New World Order capitalism which now pushes 'globalisation', has inadvertently too called forth a new generation of working people (workers, farmers, small-business people) who see the virtue of national economic independence for Australia outside of the system of the Multinationals and international banks.

This means that the unionist, the student, the pensioner and those under economic stress everywhere, are a potential social basis for Nationalism. The 'selective' (and false!) use of the old heritage by the Maoist party does nonetheless teach us how it is possible to approach broad layers of people in a reasoned way and get a hearing. Our republican/nationalist/labour heritage of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries are there for mobilization. The importance of being able to approach the common man in a 'populist' way implies being able to break free of the old Left/Right divide. The 'heritage' we have relied upon permits this. It is possible to be both patriotic and 'radical' in the defence of the rights of the ordinary Australian to the fruits of his labour in a free society.

Lastly, Australian Nationalists do not fear to take up any idea about strategy and tactics and organization if it works. The hour is late for our country. Let the last word go to Henry Lawson:

To arms! To arms! The cry is out,  
To arms and play your part,  
For every pike upon a pole will  
Find a Tyrant's heart

(from Eureka)

## End Notes

1. Workers' Vanguard, CHINA'S ALLIANCE WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM, New York, 1976, pp. i-iv
2. Alistair Davidson, THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA: A SHORT HISTORY, Stanford, 1969, pp.118-120.
3. Mary-Alice Waters, MAOISM IN THE UNITED STATES: A CRITICAL HISTORY OF THE PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY, New York, 1969, pp.18-23.
4. E.F. Hill (ed.), DEFEND MARXISM-LENINISM: DOCUMENTS OF STRUGGLE IN THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, Melbourne 1969, passim.

Whilst repudiating the "peaceful road to socialism" and accepting essential Stalinist methodology, Maoists did believe in separate national roads to socialism. Internationally, Maoism did not become a significant trend on the Left until after the May 1968 'Paris uprising'.

5. E.F. Hill, *LOOKING BACKWARD: LOOKING FORWARD*, Melbourne, 1967, p.160
6. See: Mao-Tse-Tung's *SELECTED MILITARY WRITINGS* or S. Schram, *POLITICAL THOUGHT OF MAO-TSE-TUNG*, Penguin, 1971; E.F. Hill, *AUSTRALIA'S REVOLUTION: ON THE STRUGGLE FOR A MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY*, Melbourne, 1973, p.117. Here, Hill integrated Mao's idea by referring to "learning how to build a Communist Party in the actual practise of building it." Building this party implied action directed at the enemy while it was being constructed.
7. E.F. Hill, *THE LABOR PARTY? Dr.EVATT: THE PETROV AFFAIR: THE WHITLAM GOVERNMENT*, Melbourne, October 1974, pp.116-129. Hill's perspective could be contrasted with David McKnight (ed.), *MOVING LEFT: THE FUTURE OF SOCIALISM IN AUSTRALIA*, Sydney, 1985. McKnight's effort indicates the CPA ended up – formally – in the position the CPA (M-L) ascribed to it long before. It was a party for ALP-connected 'Left-reformists', Marxist academics, environmentalists and homosexuals, not a fighting organization.
8. E.F. Hill, *REVOLUTION AND THE AUSTRALIAN STATE: A SOCIALIST ANALYSIS*, Melbourne, February 1974, pp.8, 18, 46, 119.
9. *SOME IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS*, Melbourne, undated, pp.16-17; E.F. Hill, *AUSTRALIA'S REVOLUTION*, pp.52-54.
10. "Parliamentary Deception To Cost More", *Vanguard*, April 5 1973, p.1; E.F. Hill, *AUSTRALIA'S REVOLUTION*, p.138.
11. "More Extensive Use Of Police Violence", *Vanguard*, July 16 1970, pp.3, 5; E.F. Hill, *REFLECTIONS ON COMMUNISM IN AUSTRALIA*, Melbourne, 1983, pp.81-82. In this work Hill reviewed some CPA/CPA (M-L) practise on this subject.
12. E.F. Hill, *AUSTRALIA'S REVOLUTION*, p.113. The CPA (M-L) utilised a quotation from Mao-Tse-Tung which appeared in the "Struggle" column of every *Vanguard* to explain the central role of this principle.
13. E.F. Hill, *THE GREAT CAUSE OF AUSTRALIAN INDEPENDENCE*, Melbourne 1977, pp.156-170. The relevant section was a codification of long-standing

party practise.

14. E.F. Hill, AUSTRALIA AND THE SUPERPOWERS, Melbourne, July 1976, p.197. The reason for this orientation was explained. I note that Struggle and People's Voice (the Adelaide Maoist paper) carried material to the interest of these groups. The BLF's practise would also be of note.
15. SOME IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS, pp.2-4; E.F. Hill, REFLECTIONS, p.83; Struggle enthused on the Honeywell arson; Barry York, STUDENT REVOLT AT LA TROBE UNIVERSITY, 1967-73, Campbell, 1989, explained the 'contestation' line in practise.
16. A conclusion borne by the style of the Worker Student Alliance and the emphasis given by Vanguard to youth/student recruitment.
17. Andrew Metcalfe, FOR FREEDOM AND DIGNITY: HISTORICAL AGENCY AND CLASS STRUCTURES ON THE COALFIELDS OF NEW SOUTH WALES, Sydney, 1988, p.164.
18. "Trade Unions Cannot Take Place Of Revolutionary Party", Vanguard, July 24 1969, p.4
19. "C.L. O'Shea, WORKERS POWER VERSES PENAL POWER, Melbourne, pp.2-4.
20. "Mass Movement Demands Gallagher's Release From Gaol", Vanguard, February 11 1971, p.1.
21. Barry York, op.cit., p.29.
22. ibid., pp.95-97, 137-138.
23. "C.L. O'Shea Speaks At Monash University On Worker-Student Unity", Vanguard, March 12 1970, p.4; Struggle, Vol.2, No.2, May 2 1971, p.1; "E.F. Hill's Address To Monash Students On Significance Of May Day", Vanguard, May 7 1970, p.4.
24. A figure arrived at by the number of WSA branches, reviews of activities, comments by Maoists during conversations with author, photographs.
25. "Police Violence Will Be Met With Violence", Vanguard, February 26 1970, p.4.
26. "Monash Students Evict Pedlars Of Death", Vanguard, May 21 1970, p.4.

27. "Builders Labourers Fight Rich With Lessons", Vanguard, June 11 1970, pp. 1, 4.
28. MEET FASCISM'S CHALLENGE, Melbourne, 1970.
29. "Nazis Smashed In Melbourne", Vanguard, March 4 1971, pp.4, 8; David Harcourt, EVERYONE WANTS TO BE FUEHRER: A HISTORY OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND, Sydney, 1972, gave a full account of the Carlton headquarters riot. Significantly, at no point did Harcourt pick up on the idea of a 'political police conspiracy' in the operation of the NSPA – despite the Maoist allegations.
30. "Nazis Helped By Police", Vanguard, July 15 1971, p.4.
31. Gary John Mangan, 'Interview' with author, 1987. Mangan was specific in his allegations regarding Special Branch connivance with Queensland Nazis; he insisted he carried out serious offences at their behest. Mangan committed suicide not long after his 'Interview' with me.
32. "Uniformed Nazi Thugs Controlled By Special Branch", Vanguard, August 12 1971, p.4.
33. Claude M. Woods, 'Interview' with author, 1995. Woods had been prominent in the NSPA in the years 1968-73. Although Woods now considers these events extra-ordinary in character, he did not at the time. This suggests strongly the normative relationship which existed between the NSPA and establishment agents and persons.
34. Gary Mangan; Claude Woods; Cass Young, 'Interview' with author, 1981/1982.
35. Claude Woods.
36. Cass Young; Claude Woods. In the course of other enquiries conducted by the author over many years into the activities of the NSPA, I can affirm that this fact was well known. It excited no comment at the time of the NSPA's activism.
37. "Nazi Thugs Openly Supported By Police", Vanguard, May 18 1972, p. 5; "Another Lesson From The Courts", Vanguard, February 15 1973, p. 3; "Fascist Attacks On East Wind Bookshops Listed", Vanguard, April 12 1973, p.3; "Trial Of Nazis Thugs Reveals Class Basis Of Courts Of Capitalism", Vanguard, September 27 1973, p. 8.
38. "Violence And The Law", Vanguard, June 1 1972, p.4.
39. "Action Against Nazis Is Correct", Vanguard, June 22 1972, p. 5.

40. "Melbourne Wharfies Act Vigorously Against Fascism", Vanguard, August 30 1973, p. 1.
41. "Poison Gas Plot By Nazis", Truth, July 28 1973, p.1; twelve months later in "Nazis Go Into Hibernation", Nation Review, July 26 1974, readers of the liberal press were told the Nazis had 'folded', but there was little detail on their 'disappearance'. From enquiries made by the author, only garbled information circulated in Extreme Right circles as to the fate of the NSPA.
42. Much has been written on the U.S./Australian Intelligence involvement in the plight of the Whitlam Labor government. Young's Stormtrooper magazine in April 1973 was forcefully pro-ASIO over the Murphy raid on its offices. When interviewed by me, Young was guarded about certain aspects of the poison gas affair. He never returned to Victoria after 1973, became involved in the drug culture and died an alcoholic in 1993.
43. A survey of Vanguard 1963-68; URANIUM, SUPERPOWERS, INDEPENDENCE, Melbourne, 1977 spoke of: "a more deceptive and insidious enemy because they use the language of the people (and) go under the signboards of socialists, communists, supporters of national independence.... This group is concentrated in the ranks of the 'Communist' Party (Aarons, Carmichael and Munday), the Socialist Party and the various Trotskyite sects along with anarchists and anti-social grouplets..."; The Bulletin, May 27 1973, referred to tensions in the BLF between the factions, with Maoists against "the trendies".
44. "Gallagher Makes Sell Out Deal With MBA", Australasian Spartacist, May 1976, p. 12; It reported Gallagher supporters wrecked the offices of the BWIU after it tried to take over the Canberra BLF and tensions between CPA/CPA (M-L) builders labourers.
45. E.F. Hill, IMPERIALISM IN AUSTRALIA: THE MENACE OF SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM, Melbourne, April 1975, pp. 93-111.
46. From various comments in The Socialist, organ of the SPA and public comments by BWIU leaders throughout the 1980's. Subjectively: from private discussions with SPA students at the University of New South Wales in 1977-8 and the operators of the 'New Era' bookshop, including the Russian-born wife of SPA National secretary, Peter Symon.
47. Direct Action, newspaper of the Socialist Youth Alliance/Socialist Workers League (SW Party after 1976). A survey for 1970-1973 reveals that the Trotskyists did not consider the CPA's break with Russia meant an absolute break with Stalinism.
48. Labour Press, newspaper of the Socialist Labour League. Later better known as Workers'

News. Any fair examination of this paper would show the SLL had some attraction for working class youth in depressed areas whom it mobilized by intensive manipulation. Its odious reputation on the Left was well-deserved.

49. "Youth Are The Most Vigorous Force In The Revolutionary Movement", Vanguard, June 24 1971, p. 4.
50. "Trotskyites Exposed As Counter-Revolutionary In Adelaide", Vanguard, May 11 1972, p. 4.
51. "Trotskyites Oppose Patriotic Anti-Imperialist Struggle", Vanguard, March 29 1973, p. 3.
52. "Increased Trotskyite Activity Is Sure Sign In Advance In Preparations For Fascism", Vanguard, September 16 1976, p. 4; "Trotskyite Activity In Adelaide", Vanguard, October 14 1976, p. 6
53. "Trotskyites Fail To Show Courage", leaflet, Adelaide, 1976. This notion was repeated in STRIVING TO BE A COMMUNIST IS A LIFE-LONG STRUGGLE, pamphlet, Melbourne, 1977.
54. Louise King, conversations with author, 1983.
55. "Maoists Assault Spartacist", Australasian Spartacist, November 1977, p. 7.
56. Danny Hacking, 'Interview' with author, 1982. Hacking was in Pentridge prison at the time of this conversation.
57. FOR INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM, pamphlet, 1977; this document developed E.F. Hill, AUSTRALIA'S ECONOMIC CRISIS: THE WAY OUT, Melbourne, August 1975. It argued that Multinational and Superpower influences in Australia should be the first target of socialist action. This view was not necessarily alien to others on the Left.
58. Eric Aarons, AUSTRALIA AND THE ECONOMIC CRISIS, Sydney, 1977. This document was obviously as 'reply' to Maoist arguments. The CPA did accept the 'deindustrialization thesis' ie. the idea that the Fraser government was dismantling Australian industry in favour of the foreign imports. While it called for labour unity against Fraser, it did not oppose the Labor Party and its agents in the labour movement. This was the 'rub' with the CPA (M-L).
59. E.F. Hill, AUSTRALIA AND THE SUPERPOWERS, pp. 110-138.
60. "Fascists Attempts To Organise Students Must Be Nipped In The Bud", Vanguard, September 25 1975, p. 4.
61. "People's Justice", Vanguard, November 4 1976, p. 4.
62. Alliance News, newsletter of the Australian National Alliance, March 1979. I have conversed with other persons present during the assault. I was also there.
63. "Independence Demands Struggle Against Both Superpowers", Vanguard, February 3 1977, p. 7
64. Eugene Donnini, conversations with author, 1981-2.

65. These bands wrote pieces on factory floor violence, Eureka, bushrangers. They introduced Maoist slogans like "If You Don't Fight You Lose" "Dare To Struggle Dare To Win", into their lyrics.
66. Margaret Panter, conversations with author, 1981. The author met Panter under 'false pretenses', as I posed as a person interested in the Independence Movement. I appeared at the Maoist 'Independence' shop in Collingwood to assist on a couple of occasions.
67. Louise King; "How Dare They Speak Of Violence", Vanguard, July 27 1977, p. 1; "Chrysler Workers Strike Mighty Blow", Vanguard, August 4 1977, p. 12.
68. "The Growing Threat From The Left", The Australian, June 16 1976.
69. Tasma Ockenden, conversations with author, 1981; the author met Ockenden through Donnini. She was clearly on the verge of a nervous collapse and still loyal to leftism. She mentioned confrontations at student conferences between Maoists and Trotskyists.
70. "Communism, Fascism, Nationalism", Rebel!, September 1977, pp. 3-8; the REM overlooked the point that Stalinist organizations practised cynical deceptions and the Independence Movement enjoyed some success precisely because of the manner of its manipulation.
71. E.F. Hill, FRUSTRATE WAR PLANS OF SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM, pamphlet, 1979. Here Hill tried to answer the REM's criticism as described in the text. See: "Society For Warmly Hailing Everything Which Comes Out Of China", Rebel!, April 1978.
72. "Superpower Contention: The CPA (M-L)'s Line", Rebel!, September 1978, pp. 5-9.
73. Robert Catley and Bruce MacFarlane, AUSTRALIAN CAPITALISM IN BOOM AND DEPRESSION, Sydney, 1981, pp. 194-5. They discussed the eclipse of Maoism after the REM schism, claiming the SPA, although "economist" (see above) represented the main "Left" in the union movement thereafter. No attention was paid to the BLF.
74. Brian Boyd, INSIDE THE BLF: A UNION SELF-DESTRUCTS, Melbourne, 1991. Boyd was a BLF organizer.
75. REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO ACTIVITIES OF THE AUSTRALIAN BUILDING CONSTRUCTION EMPLOYEES AND BUILDERS' LABOURERS FEDERATION, Canberra, 1982, p. 28.
76. Michael King, conversation with author, 1983. King had been a prisoner and was an enforcer in the Sydney BLF. It is understood he knew Steve Black, Maoist secretary of the New South Wales branch of the Federation; certain mixed leaflets issued by the BWA define its character.
77. REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER, p. 22.
78. "Guerrilla Tactics", BL, December 1981, pp. 8-9; Builders' Labourers Federation Journal, October 1983, p. 5, said: the development of guerrilla tactics ... the bosses hate us for it ... We have perfected on the job tactics that mean most harm to the boss, least harm for ourselves."
79. Builders' Labourers Federation Journal, September 1982, reported the occupation of offices of an insurance company. The July 1984 edition referred to 1500 workers demonstrating at offices of the Liberal Party and the occupation of Custom Credit finance company.

80. Gallagher maintained his position in the Australian Council of Trade Unions in 1983, but was isolated after the Commission's report. His obvious corruption undermined his Stalinist morality. Boyd referred to union disquiet over the campaign to "get" Gallagher, but says they were alienated by BLF poaching of members and general thuggery.
81. Direct Action was a critic of the 'Accord' process that drew in much of the Left. It noted this road to surrender was paved by the various "people's economic programmes", so beloved of the CPA/SPA and offered to the ALP. See: Jon West, Dave Holmes, Gordon Adler, SOCIALISM OR NATIONALISM? WHICH WAY FOR THE LABOR MOVEMENT?, Sydney 1979. Interestingly, it was the Trotskyists' hatred of nationalism which eventually caused them to 'surrender' to the free trade/open borders philosophy of capitalism. A critical use of Left texts where factional disputes are recounted allows truth to be distilled.
82. Australasian Spartacist was a good source of detail on the schism in Australian Maoism. See: "What Is The Red Eureka Movement?", June 1978; "Maoists Repudiate Vietnam", May 1978; "Spartacist League Debates Albert Langer", November 1978.
83. "China: Deng Returns", Australasian Spartacist, November 1977, pp. 4-7. This piece treated the birth of "critical-Maoist" groups in several countries, including those who supported Albania when it finally broke with China. I have examined some documents from an Australian Maoist group in solidarity with the 'International Organising Committee Of Marxist-Leninist Parties', a body formed in the mid-1980's under the auspices of the Communist Party of Peru. These disparate tendencies helped to disintegrate Australian Maoism.

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# David Greason: 'Racism Expert': Credibility Exploded

**P. Giannopoulos**  
**1998**

David Greason has been proclaimed by the media as an expert upon the so-called "Australian Extreme-Right". From his current position with Australia-Israel Review, and through Without Prejudice magazine and in the mainstream media, he has assailed in print (for years) an array of Nationalist, patriotic and conservative organisations as diverse as Australian National Action, the League of Rights, the National Republicans, the Australia First Party and the One Nation Party.

Greason's book - I WAS A TEENAGE FASCIST [1994] - has been uncritically accepted by countless academics, politicians and journalists as source material, not only on the internal affairs of various pro-Australian groups of the late 1970's until 1982, but as an expose of the allegedly unsavoury lives of persons involved therein. The book was also designed to build the credibility of Greason that he may play the role of expert-commentator in the 1990's.

The book was launched by Victorian Opposition Leader, John Brumby, in 1994. It was praised by Justice Marcus Einfeld and was lauded by the Extreme Left sects such as the Democratic Socialist Party/Resistance and the International Socialist Organisation. With this sort of political push, Greason has appeared as a mobiliser of activist "anti-racist" opinion, a brave soul who fought the "racist-fascism" within himself and who tore the mask off the new enemy of Australian capitalist democracy.

And the truth? Greason plagiarised his book. An ironic revelation demonstrated his malice.

In 1995, Greason used his position as literary editor of Melbourne's HERALD-SUN to pillory the unfortunate Helen Darville a.k.a. "Helen Demidenko" for the plagiarism contained in her award-winning THE HAND THAT SIGNED THE PAPER [Herald-Sun 26 August 1995; Herald-Sun 25 Sept. 1995; Herald-Sun 7 October 1995]. Not only had Greason noted her supposed plagiarism of word and theme, he accused Demidenko of historical fabrication; he even urged she receive medical (psychological) treatment.

The proverbial chickens have come home to roost. David Greason is himself guilty of plagiarism - subtle and not so subtle "rewrites" of word and theme; Greason may also have deliberately opted to live out another man's life-theme. David Greason's I WAS A TEENAGE FASCIST is a substantial plagiarism of Cecil Herbert Sharpley's THE GREAT DELUSION: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A COMMUNIST LEADER [1952].

Interconnectedly, he also plagiarised Sharpley's I WAS A COMMUNIST LEADER series of articles from the HERALD-SUN April 17-24 1949.

DAVID GREASON, the expert who isn't, is a ghost who talks.

But the plagiarism did not end with Sharpley's work. When this expose now before you was first published in 1995, there was still more to be uncovered. A special hurried postscript to the text (now another section) referred appropriately to Greason's plagiarism of Ray Hill's THE OTHER SIDE OF TERROR: INSIDE EUROPE'S NEO-NAZI NETWORK (London: Grafton Books, 1988). It was imagined this would finalise the issue nicely. But it did not. Greason's book was plagiarised from two other sources also, revealed here publicly for the first time. In this regard, the present author must thank a Doctor Of Philosophy student at an Australian University for this information.

The urgency for this new document was caused by David Greason himself. In July 1998, he leapt into a new "fame" as joint editor of Australia-Israel Review when he published some 1700 names and addresses of One Nation Party members. This effort followed weeks of distorted journalism concerning the various patriotic groups in the lead-up to the Queensland State Election of June 23 1998. He cannot now complain if evidence concerning his essential intellectual dishonesty is available to all.

We begin at the beginning.

## **1. PARALLEL LIVES**

Cecil Herbert Sharpley (born 1908) was an Englishman who migrated to Australia in 1928; he eventually settled in Melbourne in 1930. In 1935, he joined the Communist Party. He remained in the CPA until 1948, when "disillusioned" - he resigned. In April 1949 Sharpley maligned the CPA (after discussions with state and federal political police) in the national media and offered himself as the star witness in the 1949-50 Victorian Royal Commission on Communism; by then, he was being "debriefed" by the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation [ASIO]. His 1952 autobiography was a source of continuous embarrassment to the CPA; in 1994 Sharpley's ASIO and other records were released to Australian Archives.

David Greason (born 1961) arrived in Australia from England in 1969 and was eventually

domiciled in Melbourne. He drifted into various so called "right wing" organisations in 1976 and, finally "disillusioned" by 1982, he quit the scene. In 1983 (after his release from a psychiatric hospital) he was debriefed by Federal Police. In 1984, he surfaced as a public speaker hosted by the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) specifically working to "expose" Australian National Action. After some years he was approached by ASIO to render "opinions" on the best method to deal with certain "Right" organisations and played some role in a major disinformation article published in the Bulletin (Lyndall Crisp, "Harvest of Hate", 4 April 1989). His 1994 book of mistruths and fabrication was of course intended to embarrass a number of activists of past and present.

This brief precis of two parallel lives should remind us of an off-misused quotation from Karl Marx: "History does repeat itself: first time as tragedy, second as farce".

## 2. THE BOOKS COMPARED

A comparison of the Sharpley/Greason books indicated that Greason certainly read THE GREAT DELUSION; the notion reasonably occurred to him that it was essential to create a plausible scenario for his drift through the "Extreme Right" and his supposed eventual realisation of their moral bankruptcy.

Of course, the two stories must be different; after all, they are separated by nearly 50 years and describe different ideologies. The plagiarism is therefore like the scaffolding or the skeleton for a to be a great adventure for me" (40).

(v) Sharpley was called to the CPA offices for his inductions: "The Communist headquarters were in Little Bourke Street, an unsavoury part of Melbourne frequented by criminals and illicit gamblers... Before leading me up the twisting unlit staircase..."(11).

Greason located the League Of Rights as a curious 14 year old : " I managed to trace them... to the Pressgrove Buildings ... I found myself in this slightly grimy arcade on the ground floor of this old building... I must take a creaky old lift (40).

(vi) Sharpley described his meeting with CPA official, Jack Blake; he's told by another Communist:- "This is an important interview and you are very privileged to be seen by Comrade Blake. They must hope for big things for you" (11).

Greason was allegedly told by a League of Rights official; "You know... that you could be our great White Hope, and I thought: this is more than I could dream of" (72).

(vii) Sharpley conferred with Blake in an intense meeting at which he joins the ranks of international communism (12-13). Greason meets Eric Butler, National Director of the League of Rights and is taken seriously as part of the League fraternity; he is impressed (13-14).

(viii) Sharpley came to resent rank and file CPA members as : "... (9) unhappy background, indifferent education, very poor circumstances, dead end jobs and even childless marriages with few opportunities to express their personalities ... They are promised an adventure... human yearning to get hold of a little power" (48).

Greason gave a description of a "Nazi" couple (who were in fact "childless" though he failed to mention it) poor white trash with dreams of world domination talking the same old rubbish of our sort always talked on nights like this" (189). SEE ALSO below (Greason (262)) where the plagiarism here is even clearer.

[ix] Sharpley lost faith in Communism early on: "I should have left the Communist Party two years after I joined... I had lost much faith in Communism and all faith in the majority of my colleagues. I remained... for a further 12 years and I rose to a high rank ... trusted by my colleagues as a faithful Communist" (113-114).

Greason has a similar crisis of faith after discovery of an unsavoury person in "National Alliance": "Arh, I should have cut my losses and f\*\*\*ed off, I was still only eighteen (220) ... I'd never be able to wipe this stuff from my mind. It was funny how I'd think about them... (221). Still if I'd quit the party, I would have had to take up something else, it was just my way... (223). Greason decided to continue on and bury his disaffection.

[x] Eventually Sharpley felt the pressure : "The mental conflict was physically disturbing and brought poor health and a feeling of utter demoralisation" (115).

Greason's version (part one) is: "So I went off on sick leave and I was seeing the department psychologist and doing aptitude tests and I had this idea... I could pull the shirker's bonanza; put my hand up and say, sorry I've been driven completely mad... and get pensioned off" (266). Greason described the circumstances around this crisis at some length. And further (part two): "Fat, spotty, sexually and socially inept, no money, no job, no self esteem.." (271).

[xi] Sharpley feared the consequences of deserting the CPA, "... difficulty I saw in removing myself physically from the Communists... It was well within the bounds of possibility that violent hands would be laid on me (115). I know how vindictive, vengeful and violent the Communists could be when one deserted the ranks" (117).

Greason dramatises : " I wanted to die rather than unravel it all, really I would rather have died (293). I finally acknowledged that I was the sort of person who my comrades would have killed" (294).

[xii] Sharpley described some communist special members: "Those I met appeared... to be men and women of high intelligence, wide learning..."(49)

Greason described some "National Alliance" members as: "If others in the Alliance had any

common trait, it was that if being self- taught ... The Alliance guys had read a bit wider..." (158).

[xiii] Lastly, we include two extracts (Sharpley 119) and (Greason 297-298). Sharpley recounts his dream; Greason's dream he recorded in a supposed diary. "Hill" is E.F. Hill, CPA official and later leader of the Maoist-line Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist); "Jim" is Jim Saleam the Chairman of Australian National Action between 1982-89.

## THE GREAT DELUSION

..my ex-colleagues were now in search of me. I had not flattered myself that they would fail to find me.

I was run to earth in the first week in February.

Coming from the great orchard one evening, tired, hungry and dusty, I saw two of them waiting for me on the roadside. I had already prepared myself for a delicate and risky interview, and now, as I approached them, I knew pretty well how to handle it. There they were now only a few yards from me, and it seemed to me that they appeared to be more embarrassed, even troubled, than angry.

How quickly a scene can flash through the human mind.. Even during the seconds which passed as with apparent unconcern, I approached them, I recalled a nightmarish night before, when I had dream I had endured the awakened in a hot sweat of fear. I had dreamt that Oke and Hill of the Party Executive had suddenly come into my tent and had promptly begun a fierce interrogation. They had asked pointed questions. They had made fierce accusations. Questions and answers were a confusing jumble until, in my dream, I heard Oke growl "Oh, what's the use - out with him! Drown him! Suffocate him in dust - but out with him!" And at once a large number of other men with blank, unrecognisable faces had rushed in and dragged me from the tent.

## I WAS A TEENAGE FASCIST:

But I still have the dreams, even now. Here's one out of the diary.

4 July 1993:

I'm walking down a main street at night, much like the street where we stayed in Auckland. I pass a besser block building, set back from the street on a waste patch of land, its, windows covered. in chicken wire. A yellow light is coming from the building. I think I can see people inside. This must be the National Action headquarters.. I walk on and there on the street are a couple of stalls. They're manned by skinheads and are selling NA literature. I approach one, pick up some leaflets and (I think) stickers. I recall thinking that I should be careful, that choosing particular items could raise suspicions that I'm not just an ordinary shopper. I go to pay for them, and the young man (who I don't recognise) says my name as he's handing over the

change. He knows who I am, but doesn't seem too fussed by it. He then says, "If you want to see Jim, he's over there. Jim comes over, smiling and extending his hand. He tickles my palm with his index finger as he's doing so, what we used to call a Poofster's handshake at school. We joke about being opposite sides. Then I wake up..

The "dreams" are different; however, the dramatic flourish establishes for each the uniqueness of his moral "march from evil". The mathematical odds for Greason authoring such similar dream material is too high for rational contemplation.

Would Greason produce his "Diary" for analysis?

### **3. PLAGIARISM OF "I WAS A COMMUNIST LEADER".**

Greason was seemingly "on the lookout" for useful smear and sensitive script. It seems he found a few excellent pieces in Sharpley's I WAS A COMMUNIST LEADER (Sharpley page number quotes from Sydney Morning Herald pamphlet of the entire series; Greason page references per his book).

(i) The biographical "lead" into Sharpley's series of articles claimed he "began training in England for the Anglican ministry".

Greason recounts an interest in religion - scientology (23-4), Victorian Spiritualists Union (24), Presbyterians (25) and a desire to "set up my own religion" (26) "I just wanted to have a congregation". But Greason couldn't believe in God (26). Interestingly (although we cannot deal with it here), Greason's book suppressed much of his Sydney life 1981-82, which involved liaisons with scientologists, Orange People, Hare Krishna and enquiries on how to join the Catholic priesthood.

(ii) Sharpley claims he "was disgusted by what I saw of the opportunism, incompetence and sheer laziness of some Labor politicians" (3).

Never losing the chance for good phraseology Greason talked of: incompetence and an assumption "that things could start moving again if I took control..."(275). He even accused the media of hopeless incompetence in dealing with allegedly racist groups. (He now of course is efficient in his exposes?!) (202) and : "I'd often read the identikit pictures of those attracted to our politics: the underachievers, the frustrated, the weak, the emotionally crippled, the bullies..."(262).

(iii) "Despite its discipline and its expulsions, the Australian Communist Party is not a happy family", says Sharpley (10). Any radical force against a malevolent state power automatically

appropriates to itself "morality"; of course, on occasion no such entity comes up to its own standard.

Greason seized upon the truism.

Greason's text is replete with internal plots (223-41), hatreds (290, 265) pettiness (266). All good muck, but one ponders its truth. There is no witness, but Greason.

(iv] Sharpley maintains:

"It isn't until he is under the rigid discipline of the party that he learns gradually of the other and deeper aims" (151).

Naturally, Sharpley was referring to the darker cause of proletarian dictatorship and the application of revolutionary techniques; but Greason gave it an incredible twist. The secret of those he called Nationalists was occultish (284-287). In this incredible segment, Greason claims leaders of "National Alliance" were in touch with Atlantis by means of a ouija board and members of their organisation, thought themselves reincarnations of French revolutionary figures: "the core ideology was ... bizarre". "I'd struggled with the idea that we had a hidden agenda".

How Greason came up with this, could only be guessed at. The CPA - Sharpley tale could involve something close to the fears of 1950's Australia; Greason opted for the occult and psychodisturbance.

The effect was meant to be - the same.

There is one (perhaps) suggestive aspect of this creative fiction - almost a hint from Greason's mind. He records he had an interest in ouija boards (16) and described at some lengths playing with such a board.

## **4. GREASON'S TALE WAS FALSE.**

Those maligned by Greason's I WAS A TEENAGE FASCIST understood it was a careful fabrication with crafted conversations, events and "thoughts" (and peppered with rancorous abuse), although their chagrin can hardly be our present concern.

The author has taken time to interview many of those affected by Greason's text. Taken individually and on any one point, it is not necessarily to be assumed that their respective account of a matter is to be intrinsically accepted over Greason's. However, what is significant is the total pattern of repudiation of Greason's accounts of any and all events.

Greason's subtle plagiarism of Sharpley's ideas and general theme, and the blending of his life with Sharpley's - raises serious doubts not only the veracity of I WAS A TEENAGE FASCIST but casts a proverbial pall over the credibility of Greason's "anti-racist" journalism and his duties as a contributor to the mainstream media.

By further evidence concerning the plagiarism engaged in by David Greason, we might be able to appreciate its political purpose.

## **5. THE OTHER SIDE OF TERROR. THE POLITICAL BASIS OF FALSEHOOD.**

In 1988, Ray Hill authored THE OTHER FACE OF TERROR with the assistance of the notorious Searchlight magazine. Hill had been an infiltrator of a swathe of British Nationalist, "right-wing", conservative and "Neo-Nazi" groups. For years he worked for Searchlight. This publication is openly linked to paranoid British Zionists (who some violently anti-Right activists on the Left, now accuse of encouraging ratbag "neo-nazis groups to disrupt the Right with "nazi" provocations aimed at the Left!) and political police agencies like Special Branch and MI-5. It may be significant that Hill's task (and Greason's for the last 11 years) has been to "prove" that all Nationalist - patriotic - conservative organisations -are somehow "nazi". In particular, this nazi fetish came through in both books. Greason subtly plagiarised Hill's book to describe a bizarre "nazi" work from the U.S. - The Turner Diaries.

Hill wrote: "...a novel published in the United States written by nazi National Alliance Leader William Pierce. The Turner Diaries is a fictional account of a race war launched in the U.S. by a small group of underground fanatics which culminates in genocide and nuclear war. This type of scenario is printed in the book as the only feasible means of re-establishing white domination across the globe" (296).

Greason described this strange book this way: "I came to read the Turner Diaries, a futuristic novel by Andrew Macdonald, which was really a pseudonym for Dr. William Pierce, the director of the U.S. National Alliance ... the Turner Diaries told of an underground army.... that overthrows a Jewish controlled U.S. government.. while at the same time destroying Israel in a nuclear attack to establish an Aryan Nation and a new world order" (240).

(Note: there was no relationship between the Australian and American groups called "National Alliance".)

There are other very subtle similarities between the postscript (291-298) in Hill's book and Greason's last chapter "The Right True End"; both review international Right trends. Greason at 230-232 also "meshes" with Hill over ideological descriptions concerning something called "Strasserism" and the alleged activities of Italian Extreme Rightists (292-200). These

similarities are so intertwined and pervasive we could not (for space reasons) deal with them here.

We shall let Greason deny it.

There was also a curious personal parallel between Ray Hill and Greason. In March 1984 just as Hill "came out" on television to expose the British "Extreme-Right", Greason was lurking in Melbourne preparing - or being prepared - for his move.

Hill said:"a series of meetings was organised around the country where I spoke to trade union branches, Labour Party groups, anti-racists, and other(s).. about my time in the far -right and what I felt had to be done with the threat of increasingly violent racist organisations".

Greason also went on a speaking tour in May-June-July 1984 speaking to similar audiences around Australia. Greason focused also on Leftist groups, building their courage to confront the "racists".

The Hill parallel should cause interested parties to question: DOES GREASON NOT ALSO WORK FOR SPECIALISED GROUPS whose objective is to incite confrontation? Is not Australia-Israel Review trying to become a sort of "respectable" Searchlight?

## **6. A TEENAGE CRISIS?**

The title I WAS A TEENAGE FASCIST certainly had its echo in the definite statement of Sharpley: I WAS A COMMUNIST LEADER. However, the actual title itself was also directly suggested in an article which appeared in the magazine of the ultra-Left sect, the Spartacist League. In Australasian Spartacist, No.86, July 1981, pp.11, 14-15 we can read: "Dawn McEwan's Flight From Trotskyism: I Was A Teenage Sectarian".

Greason has told us of his interest in the Spartacist League (244-247). He claimed to have empathised with their sense of marxist certainty, their clear answers to whatever problem beset them or the world.

The McEwan piece concerned a young girl who spent a few years with Spartacism, whose energy flagged and who questioned the ideology of the group.

It is argued here that Greason was almost certainly aware of the text given his obvious understanding of the ins and outs of the Spartacist ideology.

Did Greason borrow this text also? It seems that he did.

## 7. AN INTERNATIONAL SCRIPT? GREASON AND INGO HASSELBACH.

In 1996, after the publication of Greason's work, an autobiographical "defector" piece appeared. It was FUHRER EX - THE MEMOIRS OF A FORMER NEO-NAZI. The author was Ingo Hasselbach, an East German neo-nazi. Hasselbach had reputedly been a prominent neo-nazi militant after the fall of the Berlin Wall. He participated in all aspects of activism until his conversion to an "anti-racist" position.

Naturally, if there were "similarities" between the Greason/Hasselbach books, it might be thought that, given the 1996 publication date for FUHRER EX, it would be this book which could theoretically owe something to Greason's piece. However, the Hasselbach book first appeared in a simplified version in German in 1993. Was there a translation of this earlier text? Did David Greason have this?

The 1996 piece received the endorsement of Simon Weisenthal whose "nazi hunting" days are effectively over. Weisenthal, like Hasselbach in his Introduction (vii-xii), had a clear agenda: the neo-nazis were portrayed as the most powerful part of the Right; the messages of the neo-nazis were blurred with the programmes of nationalist movements; the message of the neo-nazis was the most dangerous "pure hatred", the "wastewater of the Third Reich" in the "sewer" beneath modern Germany.

In 1994, Greason was involved in the Australian tour of Yaron Svoray, a Jewish man who acted for the Simon Weisenthal Centre in Los Angeles, in the infiltration of certain German neo-nazi sects. Svoray wrote a book IN HITLER'S SHADOW, a ridiculous piece which castigated German prosecutors who refused to accept his "evidence" of huge neo-nazi groups in their country with a potential "fuhrer" in the wings. An objective reading of Svoray's work, particularly the section which dealt with the "confrontation" with German prosecutors, would show the book to be fraudulent nonsense.

Svoray's infiltration-work dated around 1992-3 and was contemporaneous with Hasselbach's self-removal from the neo-nazi scene. It is well known that Australia-Israel Review has close links with the Simon Weisenthal Centre.

The textual similarities between the Greason and Hasselbach books are recorded with page numbers.

(i) Greason reported his physical desire for an Asian prostitute (242-3). Hasselbach said he had conducted an affair with an Asian prostitute (176).

(ii) Greason argued at some length that his adolescence was a difficult one and advanced considerable detail about it (5-30). Hasselbach's life was more colourful than the introverted

English migrant's suburban existence, but the main point was one of alienation (3-40).

(iii) The idea of personal bravery in the face of actual threats of violence and the living threat of possible violence featured in both works. Each penitent has had to struggle to get free of former "kamerads" and reach a new life of anti-racist redemption.

Greason (295-311) and Hasselbach (356-8, 370) assert these personalisms at length.

Hasselbach also became a noted speaker around the German "anti-racist" scene and has been sought out for "tactical" advice. Greason has had similar status usually with the politically insensible International Socialists.

It is fairly concluded that David Greason has integrated parts of Hasselbach's story into his own, thanks to various contacts who provided close information.

## **8. ANTI-ANTI-SEMITISM? A NECESSARY ASIDE.**

The scripts provided by certain Zionist organisations should be carefully examined. A wariness of "anti-racist" information from these groups should be exercised and this caution has nothing to do with the "anti-semitism" of their collective imagination. Ever since leading Australian Jewish community figure Isi Leibler, authored *THE ISRAEL-DIASPORA IDENTITY CRISIS: A LOOMING DISASTER*, we must ask whether "anti-semitism" might occasionally be engineered. In response to the low birth rates of Jewish groups and high inter-marriage, Leibler wrote: "..anti-semitism can no longer be relied upon as a strengthening element of Jewish identity. Anti-semitic discrimination .. has been virtually eliminated".

Quoting a Jewish authority, Leibler added: "..we can no longer rely on the anti-semites or the Arabs to keep us Jewish."

The self-appointed function of Australia-Israel Review seems to be to locate anti-semitism everywhere and "opppose" it. This could serve the prescription for identity-preservation.

This returns us to the pressure under which David Greason wrote his book and may explain the materials used by him. It cannot be said if this is true, but given the hysterical nature of Australia-Israel Review, it could be so. Whatever the truth, it is up to David Greason to repudiate these specific assertions.

Anti-anti-semitism serves as a political propaganda in several countries now faced with problems derived of non-European immigration and the assorted failed policies of multiculturalism. By refocusing this debate on a non-reality, Establishment forces manage to

ensure patriotic organisations are continually fighting an irrelevant bush-war. The purposes of this propaganda for particular Zionist leaders meshes with these other requirements.

Recently in Britain, it was revealed that the notorious neo-nazi organisation "Combat 18" was led by a Special Branch/MI-5 agent. His antics were "criticised" in Searchlight as big bad threats to the Jewish community and other minority groups. The neo-nazi violence was clearly controlled and used.

The present expose, by suggesting that an international script was available to David Greason, serves to focus the debate where it should be.

## **9. A CALL TO FURTHER ACTION. FOR A MASS APPROACH.**

Because David Greason has been able to mount the platforms of the Extreme Left and speak as a "reformed racist", he has been able to persuade these organisations to mobilise against particular targets. The use of the smear that genuine nationalists and other patriots have a connection with the fringe politics of neo-nazism (an ideology we cannot define here other than to refer to race-hate, marginalised violence and a penchant to dress its politics in old straightjackets), has been accepted by the Extreme Left. Indeed, the Extreme Left now carries that cry loud and clear.

Because David Greason has had full access to the mass media, he has been able to promote the same line in a softer way to a wider audience.

The present expose shows that the standard bearer of the "line" has committed intellectual fraud.

It is now incumbent upon all nationalists and patriots to use the material recorded here in a mass approach. This means, integrating these facts with actual political struggle, with campaigns against the new tyranny of liberal-internationalism and its present-day "anti-racist" mania. The availability of this information now calls for the direct approach.

We know that the basics of the information before you have been known for some time. Silence has greeted it. Nothing from Australia-Israel Review, the Extreme-Left groups, the media groupies. We know that leaflets have been circulated by one group about this subject, and the first version of this document appeared as a booklet issued by another nationalist organisation. The silence told us that we hit a raw nerve. The Establishment protects its own. In the interim, you can judge the accuracy of this expose by the almost-inevitable silence with which it also will be greeted. But the facts will travel wide.

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# The Right-Wing Underground In Sydney 1973 - 1977 (With Emphasis On The Special Branch Files)

*Dr. Jim Saleam*

*This document appeared on January 12 2003, with the proviso that additional editing was needed based upon the criticism of persons familiar with the history of the events described. The pamphlet was modified. We apologise to readers who only saw its 'earlier' versions. (Editors)*

In March 1999, the Premier of New South Wales announced that files held on citizens of the State by the former Special Branch police organization could be accessed—by way of a Freedom of Information Act request. This remarkable decision arose as a result of corruption findings made against Special Branch (SB) by the Police Integrity Commission (1998). [1]

As a consequence of this executive decision, it is understood that over a thousand persons made applications for access to his/her own personal file. A number of people known to, or associated directly and indirectly with the author, made the application. In due course, their personal dossiers, with a large number of "deletions," were released. It became clear that a mass of new data was available to assay the quality of Right politics both in New South Wales and throughout Australia. The periods covered went back decades in some cases.

This article has been composed as a development of material offered in "The Other Radicalism: An Inquiry into Contemporary Australian Extreme Right Ideology, Politics and Organization 1975–1995," a doctoral thesis filed at the University of Sydney in 1999, and available on this Internet site. The present article can, and indeed *should*, be read in conjunction with the relevant sections of that document, because to a great extent, it is impossible to tell the general story (just in a limited time-segment) again—even in precis form. The Special Branch files, in all cases, confirmed material in the thesis concerning the involvement of political police in the politics of the Right, both as agents for action and forces for suppression. Necessary comments are made in the text of this article. It is also the case that material not employed in the thesis is used

here.

Essentially, I argued in "The Other Radicalism" that in the years 1973–77, there developed through a process of ideological evolution a new independent perspective on the "Right." This was a response to the emergence of the immigration question which inspired the foundation of new organizations and a recognition amongst some Right cadres, that the hitherto "normal" politics of anti-communism led nowhere—save to an auxiliary relationship with the conservative parties and their political police agencies. Some players on the Right wanted to build movements to cater for new clienteles and break clear of the conservative parties (they had "betrayed" White Australia by this new assessment) and avoid contact with groups which had hitherto played the auxiliary role. [2] It would prove not to be an easy process.

Indeed, the auxiliary relationship had dominated the Right since 1945, and in the "thirty years war" against the Left, the Right served as ideological supporters and self-motivated bash-boys for the anti-communist Liberal and Country parties. The Right's relationship with the conservative parties was considered "normal" on both sides of the arrangement [3] and whatever independent ideas for expression or mobilization existed, had little scope. After 1971, when the Country Party moved against the League of Rights so as to exclude them from the party, and after the election of the Labor government which speeded the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) to break its connection with the neo-nazis, many fractions of the Right were adrift. They were bereft of a "role" as little brothers to the big parties, and, as structures, they began to melt away. Groups like the National Socialist Party of Australia (NSPA), the Citizens for Freedom, the Captive Nations groups and others, went into decline. Some were swept up by Fraser's "anti-communism" and dispersed with Whitlam's electoral defeat in 1975. An epoch on the Right was over. It was like a "great extinction" of political life as we knew it.

In the period up to 1975, given that the Right perceived of its auxiliary relationship as "normal," it was also not uncommon for activists to report to the Special Branches and ASIO about "suspicious radicals" and liaise with secret police in the commission of offences against the Left. [4] This argument was dramatically demonstrated with the release of Queensland government Cabinet papers for 1971. A set of facts brought forward in the thesis was basically corroborated when it was shown that Nazis and Special Branch police had conspired together at least in respect of some matters related to the anti-apartheid demonstration at the Tower Mill Motel in July 1971. I had that story already from ex-NSPA witnesses, who now stand vindicated. Of course, they took the matter even further. [5]

The pattern of co-operation with the political police after 1975 would take new forms in specific cases. The common interest of anti-communism could no longer determine the

relationship. The Left challenge had been broken although it would take another 15 years for the Communist Party to dissolve and the old-Left to ultimately and formally implode into liberalism. [6] There was simply no value for political police agencies in physically attacking the Left. Rather, surveillance, media propaganda and legal processes (such as those directed against militant leftists like Norm Gallagher and the Painters' and Dockers' Union) were more effective than clandestine violence. Additionally, there were other "security" questions concerning the emergence of a multiracial and multicultural society and the implicit threat to it from an independent Right. At no point thereafter can even the most seemingly insignificant violence-prone or sensationalist Right group be ignored in this context. The political police agencies were required to monitor and constrain the independent Right. This could involve turning groups within the new Right milieu against each other. As an actor in a larger drama, a Right extremist fraction could become a *Dirty Tricks cell*, no longer active against the Left, but aimed at the independent Right., a situation likely to arise if its leaders felt they could enter into a political police alliance to achieve their personal agenda. [7] It is this truth which has hitherto been concealed. If I have done nothing more, I have tried to drag it into the light.

## Getting Things Straight

This article is largely about an "underground" situated in one Australian city. This does not imply that all forces were necessarily integrated into a structure. Nor does it imply that the forces described were part of a definable subculture. Subcultures have styles and rules and maintain themselves, and this "underground" scarce had that. It might be best described as a volatile political bohemia replete with startling individuals with different ideologies and purposes. They could cross over into this underground—and leave it. They could search for ideas or recruits for their projects. Some on the quest for new ideas moved back into their chosen "surface" groups while some might create new "surface" organizations. The "underground" was therefore a meeting place for those who went there and for those condemned only to enjoy an existence within its confines. The underground might focus around speaking clubs, eating venues or hotels. It was a little like the "Paddington Push" of Sydney legend.

Nor can this article be a "history" of all the groups and persons involved. However, it is clear that a historian is urgently required, the present author being just a drummer-boy in that pursuit! The history of the time and the "Right" is slowly being written yes, but more must be done.

*Sources are an issue here.* So far, I have examined only a limited number of SB files. Others may become available. In working up an article from the SB files, I make the

necessary point that the data analysed here is not simply *from* these files, but acquired also through the information recorded therein leading to further investigation and interviews with affected persons.

The files examined were: S. Rosier; J. Saleam; A. Norwick ; T. Cooksley ; N. Garland; J. Falconer; R. May. These files included over 2,000 pages although not all this volume of paperwork related to the study period. Garland's file, while NSPA-specific, was of some 202 pages. As a historical document, it was the most complete record of the life of the Nazi party in the period. In due course, I hope to get access to further files and write additional material on this subject period and other periods. [8]

The article is a study-in-the-microcosm. This can be justified on several bases: if the story of individual groups and persons is defined we can further assess their political quality in the broader context; if such groups or individuals become significant, their points of genesis and formation may imply their motivations; we can assess the interrelationships of persons and groups.

I write this article in a certain style, to convey the "feeling" of the time and the character of the persons and groups involved. In this sense, the article is not simply a *potted* "history" (if was a full history, it would have too much of a "thesis" style and, be necessarily deeper and richer anyway), *but it will try to be more so a primary document of that history.*

The Special Branch files will, at different points, add substance to the story.

### **Special Branch Nazism: The National Socialist Party of Australia: From Auxiliary Force to "Underground" to Dirty Tricks Cell**

The author has argued elsewhere that the National Socialist Party of Australia (NSPA) was by no means an insignificant organization, if only by virtue of its special (auxiliary) purpose in the arsenal of state anti-communism. Nor should it be judged solely by the peculiar foreign colouring and forms it had adopted; it must be judged throughout for what it did, never what it looked like. This was never more salient after the group found a new role - as a "dirty tricks" group - some years after the formal dissolution of the NSPA in 1975. For the years of the 1960s–1970s, I used the term "*Special Branch Nazism*" to describe the quality of the movement. I meant that the neo-nazis had no real ideological life outside of the struggle against communism (which made it a "satellite" of state conservatism) and no political purpose outside of bolstering the conservative parties (which means an "auxiliary" role). These circumstances, managed by the Special Branch sections of the State police forces, provided me with the term

"Special Branch Nazism."

The NSPA was resurrected in Sydney in early November 1973 at a series of small gatherings attended by half a dozen persons. This situation followed a 20-month hibernation for Sydney neo-nazism after the Australian National Socialist Party (ANSP), an organizational rival to the NSPA, called it quits in March 1972. But the organizational lapse had included more significant developments on the national scene.

In July–August 1973, the national headquarters of the Nazi "party" in Melbourne was closed down by its leader, F. S. (Cass) Young. Young had cut a deal with ASIO and run for Sydney, with the intention of staying out of Victoria and avoiding interview or prosecution for specific offences. Those who re-formed the party at a Melbourne meeting in November 1973 had heard dark rumours of Young's personal deal with ASIO and wanted to secure their records and documents such as to permit the group's reorganization. At that meeting, Neil Garland, 40, a postal worker, a former member of Arthur Smith's Australian National Socialist Party (1971–72), and later of the regular NSPA, was chosen as secretary for New South Wales. The meeting was advised that Robert John Cameron, 25, a railway worker, was a suitable organizer. There were 100 Australian Nazis, including the "famous" Ross "The Skull" May who also affiliated to the Sydney branch. It was a very fragile structure, and as documents in Garland's SB file suggest, it teetered on the edge of "collapse" throughout the remaining two years of its life. [9]

The author had published the testimony of certain witnesses to the effect that Young had been pushed into a provocation which was set for a May 1973 meeting organized by the Deputy Prime Minister, Dr. Jim Cairns. Cairns had hosted a delegation of the Viet Cong to Australia, a ministerial action out of favour with certain members of ASIO who were grouped into a parallel network within that security organ. Poison gas was released at the meeting by the Nazis and Young and some followers clashed with Maoist communists outside the building. This event had followed a spate of attacks on leftist-operated bookshops and other violence, whose direction had been overseen by ASIO and Victorian Special Branch. [10] The situation became untenable because of the Labor government's desire to internationalize capitalism and break from the former patterns of conservative anti-communism. Rather, "anti-communism" would not be the issue at all for the emerging new order in Australian politics.

*As the SB files of both Rosier and Garland reveal, the SB possessed the membership files of the Young's NSPA. There were two sets of records, being for "Members" and "Official Supporters." The documents were passed over to SB when "name blanked out" and "name blanked out" were "interviewed at this office" on December 12, 1973. [11] This secret act cancelled out the NSPA's attempt to recover the files. The closing*

down of the NSPA and the acquisition of its files were probably necessary acts from the perspective of the political police. It symbolized a certain finalization in the affairs of the group. Yet, there was always too, the concern that the NSPA or any other rightist group could drift into political independency and it was certainly considered better to wipe the slate. The absence of the membership lists restricted the revived NSPA.

*There can be little doubt as to the identities of the persons "interviewed" - Cass Young and his wife Katrina.* I had already obtained a witness to the meeting at issue and recorded the details in my doctoral thesis; the SB files confirmed the witness, albeit with one difference: the witness said ASIO were also present at the meeting. [12] That seems likely.

Young's sojourn to Sydney introduced him to the drug culture. By early 1974, he was an occasional heroin user and by the close of the year an addict and so after, a dealer. Early in 1974, he was resident in Leichhardt, sharing a house (briefly) with former Sydney NSPA leader, Arthur Smith. It was here that he obtained from some youths in early 1974, a copy of the membership list of the (Trotskyist) Socialist Youth Alliance, stolen in a break-in at its office in St. John's Road Glebe. Young, mercurially, gave the list to Cameron. Cameron held onto the list for a couple of months and around March 1974 passed it to Special Branch. [13] The act did not occasion any criticism in Sydney Nazi circles; rather, it was considered "normal enough" (Garland). Young stayed on the periphery of Sydney Nazism for some months, attending the Easter 1974 "NSPA Congress" in Manly (where he claimed the files were burned) and keeping in loose "touch" with the new group. But his career in Nazism was over.

The passage of the NSPA from an auxiliary organization to an underground phenomenon began soon after "re-foundation." Dr. Ted Cawthron, an original 1963–64 NSPA founder, had hoped to salvage something from the wreckage of Australian Nazism. He went along with the meeting in Melbourne and planned (secretly) to act in such a way as the NSPA would be phased out and its "better elements merged into a new nationalist anti-immigration (as opposed to anti-communist) organization." [14] In December 1973, he was approached by Adelaide Special Branch: "The NSPA was to stay dead. We thought that was agreed." [15] Agreed? Undoubtedly agreed to, by Young! Even so, Cawthron persisted in trying to regroup the Nazis, with himself and his agent, an Adelaide university student, Robin Sparrow, in charge. This would have permitted the "phase-out" project. However, this plan was stymied by the refusal of the new Sydney leadership to accept his control. Cawthron, after a series of threats of violence from Cameron, withdrew from the scene in early 1975.

The Cameron/Garland group became frenetically active on the Sydney front. Garland's SB file set out much of the history on a week-by-week basis and in considerable detail, *too much detail, almost as if the "watchers" were obsessed with knowing all.* Ross May's SB file was similarly rich in petty detail. [16] Were the SB enthusiastic because

they wanted the NSPA quietly *managed into oblivion* lest the truth about its connection with ASIO/SB be revealed? Were they concerned the group might "survive" and develop independent action, and thus be a public nuisance, a small irritant to be sure, but an irritant nonetheless? Or both? Whatever the case, the SB in New South Wales, no less than ASIO, understood that there was a conservative mobilization against Labor building at this time. The management of the Right generally, was important for the Liberal-National mobilization - and it had to be done "right." Maverick fractions required close monitoring. Noticeably, much of the NSPA's labour in this period, while possibly encouraged (for Cameron's special remark and a particular project, see below), but was not as intensive as neo-nazi activism in its other phases. It seems that real political police *disengagement* from Australian neo-nazism had already occurred, lest the connection be identified - by the Labor Party. The symbolic alteration in the relationship must lie in the act of "retiring" Young from the scene.

At the 1974 Congress of the NSPA, its "national leadership" was transferred to Sydney, with Garland as "National Secretary and long-term NSPA member, John Stewart, as "Administrator." Thereafter, the NSPA's Sydney history in 1974–75 involved: participation in the 1974 NSW Senate election for 2,500 votes and Ross May in "Werriwa" against Whitlam for 89 votes; wrecking the Australia-Philippines Friendship Society's inaugural meeting in October 1974, violent harassment of Communist Party union boss, Jack Munday (a special project running for over 12 months); damaging leftist bookshops; discharging weapons at leftist bookshops; physical violence directed at Asians; some television interviews with provocative utterances; pasting posters and a few small "demonstration" actions. In 1975, Ross May ran again against Whitlam for over 200 votes. [17] Cameron was arrested for one of these malicious damage forays, and although on a bond, escaped further proceedings. The others received heavy fines, but in August 1975, Mangan was jailed for one of these adventures. Much of the other media stunt activity engaged in by the Sydney leaders was - curiously - conducted in Brisbane, where the branch was run by long-time boss Errol Niemeyer and a Dutch wartime collaborator, Anton Heintjes. The ASIO operative "run" in the NSPA, Michael Hodgson, also lived in Brisbane at this time (he had previously lived in Melbourne where he was an intimate friend of Young, 1971–73) and he kept close tabs on events, whilst also working to ensure the wind down of the group. (He withdrew in late 1974–early 1975) [18]

The author may now "testify" directly. In November 1974, I was in Sydney and visited Garland, meeting for the first time, his houseguest, Gary Mangan. Mangan had been expelled from the NSPA in October 1971, ostensibly for moral reasons, but in fact because of his loose-lipped talk of the Special Branch connection in Queensland. In 1972, Mangan, then "leader of the Fascist Party," was charged over the bombing of the Communist Party headquarters in Brisbane, but ultimately acquitted in September 1973. Cameron, who had also been involved in the "Fascist Party," had brought him

back in. Mangan however, aside from being an alcoholic, was an ideological maverick. Mangan guessed that I had no ideological allegiance to neo-nazism and detailed his own reservations. "They talk about communism," he said. "I think the enemy is in America." He invited me (in Garland's later absence) to copy parts of the NSPA's membership and mailing list (which I did) and suggested I could probably employ "some Nazis" as suitable recruits one day for "something else." He said he assumed I had some general idea in mind. That was the position.

This "list" had a history and its details turned up in Garland's SB file. At the meeting with Garland, I was asked if I would make certain enquiries of the Melbourne Nazis on his behalf. I wrote out a "list of tasks" at his behest. I intended to survey this "scene" for myself, a perfect "cover" being an errand boy. On November 29, after arriving in Melbourne, I was taken into police custody with another man (he was charged with bill pasting) for but a couple of hours. The documents and the members' list, although "returned" to me - were obviously copied. [19] The NSPA's "luck" with members' files, as we shall see, only got worse.

Mangan was right about several things. The author had formed very definite opinions of the NSPA. The reader should be told that in 1974 I was Brisbane-based as a university student; I was "acquainted" with the local Nazis. On occasions, I "used" their services to subscribe to a broad array of "racial-nationalist" literature (mainly foreign) and received local Nazi material by paying a subscription to remain on the mailing list. There seemed to be several others in different cities who subscribed to Nazi materials and kept a connection with them, if not out of any solidarity, but for "practical" reasons. Even when identified as that type of contact, they were tolerated as fellow anti-communists. However, I was regarded as a "National Bolshevik," meaning to the Nazis I was some sort of communist with nationalist-cum-racist predilections. Of course, that's not quite the definition of the term, but it was the best the Brisbane Nazis could conjure.

Nonetheless, this description said a lot. My ideas were not "worked out," although I knew I wanted to see created *a type of radical nationalist party, a genuine patriotic movement—one that would not sell itself to the conservative parties nor to the old Right groups, a movement which would not function as the "useful idiots" to do the dirty work.* I had seen the dirty work done, and heard why it was the normal and right thing to do, courtesy of all sorts of "Right" figures, but I considered the Nazis the worst offenders. I had had direct confessions of a number of auxiliary actions from Queensland NSPA "secretary," Errol Niemeyer; indeed, he essentially described this as the Nazis' role in the years 1968–73. When I first met Bob Cameron in Sydney in late 1973, and to my question as to how he could get away with the "violence" he claimed to perpetrate, he said, *"I'm told what I can hit and what I can't,"* I had heard enough, becoming a confirmed, if secret "enemy," of the neo-nazis. It appeared then that only an entire

renewal of the so-called "Right" could ever suffice. [20] Because I only ever confided my long-term desires to *one other person*, in Brisbane in 1975, and this person was "reliable" (as below), no trace of my labours emerged in the SB files. The idea of "renewal," was shared with others in different cities (such as the Eureka Students' League in Melbourne). This personal account explains certain events to the reader, and is one record of the subjective opinions of activists who went through various political experiences and who progressed into what was to become later -- nationalist politics.

Yet, renewal was a tall order. Thereafter I travelled often to Sydney and hence played a small role in the affairs of the "underground." Thus, if the text above has not already shown it, I was a witness to life in this "underground." [21] In that period, I met some of the surface groups (anti-immigration groups) and corresponded with actors in the underground. In the case of the NSPA, the author observed a group without any options, an action group, committing crimes against "targets" that were not the enemies of any Australian freedom movement, a description of circumstances not disagreed with by Garland, and only qualified by May. [22] It was also peopled by an increasing number of lumpen and "mad" individuals in all of its sections. As the half-sane (sic) and the "normal" anti-communists withdrew, they were partly replaced by the psychologically infirm. The author met Kerry Davidson, a long-term informer for the Sydney SB; he told me he had "married Field Marshal Keitel's grand-daughter" (Keitel: Hitler's chief of staff), and drove the same train used in the film "Doctor Zhivago" over the Swiss Alps while on a secret mission for the CIA. It seems he was sent to the Nazis by the anti-communist conservatives in the Liberal Party to whom, he also reported on Nazi activism. Davidson was somewhat like "Hudy," a Brisbane recruit, a paranoid Hungarian anti-semite who lived in a room beneath a Spring Hill House; but he owned a property, where some Nazis fired off a few rounds and imagined it was a "training camp." He opined that Cameron was somehow "related" to a Liberal politician of the same name and was as a consequence of that delusion, an ardent follower. There was "Robert the Goose," a Melbourne schoolteacher busted for his affairs with senior (girl) students, who moved to Brisbane to support the revamped NSPA.

The life of the NSPA, both as a "surface" group and an underground milieu, was graphically illustrated in the case of a bizarre individual with the likely name of John Howard. He had been a member of Arthur Smith's "Australian National Socialist Party" which had dissolved in March 1972. He had started reorganising it in the period around September 1974 from an ANSP membership list in his possession, and he entered into negotiations with the NSPA with a view to "amalgamation." He lived in Erskineville in a home that doubled as a temple where he *conversed with the spirit of Adolf Hitler*. After a violent clash with May, Cameron and Garland on October 19, he was "expelled." It is clear that the person was mentally disturbed, but typical of the quality of those drawn to the extreme fringe of neo-nazism. But he was a further boon to Special Branch. As two

letters in Garland's file reveal, he contacted SB and arranged to pass over his records to Detective Leaney. On November 21, he did so. One letter said: ". . . he was going to tell everyone he had burned the records and did not want anyone to know that he had given them to . . . Special Branch." This letter continued most ominously: "[Howard—his named blanked out] claims that all the records were given to him by [blank] following the demise of [blank] party about 1972 and a perusal of the documents in question by my Special Branch tend to confirm that statement. It is obvious they are not the complete records from [blank] party as some of the more prominent members from that period are not included." It seems the SB already had a copy! Even so, as Garland tells the story, his "use" of the list with Howard's acquiescence, showed it was somewhat valueless, with most of the members no longer at the addresses given or -- nonexistent! [23]

However, SB's intrusion into the records of the NSPA went deeper still. On January 1, 1975, Garland was arrested in company with another member of the NSPA for "malicious injury" to property at a communist bookshop. Two entries in Garland's file, tell what happened:

"The name . . . Garland . . . appeared on a list of the NSPA which were maintained on cards measuring approx. 5 x 5 contained in a wooden box. The documents belonging to the NSPA were copied without the knowledge of . . . Garland . . . after he and [blank] were arrested by members of this Brn. and No. 1 Det. on Wed. 1st January 1975 in relation to Malicious Injury, concerning New World Bookshop. . . ." (Entry, March 11, 1975)

"A letter on the National Socialist Party of Australia letter head from N. Garland . . . to the Secretary NSPA, South Australia, regarding the next Congress and who will be the next leader. . . . These documents were copied without the knowledge of . . . Garland after he and [blank] were arrested . . ." (Entry, March 25, 1975) [24]

It is concluded here that the Special Branch *burgled Garland's home* (with his home keys) and illegally copied material. When released on bail, many hours later, Garland was none the wiser.

Further material, this time from Queensland Special Branch shows that Garland's full

folio of internal documents, carried to a Brisbane meeting, was copied in October 1975. [25] The tone of the SB material suggests that an interview with Garland was undertaken while his hotel room was burgled. While burglary and other criminal conduct were SB stock in trade, the enthusiasm shown to possess the entire picture of NSPA activity and membership was peculiar indeed. Again, I conclude it was about "management" into oblivion.

In August 1975, members of the NSPA, the Australian Nationalist White Workers' Party (ANWWP: as below), and all the anti-immigration groups, were present at a meeting hosted by Nick Maina and the National Australia Association (as below), to hear Shadow Immigration Minister, Michael McKellar. The Liberal chose his words carefully, but those who attended concluded the Liberal Party was in favour of tightening up immigration and, in effect, returning to a quasi-White Australia Policy. Of course, if the rightists thought that they were deceived, and if McKellar had given this impression, it was an act of cynical calculation. The Liberals were lining up all potential support for the imminent clash with Labor. The NSPA members had arrived courtesy of Maina who was always trying to smooth over differences in favour of anti-communist unity, and the meeting with the ANWWP opened up, for Cameron at least, a new power struggle to have his group recognized as the only "fascist outfit" in town. Contacts were initiated with the ANWWP which set off three months of constant harassments to induce the group to amalgamate with "the strength." The ANWWP declined the offer, insisting on the idea that it would work with any group in a united front (possibly even the Nazis), but was not to be regarded as a neo-nazi group. [26]

This intimidatory behaviour marked the *desperation* of Australian neo-nazism. The adventurist commentary in the media in 1975 that the party had death lists, that it would murder Jim Cairns, had training camps, was in support of the PLO, and would send "troops" to a crumbling South Vietnam to halt the Viet Cong thrust, would purchase a Canberra class bomber aircraft; had a plan to murder the singer, Kamahl, and so forth, impressed no one, not even those within Nazi ranks. Throughout 1975, the group in all states began to fade, as it did in Sydney too. The neo-nazi component of the conservative mobilization, whatever "jobs" might have been allocated to it (such as the violent harassment of Jack Munday, the enemy of the property developers, a project that ran from mid-1974 through to mid-1975), could not negotiate a place. And the other Right surface groups were progressively keeping real distance from the NSPA although the informal underground bonds would keep activists in touch. As a "Nazi," there was little for Cameron to do as 1975 rolled on. The Railway Square office, used mainly for late night grog-ons, was abandoned, and relations between core Nazis soured.

The scene for self-destruction came with the "recruitment" of Newcastle personality, Arthur Tane, in August 1975. Tane believed the author was a supporter of the NSPA

and asked if he should join. Of course, *I told him he should*. Yet, Tane was a highly fractious and peculiar, indeed wildly eccentric individual, definitely *not* a neo-nazi, but almost certainly a type of political meanderer. A number of absurd situations ensued over succeeding months that destabilized the NSPA "leadership." [27] Further, Garland had by this time become fundamentally disillusioned with it all. He had spent sizeable amounts of money for no result. However, his particular revelation was that he had been used (in various ways) as a *cover* for sensationalist media coverage and violence --prompting an urgent desire to be out of the arrangement. He had accepted the empty title of "Leader" at the 1975 Congress only to resign shortly afterwards, recognising the position as a mere cipher for the continuing (and pointless) violence and media provocation. By August 1975, the Queensland Nazis were also restive, wanting to establish a quiet fraternity, the "National Socialist League" -- which would be a discussion group and information circle, a group which could influence other rightists, and be linked through to the World Union of National Socialists (the co-ordination centre for neo-nazism) headquartered in the United States. They indicated to the Sydney leaders their criticisms of the adventurist publicity. The bills were suddenly due on Australian neo-nazism. Few wanted to play.

The NSPA died amidst some of the most stirring days in Australian political history -- the "constitutional crisis" of November 1975 and the resultant election victory of Malcolm Fraser. In November–December 1975, the NSPA was wracked by a series of internal convulsions. The tensions had built between Cameron and the Niemeyer group in Queensland, and between Garland and the Cameron fraction. It was a matter of expectations. Cameron wanted *action*, and the Queensland Nazis desired non-confrontation; Garland thought in terms of a "responsible" (pseudo) party which might have to alter its external presentation, whilst Cameron saw any "administration" as a resource to be used for *action*.

*There was also the decisive intervention of others who incited these tensions and other divisions.* The author and a close friend in Brisbane who shared the idea of a "renewal" of the Right, were in a position to perform much of the latter "function." Indeed, this person was the instigator of the scheme, which was fueled by his personal knowledge of the destabilising effect of neo-nazism in Britain. My *Never In Nazi Uniform* indicated that we initiated various elaborate actions in pursuit of the scheme and that little "credit" existed in the individual deeds which ensured the break-up of the NSPA. Any recounting of these actions would serve scant purpose either, their intense, if convoluted processes, enmeshing their initiators in a web of sometime intrigue and counter-intrigue. [28] Certainly, the fragmentation of the group was possible because of its already-biting internal problems and the overlapping contacts we had formed which permitted the national exchange of information and the creation of misinformation. The motive for this campaign was simple, if almost banal: *the NSPA represented a faulted ideology which served merely to leash the development of some sort of a new*

*nationalist politics and must be put out of business.* But more pointedly it had had a relationship with the State power and *it was "time" to rid the scene of the state's agents.* What entity should be formed by "radical nationalists" in the future -- was very much undecided. The ultimate plan produced results over its many months of operation.

This campaign finally brought Cameron to Brisbane in December and resulted in the bashing of Niemeyer by Nazi loyalists. Niemeyer bore the blame for the destabilization campaign. His scheme for a "National Socialist League," came to nought thereafter, but the Cameron faction was left high and dry. Niemeyer reported to Special Branch that the campaign against the NSPA had come from two named persons, but because SB questions were never answered or denied, they were never sure.

As Garland put it, the group was "doomed" anyway. He recognized it had no targets upon which to focus its method: the mass Left had declined and the movement in place against Whitlam and the broad Left required different types of agent. Screaming would-be bullies or gun-toting militants were not of utility. Garland gave it an official collapse date of December 20, 1975, a notice later appearing in *Nation Review* to this effect. There was talk amongst Cameron loyalists for the creation of a "National Socialist Liberation Front" modelled on the California violence group of the same name. A Brisbane prostitute, calling herself "Sandy LaGosha," emerged from Cameron's past, with a small circle and espoused this line, reprompting a new flurry of Brisbane-Sydney Special Branch communication. Nothing happened.

In May 1976, Garland's vehicle was burned in obvious retaliation for his tacit and then direct support for the breaking up of the group. A NSPA newsletter signed by W. Meiss (Cameron?) appeared, criticising Cawthron, Tane and Garland, and the "national bolshevik" Saleam. In a 1976 report, the SB seemed to agree that Tane played a very destabilising role. [29] But for the moment, the NSPA was dead and Australian neo-nazism silent. In early 1976, the author called upon Garland in Sydney to discuss the collapse of the NSPA. In my presence, he burned all the membership files and organizational documents of the NSPA. In December 1975, there were 73 Australian Nazis, of whom only a dozen were truly "active." One of them, Kevin Colbourne, evidently lived out on the Nullabour Plain where he posed for photos; he wore a German military helmet, home made iron cross and a crude blue uniform. The bonfire thankfully consumed it all.

The disappearance of the NSPA had a curious sequel. *The Bulletin* magazine published an article that ostensibly came from an ASIO agent who desired "to set the record straight" on the NSPA. He reported "excessive zeal" in dealing with them under Labor and even the intervention of the MOSSAD. He considered the twenty Nazis not worth monitoring as most were "either in jail or mental institutions much of the time."

[30] The article was obvious poppycock. It underestimated Nazi support and misstated the relationship with ASIO. The mentioning of MOSSAD was either foolish, or a furphy of the highest order. The article was more a cover-up.

As there were other dramatic changes on the Right scene, and with the advent of the Fraser government based upon an anti-communist programme, few players gave any thought to the NSPA's ultimate collapse.

### **The "Racist" (Anti-Immigration) Milieu**

The Immigration Control Association (ICA) had formed in 1969 under the leadership of Robert Clark. There were various spin-offs from the ICA and alternate groups also made an appearance. Bob Clark, born 1908, had lived for thirty years in southern Africa, returning to Australia in 1967, the year after the White Australia Policy was officially axed. Clark understood the requirement of an activist group, but also lobby force, to mobilize resistance to the change. His own "conservative" upbringing directed him to the position where he would favour the Liberal Party over Labor, but his "racist" suspicion of the former grew over time. Although an "anti-socialist," he put race first. This was new and it angered the anti-communist Right around Lyenko Urbanchich and the Captive Nations Council (see below). By 1972, the ICA was organized nationally with about 500 members. Around a hundred and fifty resided in Sydney. [31]

Clark was a secretive man who preserved confidences -- and the membership roll. Yet he floated across the Sydney Right scene, lobbying to build opposition to immigration. In 1974, he struck a broad alliance with many actors in the scene and campaigned hard against Al Grassby, Minister for Immigration in the Whitlam government. Grassby was ousted from his electorate in the 1974 poll, blaming Clark and others for his defeat. The kudos won partly accrued to him and his authority grew. However, the anti-immigration scene was also fissiparous.

By 1973, Sydney was host to a number of anti-immigration groups. Nick Maina, Laurie Clapperton and Noel Macdonald were also players. The Immigration Restriction Council, the White Australian and Aborigines Defence League and the White Australia Progressive Party (WAPP) were groups under the respective commands of each at various times thereafter. On occasion in alliance, on occasion out of union, these men vied with Clark for hegemony over the new pro-White Australia movement. In 1974, McDonald died and Clapperton's group faltered, leaving Maina the only alternative anti-immigration leader to Clark.

These groups had obviously concerned Special Branch. There was clear evidence in

Garland's file of a source within the WAPP. [32] In this case he reported that Garland had attended a WAPP meeting on October 1, 1974. Maina told the author he has identified this person. John Bridge, another old hand, told the author he had been informed on at other meetings. The meetings were well attended and young people appeared, suggestive that the immigration issue could become more volatile and bring on an activist mobilization.

Ted Cawthron had considered the anti-immigration forces way back in 1970 as a key element in his secret plan to create a nationalist movement with a keen awareness of the "White Australia" question. Essentially, this was hardly a foolish notion. They had some numbers, financing and organizational resources.

The anti-immigration groups seemed to have had some strength in the belt from Mosman to Manly, where former Liberals provided the foot soldiers. Older ladies and war veterans were in numbers, some of whom had interests in other conservative ideas and visions. But "race" was their issue and it hardened them. They were people whose vision on immigration was limited to status quo ante 1966. And they would act, with long hours and hard work, to distribute hundreds of thousands of letterbox leaflets across Sydney, warning luridly of the challenge of immigration to our European culture and society. Eventually many would pass into National Action.

Another different force also appeared. It was the Australian Nationalist White Workers' Party (ANWWP). It formed in late 1973, courtesy of two singular activists. One was Alistair Raven, an English migrant who had some involvement in the British National Front, and the other Alex Norwick, the son of Eastern European migrants. The first was looking for a type of activist politics like he'd known; the other was seeking to animate the Eastern European anti-communists towards "racial socialism," a new ideology that identified the issue as the process of racial change then getting under way in Australia. Aside from a thin layer of Australian-born persons, it was the migrants who made up much of the membership. As many were more-looking for anti-Left action, they were a conduit into the circles exposed to the Captive Nations message. Because of circumstances, this also involved Maina (an ally of the Liberal Party anti-communists discussed below), and a friendly alliance was struck. The ANWWP looked towards a new cosmology: a broad white race unity, an Australian nationalism accommodating to all and an anti-Left unity which also involved a commitment to a revised "socialism." In one sense this "neo-fascism" was trying to find a new market. It latched onto the beginnings of Middle Eastern migration and favoured, rather than lobbyist action, a more direct approach. [33] But ANWWP was overall, too "radical" for some and had limited appeal. But its leadership added further colour to the underground, bringing esoteric debates on European-nationalism and Mosleyite ideas generally to meetings of the Sydney Right. It was the first expression of the radical-nationalist tradition in the Sydney scene.

By late 1975, Maina had transformed himself into effective leader of the New South Wales branch of the National Australia Association (NAA) directed by Brigadier General Ted Eason. Eason's group, with its support for the Constitution, the Flag, the Monarchy and the Commonwealth, also desired to restrict immigration. Given it worked closely with sections of the League of Rights, it was in some ways, a political version of it. Eason desired anti-socialist *action* to defeat Labor and was a keen friend of the conservative fraction of the Liberal Party (next section). It was the NAA which provided Joh Bjelke-Petersen with Pat Field, a bogus Senate nominee in 1975 drafted in to replace a dead Labor man, thereby tilting the balance in that House of Parliament against Whitlam. As a non-party group, the NAA, despite its anti-immigration views, could and did augment the conservative Liberals in New South Wales. Maina's meetings, often full of keen "anti-socialists" provided new vistas for the underground and many people within it formed coteries and cells of contacts for whomsoever would seek them out. [34]

The co-ordination of the Right in 1975 to serve the Liberals was a fact that cannot be denied and our story blends in with one other prominent story of underground fermentation and surface group activation—the politics of the Liberal conservative anti-communists.

### **The Anti-Communists Regroup and Act**

The period after the election of the Whitlam government was one of great uncertainty for the conservative Right.

The group of Liberal Party members based around veteran anti-communist Lyenko Urbanchich became more active. In 1968, they had founded the Fifty Club, with Michael Darby, Geoff Holt and David Clarke being prominent. As the 1970s unfolded, they found a place opposing the Vietnam Moratorium and organizing amongst Eastern European migrants against "Labor socialism." This group vociferously opposed the Labor government's 1975 recognition of the Soviet incorporation of the Baltic states and the activities of Yugoslav communists in Australia. [35]

When the Fraser mobilization was under way in 1975, Urbanchich wanted everything subordinated to the anti-communist struggle. He was frantic, but also effective, in his efforts to energize Eastern European migrants in support of the Liberal Party. He managed to truncate even the Sydney League of Rights and have it as a useful ally and network supporter.

As Clapperton told the author in 1979, Urbanchich had never forgiven Clark for "dividing the racists from the anti-communists." Did he then try to kill two birds with one stone? In 1975, Clark was befriended by David Clarke. As Mrs. Clark told the story, he David Clarke became a close confidant, and in October 1975 prevailed upon Clark not to field candidates in any election, to dissolve the ICA and its Conservative Party offshoot, and to support Fraser who could be expected to implement changes in immigration policy along ICA restrictionist lines. It was a deception. The Clarks spoke with great bitterness of their gullibility and after perceiving the deception of Clarke and the reality of Fraser-ism, re-formed the ICA around March 1976. [36] Did Clarke preach this line because of Urbanchich's entreaties or because of absolute loyalty to the Liberal Party machine, or for some other reason?

The magazine *News Digest International* helped to focus and rally "Captive Nations" anti-communists against the Labor government. Its editor, John Kedys was a determined activist. He ensured the Baltic communities in particular were animated against Labor and thereby new pools of embittered people entered formal "surface" groups and fuelled the underground. The Eastern Europeans were regular fixtures at all anti-Labor meetings: older men and women with dark stories of the Stalinist terror and the similarities between Labor social-democracy and Marxism-Leninism.

A group Youth Against Communism (YAC) was formed by a university student and bohemian, James Asimus in early 1975. It attracted a few former NSPA members (like Alan Parziani) and some youth. It pasted screen-printed posters around inner Sydney. [37] But YAC was an ephemeral group that didn't see out the year. Some of its recruits passed over into the university-based "Democratic Clubs," a front for the National Civic Council. One exception was Eddy Azzopardi, who was looking for a radical-nationalist organization. He didn't find it there, so eventually he would found his own.

There were places where many of the activists from the anti-communist Right might meet with other Right personages. One meeting spot was the League of Rights (ALR) sponsored "Conservative Speakers' Club" (CSC) -- which took to gathering at the Commonweal Club rooms and restaurant in Castlereagh Street. The ALR's speaking club was an old haunt of many of the Urbanchich Liberals and every variety of rightist, and the new Commonweal Club facilities provided a city venue for the entire Right. Good old-style English food, the 1920s club atmosphere and the whiff of conspiracy, were blended into the panelled walls. Here ideas would be tossed about and miniature schemes launched by the minor and major actors in the drama. Alliances across the boundaries of the groups would form. The Club, run by advocates of the Tinker Tailor religious sect, was ideally placed to offer a rock within the swirling vortex, stability, focus. [38] It was here, surrounded by listeners after a Conservative Speakers' Club meeting in mid-1977, that Azzopardi clashed with the doyen of the League of Rights, Jeremy Lee, over whether direct political action was necessary -- "now." In a display of

the Socratic dialectic, Azzopardi compelled Lee to say that political action had to be postponed until the Second Coming, which rendered it superfluous in such an event. The Commonwealth Club, no less than the CSC, was therefore a physical witness to the changing appetites within the underground and between its surface groups. Times were changing and some didn't like it.

The anti-communists in the conservative Liberal "Uglies" faction -- as they came to be known--played a duplicitous game. They wanted to be the "hard faction" of the Liberal Party and they sought hegemony over every variety of "Right" in Sydney. They would pretend to agree with everyone else but demanded, cajoled and begged (depending on the audience), allegiance to their plan to take control of the State Liberal Party. The truth was of course, that they were not "White Australia" supporters, let alone advocates of the positions of the League of Rights; rather they were anti-communists, anti-socialists, free-market men, whose "hard" position was a product of their Cold War origins. Many were Eastern European anti-communists, and Australian independence from the Yankee anti-communist system wasn't part of the game either. When Bob Menzies became patron of the NAA, they stayed superficially friendly enough (despite Menzies's public statement that he favoured the NAA's view on immigration), but once Menzies was compelled by media pressure to withdraw, the Uglies monitored Maina's more intently to ensure it did not develop organizational independence and spin out of control. But Maina was already beyond their full grip and his meetings in the years 1976--77 often catered to a growing swathe of people angered by Fraser's open-door policy on refugees; even so, he continued to work with them. [39] It was a confusing time.

In the years 1977--79, the Uglies faction peaked in influence until struck at by the Laborites outside the party (Labor called them a "New Guard" and "fascist) and small "I" liberals within it. Times had changed and while these persons were pliable dupes as a general rule, they could not be trusted in the new liberal environment. They might back Fraser's "Cold War Two" politics and fall over themselves to welcome Vietnamese refugees, but many had had Nazi, Italian Fascist and similar wartime connections; they'd all gone all the way with the USA afterwards and served faithfully, but they were dinosaurs now. A fractional Menziesite conscience was rather unnecessary for the modern Liberal Party.

The main players were Lyenko Urbanchich, Major Ashley-Riddle, Michael Darby, David Clarke, Geoffrey Ferrow, Geoff Holt and others. As conservative impressarios they toured all the Right sects looking for followers, and whipping them into line. But some wouldn't follow (like Bob Clark) and some (like National Resistance) would become downright oppositional. Nonetheless, they were a determined cadre and a colourful one. Urbanchich had his wartime "collaborationist" past, which while somewhat overstated (he belonged to a pro-German anti-communist militia in Slovenia), never

betrayed a fascist sympathy. Ashley-Riddle had served in the British Army (his background was also Estonian) and had acquired a Vietnamese wife (when he was reported saying "I believe in four things: God, the Queen, the Judiciary and the Services," a young nationalist called Frank Salter quipped: "I wonder if the Viet wife supports it all?"). Darby was the son of the former Liberal M.P., Douglas Darby and he had impeccable anti-communist activist credentials back to the 1960s; as a supporter of the Taiwan regime, he was no friend of White Australia; David Clarke, who figures throughout this narrative, was a solicitor by then, a glib spokesman for conservative anti-communism; Geoffrey Ferrow was a systems man who brought order to chaos. Geoff Holt, a city councillor in Waverley, was as ever a linkman to fringe neo-nazis (once an acquaintance of con-man neo-nazi Graeme Royce). [40]

The determined quality of the group ensured its longevity and vitality. These people were *believers*, committed advocates of a type of High Tory conservatism focused, indeed distilled by the Cold War logic of anti-communism. Their Australia was the "secure" Australia of the picket-fence house, full employment, the Yank alliance and the British civic culture; this haven for democracy had allowed in the anti-communist refugees from Eastern Europe and they were loyal to the Liberal Party and the political police as if the freedom of their old homelands depended on it. The Ugliers cadre lived long, long past their use-by-date, long past the "relevancy" of their ideology. As the "Right" was evolving in Sydney, they and the underground which looked to them, had to confront new challenges.

### **The Impact of Some "Divine People"**

One of the more curious, but as events would show, significant aspects of the underground was the hurricane chaos around "Angela," a poetess and Sydney Domain speaker who commenced independent political activities in Sydney in 1975. [41] Angela Radovnikovic (born 1936) was of Croatian and Italian background and had migrated to Australia as a child, in 1949.

In the period around 1971, Angela developed political interests in Women's Liberation, Trotskyism (she found them too authoritarian), finally joining the Communist Party of Australia's Brisbane branch one day after its headquarters in that city was bombed by a NSPA split-off, Mangan's "Fascist Party." She participated in its cultural activities and wrote for the paper, *Tribune*, and *Meanjin* magazine. However, the CPA's marxist equalitarianism did not retain her loyalty.

Angela went on to speak at the Yarra Bank in Melbourne in 1973 and 1974 on interrelated subjects of "purity of racial integrity" and "the futility of war," conceived

through a perception of the Second World War as a "massacre of the white race." Her speeches would also refer to animal cruelty and vegetarianism. In fact, Angela thought of that political change could be focused as cultural cum religious change. In its own way this was somewhat analogous to the more sophisticated models of conduct in which the Extreme Right would later engage in.

By early 1975, domiciled in Sydney, she had become a partisan of esoteric race and gnostic doctrine, and as the author of polemics, composed her synthesized thoughts into book form. *The Silent Revolution* appeared and was advertised by posters around the city area. The posters, printed by Myles Ormsby, attracted the author's attention and a copy was ordered by Norwick. *The Silent Revolution* was critical of both church and government as institutions which would encourage people by their negativities towards violence; rather revolution "came from within," not by arms nor illusionary oppositional action. Lifestyle and thinking had to change. The title cover carried the reverse-swastika, the good-luck and life-positive emblem.

By late 1975, the Special Branch had developed an interest in the Domain meetings (organized as the "Divine People Mission"); Branch officers often followed the family to their home, trying to carry out interviews and being rebuffed. This non-cooperation with SB had some disturbing consequences. Subsequently, SB police suggested that Angela was the culprit in the bombing of the Police Headquarters in College Street in 1975 and that one of her sons had murdered a three-year old child. These sorts of baseless allegations seem normal Special Branch method.

At a house in Rose Bay, Angela would organize meetings after her appearances on the Sydney Domain (1976–79) where many personages of the Right would "drop-in" then and avail themselves of a venue to mull over ideas at other times. Such visitors included Cameron, Ed Azzopardi, Dave Zodembski, Myles Ormsby, Ross May, and Mark Ferguson. The premises were frequently under SB surveillance.

Why was the Special Branch interested? Angela said the house was "like an intellectual exchange centre." The ideas were all different, and hence the attendees were different. Was this why Special Branch feared some sort of coalescence? Was this gathering of people therefore considered dangerous in some way to make the Divine People Mission feature on a list of racist organizations published by Al Grassby's Community Relations Commission?

Bob Cameron seemed somewhat fascinated by the group and had been a regular visitor for years. In 1978–79, after the arrests of members of the Ananda Marga sect by Special Branch (three members were convicted of a conspiracy to kill Cameron and the attempted murder of police), Cameron made sensational admissions to Angela and her daughter, Lili. These admissions, if "true," are new evidence in this sensational criminal

conspiracy affair. And even so this material, even at the present level of "allegation," would demand proper investigation -- but then our state has no interest in these matters being ventilated. It wants to forget.

The account given to me by Angela says that she "baited" Cameron about the affair, saying that the philosophy of the Ananda Marga was really a peaceful one and that it was impossible to imagine their involvement in a murder conspiracy. Cameron insisted they were terrorists. As the case wore on after June 1978 to their first trial in January 1979, Angela said to Cameron: "You are not important enough for this to have been done. You are not a leader of any big movement for them to have this done to you." Cameron insisted they were guilty. At this time, whenever he visited, he came armed with a pistol which, as the story went, the Special Branch was only too happy for him to carry. Lili said that Cameron always had money in those times and said that he had been paid "eight thousand dollars" for his services in undefined matters relating to the case. Lili said that once, under goading and prompting by her and Angela he said that the Ananda Marga might not be guilty "but they had to be found guilty." He spoke highly of Special Branch as good blokes and fine policemen and he was happy to be "in" with them.

This detail could be the final secret of the Ananda Marga case. After all, if the Margis were innocent, then why frame them for an attack upon a person who was ostensibly a rightist militant? Clearly, the conspiracy to frame the Margis to defuse attention from security services' complicity in the Hilton Bomb, dovetailed with the need to nobble the emergent anti-immigration forces. The two conspiracies merged as one. And a pliable "agent" would make the best victim. This argument has been around for twenty years.

The Divine People group was thus in possession of dynamite detail only revealed in 2002. It was information only ever collected because of "bonds" that were forged in Sydney's peculiar "right-wing underground" in these lost years.

## **New Directions in 1976–77: Australian Rightist Community and National Resistance**

In 1976, the Sydney Right was in flux. Fraser's victory had caused the NWWPA to implode. Within weeks, its anti-communist Eastern European migrant contacts were dropping out. The NSPA was declared dissolved (by Garland) although the group around Cameron was still about, but essentially inactive. The Urbanchich Liberals were now defining themselves as true conservatives and criticized the "wet" Liberals as not responsive enough to the fight against communism. They had effectively lined up with Fraser although they occasionally criticized him as socially liberal. However, when

Fraser progressively showed himself in favour of Vietnamese refugee immigration, Urbanchich was silent. His group accepted these fellow "anti-communists" and lined up against the "racist Right." Fraser was the ultimate anti-leftist, striking at unions and serving the interests of multi-national capital. Some sections of the Left, those derived of the Stalinist and Maoist traditions talked of "Australian independence" -- from imperialism. [42]

The collapse of the NSPA occasioned a "relief from its charade," to use Garland's words. [43] He was in motion by mid-1976, writing to former members of the NSPA in Sydney and in other States. Garland met with Norwick to discuss events within the ANWWP. In August 1976, he issued a circular in the name of the "Australian Rightist Community," a "community" on the "Right," that would represent true "National Socialism, Fascism and Australian Nationalism"; It announced a few details of the collapse of the NSPA and the ANWWP. [44] The newsletter did not represent an organization, just a network. Or so it seemed. Within three months, during which time it reported on the appointment of a World Union of National Socialists secretary for Australia, the neo-nazi references -- ceased. Private-house-meetings were happening by early 1977 -- and the newsletter was regular. Entitled, *Nationalist News*, it announced it would push "a new ideological line." [45] The newsletter reported on some patriotic groups in Australia and overseas, sympathetically reviewed Mosleyite Europeanism and reviewed books on the history of the Australian Right. It seemed that Garland, who was a self-educated student of the subjects of race, religion and "fascism," had struggled with the peculiar issues raised by the existence of a neo-nazi movement in Australia and had gone on to examine it as an ideological falsehood.

Garland entered back into the underground, fishing for like-minded people at anti-immigration meetings and through other circles. He found them. There was "Gary," a larrikin with an interest in "National Socialism" who opened up the door to new contacts. Later, John Beyrich, a mystery man from country New South Wales came on the scene. Sadly he was armed with a sick obsession of breeding a super race to survive nuclear destruction; he would suicide years later in a house occupied by his son and daughter and a child (who was the product of incest). Yet he provided money, and god knows why! There were personal friends of Garland, some co-workers at a Mail Exchange, a few ex-members of the NSPA, supporters of the Hungarian National Socialist movement in exile, and a few fiery East European migrants. Norwick was supportive as was Saleam, and once Garland met with Azzopardi and Salter, the former were placed in contact with the latter.

Garland was espousing "Australianism" by early 1977, and publishing articles about Percy Stephensen, the New Guard and "social Nationalism" based upon the "old Labour" tradition. His newsletter served as a focus for some in Sydney and the author helped out along with Norwick and others. In April 1977, Garland published a

statement which signified a serious break with nostalgia and set out an argument that distinguished his Australianism from any revived neo-nazism. Although wordy and pretentious for a small group, and still directed at answering issues related to the fascist-fringe tradition in Australian politics, it is worth quoting: [46]

### **Some Theses for the Development of the National Revolutionary Idea**

1. The ideology of the National Revolutionary is in no sense a nostalgic desire for a return to the political slogans and action forms of pre-1945 Europe. We realise that they have time-space limitations, and could not be, even if so desired, successfully emulated in Australian conditions.
2. That any attempt to make out of *any one* of the European movements of pre-1945 a cultism is ridiculous folly which betrays ideological-political immaturity. That similar or aggravated conditions create similar solutions we are sure -- but we are not copyists, given that thirty years since the military defeat of the European Fascisms have radically altered *all world conditions*.
3. Each nation creates its own form of National Revolutionary politics. No international form thereof could, if one is sincere to the organic theory of history and nation, be possible of realization.
4. No particular revolutionary idea of the overseas past or present, has any right to order the form of Australian Nationalist Revolutionary politics, or may overshadow our political thinking.
5. The Nationalist Revolutionaries are banded together in general ideological solidarity, and scope of mission, to their comrades in other White Race nations.
6. The Nationalist Revolutionary has no intention of merging himself into the "Conservative Patriotic Right." The Australian Nationalist Revolutionary idea is futuristic in its attitude to current national conditions. In ethnic affairs we recognise Australia's *European basis*, and divorce ourselves from the "Nationalist" advocates of a British-based Australia. We believe the Australian Nation is *not yet formed*. We anticipate its arrival through the Europeanisation of our Australian creed, and the Australianisation of our European ideological basis.
7. The Nationalist Revolutionary through his attachment to a "historical mission" must divorce himself from the bourgeois right-wing ideology.

8. Based in part as we are upon the principles of Old-Labor, we believe in social justice. After absorbing the advanced postulates of the European Nationalist Revolution we stand in favour of a social revolution. We see this not only as a fulfilment of Old Labor principle, but as a step into the realities of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. It is equally true that Australia's Nationalist Revolutionaries draw part of their inspiration from Nationalist movements of the past where they present aspects that were not conservative.

9. As a young nation, Australia's Nationalist Revolutionary idea requires young leadership. Our system wishes not to anchor itself in any way to the past, but to remain youthfully futuristic. This should be applied in all our work.

10. Any organization attempting to advance Nationalist Revolutionary principles needs to build slowly, create a leadership cadre for its political future and work out fully its principles before it contemplates actions amongst the mass of average Australians. This period of building will be a *long* one.

These "theses" served as the basis for discussions within the ARC. There was some dissension from a few who had troubles moving beyond the fascist formulae, but support from others who had an eye on the future. The theses set the tone.

Garland also played another role in the evolution of the Australian Right. In 1977, the British National Front (NF) corresponded with a number of Australians, fishing for people who might consider forming an Australian branch of the then-expanding British movement. Garland however, was not supportive. In paraphrase, he wrote to John Tyndall, leader of the party, that the British NF were "radicals," but those who might follow in Australia were "conservatives." He said that the Australian nationalists were increasingly nativist in disposition and whilst willing to work with the any group like the NF, would not consent to any form of neo-colonialism. To Tyndall's reply, Garland became more strident. In shrill counter-punch to one of his letters, Tyndall said: "I have never been able to understand this search for an Australian identity. You already have one and have had it for a 1000 years, that of a British people who have pioneered a land to the best of British standards." [47] Garland was eventually called upon by Jeremy May, a representative of Tyndall's, in June 1978, and was told the same story verbally. Despite May's blandishments, he received the same replies.

Things did not prosper for the NF "solution" in Sydney. However the NSPA had had contacts in Melbourne and the ARC newsletter, while being received there, did not persuade those to look to local solutions. Rather, the contacts there (their circle began

to grow and included people not involved in any way with the NSPA) thought the NF option not only politically opportune, but ideologically reasonable. Sydney-Melbourne rivalry took on a new aspect! Garland became aware that the Melbourne group intended to publish material espousing the "colonial line." It became clear they thought of the ex-NSPA members as a sure core-cadre component, a proposition Tyndall may have concurred in, given his peculiar background. [48] Garland prepared to meet the challenge by further ideological action and personal intervention.

Salter and Azzopardi requested of the author, another (related) project. They had urged in March 1977 that I research the British nationalist scene, and assemble direct data for new ideas and arguments. It was clear from early 1977 that the Melbourne group based around Rosemary Sisson (formerly Eureka Students' League) was discussing how the British National Front could provide a "British" direction for Australian nationalism. They were also aware that a fraction of neo-nazis had latched onto the NF, anglicizing their ideology and repositing British imperialism as an "Anglo-Nazism." Salter and Azzopardi rejected that too. As nativist nationalists, the British conception of Australian Identity (howsoever formulated) was not an option. They regarded both neo-nazism and revived British imperialism as hopeless constructions for the remodelling of the Australian national movement. They wanted to apply the ideological lessons of the British nationalists to Australia whilst avoiding the formal connection to the National Front with its pseudo-imperialism. I researched the subject for university as an honours thesis, drafts of which and the final version too, were circulated within the nationalist section of the underground. I also entered into correspondence with a French nationalist historian, François Duprat, whose "Groupes Nationalistes Revolutionnaires" (GNR) was a pivotal structure within the French National Front, writing a report/analysis for him on the Australian scene and receiving valuable data on the British and Continental movements in return. The material collected for this research project was also circulated amongst activists to stimulate discussion and clarification. The final text is on this site: "British Neo-Fascist Politics 1960–1975." [49]

As mentioned, Azzopardi had been in regular touch with the ARC from late 1976, and the ARC network thus proved seminal to later developments. By this time, Azzopardi was articulating a "new radical nationalism" within a small circle of university-based friends and acquaintances. Azzopardi seems to have been a decisive product of the underground. He moved freely within it in the years 1974–76, seeking out allies and otherwise learning lessons. For the latter reason he said, he had even searched out Cass Young in 1975. He had wanted to know what made neo-nazis *tick*. He found out. In late 1974, he had sought out Jack Lang whose newspaper, *The Century*, was still being published. Lang eventually offered him an editorial role with the paper, but the offer was not taken up in time before Lang's increasing infirmity meant no decision could be taken. Azzopardi attended meetings of the Conservative Speakers' Club, the

NSPA, the ICA, the ARC and others. In 1976, he met Frank Salter, formerly of Duntroon Military College and then an engineering student at the University of New South Wales, and through Salter moved into wider circles of the Sydney "Right." He even conversed with Arthur Smith, the founder of Australian Nazism, who told him of Percy Stephensen, the founder of the Australia First Movement and the articulator of nativist-nationalism in the 1930s. Finally, on one morning in late February 1977, Azzopardi led a few students to the University of New South Wales, to pass out leaflets issued in the name of "National Resistance." The others were Norwick, Ormsby, Saleam -- and another student, "Neil." [50]

It was a defining moment. Azzopardi spoke for "youth." His embryonic programme spoke of "national unity," "the socialism of the early Labor Party -- Socialism without doctrines," "non-interest-bearing credits, and opposition to "Australian capitalism's importation of skilled and professional labour from the Third World." He supported the "small farmer," "the worker," "conservation" and did "not accept the United States as a reliable ally." [51] This new populist nationalism was out in the open.

Azzopardi was described by me, in an interview with Peter Henderson for his doctoral thesis, as a "minor genius." [52] Essentially, Azzopardi saw that the 1950s was over. The "Golden Age of Menzies" as he sarcastically dubbed it, was a lie. Suburbanism, consumerism and conservative conformism were the enemies of the preservation of the Australian identity and heritage. For Azzopardi, the 1950s Liberal Party was, even then, an "obsolete piece of junk" and the American alliance a sure recipe for "a future Asianisation for profit." [53] As a child of the 1950s, Azzopardi had no loyalty to the existent forms of "Right politics"; as an Australian of mixed European background, he could not affiliate to some of the anti-immigration groups that were still divided over whether to argue the case for an Australian identity "British" or "collectively European." But most of all Azzopardi had a facile pen and a voluble conversationalist style. He was inquisitive and experimental. He was prepared to listen before he spoke. It showed when, after digesting all that was "anti-communism" in Australia, he concluded that the Soviet Union was not a communist state and not necessarily an enemy of Australia either; it was "imperialist," but not the real enemy of Australian survival. When I told him in 1976 that I had long held this view, Azzopardi replied: "the proposition is revolutionary, too advanced, yet we have to market it." In a series of "coffee house discussions" with Salter, Norwick, Saleam and Ormsby, Azzopardi enunciated this subversive proposition, among others. "We must change the whole style of the Right," he said, "and do it as an intentionalist act of will."

Garland too was interested in the university group. The Australian Rightist Community had been picking up steam and he wanted to see the group develop in tandem with his own efforts. He had hoped for restraint in the group and did not favour it assuming a position of public campaigning. He hoped a "long" period of shadow work would

precede any open movement. Salter however was now in a hurry. In a confrontational meeting in early September 1977, Salter abusively relegated Garland to the backstage. It seemed it was his opinion that Garland's previous Nazi connection could only impede the group within the Right underground and the surface groups, and in the public arena. Whether that was true or not, this petty scene, within a short period, induced Garland to withdraw from activism. His mailing list and contacts were "passed over" to the new youth members of National Resistance. The core was thus assembled for an overt activist experiment.

The National Resistance was clearly intending to take the stage and redefine what had been "patriotic politics" in Australia. The National Resistance, formally inaugurated in July 1977 was officially "legalized" on October 1, 1977, with a constitution signed into existence by Azzopardi, Salter and Saleam. [54] The group had in its actual seven months of operations built no infrastructure of any description. It had produced a tatty sheet, *Audacity*, passed out to students at the major universities. It met regularly in the houses of the members and the cafeterias of the universities. It now opted to upgrade its activities. The "refugee invasion" had begun and Azzopardi and Salter were certain the old-Right groups would miss the chance. A sheet *Advance* appeared and in November 1977, it became a broadsheet newspaper. The White Australia question took pride of place. Was it a sect with a "leader" like the neo-nazis? Hardly. As the author's SB file reveals, I was spoken to briefly by SB officers whilst distributing group literature; to their question about who led the group, I informed them there was no question of there being "leaders" and let the matter rest. In point of fact, it was a collective effort as nationalist politics should be. Interestingly, the report contained errors, in dating and as to where the discussion occurred. The falsehoods were pointless. Were they just sloppy coppers? [55]

The most significant contribution the group had made to the redefinition of "Right" politics was the adoption of the Eureka Flag. The sporting of the Eureka Flag occurred at the moment when the Maoist line Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) was running fronts across the country which invariably styled themselves as "Independence" movements. These Maoists had paraded themselves dressed in the emblems of the Australian native cultural tradition. They talked of an Australian identity and a people's state. It was to a great degree -- a cynical ruse. At the better end, it meant even some leftists could feel the impress of the national idea. The question of Eureka had been positively discussed by the ARC and within National Resistance. But in September 1977, a more positive start on the rehabilitation of the entire Australian folk heritage tradition was made when National Resistance adopted the Eureka Flag. As *Advance* explained, the aim was to "force" the Maoist-line communists to "drop the whole issue." [56] The adoption of the Flag and the tradition by a small group sent shockwaves throughout the Left and the Right underground and its surface formations.

A break with 1950s "patriotism" had occurred and a wild-card factor had been introduced. In a strange street confrontation in late 1977, Urbanchich said to Salter: "You are very clever, like Hitler and the Red Flag. You take a communist symbol and make it right-wing." Salter said: "You know nothing of Australian history and care even less." For the anti-communists, a populist nationalism was a substantive competitor. It could answer the Left in a new way, but would not be overly concerned with confronting it. That was the line that had led to surrendering political independence to the bourgeois parties. Rather it would stand against the symbols and forms of a state which, all grandstanding aside, had served the anti-communist Right, very well.

Sir Phillip Baxter, former Vice Chancellor of New South Wales University and of the 1960s Atomic Energy Commission, was approached in October 1977. In the 1960s, Baxter had advocated that Australia acquire nuclear weapons. [57] On October 7, he addressed National Resistance at the Estonian Club. He spoke on the population food crisis, the likelihood of mass population transfers into the Southern Hemisphere, the drowning of Australia in a human tidal wave of refugees. He was, the Vietnamese influx notwithstanding, truly ahead of his time. Baxter had digested *The Camp of the Saints* by Jean Raspail, an apocalyptic novel (now a classic) which expounded the same thesis. Baxter's "lifeboat Australia" thesis galvanized National Resistance to action. And he stayed in close touch thereafter, donating funds and blessing the group, as an unofficial patron. The acquisition of Baxter was a startling coup. It suggests new issues and new blood.

*Nonetheless, into the equation came the "hidden hand," the game.* The National Resistance circle crossed over into the milieu of the anti-communists. In that regard, a *subterranean struggle began* with the anti-communists based around Urbanchich. Why? Salter had been raised in a family with close involvements in the League of Rights. He had met the various leaders of the anti-communist Right. Salter put forward an opportunist proposition: he said that courtesy of his father, he would approach all the financiers of the Right in Sydney; he would persuade them to pass their dollars to a young group, down playing his radical "White Australia" commitment with a few choice panderings to their anti-communism. So it began. Azzopardi wrote for *News Digest International* about the need for a new party, and one aimed at youth. Approaches were made to the League of Rights pamphleteer, Dora Watts (she joined) who affirmed her nationalism previously expressed with Percy Stephensen of the Australia First Movement (1941–42). Some members of the Ugliers faction saw the point and gave Salter a hearing. Italian supporters of the local Italian Social Movement (MSI) were interested. That was, for whatever reason, the final straw. [58]

Da Papa's restaurant was in Stanley Street, East Sydney, a popular Italian-cuisine establishment. A confrontation took place there between David Clarke on the one hand and Saleam and Ormsby on the other in mid November 1977. The confused Italians

listened intently as Clarke was berated as a reactionary whose politics were not in any way similar to the MSI. Clarke said he liked the British NF. We said they were not Tories and hence they didn't liquidate into the Conservative Party as his group had into the Liberal Party. Clarke was told that his conservative Liberals were con men. We produced a sticker being distributed by some reactionaries in his group: "Keep Australia British; Kick Out the Alien Races." "You like Vietnamese, but you don't like Italians? Explain it to us." In embarrassment, Clarke decamped. The story spread to Leichhardt's MSI supporters and money began to flow -- from "Giovanni," and "Mario," and other comrades.

Some two weeks later, the Da Papa Italians advised that someone "big" wanted to talk to Azzopardi and Salter. They were sincere in their admonition that the meeting occur, and were hardly "responsible" for what took place. As it was, Azzopardi and Saleam attended Da Papa's. They were ushered in to a storeroom in the downstairs section of the premises and were introduced to "Mr. Calabro," reputedly the brother of a Liberal Party politician (another "Ugly"), but a supporter of the MSI's front-group the Tricolore Committee. The others left and the conversation began. Calabro was in his fifties, overweight, a sort of cross between "The Fat Man" of Maltese Falcon fame and an Italian civil servant. He told us that our group had been "recognized" by many in his "community." They understood we were like the MSI, but in miniature, and radical. He said that there was a veritable civil war going on in Italy and it was possible the "national forces" might lose and Italy could go communist. He said: "I will tell you a secret: I am recruiting for the Garibaldini."

This was the obvious *point* of the meeting. The Garabaldini -- if it ever existed [59] -- was conceived as a group of non-Italians, members of foreign nationalist movements, who would enter the country on mission. They would be met by "Black Brigades" activists, armed with a time-device bomb or a sub-machine gun and sent to work. For the rest of their short time in Italy, it was all-expenses paid. As a participant in the conversation, I yielded to that sort of control exercised by Azzopardi, who took over the "negotiations." I noticed he refused to "agree" to anything, queried the planning and sidetracked the conversation. After an hour Calabro broke off, saying it was "urgent" and "could we meet again?" This was the last meeting. Once outside, Azzopardi said: "I believe we were tape-recorded." The Garabaldini was a hoax. *But whose hoax?*

I cannot escape the idea that it was an Ugly hoax, but one with a political police component. Had we "agreed," the very definition of a conspiracy in law, matters would have proceeded further by way of additional meetings -- and the inevitable arrest. It was the case, that just around this time, an English Special Branch detective arrived in Australia. This Norman Ferris was drafted to the Commonwealth Police with the task of assisting in formulating their reaction to the likely formation of a local "National Front." Ferris's tentacles reached out across the Right scene, and not just in Sydney. [60]

Members of the former NSPA, League of Rights activists and "Uglies" were spoken to; and the name Bob Cameron was also referred to Ferris.

This was the beginning of the era of conspiracy trials. The Ananda Marga frame-up was just six months after the Garabaldini hoax of December 1977. Indeed, the Ananda Marga Trial, which established Cameron as the face of "racism," neo-nazism and "the Extreme Right" was a fraud on every level, these media-promotional "services" for Cameron being one (the smaller) aspect of the entire performance. I must conclude that the new forces had already assumed the status of "threat" and were thus to be "managed" in the new way: by allegations of criminal conduct sanctified by "trials" and other processes. The Garabaldini hoax was designed as a trial for the emergent nationalists; the Ananda Marga Trial, which answered other needs related to the ASIO Hilton Bomb conspiracy, would fragment and discredit the anti-immigration and nationalist forces by the promotion of a strawman neo-nazi as its symbol.

The Uglies, for their part, considered National Resistance (and thereafter the Australian National Alliance or "ANA") the "local" National Front. We were outside of the two party system, "extreme," non-American alliance supporters, and our alternate pole of attraction not conducive to their plot to control the Liberal Party. When the NF group was formally initiated in June 1978, Urbanchich condemned it. Cameron's false-claim to lead it, and his obvious "extremism" were known to the Uglies, but Salter's father reported that "David Clarke" (and this article will not say it was a fact, thereby "libelling" Clarke) paid Cameron's group to harass the ANA, up to and including the painting of slogans along the Sydney railway tracks -- "Frank Salter, Duntroon poofter." And a campaign of whispering against Salter and Azzopardi and others which was initiated over the Sydney Right scene in 1977 was intensified by the Uglies. [61] A combination of political police interest and conservative interest seemed to run in tandem.

Neither the National Resistance nor its successor (Australian National Alliance founded in January 1978) could shatter the Uglies bloc and win over the League of Rights. There was only the crisis-mythos that Azzopardi preached: superpower war, refugee invasion, crisis of the system, a new mass movement of change. When National Resistance was re-christened Australian National Alliance, it was with anticipation that a mass movement was imminent. Certainly the ICA was interested (at arms-length) as were individuals across the board, but the potential would not be realized. The underground was about to flower, but the growth would sprout too soon.

## **Fault Lines: The Topography of the Right Defined Thereafter**

The period examined in this article defined the "Right" thereafter in Sydney, at least

down to the time of the late 1980s. The topography became very clear.

The neo-nazis survived, but in a new form. They were no longer the auxiliary force they were until 1973, but a Dirty Tricks cell, to be brought out as a bogey man by a compliant media, and then to the detriment of other rightist forces. Although this isolated them in one way from the rest of the Right, underground links with some players stayed intact. The Cameron group remained the face of neo-nazism until 1984. With the announcement of a public inquiry into the conviction of the Ananda Marga Three, the Cameron group was "dissolved." [62]

The anti-immigrationists were to remain in the field for years, down to the dissolution of the ICA in 1982, and thereafter with the shadowy existence of Maina's "new" Patriotic Lobby throughout the 1980s. Essentially, many of these activists looked for a more comprehensive ideal and a more combative method. Many found it in National Action after 1982.

The split between those who were centred on anti-communism and those who opposed non-European immigration became absolute. The Urbanchich Liberals had never been comfortable in a defence of immigration restriction and went down a pathway that interpreted the Australian identity as one based upon institutions and a supportive civil culture. In that way, Urbanchich supported Australia's "British heritage." And as communism faltered internationally, the enemy was reinterpreted as "socialism" and the Ugliers ended as good supporters of Thatcher and Reagan. By the 1980s, they and the radical-nationalists were so far removed from each other that tension based on close competition for an available market was just not an issue. They fished in very different waters.

The radical-nationalists were the "winners" out of the underground period and beyond. And in 1982, they subsumed much of the ICA into the Australian National Action "the main meal" of the decade as Andrew Moore described it. They pooled together cadre from other sectors, declared themselves enemies of the conservative Right and marched off "into the political jungle" to wage "political guerilla war" against liberalism. [63] This trend however, seemed "dominant" throughout the dead valley years of opposition. By 1990, new movements came upon the scene.

## **Conclusion**

The right-wing underground was a pool into which flowed many tributaries. It was a fertile political bohemia. There were permanent residents and others who entered into its comity for a brief period and who passed out again.

The underground did serve as an interlinking force for the entire Sydney Right scene. It was not that the various trends liked each other particularly, but they seemed to some extent to tolerate each other.

The underground had common venues where the chatters could meet and cross-fertilize each other's thoughts or share views.

The underground was a "soup" for the nourishment of innumerable "surface" groups. The surface groups had different forms and colourful histories themselves worthy of account.

By the end of the period, to some extent it began to die as issues sharpened and enmities took on vicious and more articulated forms. Of course, when an underground becomes a subculture, it has different rules and follows a structured pattern. The period under review was one when trends were forming but had not hardened.

I used the term Paddington Push to describe the forms of the time. And then "it" changed. The determinative factor was that where the Right was repudiated by the state power and became oppositional. Some didn't realize the change had happened and hardly welcomed it if they comprehended it. Others drew the conclusions and some struggled with it. This change in quality ended the age of innocence, or perhaps—the era of stupidity. Ultimately those who did not wish to "oppose" demonstrated their essential characters by dropping out or becoming state-loyal. For the others, a Long March began. It continues.

## Notes

1. Police Integrity Commission, *Report To The New South Wales Parliament Regarding the Former Special Branch Of The New South Wales Police Service*, 1998.

2. James Saleam, "The Other Radicalism: An Inquiry Into Contemporary Australian Extreme Right Ideology, Politics And Organization 1975–1995," PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 1999, pp. 117–119.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 59–77.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 77–105. (that section which dealt with Special Branch Nazism and the campaign of violence against the Left, in which other rightist groups, were also

involved);

I note that the term and concept of "*Special Branch Nazism*" was rejected by Dr. Andrew Moore, one of my thesis examiners. Dr. Moore's thesis-examiner's report referred me to his article, "A Secret Policeman's Lot: The Working Life of Fred Longbottom and the New South Wales Police Special Branch" in John Shields, ed., *All Our Labours: Oral Histories Of Working Life In Twentieth Century Sydney*, Kensington, 1992. He noted that I had not cited it, implying I had either not read it or ignored it because "it did not suit his purpose." In fact I had not read it, a deficiency I have corrected. Dr. Moore had interviewed ex-SB chief, Fred Longbottom (a one-time Sydney-wharves-thief and occasional basher, according to Arthur Smith); Longbottom, said Moore, was neither the sort of man to condone using the neo-nazis to commit violence, nor to commit violence in any case. Given every other SB *did*, and there were innumerable allegations against Sydney SB anyway, it is difficult to arrive at that conclusion. Longbottom had no reason to explain the seedy aspects of SB work. Nonetheless, it is expected this debate will continue. Dr. Moore has left that open by saying further on: "*It is doubtless true that ASIO/Special Branch enjoyed or came to enjoy a symbiotic relationship with some far-right groups.*"

Special Branch File: James Falconer. James told the author that he did give information to Special Branch on leftist activity in the late 1960s/early 1970s period. He considered himself—at that time—an anti-communist and that the SB were the "legitimate authority." "I don't have that view now," he concluded. His file included a lot of material on his attendance at meetings of the NSPA. It is clear this information did not come from him!

5. Michael McKinnon, "Special Branch Soft on Nazis," *Courier Mail*, January 4, 2002, pp. 1–2.

6. For CPA social-liberalism, the best text remains: David McKnight, ed., *Moving Left: The Future Of Socialism In Australia*, Sydney, 1985, passim; Denis Freney, editor of the CPA paper, *Tribune*, also provided material to the National Inquiry into Racist Violence (1989) which showed his political dependence upon the institutions of liberalism in the "anti-racist struggle." He called on the state to act against nationalist movements and berated ASIO/SB for not doing enough against them. (Freney even supported a parliamentary inquiry into the League of Rights in *Tribune* in 1988, an ironic position for a supposed communist to take.) See the Special Branch File: Shane Rosier for Freney's National Inquiry submission, a document which also suggests a "relationship" between Freney and the SB, a fact that might demand some re-writing of CPA history.

7. This situation has been documented in other countries over decades. Names such

as the Americans, KKK leader Wilkinson, and neo-nazi Roy Frankhauser, the British Combat 18 leader, Charlie Sargent, and various German neo-nazis. It seems a trait of the hyper-racist and/or neo-nazi contingent of the Right.

8. All of these files are in the author's possession and are, of course, available to genuine researchers or persons with a proper need to seek access.

9. Interview With Neil Garland. I spoke with Neil Garland in relation to my doctoral thesis. I found Mr. Garland an accurate and incisive witness. An undated Secretary's Report (mid-1974) makes the point.

10. Interview With Shane Rosier. I spoke with Shane Rosier in relation to my doctoral thesis. Mr. Rosier explained how he, as a strong Liberal supporter, had met Young in 1972, and as a result of certain actions became implicated in Young's criminal spree. When Young left Melbourne, Rosier left also and had a personal association with Young in 1973–75; Interview With Claud Woods. I spoke with Claud Woods in relation to my doctoral thesis. Mr. Woods confirmed much of the detail relating to Young's arrangements with Victorian Special Branch and the Zionist leader, Abraham Cykiert.

11. Special Branch File: Shane Rosier. The entries were made on May 5, 1974. For more on Garland's file, see below.

12. Shane Rosier. He was told by SB officers not to return to Victoria.

13. Interview With Arthur Smith. I spoke with Smith in relation to my doctoral thesis.

14. Interview With Ted Cawthron. I spoke with Cawthron at great length in the 1970s during research on a Master's thesis. I also conferred with him subsequently on other matters from the NSPA period. Cawthron's view in 1973 had in fact been his view during the period when he was the main figure in Australian Nazism. In the period he "led" the NSPA, he sought to Australianize it, alter its ideological nature and eventually phase out neo-nazism. He returned in 1973 to achieve that belated objective.

15. Ted Cawthron.

16. Special Branch File: Ross Leslie May.

17. This brief history put together from *National Socialist Bulletin*, No. 34, July 1974. And the SB files of Garland and May. James Saleam, "The Other Radicalism," pp. 102–105, employs a similar overview; I have also viewed some copies of *Action Report*, a tatty sheet issued by Cameron which described in lurid terms, the fight

against "the red traitors."

18. James Saleam, "The Other Radicalism," p. 95, discusses Hodgson; *ibid.*, p. 104, for Heintjes.

Interestingly. Hodgson, who used to call on the author in 1974, described Heintjes as a "wanker," a "liar," etc.; he suggested I "limit all contacts" with the NSPA as "the Nazis are going to bring a lot of people down." I accepted his warning, but not quite in the way he meant it.

19. Special Branch File: James Saleam, page 4, of the running sheet, date 1975.

20. James Saleam, *Never In Nazi Uniform*, Sydney: NA, 1985, gives this account. This pamphlet was the first nationalist document to publicly make the link between the neo-nazis and the political police. It contained some errors of fact about early neo-nazism. I refer particularly to some details concerning a neo-nazi called McCormack and some mistakes concerning Arthur Smith.

21. I understand too, and superficially "odd" as it may seem, the versions of certain events cited here are *vehemently denied* by the small contemporary neo-nazi coteries. There are many reasons for this which need not sidetrack us here. I have no doubt the reader can judge accordingly upon the weight of the material advanced here.

22. Neil Garland; Interview With Ross May. I interviewed Ross May in relation to my doctoral thesis. I have had some other conversations with him since that time. While he puts a brighter gloss on events, he considers the activities flawed and limited in effect.

23. Special Branch File: Neil Garland. Two letters dated November 25, 1974, and November 29, 1974. These letters were by way of report, one to the Commander of SB and his letter to ASIO.

24. Special Branch File: Neil Garland. Entry made in running sheet in November 1975 (one year later).

25. *Ibid.* A letter from Queensland SB, dated October 8, 1975. A report to the Commander of NSW SB dated October 22, 1975, detail all the records acquired.

26. Conversation with Norwick.

27. A histrionic letter from Tane to me turned up in Special Branch File: James Saleam and Special Branch File: Neil Garland.

28. The account given here is seldom disputed by contemporary neo-nazis, who really know very little of these events. Rather, the matters cited are usually given as "proofs" of the author's perfidy.

29. *National Socialist Bulletin*, This newsletter was a two page affair, issued in early 1976; Detective Barry Leaney, Special Branch Report, November 17, 1976, Special Branch File: Neil Garland.

30. "The CIA, Labor And ASIO," *The Bulletin*, June 5, 1976, pp. 14–16.

31. James Saleam, "The Other Radicalism," pp. 107–110.

32. Special Branch File: Neil Garland. The person was interviewed at SB headquarters and he provided opinion on NSPA supporters who attended WAPP gatherings. A report by Garland to the "Inter-branch Meeting" on September 1, 1974, concerning the WAPP, referred to "a gentleman's agreement not to interfere in each other's activities."

33. Special Branch File: Alex Norwick. Various entries.

34. This opinion was advanced by "John Bridge," an activist in the group. It tallies with my own observations.

35. A very useful study of the Liberal anti-communists is: Samuel Harris, "A Generation Of New Conservative-New Right Activity In The New South Wales Division Of The Liberal Party 1965–1985," BA (Hons) Thesis, University of Sydney, 1987.

36. The author spoke with Bob Clark and Mrs. Clark on these matters in 1980–81.

37. Posters "Stop Communism" and "Oppose Communism" were held by the author in a poster collection. Pasted versions were sighted at various inner Sydney railway stations in 1975.

38. Andrew Moore, *The Right Road? A History Of Right-Wing Politics In Australia*, Melbourne, 1995, pp. 102–104, gives this account of Tinker Tailor and the Commonweal Club. The author has seen the venue in 1976–77.

39. Interview With Nick Maina. I interviewed Nick Maina in relation to my doctoral thesis.

40. This biographical data was collated from a variety of minor sources.

41. All essential information in this section comes from Angela and her daughter, Lili. There is minor corroboration from Mark Ferguson (a well-known nationalist activist of the 1980s period); Alex Norwick. Some details were known to the author as organizational hearsay.
42. This account of the historical circumstances is given in James Saleam, "The Other Radicalism," pp. 111–112.
43. *ARC Newsletter*, No. 2.
44. *ARC Newsletter*, No. 1.
45. *Nationalist News*, No. 3 (this newsletter carried on the numbering from the *ARC Newsletter*).
46. "Some Theses For The Development Of The National Revolutionary Idea," *Nationalist News*, No. 5, April 1977.
47. James Saleam, *What Is to Be Done?*, Sydney, December 1985, provided the reference. Garland unfortunately lost this remarkable document sometime later.
48. Neil Garland. He obtained this information from ex-NSPA sources at the time.
49. For the French report: Jim Saleam, "L'Opposition Nationale Australienne," *Cahiers Européens*, No. 180, May 1977. Duprat was assassinated in March 1978, in a car-bombing almost certainly carried out by Zionists; James Saleam, "British Neo-Fascist Politics 1960–1975." The introductory chapter to this document sets out the parameters of the Azzopardi-Salter "instructions" and other aspects of the production of the document.
50. A photo of this happening appeared in the University of New South Wales student newspaper, *Tharunka*. It is not in the author's possession.
51. *Audacity* (undated, unnumbered, but in fact, number one, February 1977). This was a roneo leaflet, not to be confused with the subsequent newspaper of the same title.
52. Peter Henderson's thesis has, of this date, been filed. Mr. Henderson, who is certainly not of any sort of "rightist" persuasion, has written his thesis, supervised by Dr. Andrew Moore at the University of Western Sydney, as a history with an emphasis on the "oral history" style.

53. The forms of this argument were set out in: "The Conservative Pastiche," *Audacity*, No. 5, 1978 ; "The Old Order Crumbles," *Advance*, No. 3, December 1977.
54. Constitution And Rules Of National Resistance (October 1, 1977). Original signed copy in author's possession.
55. Special Branch File: James Saleam. Entry for December 1977 at page 5 of the running sheet.
56. "Australian Nationalism," *Advance*, No. 1, September 1977.
57. Tony Stephens, "How A Scared Little Country Became A Nuclear Wannabee," *Sydney Morning Herald*, August 17–18, 2002.
58. James Saleam, "The Other Radicalism," pp. 145–146. This section details the story at this point.
59. I can find no reference to it in the literature dealing with Italian urban violence and terrorism of the 1970s. Perhaps a reader may advise?
60. James Saleam, *Never In Nazi Uniform*, gives the account relating to Ferris.
61. Frank Salter Snr. told this to the author and others at the time.
62. This was a "demand" that the group dissolve, possibly indicating to Cameron that he had been dealt with in some negative way by the SB. The dissolution of the "NSPA" has been the subject of no little speculation within nationalist circles. In May 1984, Cameron met with the author and members of the National Action committee at a "secret" conclave. Some information over given by Cameron proved totally accurate, e.g., he told the author that "someone has been talking to Commonwealth Police about you. They want to charge you with something." He described his withdrawal from activism as "police pressure." Obviously he had to be out of the way during the Ananda Marga hearings.
63. James Saleam, "The Other Radicalism," Chapter Five.

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# **We Knew The Teenage Fascist:**

## **Fractured Notes On The Fractured Life Of David Greason**

**by Jim Saleam and others**

**April 2002**

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### **A Propaganda Text Is Born**

When David Greason published his I Was A Teenage Fascist (Fitzroy: Gribble, 1994), it was regarded as the inside story on the Australian 'Right' for the years 1976-82. Here was David Greason, repentant of his sins, telling us all about the weaknesses, foibles and dirty secrets of the patriotic movement. An extreme-rightist militant had supposedly changed sides - and stepped into the liberal light.

The book was launched by the 'Leader of the Opposition' in Victoria. It had rave-reviews in the media. Greason appeared on television and radio. Justice Marcus Einfeld shook his hand and recommended the book. Before too long, Greason, a part-time columnist for Australia-Israel Review, was able to rise to be its deputy-editor, and smear patriotic groups whenever he chose. After all, he was an 'expert'. The Left announced Greason to be the man with the facts. The Trotskyite Green Left Weekly paper reviewed his book, and freely quoted him. The mono-neurons of the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) had already accepted his 'guidance' in various protests against 'racist groups' in the years 1992-3, so they too endorsed the book.

We know now (see P. Giannopoulos's pamphlet on this site) that Greason's story *was extensively plagiarised from the work of Cold War Communist Party of Australia defector, Cecil Herbert Sharpley*. Greason plagiarised Sharpley for dialogue, theme and description, ie. in some sections, he merely changed the time, place and politics. There were also other sources for his plagiarism. The curious should go to the Giannopoulos document. Basically: the Greason

book was an intellectual fraud.

Our task here is different. We want to know what drove Greason into his dramatic conversion.

We want to determine whether a certain period in his personal history coloured his thoughts, such that his versions of events are inevitably – faulty. We will examine whether David Greason has any credibility at all. We are persuaded that his *sojourn in Sydney from November 1981 until early 1983 tells us everything we want to know*. Events are recorded in short and explanative narratives. These short narratives expose the essential untruthfulness of whole blocks of Greason's text and demonstrate how *anti-racism*, the liberal core ideological concept, is always served by an arsenal of falsity.

The Teenage Fascist story was more than a personal tale dished up as 'anti-racist' propaganda. It was a script directed at persons prominent in one way or another in Nationalist, patriotic and anti-immigration organizations. It was calculated to discredit people in the then-present, by cooking up a tale or two from the past. It was also intended that the patriotic cause overall – be discredited. If the 'cause' at issue was whacko when Greason was involved, then it could hardly be credible in 1994, could it? Quite frankly, to answer Greason's falsities point by point would serve very little purpose, even if it could be done, and allowing too that our readers were very patient. However, it seems the ultimate aim of the book was to create Greason as an 'expert' and allow him to appear in the media to criticise a number of organizations in the period 1994-1998. It is this which must be criticised trenchantly.

"Two can play that game" of getting personal with chosen targets. In our case, it is a matter of simply telling the truth. By making the truth about Greason's past freely available, we cut off his utility in the present.

*Not that he has much utility in the cause of liberal 'anti-racism' these days.* After that little 1998 debacle when he published in Australia-Israel Review a list of 1700 names/addresses of One Nation Party members, he was quietly pushed from the limelight. The affair blew the Jewish community into rival fractions on the issue of such 'anti-racist' intimidation. Nonetheless, Greason will inevitably reappear in some capacity. His book will continue to be quoted as an accurate biographical work that exposed the racist perverts of its day.

This pamphlet is composed by a few persons. The authors of this pamphlet (with the exception of one person) necessarily remain – *anonymous*. It should not be assumed that those quoted are necessarily the anonymous authors.

## 1. The Train To Manchester.

As David Greason told the story (to an official of the old Melbourne National Action movement, one day in early 1984, and as he strolled the street with his male lover), he was walking the streets of Melbourne late one evening in "mid-1983". He was pulled over by police who politely asked him where he was going. "I'm going to get a train home". "Where's home?", asked the police officer. "Manchester", he replied. Upon further inquiry, he confirmed that he meant Manchester – England.

Subsequent to this exchange, David Greason spent some time in a Melbourne psychiatric institution. This fact is well known in various quarters, but was unknown to the Left (until we told them!). It was unknown to most journalists and was one of Australia-Israel Review's prize secrets. Even today, Australia-Israel Review says not a word about Greason's stint in the 'bin'. It was certainly unknown to the well-meaning geese who fell in behind his lead in the early 1990's, when he went into the streets as an anti-racist militant, in the company of the International Socialist Organisation . And needless to say, Dave is silent about it.

We do not say here that psychiatric treatment in the past implies that David Greason is 'unwell' now, or 'unwell' when he wrote his book. No, but we would suggest that this experience reasonably determined his aversion to his subject. It would colour his interpretations of events and persons. If one thing comes through clearly in Teenage Fascist, it is the author's overwhelming sense of 'guilt'. He has disavowed his previous ideology (whatever precisely that was) and is ashamed of it. If he was in psychiatric care, the process by which he reintegrated his fractured personality (see below), would be decisive. Did he transfer his maladies to others? Is this why so much of Teenage Fascist was simply – untrue or plagiarised?

## 2. The Phone Rings – And Dave Decides To Move To Sydney.

In 1981, Dave Greason lived in Melbourne. He had been associated with the Australian League Of Rights and People Against Communism (1976-78), the National Front of Australia (1978-79) and Australian National Alliance (1979-81). He had returned to Britain in 1977 and spent a little time with the British National Front. In 1981, the Australian Nationalist scene was in flux, and the birth of Australian National Action (ANA) was not to occur til April 1982. The Melbourne picture was not promising for the new Nationalist perspective and Greason was one of a small circle of people who did what they could. That much of his account, is true.

In *I Was A Teenage Fascist* (hereafter – TF), Greason records (TF 266) that he was in the Public Service when he: "went off on sick leave and I was seeing the department psychologist and doing aptitude tests and I had this idea ... I could pull off the shirker's bonanza, put my hand up and say 'sorry I've been driven completely mad ... and get pensioned off."

In fact, Greason had a peculiar malady. Each time his office phone rang, he lost control of his bladder. Pavlov's dog had to run to the toilet, and sometimes he didn't make it.

It was late 1981, and this sad loss of bladder control was symptomatic of a breakdown in Greason's life. In TF, Greason would have us believe that he progressively became disillusioned with his comrades in Melbourne and later in Sydney. In fact, he became overborne by existence: one girlfriend (platonic) chose the company of another man, while another (platonic) chose a woman. Greason's sex-life, as TF suggests at more than one point, was to that stage at least – autosexual. His lack of any emotional outlet other than 'release' in the company of political persons says a lot, more about a troubled youth than any sort of politics. Greason's experience might be regarded as an indictment of Australia's drift into social desert conditions. But let us not get too philosophic about it.

Greason also tells us that (TF 262-3) he was disturbed by the fact that a Melbourne anarchist – Ted Murphy – had exposed in the student press in mid 1981, the 'fact' that the Nationalist ideology was a species of fascism, perhaps not neo-nazism, but fascism nonetheless. Greason said he had hoped we could get away from the 'fascist' tag. The tale sounded credible, but the truth was different. In fact, Greason had thrown a brick into Murphy's home and (luckily) the shattering glass just missed Murphy and his female companion. Greason was struck by his foolishness as he told one Nationalist. He had almost injured someone for no reason other than: "I regarded Murphy as an idiot and stirrer". Guilt played upon his mind. Yes, Greason was annoyed by Murphy's article, but that was never his point. Around mid 1981, Greason said to Melbourne Nationalists that he would write a book; he would look into ways to build Nationalism while avoiding the label of fascism. A worthy project, if he had ever really intended to write it or even research it. The idea of writing a book was a long-time-coming, and of course, TF is his book.

Greason decided he needed a change of scene and in late October 1981, advised the Nationalists that he intended to move to Sydney.

### 3. "Don't Argue, Just Call Them Nazis."

In mid-November 1981, Saleam was in Melbourne. There was a meeting between Saleam, Greason and Melbourne Nationalist organizer, Eugene Donnini. The discussion was meaningless to this pamphlet, save for one phase. The three discussed (among other things) the tactics the opposition *should employ* to deal with any Nationalist movement. Greason said the best propaganda solution was: never argue or debate, don't discuss our views rationally in the street-papers etc., don't run campaigns against our ideas where it can be helped; just repeat over and over, and in every way possible, that we were "Nazis" or "neo-nazis". Donnini and Saleam concurred. Given the British and U.S. experience, this position was undoubtedly correct. History has shown since that "neo-nazism" is the classic term of abuse. It has been used for

years in the media, the Left and the 'anti-racist' organizations.

Greason has not erred from employing this discourse as his function as an 'anti-racist' journalist, amply shows. His articles in Australia-Israel Review and his campaigns side by side with the Trotskyites, reveal this to be his fundamental line of approach.

It is actually a quite rewarding strategy. Greason learned it in part from his 'examination' of the 1977-79 campaign of the 'Anti-Nazi League' in Britain as directed at the then National Front. While there were certainly other factors in the political defeat of the NF in this period, the "Nazi" baiting of the Trotskyite-operated Anti-Nazi League was a significant factor in the political decline of the NF. Greason also identified how, whenever Nationalists were active, pocket neo-nazis were trotted out to make lunatic statements that were then published side-by-side with reports of Nationalist action. He now uses the same technique.

## 4. "I'm The Best Thief In Town."

Around November 20 1981, Greason arrived in Sydney.

The personal life-style adopted by Greason during his period in Sydney suggested psychological decay.

The story told in TF is one where Greason will admit to adolescent problems, but essentially wants the reader to believe that he became gradually aware of the moral and political shortcomings of Nationalists and other patriots, and that he was ultimately compelled to confront his own internal demon. Of course, this account was untrue.

In the period from November 1981 until July 1982, at which time the National Action organization severed its relationship with Greason (thereby cutting him adrift from the whole Right scene), it should not be assumed, as TF implies, that he was in continuous contact with the Nationalists and played any substantial role in the evolution of this new politics. Quite the contrary. His contact with Nationalist and patriotic groups was episodic and only a part of the frenetic activity in which he engaged.

Greason's chief activity involved stealing books in considerable quantity from Glebe Books, Bob Gould's bookshops and the Socialist Party's 'New Era' in George Street. As he said it: "I'm the best thief in town". Greason would sell his treasure to second hand dealers. He called it all "revolutionary expropriations". He spent some of the money on a rather busty English (non-political) girl who happened to work in one of his target bookshops. Sadly, she wasn't interested in him either. He spent money on long overseas phone calls (to the British National Front) and photocopying at the State Library.

The young 'fascist' lived in a series of share-houses, meeting his rent with difficulty whilst trying to travel about. He was pathetic. His words in TF on this occasion are truthful, and we record them. He described himself as: "fat, spotty, sexually and socially inept, no money, no job, no self-esteem, polyester shirts, always desperate for a fuck..."

Greason also collected "files" on those who he regarded as enemies. The Left featured heavily there and some of that information was indeed passed onto the Nationalists. However, as he told 'Shane', he considered the Left rather hopeless and unable to invent any new ideology to challenge the system. Yet, he was intrigued by how they managed to publish newspapers and maintain bookshops. This was a secret he wanted to probe. It had something to do with "commitment" he told another. Greason also investigated the ISO. He regarded them as "easily hyped up idiots", a description he undoubtedly carried over into his scheme to direct them at Nationalists and other patriots. The Trotskyites should not imagine that his contempt for them has ever dissipated.

## 5. "Bite The Pillow, Bitch."

In TF (154), Greason recounts a story. He says that Nationalists would sit around discussing ex-Australian Nazi party activists like "Gary Mangan", and generally doing nothing. His words were:

".this meant talking wistfully about someone we knew (often some alcoholic NSPA type like Gary Mangan who didn't care any more).."

This tale is a curiosity as shall become apparent, and this story is integrally linked to yet another of Greason's fairy-tales (that somehow there was a link between the 1970's form of neo-nazism and Australian patriotic organizations and ideology). The truth nonetheless - *is startling*. Let us untangle the lies, and then, get to the truth, bearing in mind as we go that these words about Mangan express a bitterness seemingly without purpose.

In TF (269), Greason recounts a story of Saleam meeting in the street with the Australian neo-nazi chief of the 1970's, Cass Young. They get on famously and repair somewhere for a friendly chat. Greason sees it all.

The truth however, was very different and involved a matter of no little relevance to the secret history of the political police, Australian Zionists and rightist politics. Certainly, Greason *cannot* (indeed must not) say how it was he came to meet Young, nor record what was discussed. His masters at Australia-Israel Review wouldn't have approved at all.

In November 1981, Saleam accidentally came upon Young in a hotel in the Broadway area of Sydney. Young told the inside story of the National Socialist Party of Australia (NSPA) in the

years 1971-3. The facts appear on this site in the documents Lessons For Nationalists and in Chapter Two of The Other Radicalism. Young told how he forged an arrangement with Zionist leader Abraham Cykiert to harass left-wing militants. He said his campaign of violence was encouraged by the Special Branch although he would not say exactly what Special Branch ordered. He said he eventually had to get out of Melbourne because of ASIO pressure related to the attempt of the Labor government to uncover the links between political police agencies and anti-communists such as the Nazi party. He steadfastly denied giving the Nazi membership files to ASIO or Special Branch (something about which he lied and as now revealed in released NSW Special Branch files).

Saleam told Greason of this conversation some time afterwards and that Young said he regularly attended the hotel. Apparently, Greason went there time after time, looking for Young. Finally, in January 1982, when he just happened to be in Saleam's company, he found Young. Young repeated the story. Greason was dumbstruck.

Within days, Greason informed Saleam by phone that he wanted to complete certain research on the Nazis. He understood from previous discussions with certain Nationalists that Gary Mangan, another ex-NSPA member, also had information on the political police. He went to hunt Mangan down. He found him. The account in TF refers to Mangan disparagingly as a broken-down drunk. We must now ask: why the hate?

In 1987, Mangan contacted Saleam. His motive in coming forward to provide an account of certain matters regarding the Nazi party, political violence in Queensland and so forth, might have been related to the fact that he committed suicide a few weeks afterwards. Was Mangan clearing away a small piece of unfinished business?

In this discussion, Mangan claimed that he had indeed met Greason in mid-late February 1982. He said Greason stayed with him for several days, almost a week. During that time, he said, they engaged in homosexual intercourse. Mangan's bi-sexuality was well-known to most rightist activists who had ever heard of him and must have been already known to Greason.. Mangan laughed about the 'affair' and said, "you know, bite the pillow bitch..". Mangan had heard of Greason's 'conversion' to Trotskyism and said he thought that was not out of character. "He seemed really confused." Where are we left? Greason, whose account of his sexuality implies that he was virginal in 1982, was possibly introduced to 'sex', in a homosexual encounter with a former 'Nazi stormtrooper'.

Would this explain both the reference to Mangan and the untruthful discussion of the Young meeting (which instigated the contact with Mangan)? There is also the endless references to the Nazi party in TF which we need to place in perspective.

Of course, there is only Mangan's word of this affair and Mangan is dead. We cannot thence say it is a matter open to formal 'proof', if we were challenged to 'prove' it. Hence we shall

argue the case only at the level of possibility. We shall leave it to Greason, if he wishes, to take up the matter.

## 6. "Can Fascists Be Gay?"

Greason took to drinking in Darlinhurst bars in early 1982. Around this time, he asked several Nationalists: "can fascists be gay?". What did he mean?

Well, Greason was obviously debating with himself whether he could adopt a certain sexuality usually held out of favour within 'Right' circles. But still participate in this politics.

Given too that Greason would invent the most outrageous stories of his heterosexual accomplishments, it would seem he was heading in the 'alternative' direction.

It is probably that Greason's sexuality helped mould the political course he ultimately followed. If he required acceptance, he would have to get it in the company of those who were politically – liberal.

To reject or to choose a type of politics upon the basis of 'sexual preference' scarcely implies the subject has any essential credibility.

## 6. "Those Niggers Are F.... White Women. Well, Burn, Baby Burn!....(!)"

In March 1982, Greason was conspiring to fire-bomb a Kings Cross disco known as 'The Persian Room'.

It seems he had been wandering the Cross when one evening, he struck up a meeting with another 'Dave' then involved in preparatory organizing for a new Nationalist movement.

The two went to drink in a sleazy dive called The Persian Room. It seems there were a number of black men (either Negroes or Africans) in the bar. They were, in Greason's words "chatting up a couple of sluts". This scene infuriated Greason and he contacted a few Nationalists. "Those niggers are f ... white women. Well burn, baby, burn". But to one person ('Dave') Greason said he had a plan to turn his words into action.

Greason's plan was to set off a petrol bomb in the Persian Room and throw another device into the stairwell on the way out. He would then slip into the crowd. He needed a confederate to help distract people and he mooted his scheme to 'Dave' and then to another comrade, 'Mark'. The

latter just didn't take him seriously in any way at all, although 'Dave' reported subsequently that Greason's scheme for the incendiary reached an "advanced stage". 'Dave' quietly excused himself from the plan.

As mercurially as everything else Greason did in the period, he dropped the idea of racial terrorism

Just after this incident, Greason was living in Darley Street St. Peters in a 'share house'. He shared with two homosexuals and a 'straight' male. A visitor to the home was Don Dunstan, homosexual ex-Premier of South Australia. Dunstan was occasionally in company with an American Negro male who shared the shower with him – and one of the inhabitants in the house. Greason dropped the fire-bomb routine to ponder over the prospects of raising cash for his new book – by a little exercise of blackmail. That scheme never matured either. The house in question must have stayed a fertile subject for reflection in the mind of our 'fascist', since, as his story goes, he decided there on a new course of political action – and founded National Action. Needless to say, this story is yet another lie.

So, where are we left with the fire-bomb story? Does it show that persons whom are described as 'racists' are those who suffer from some sort of sexual frustration that takes the form of envying black males? Well, Greason doesn't tell us *this story*, which really, he should have. Yet, if he had, it might have shown the workings of his mind. Might it not be the case that the stereotypical madcap racist – was actually Greason?

## 7. Greason Claims To Found National Action.

In TF (274-5) Greason tells us that one "Sunday afternoon" in March 1982, he and three other persons, casually founded the National Action movement. Yet, on another page (276), he refers to the group being launched in February and then it holds a formal-foundation on April 25 1982.

The story that Greason founded National Action, has been repeated by the Trotskyites. Of course, it was a good story and was meant not only to establish Greason's credentials as a 'defector', but to demean genuine Nationalists as being involved in a movement actually founded by a liberal 'defector'. Indeed!

In truth, Greason did attend a meeting in February 1982 where a decision was made by seventeen persons to establish a new Nationalist organization. A committee of three persons (excluding Greason) was deputised to lay the plans, and the movement was duly established on ANZAC day 1982. In his book, Greason glosses over that latter meeting – because he was not there.

On ANZAC day 1982, Greason was on a Hare Krishna property in northern New South Wales, living his secret life, wandering from group to group. "I went to the Hares after being at the Orange People ashram. They said I should go with them and I did. It's the sort of thing that happens to me", he said. Greason returned to Sydney in early May – for a "date" with a girl from the pro-Moscow Socialist Party of Australia. That didn't prosper either. At least National Action – did!

## 8. "A Mars Bar And A Coke."

When Greason resided in Sydney, his diet and his hygiene deteriorated. His hours varied and a nocturnal life-style developed.

Greason's staples were "a Mars Bar and a Coke" – and sometimes salty chips in some quantity. The young 'fascist' became rotund. He cut a strange figure. His room in any number of share houses was littered with Coca Cola cans and bottles, chocolate wrappers of all sorts and half-eaten serves of chips. This scene reappears in TF (156)– as a description of the living habits of someone else. Invariably, his co-tenants would throw him out.

No wonder. His clothes would be filthy and sometimes the great revolutionary didn't bath. Greason said of such criticism: "Che was not a Gucci radical", meaning he had a licence to be decidedly unappealing. Or was it he thought he was a little like – Che?

Throughout the Sydney sojourn any number of Nationalists (and other patriots) could expect long telephone calls from Greason, with in-depth quizzing about the history of organizations and individuals. If a joke was passed, Greason might subsequently confront a person, at the level of near-hysteria, trying to confirm whether the target of the joke had done the thing laughed about. When Greason started hanging around the Theosophical Society, one Canadian wag told him that the founders of the Australian National Alliance believed that they were the reincarnations of historical figures from the French Revolution. "I couldn't resist: the bloke seemed as mad as a rabbit in his search to see if Theosophy could be used in the political struggle. I helped him along". In TF (284-287) Greason goes to town about that, pondering whether "we" had a "hidden agenda", and 'cleverly' attributes this "bizarre" revelation - to someone else. Of course, in this conversation, the person admits to Greason's charge. And finally, Saleam, of all people confirms it all for him, shattering the last of his illusions. His friends for years are now – loonies of the first order.

The essential madness of Greason shows up here. He has learned that these loonies, reincarnations of French revolutionary figures, communicated via a Ouija board with the dead, yet in TF (16) Greason records his interest in Ouija boards, and playing at length with one. We can make the inevitable conclusion.

## 9. "I Think He's Mad"

In TF (274), Greason refers to a female person with some derision, someone he's met and who was sharing at the home of a Nationalist.

The woman spent some time in Greason's company being probed by her and quietly harassed. She reported to Saleam: "I think he's mad".

It was the first time the question of Greason's sanity had been squarely raised. It was February 1982.

Greason stayed in the premises for two days while he assisted with the artwork for a Nationalist paper. It was at that time he made a contribution to Nationalist agitation, suggesting a poster on the issue of Japanese imperialism, featuring soldiers in 1942 garb and businessmen in 1982 suits. We cannot say Greason never did anything for Nationalism.

Greason said yet again about this time that he was planning a "book" on the Right. Then it was a "book to expose the failure of the Left". He was also planning the infiltration of the pro-Moscow Socialist Party and made enquiries about joining the Catholic priesthood. The people with whom Greason claims to have been intimately involved began at this moment not to wish to associate with him. Is that why TF places Greason at the centre of everything?

The woman against whom Greason railed (above) suggested Greason had been staring at her as she slept and may have stolen her underwear. Such pastimes should have been more 'interesting' than pseudo-political posturings. We hope Greason was doing these things. At least it showed an interest – in women.

## 10. Greason Opts Out.

In mid June 1982, Greason abruptly decided that the National Action group would only benefit if he took charge of it. At TF (276-7), we have a different time frame for the sort of drive referred to; here, Greason pre-dates it to a time before he 'founds' National Action. However, we put it in its proper location, with Greason grasping one-more-time to be some sort of big fish in the then-small pond of then-Right politics. Or any politics.

In May 1982, Greason had been hard to locate at his 'home'. It is possible he had been busy trying to infiltrate the Socialist Labour League, a cultic Trotskyite group that casually relieved its youthful supporters of large sums of cash. Or he might have been back with the Orange People for the free meals.

Greason approached various persons. He said that he had been thinking hard about changing line to make it all more palatable to the public (that part of TF is true!), but that he knew how to do it. He said he had participated in a few of National Action's activities to establish his credibility and to show up the leaders as incompetents and ideological dinosaurs (like when he disrupted a meeting at which Malcolm Fraser spoke). He said that if he was elevated to its committee and made its chairman, things would "move quickly".

The members of the group weren't interested and told him so. They had long decided that Greason was 'mad' and of no account. Some documents, books and office equipment stored (for nominal rent) in a premises rented for a brief period by Greason, were removed. This incident led to a confrontation, somewhat floridly and inaccurately decribed (what's new?) in TF. It was Greason's reply to the suggestion he was "mad", which is of relevance. He said words like: "only when we get a synthesis of just about every main ideology into a really popular programme will you idiots get anywhere." In Greason's mind, all ideologies had blurred and were basically "cons and tricks" (his words). Similarly, all organizations were just platforms for the realisation of some personal fantasy. Does this later explain Greason's 1990's work for rabid capitalist magazines and newspapers, his friendship with globalizers like Phil Ruthven and so on? When there's no 'faith' any more, there's always money.

Greason told 'Dave' that he was going to leave the political scene. He was "disillusioned", he said. There was still a hope he could find his way, or write that book. But being told he was no longer welcome around the National Action group was the final act of a long drama in the mind of our teenage fascist. He had "nowhere to go". He was told by 'Dave' that he should go home to his parents. Greason said he hated his father as much as he hated Saleam and "people like Eric Butler". 'Dave' went away thinking that Greason had identified these persons as substitute fathers or family members. Is TF therefore a work dealing with psychological disorder? There can be little doubt, when it is read critically from this perspective, that Greason's political hates arise from a dysfunctional family and migrant experience. In this sense, we strongly recommend his book.

## 11. Greason Robs The Bank.

In late July 1982, Greason committed fraud and avoided arrest by the misplaced intervention of Saleam.

In his dealings with the National Action organization in the period around June 1982, Greason befriended 'Dave'. Somehow he contrived a situation where documents were presented to the Westpac (or Bank of New South Wales at 'Anchor House' George Street, Sydney) that purportedly established him as a signatory to an account operated by the Nationalists.

On a day in the second week of July 1982, Saleam presented a cheque for cashing at the bank.

Rather than the account being in credit to the sum of \$100, it was in the red to some \$90. As the matter was being discussed with management, in came the young fascist – with another cheque – this time for \$100. Greason was "grabbed" by security and the matter hung in the balance. The manager was told that Greason was "unbalanced", and with our teenage fascist on the verge of tears in front of all, he was released. Needless to say Greason, despite his promise, never made good with the money.

As 'Alan' put it as he proceeded to a meeting to confront Greason in 1984: "Who knows? Saleam should have let him go down."

If that had been the course of events, the 'reformed fascist' might never have come into being. The book thief would have been convicted of 'uttering' and his career as an honest victim of bad company would have been a non-event.

## 12. Lost In Bohemia.

In the period from August 1982 until early 1983, Greason lived in Darlinghurst and surrounding suburbs. When he moved from a flat in Parramatta Road Lewisham in August, he simply 'disappeared'.

His life in this phase was not recorded in TF. He does not explain much at all before he is getting ready to speak up about the rightist extremists in late 1983. So who was he associating with? What happened?

As best as we can trace it, Greason's life in the period to early 1983 hit rock bottom.

He lived on unemployment benefits and moved in with homosexuals and/or marginal people. It was an odyssey. One witness said he took to drugs, but that is unsubstantiated. Another said, he knew him as a partner for well-heeled men, but that too has no corroborative source. Perhaps our teenage-fascist might enlighten us, but don't hold your breath.

Being lost in bohemia was the beginning of a rebirth. Greason, at age 21, saw his life as meaningless. As an English migrant from a poorer family, he couldn't hope for much. His work career hadn't been meritorious. He hated everyone he knew – and most of them were political people from the 'Right' side of politics. They were to blame.

In September 1982, Saleam and 'Shane' had been contacted by Greason who wanted to meet them at the 'French's Wine Bar' in Darlinghurst. The meeting took place and Greason passed over \$100 of some \$400 that he had borrowed. The youth was less than heroic, pale, sniffling, distracted. He said that he was "wandering about". He nearly ran out of the door and into the night.

Greason had already started to sabotage those he didn't like during his Sydney period – and they weren't all in the National Action group either. He struck out at a neo-nazi con-man called Graeme Royce, damaging his property and making harassment calls. He stole books and money from the British-Israel World Federation. The Left (as we noted with the bookshop thefts) was hardly immune either; but Greason reserved a special hate for the Maoist communists, stealing books and property left outside their premises and cash from the cash drawer during a 'visit' to discuss politics. Amusingly, he urinated into a car driven by Al Grassby outside a meeting venue, not so much because Grassby was a multiculturalist liberal, but because the man couldn't get his facts right about a "list of racist organizations". Greason had been to Grassby's office to "correct" him but to no avail. The 'hates' formed in this period stayed with him and doubtlessly motivate him whenever an 'anti-racist' article is being prepared. What an 'expert'!

### 13. "Tell A Jew What He Wants To Hear..."

As Greason told several Nationalists, he had once worked for the Melbourne Jewish Times. He liked it there, working in the office. His favourite "targets" (his words) were older Jewish ladies, sometimes from families who were placed in Nazi concentration camps or who were 'Holocaust survivors'.

Greason would chat up the staff and customers. He would express his "interest in your experiences under the Nazis", a line of approach that would inevitably lead to paid, expensive lunches. As Greason told 'Bob': "tell a Jew what he wants to hear and you'll have your hand in his pocket". It is a course of action that continued with Australia-Israel Review at least on one level: Greason 'confirms' their line and rises accordingly. Would this be an example of "the old double-dealing" as Greason put it in TF?

Part of Greason's 'success' as an anti-racist has been to add his 'facts' to the prejudices of his Trotskyite and Jewish audiences. It definitely paid off. Yet, Greason may not have ever been totally frank with the Jewish organizations he later worked for.

And now a special story just for Michael Danby, Labor M.P., and for the boys at Australia-Israel Review.

It is a matter of history that Danby was a student activist at Melbourne University in the 1970's, a Zionist, in a university where Maoist communists and Trotskyites (Trotskyites were not then as philosemitic as they have become), were very active. Danby got the reputation – rightly or wrongly – for being an informant for the Federal Police. So, one happy day in 1976, he was brutally bashed by Maoists in broad daylight. Greason always claimed to have actually witnessed the bashing. He said: "I saw it; I could have shouted out, ran for police, even run over and started screaming, but I didn't. I just thought, ah well, so what, it's only Danby".

Greason can tell Danby this is untrue. Yet, Danby isn't silly. He'll know it's true. When Greason changed sides, he was in many ways the old "double-dealer" he always was. He may well have told people like Danby a lot of things, some true and some false, about the 'Right' scene. It's unlikely he confessed this. We all suspect that Dave would have felt that warm inner glow from having a very-guilty-secret like this one, as he talked over political strategy with the staff at Australia-Israel Review.

## 14. The Case Of 'Basil Recht': A Proof Of Special Input And Purpose

TF (288,292) drops a hint, a suggestion, to those in the know, that he has had some special input into his book and is operating a secret agenda. This was always part of Greason's method.

He mentions a character 'Basil Recht' at a Nationalist meeting and he describes in detail a supposed outrage perpetrated against him by this person – his expulsion from the world of Nationalist politics.

Yet, there was never any such person as 'Basil Recht'. Greason has not made a mistake either, as the name given is a certain 'play' upon the actual name of a person known to him at the time..

Greason's book is full of stories about all sorts of people under their true names. So why give dear old 'Basil' such a pseudonym?

Had Greason some pressing legal reason for this sleight of hand, he could have said something in the text to the effect that he was doing this for this purpose. But no, Greason did not do that.

We shall offer the reader our hypothesis. 'Recht' was recruited by the New South Wales Police Special Branch as an informant in March 1985. 'Recht' provided information against (mainly, but not exclusively) National Action and a certain Brisbane Nationalist group. There is a real possibility that he was, in conjunction with the activities of a foreign country in Australia, an informant for ASIO. Greason protected 'Recht' because 'Recht' was on the same side! We must ask therefore: *how does Greason know?*

It would be our conclusion that, just as Greason was 'debriefed' by the Federal Police around October 1983, for whatever he could say about a swathe of patriotic groups, so he has been privy to 'intelligence' information over the years. Working at Australia-Israel Review, would make that rather – inevitable. We were also advised that Greason was spoken to by the New South Wales Special Branch in 1989; the Branch was fishing for 'clues' on how to combat

National Action. He was an inspiration for a major smear article in The Bulletin in March 1989, an article which criticised a number of patriotic groups and persons at a time when ASIO/Special Branch was moving against them.

Greason's casual mention of 'Basil Recht' suggests to us that broader issue. Did Greason approach the Federal Police or was it the other way round back there in 1983? It is significant in the history of Nationalist and patriotic politics that persons in the situation like Greason inevitably are found and value extracted. We must also wonder who suggested Greason 'come out' in the National Times early in 1984 as a critic of the Nationalists, and ask how it was he passed over into the company of the screamers at the International Socialist Organisation for a grand 'anti-racist' speaking tour tour in May-June 1984? Did Greason think of it all himself?

Somehow, when we deal with the teenage fascist, there is a suggestion of the black operation lurking in the background.

## 15. The Problem Of Historical Accuracy: What To Do About David Greason?

There is no longer any real reason why the patriotic movement should be concerned with Greason's utility as a viable originator of smear. Nonetheless, it still follows that occasional journalism written to 'the script' is possible and organizations and individuals could be ambushed. So, what to do? Basically, *we must finish the job*. Once falsehood is put into circulation, it can be built upon and re-marketed. It must be answered, but in a way that serves the cause and does not side-track it.

At the start of this pamphlet we said, there is usually very little sense, when faced with a fraud like Greason, to answer his fabrications point by point. It is better to provide the counter-picture. The enemy fights to delegitimize Australian Nationalism and patriotism. We struggle to proclaim its validity and truth. What are we seeing on the Greason question?

Essentially, there was no storyline of any worth, either in Greason's Teenage Fascist or in his journalism, because, as the Giannopoulos pamphlet proved, and as this pamphlet demonstrates, Greason is a fraud and a purveyor of false stories. He was at one point of his life, fundamentally psychologically disturbed, and once 'reconstructed', set out to maintain his new persona by serving the opposite cause to the one he had supposedly served. One must sing for one's supper. It is open to conclude also that Greason's appreciation of the 'Right' groups he joined was adolescent, *and if there is any value in discussing the attraction some politics may exercise over the very young*, it is only at that level anything Greason could say has any 'value' at all. And even then, one must be careful.

Greason could one day reappear on the anti-racist circuit, when he finally returns from Britain, or even if he stays there and scribbles for the Jewish Board of Deputies/MI-5 rag – Searchlight magazine. But Greason is now a mere fading actor upon the stage of anti-racism.

Our politics, just like the politics of the liberal Establishment, must show no deference towards those who challenge it. By gutting Greason, we show there is no ‘market’ in peddling rubbish. Most importantly, we show to the professional lie-peddlers like those at Australia-Israel Review that the issue for public comment is that *they used Greason*. Our charge is that this magazine knew the essential truth all the way along and, at the very least, has known the full story for four years. So why no ‘retractions’, no ‘self-criticisms’? Rather, they just soldier on to the next phase of the struggle. It is a worthy attribute patriots should emulate.

One liar-propagandist down, ten thousand to go!

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# National Socialism And Race

**Dr. A. James Gregor**

*Archive Note: This piece, published in 1958, was an early contribution by an academic now accredited as a significant author upon the subject of fascism. This essay does not discuss certain peculiar German Nazi race doctrines which survived into the war period and which conditioned the movement for eastern expansion. The present text however has advantages in unravelling the official 'positions' of Nazism at various points.*

Enough time has elapsed since the cessation of hostilities against Germany to permit the inspection of one of the theoretical components of the National Socialist Movement; the element which, of all the heterogeneous elements, made National Socialism what it was: the theory of race.

An inquiry of this nature can either, like almost all previous criticisms, muster external objections from anthropological, sociological and historical sources against what are conceived (often incorrectly) to be critical facets of the National Socialist theory on race; (1) or it can venture upon an immanent criticism; that is, it can pursue the inquiries of National Socialist theoreticians themselves, trying to understand the theory of race as it was, as it came to be, rather than as one conceives it to have been.

The latter course, the course chosen for this exposition, has much to recommend it. One does not dissipate one's energies harassing a straw man. The National Socialist theory of race was dynamic, ever-changing. This, indeed, must be the case with any theory which even pretends to be scientific. Furthermore, it is necessary to distinguish between the bona fide subject of inquiry and existing misconceptions. One need not resort to external sources to refute aspects of the theory which were rejected in the course of its development by National Socialist theoreticians themselves.

No theory, whether scientific, ethical or metaphysical, develops in a vacuum. It would be incredibly naïve to believe that any of these disciplines develops independently of the social milieu in which it arose. In order, therefore, to understand the nature and evolution of National Socialist speculations on race one would have to be conversant with the prevailing psychological, economic, scientific and social (cultural and political) forces prevalent

throughout the period. Even were I fully informed as to these conditions, which I am not, space would not permit the introduction of such data into an essay of its length. What I shall attempt to do, however, is to indicate, in passing, the most compelling forces, tactical and theoretical, which, it seems, in general directed the rapid growth and transformation of the National Socialist theory of race.

## I

The development of the National Socialist theory of race can be divided into three periods, and each period had a characteristic cast and temper.

The earliest period of National Socialist racism was characterized by the writings and speeches of Hitler himself. In many of his utterances Hitler's contentions with respect to race were no more and no less shocking, interesting or spectacular than similar statements made by any number of Anglo-Saxon eugenicists of the period. More significantly, in his specific references to race Hitler was content to employ the exceedingly vague term "Aryan" to denote his select race, founders of the State, society and culture in Europe. Under the rubric "Aryan" Hitler included all the European peoples, apparently (2) reserving the status "inferior" for non-European peoples of the world. Nowhere in Mein Kampf does he specifically stipulate the physical type of his superior race. He refers, however, with unqualified approval to the writings of Houston Stewart Chamberlain. Even if he had not, any comparison of the general ideas on race and society found in Mein Kampf with those of Chamberlain's Grundlagen would have made his intellectual debt quite apparent. Now Chamberlain nowhere gives a specific morphological identity to his "German," although he does wax enthusiastic over the tall, blond dolichocephal (long head). On the other hand he suggests, perhaps taking his cue from Gobineau who was convinced of the heterogeneity of the Aryan type, (3) that some of the purest "Germans" are brunets, even raven-haired. Nor does Chamberlain deny creativity nor value to other races.

So there is evidence that the National Socialist theory of race at this time was more than somewhat vague and indeterminate, at least with respect to the problem of how one identified one's select race. Nowhere in the early literature of the Movement does the designation "Nordic" figure with any prominence, least of all in Hitler's public statements.

Even at the close of this first period, in 1930, when Rosenberg's Mythos appeared, his use of the word "Nordic" was strictly qualified by this pronouncement: "...nothing would be more superficial than to measure a man's worth by his physical appearance (with a centimeter rule and cephalic indices). A far more accurate measure of worth is conduct." (4)

But with the advent of the thirties we enter a new and highly critical phase of theoretical development. By this time, quite independently of the National Socialist Movement, the works

of Hans F.K. Guenther (5) had achieved wide circulation and popularity in Germany.

The works of Guenther evinced a certain attractiveness for National Socialist theoreticians. First of all one could elicit rough parallelisms between some of the ideas of Hitler, as expressed in Mein Kampf, and Guenther's principal works. Secondly it offered, seemingly, a scientific peg upon which National Socialist utterances on race might be conveniently hung.

As National Socialism expanded in membership and influence an increasing demand that its theoretical house be put in order made itself heard. At this point Guenther's works seemed to suit, precisely, that purpose.

## II

Guenther's ideas can briefly summarized in the following notions:

(1) a race is a group of human beings which, breeding true, distinguishes itself from its neighbours by hereditary physical and mental traits; (6)

(2) the psychic traits, possessed by the various races, differ qualitatively;

(3) in almost all mental traits the Nordic Race (tall, slender, fair-skinned, blond, blue-eyed, leptoprosopic (narrow-faced), leptorrhine (narrow-nosed), dolichocephalic (7) is superior. Nordics are sage in judgment, truthful and energetic, independent, realistic, bold, courageous, clean, inventive, tenacious, prudent, steadfast in duty, competitive (only in the best sense), just, respectful of the property of others, knightly, possessed of a gift of narrative, individualistic (yet unselfish), possessed of a remarkable depth of character, a thorough-going trustworthiness, an inquiring mind devoted to natural science, a lively sense of honour, a tendency to roguish humour, a capacity for statesmanlike achievements, a gift for leadership, a talent for music, a wide range of development in the mental life as well as other endowments too numerous to mention; (8)

(4) the extension and contraction of European culture follows the waxing and waning of this most singular race. (9)

These theses, formulated in a rich, scientific vocabulary seemed, at the time, to satisfy the demands made upon National Socialist theoreticians. Therefore, although Guenther's major works were completed before the succession of National Socialism to power, many of the

National Socialists made them their own.

This having been the case it is necessary to note two important facts:

1. Guenther categorically rejected the designation "Aryan" which Hitler favoured (10) and substituted a carefully defined "Nordic" in its stead. The change, as we shall see, was of critical importance.
2. Guenther, while he wrote with passion and bias, was sufficiently detached to make several things quite clear. He did not pretend, for example, that the Nordic Race was the sole creative human race (although that is the over-all impression one receives from his works). He does site the vast cultures of the Mediterranean bronze and early iron age as being the products of Mediterranean creativity. (11) Furthermore, he limited his racial analysis only to peoples of Indo-germanic speech.

The general character of the second period in the development of National Socialist race theory was lent by the works of Hans Guenther - a period which covered, approximately, the years between 1930 and 1934. This is the period of uncritical acceptance of "the Nordic Hypothesis."

So great was the enthusiasm that minor theorists went even further than Guenther's exaggerated Nordicism. Why this should have been so can be explained largely by recalling once more to mind the psychological climate of revolutionary Germany. A people disillusioned in war, betrayed in peace, sought, in a hostile world, status and place. Overcompensation, generated by the tensions of the time, demanded not only equality but superiority.

There had always been, in the German mind, a vague identification between the "Aryan creators of culture" and German nationality. It was not difficult for the average layman to substitute Nordicist nomenclature for the "less scientific" Aryan designations and still equate, somehow, the German people with the "Herrenvolk ." (A similar phenomenon, under essentially similar circumstances, characterized the Fascist Movement of Italy with its frank "Romanita," its Lictors' Rods and Roman Salute, and its harking back to the glorious superiority of ancient Rome.)

### III

The most grotesque product of this second period was a strange tome by one Karl Weinlaender (12) which was published with the assistance of the leadership of the National Socialist Teachers Bund in Nuremberg. (13)

In this curious work we are told, among other things:

1. the Nordic race "was and is the only race capable of creating a culture" (14) - all other races are capable of creating a culture only in the same measure as they contain Nordic blood. (15) The Nordics, for example, created Chinese culture.

2. Weinlaender will have nothing of the nonsense concerning racial evolution. He, like Hauser, (16) contends that the Nordic Race is a special act of creation. (17) "Human races," he informs us, "have evolved out of the lower animals, but each was the result of a creative act separated in space and time... The series included: Humanoids, Prehistoric Men, Giants, Pigmies, Australians, Negroes, Malayans, Indians, Mongolians and at last 'the image of God,' the Nordic Race." (18) All the so-called races (Alpine, Dinaric, Mediterranean, East-Balts, etc.) are simply the bastards of the unnatural coupling of Nordic Man with the enumerated inferior races. (19)

3. This natural inferiority of non-Nordic races is attested to by the fact that the iris of the eye and the hair, and in worse cases even the skin is pigmented. Inferiority is a consequence of the fact that the "material" used (Stoffverbrauch ) in pigmentation is sapped from the cerebral and nervous system. (20) Furthermore unpigmented hair acts as a conductor for "unseen thought waves." (21)

4. All beauty, (22) physical and spiritual harmony, tall stature and dolichocephaly (23) are the sole property of the Nordic Race.

5. Nordic blood, when transfused into the sick will promote rapid improvement (24) while a transfusion of blood from the lower races (particularly Jewish blood ) with dispatch the patient. (25)

Weinlaender's book was not an isolated miscarriage. Similar, if not equally outrageous, statements are found in books of this period which were published with either the direct or indirect approval of the National Socialist Movement. Staemmler (26) and Baltzer (27) contend that the Nordics are the only race capable of creating a culture. Rudolf, (28) publishing under the direct auspices of the National Socialist Library, quotes, with approval, Dieter Gerhart (29): " The Nordic Race, the race of our Germanic ancestors, is the sole bearer of all creative culture in old and new Europe and its environs."

Having once established to their own satisfaction the truth of these notions the theorists could commence to interpret the cultural history of the world.

All culture originates with the Nordics. Since this is presupposed, it is only necessary to find blond Libyans depicted in Egyptian reliefs (along with the red eyed, green haired compatriots) to prove the Nordic origin of Egyptian civilization (30) - or to find one blond woman depicted in a late fresco in the palace of Knossos to prove that Minoan Civilization was equally Nordic

(31) - while the presence of a "fair" god among the host of Aztec gods (albinism is relatively common among a variety of races) is enough to ascribe a Nordic origin for Incan as well as Aztec culture. (32) The fact that Confucius is represented as having a "full beard" while Mongolians have but scant beard is more than enough to indicate the presence of a Nordic ruling class to which the founding of Chinese civilization can be ascribed.(33)

Having succeeded to such insight we can begin to interpret personalities in its light. Since all creativity stems from the Nordic Race all creative personalities must be Nordics or bastards whose creativity derives from some (sometimes more than obscure) Nordic source. When we find those like Caesar (34) and Goethe (35) who are brunet we can ascribe their superiority to their "Nordic" stature. Where we find men of note, as in the case of Napoleon and Nelson, (36) who measure less than 160cm. We can assign their superiority to the fact that they were (at least in their youth) fair. When we find someone like Martin Luther who was brachycephalic (round headed), brown eyed, almost raven haired and of only medium stature we may be forced to admit an Alpine "infusion," (37) or we might designate him a Cro-Magnon survival, (38) or we might suggest that he is a Dalo-Nordic, a Nordic "sub-type" (39) - because he did most assuredly have a Nordic Soul. (40)

The brachycephals of note which might have caused the Nordicists some consternation (since Nordics must have long heads) - Hindenburg and Bismarck for example - are assigned, without mention of their suspicious cephalic index to the Dalo-Nordic Race, (41) or gracefully accepted because the phrenological "organs" for mathematics and musicality are located over the ears, and if these organs are well developed, they will deform the skull. (42) (It is interesting that Hindenburg, whom the Nordicists cite as classically Dalo-Nordic, is assigned by Carlton Coon to the East-Baltic Race. (48))

Similar adjustments would have to be made for all those who are either too diminutive (Kant, Machiavelli, Dante, Coleridge, Keats, (44) Raphael), too brachycephalic (Leibniz, Schopenhauer, Kant, Schiller, Schubert, Haydn, Beethoven, Raphael, Laplace, Napoleon, Pascal (45)) or too brunet (Ovid, (46) Vergil, Horace, (47) Michelangelo, (48) Ariosto, St. Francis of Assisi, Shakespeare, Herder, Napier, Beethoven, (49) Balzac, (50) Zola, (51) Raphael, (52) Elizabeth Barret-Browning, (53) Browning, (54) Ibsen, (55) Tolstoy, (56) Faraday, (57) Tennyson, (58) Cromwell, (59) Dampier, (60)).

Having come to understand the procedure we can explain the creativity of Mussolini, who was a relatively short, barrel chested, brown eyed, brachycephalic brunet, by citing him as an example of a "Nordic with dark pigment" (61) who derived his potential from a medieval knight name Muslin. (62)

All this, of course, was Guenther with a vengeance. Guenther surveys the brachycephalic (63) portrait sculpture of Classic Roman Antiquity and sees only Nordic dolichocephaly. He reproduces Classic Greek statuary which displays tightly curled hair, smooth brow, thick sensuous lips, fleshy nose and soft chin - and sees only the flat, loosely waved hair, (64) the supraorbital bosses, (65) the thin lips, (66) the shapely chiseled nose and chin (67) of the "pure Nordic Race." (68) The same statuary of which Sergi had said, about thirty years before, "the types of Greek and Roman statuary ... do not in the slightest degree recall the features of a northern race; in the delicacy of the cranial and facial forms, in smoothness of surface, in the absence of exaggerated frontal bosses and supraorbital arches, in the harmony of curves, in the facial oval, in the rather low foreheads, they recall the beautiful and harmonious heads of the brown Mediterranean race." (69)

Guenther tells us that because among the Chinese one can find dolichocephaly, an "almost white skin, sometimes combined with handsome European features" (70) this is presumptive evidence of a Nordic strain, as though "almost white skin" and "handsomeness" are placed only in Nordic cradles.

He tells us, further, in a most instructive instance of *petitio principii*, that because the Druses of Lebanon enjoy a relatively high standard of education, are brave, hard-working and clean, they must be possessed of a Nordic element. (71) The Samnite men loved to fight and their women were chaste - sufficient evidence for Guenther.

Similar reasoning provides sufficient justification for Fischer, Baur and Lenz to discover Nordic elements among the plains Indians of North America - for they were, after all, noteworthy warriors. (73)

Even the suggestion of a special act of creation for Nordics is found in Guenther's rigid definition of a race as that group of individuals who breeding forever true (74) distinguish themselves by certain hereditary psychic and physical traits. How are races to evolve if, by definition, they must forever breed true?

Even the baroque suggestion that pigmentation absorbs the "material" that would have otherwise been used in the cranial cavity is "mentioned" by Guenther in order that it not be lost to posterity. (75)

Such postures, of course, provoked sharp criticism even from dedicated racists. By 1938 Ludwig Ferdinand Clauss mocked the entire procedure of assigning certain mental traits ("ability to make judgments," "love of truth," etc.) to specific races as distinguishing characteristics. "It is true", he said, "that Nordic men are capable of making judgments. No one denies that. No one denies, for that matter, that Nordic men occasionally eat, drink and sleep - it only seems doubtful that these characteristics would distinguish them from men of other races." (76)

Similarly, if all creativity derives from Nordic blood why have the most prominent men in European history been of manifestly mixed racial origin. "Many of the men," Fischer, Baur and Lenz contended, "who are universally regarded as the greatest in history (for instance, Socrates, Michelangelo, Luther, Goethe and Beethoven) were obviously of mixed race. Speaking generally, it is exceptional to find that distinguished men exhibit a pure racial type." (77)

And, of course, as a corollary to that even sincere friends were driven to ask of these enthusiastic adherents of Nordicism: why the Nordic Race, where it had been preserved from the admixture of lower potential, in Scandinavia and Northern Europe in general, had to wait until it was stimulated by bastard peoples from the Mediterranean before it developed any advanced culture of its own? (78)

But more important than the theoretical problems which beset this kind of Nordicism were the serious tactical problems which it provoked.

Ironically enough it was exactly the feature of Guenther's racism which had made it so appealing in 1930 that generated the problems of 1934. Hitler's (and even Rosenberg's) theories had not been sufficiently definitive. Hitler's Aryans had remained vexedly ill-defined, while Rosenberg had not necessarily equated physical type with individual achievement. (79) All of which seemed very inexact. Guenther, on the other hand, with his cephalic, facial and nasal indices, his pigmentation and stature charts and his racial classifications seemed eminently suited to answer just such criticisms. His books were quickly taken over by National Socialist theoreticians, (80) summarized in little brochures and introductory manuals and disseminated throughout the Party organization. (81) But Guenther was purchased at too high a price. Guenther had told the National Socialists precisely what the superior Nordics were - the first question which sprang up once the first enthusiasm wanted was: where are they?

Guenther was painfully specific. One most not, he warned, confuse Germans with Nordics. (82) Germany was a compost of at least five European and two extra-European races. (83) Germany's total Nordic heritage was, according to Guenther, at best 45 - 50 per cent. (84) Still more disconcerting was the fact that Germany's population possessed but 5 per cent. "pure" Nordic types. (85) And this selection was made with reference only to morphological

characteristics (phenotypes). One can hardly inspect the germ plasm of the individual (genotype) - that is, an individual may have, sadly, an alien soul. (86) For in a genetically mixed population there is no simple correlation between physical appearance and potentiality so that an individual possessed of the racial livery of the Nordic must also have a Nordic soul. Characteristics are transmitted through a particular chromosomal substance, the gene. In a mixed population each individual inherits a total of anywhere from 10,000 to 45,000 genes. With a random mixture, conducted over at least the last three thousand years (i.e., the presence of mixed types in the earliest "Nordic" graves (87)) the number of gene combinations would be infinite - meaning that the correlation coefficient between physical and psychic characteristics could, mathematically, be expected to be nil. (88) More precisely one could not say with any assurance that an individual displaying all the physical traits of the Nordic race was equally possessed with (presuming there to be any) Nordic mental characteristics. The chances that an individual in contemporary Europe should have inherited from an astronomical number of ancestors only Nordic traits are millions to one.

The tactical expression of this theoretical difficulty revealed itself in a manner which demanded immediate resolve. While it was true that a "true" Nordic (Nordic genotype) could not be distinguished from a "pseudo" Nordic (Nordic only in physical type) it seemed reasonable (at least to Guenther) to presume that where one found a higher incidence of Nordic morphological traits one would find a higher incidence of Nordic psychic traits. Now as long as this remained vague and general not much objection could be raised against it. But again Guenther insisted on "there is but one equality of birth: that based on the equal purity clusion." "From the racial standpoint," he informed his readers, "there is but one equality of birth: that based on the equal purity of Nordic blood. Racially the nobleman of mixed race is not of equal birth with a Nordic peasant girl." (89) Thus those who display Nordic physical features must be considered "most worth-while" (90) while mixed types, no matter what their station or capacity, are correspondingly inferior.

Thus although we cannot definitively identify a "pure" Nordic we can identify hybrids (people under 170cm. in height, whose cephalic index is over 76, whose nasal index is platyrrhine, whose facial index is under (90), whose hair is brunet or whose eyes are hazel or brown, who are not slender, nor have thin lips nor firm chin). These, Guenther tells us, we must painfully identify as bastards, (91) and as such second class citizens - inferior in worth to the (at least physically) "pure" Nordic.

## VI

The impossibility of accepting such a conclusion was obvious, to the least informed National

Socialist, on its very face. The immediate leadership of the National Socialist Party with about 95 per cent. of the German population did not meet the requirements for first class citizenship under this scheme.

A Movement which had arisen in Germany with the promise of unifying a people, and had promised the elimination of class distinctions as divisive, found itself advocating distinctions more penetrating and permanent than class lines had ever been. (92) Men have sometimes risen above their class - no man can escape his degree of pigmentation or his cranial index. Such a situation was intolerable, and it was the realization of this fact that galvanized the theoreticians into action.

Guenther was to be specifically rejected. While recognizing the fact that his books had served to stimulate inquiry into the intricate problems of race, the pernicious aspects of the "Nordic hypothesis" were decried. The enthusiasm with which Guenther's ideas had been accepted, Weinert wrote, precipitated conclusions for which "there was no biological foundation... The consequence was often that an unfounded race-pride threatened to sunder the German people." (93)

The first clear statement on official reorientation had come from Hitler himself only seven months after he came to power, at the 1933 Nuremberg Parteitag. Hitler said: "We do not conclude from a man's physical type his ability, but rather from his achievements his race." (94) Thus achievements, not physical type, were to be the measure of worth.

This principle advanced by Hitler entered the basic texts on anthropology and heredity, and by 1935 the last phase in the development of National Socialist race theory was well under way. Thieme repeats Hitler's principle and adds "the men who bear the qualities of heroism, strength of will, a readiness to sacrifice and faith have played a decisive role in deciding Germany's destiny, and they shall continue to do so even if they are not all tall, blond or blue-eyed." (95)

Eichenauer goes so far as to inform his readers that the amount of Nordic blood an individual possesses means nothing (*spielt keine Rolle*) in the Nordic scheme of things because "it has often enough been the case that men of extremely mixed race (*stark gemischter Rasse*) have conceived and more powerfully grasped these notions than the predominantly Nordic." (96)

Goebbels is identified quite candidly as a Nordic - Mediterranean (97) restored to first class citizenship. In mid-1936 the *National sozialistische Korrespondenz* stated with clarity and authority: "From his deeds one can recognize the Nordic man - not from the length of his nose and the colour of his eyes." (98)

In effect this last phase of National Socialist race theory was a complete rejection of Guenther's Nordicism. The Mongolian Race was restored as the creator of Asiatic culture (99) and the Mediterranean Race was once more spoken of as the creator of the high culture of the ancient

Mediterranean. (100) "Almost all" of classical art was no longer conceived of as Nordic but as Mediterranean.(101)

We are told that "the races distinguish themselves not through their characteristics; for the same characteristics can be found in different races...For example a Mediterranean can be as courageous as a Nordic, an Alpine as musical as a Dinaric, an East Balt as cunning as a Nordic. On the other hand not all Mediterraneans are courageous, nor all Nordics. But when a Mediterranean is courageous he is courageous in a 'Mediterranean fashion' as a Nordic would be courageous in a 'Nordic fashion'." (102)

Here is an entirely different racism, an entirely different Nordicism than that of Guenther and his followers. Here there was no question of general inferiority - it was a question of maintaining an ideal as an archetype for an entire civilization. Germany had a Nordic archetype; its art form was Nordic; its literature and philosophy, its music and institutions were inspired by Nordic ideals. Each German was bequeathed this patrimony from the original racial elements, now inextricably mixed into the German Nation, among which the Nordic predominated. It was not a question of intrinsic worth, national and racial superiority and inferiority tearing asunder the peoples of Europe. There is no transcendental standard by which to evaluate racial differences.(103) A people characteristically Mongolian treasures a Mongolian heritage and ideal, a Mediterranean people a Mediterranean one. (104)

Dr. Walter Gross, head of the Rassenpolitische Amt of the National Socialist Party, said: "We appreciate the fact that those of another race are different from us... Whether that other race is 'better' or 'worse' is not possible for us to judge. For this would demand that we transcend our own racial limitations for the duration of the verdict and take on a superhuman, even divine, attitude from which alone an 'impersonal' verdict could be formed on the value or lack of such of the many living forms of inexhaustible Nature." (105)

Less than a year later, in 1939, he defined the official position of mature National Socialist race theory:

"A serious situation arose through the fact that other people and States, because of German race laws... felt themselves attacked and defamed ... For example the whole world of the Far East remained for a long time under the impression that the Germans... had designated them as non-Aryan, and as non-Aryans inferior rabble - (that the) Germans had designated (them) unworthy, second class humanity and that the Germans imagined themselves as the sole bearers of culture... What could we say to those who saw in German racism a fundamental defamation of men of other races? We could do nothing other than, with patience and conviction, repeat that German racism does not evaluate or deprecate other racial groups... It only recognizes, scientifically, that differences exist... We have often been disturbed by the indiscretion or even stupidity in our own land when, just after we had carefully made clear to some people or other that we respected and honoured... their racial qualities, some wild fool manufactured his own

ideas about race and declared that these same people were racially inferior and stood somewhere below the cow or the ass, and that their characteristics were degrading or impure and lord knows what else! By such idiotic assertions were repelled and offended not only alien peoples in distant parts of the world but even our own neighbours in Europe, many times even friends of National Socialist Germany bound to us historically and in destiny." (106)

Finally, late in the war, even under the gathering shadows of defeat, the Headquarters of the Reichsfuehrer SS published the work of Dr. Ludwig Eckstein. He carefully dissected the remains of the Nordicism purchased over a decade before at so high a cost, and concluded:

"While supporting our own race, and if necessary fighting against other races to protect its right to existence, we should not overlook the fact that almost all races display something in themselves that is sound and biologically resolved and therefore beautiful, natural and valuable... Each race carries first of all the measure of worth in itself. When once we understand this then we do not foster feelings of inferiority in others, a consequence that the hitherto existing race theories have too often achieved..." (107)

## VII

It was in this last phase that National Socialist race theory was cut off. Of this last phase all too little is known outside the immediate intellectual circle which fostered it.

Upon the cessation of hostilities the work of half a decade was scattered or destroyed - to leave only the tragic-comic image of the Nordicism of Guenther and his followers, to appear and reappear as the popular misconception of the National Socialist theory of history.

Actually the elements of a far more profound theory are to be discerned in the few surviving books that mark the last dynamic phase of development of a concept of race free of the encumbrances of a hysterical Nordicism. (108)

As early as 1933 the first elements are to be found in Merckenschlager (109) - later some appear in von Eickstedt, (110) and still later in Gross. (111)

In Italy the same tendencies revealed themselves in the Fascist Race Manifesto of 1938, and in the work of Maggiore (112) and Franzi. (113) Everywhere the talk was no longer of fixed and immutable races, (114) but of races in formation, the components for which arise out of the crucible of the past - races in formation cast over by the ideal of a living heritage - for Germany a Nordic Mythos, for Italy an animating devotion of Romanita. The talk is of races yet to be

fashioned by living an ideal, united by a common destiny, nurtured in a common environment, the political expression of which is Nationhood. (115)

Here are the germs of a world-view which makes of man a creator, a builder of future races; a philosophy which unites history, politics and race, eugenics and humanism, pride in self and respect for others, a philosophy scientifically sound and emotionally satisfying. This is the promise of a world-view as yet half-formulated and ill-expressed, with which our time must contend; the Weltanschauung which bears within itself the promise of Nietzsche's Good European.

### End Notes

1. Such books as Dahlberg, *Race, Reason and Rubbish*; Benedict, *Race and Racism, Race and Politics*; Ashley-Montague, *The Fallacy of Race: Man's Most Dangerous Myth*.
2. cf. Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (unabridged), New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1939, p. 392.
3. cf. Hankins, *The Racial Basis of Civilization*, p. 75 4. Rosenberg, *Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts*, p. 596.
5. Guenther's principal works (abbreviations for which shall hereafter be used) include *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes*, *Kleine Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes*, *Rassenkunde Europas* (the translation of which appeared under the title *Racial Elements of European History*), *Adel und Rasse*, *Rasse und Stil*, *Der Nordische Gedanke unter den Deutschen*.
6. Guenther, *REoEH*, p.3; *KRddV*, pp. 10 f, *RddV*, pp. 14 f.
7. *RddV*, chap. V, *KRddV*. Chap. 2 (A), *REoEH*, chap.2 (A).
8. cf. *REoEH*, III (A), *KRddV*, IV (A), *RddV*, chap. Xii.
9. "When we survey the fall in each case of the great empires and creative cultures from India to the West, this much is always clearly to be seen: that every 'fall' of a people of Indo-European speech is brought about through the drying up of the blood of the creative, the Nordic race." *REoEH*, p.198, cf. 184, 191, 199f., 212; "...every 'fall' of a people of Indo-German speech is determined by the drying up of the blood of the creative race, the Nordic race." *RddV*, p. 326, cf. p. 409.
10. *RddV*, p. 318 n., *REoEH*, p. 257 n.
11. "In the prehistory of Europe two races only have shown themselves to be truly creative, and these must be looked on as the true European Races: the Nordic and the Mediterranean..." *REoEH*, pp. 116 f., cf. *RddV*, pp. 299 f., 312 ff.
12. Weinlaender, *Rassenkunde, Rassenpaedagogik und Rassenpolitik*, Weissenburg, Orion, 1933.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 103.

15. Ibid., p. 14.
16. Hauser, *Der Blonde Mensch*, Danzig, Verlag der Mensch, 1930, p. 6.
17. "God wished to manifest himself in Nordic Man..." Weinlaender, *op. cit.*, p. 139.
18. Ibid., p. 104.
19. Ibid., pp 83. 143.
20. Ibid., p. 105.
21. Ibid., p. 106.
22. "Where, among the lower races, beautiful women are found, there has been an infusion of Nordic blood..." Ibid., p. 125. 23. "Longheadedness and tall stature among the Negro tribes, for example in Benin, is only the inheritance from those Nordic Vikings...who settled there and mixed with them." Ibid., p. 110.
24. Ibid., p. 133.
25. Ibid.
26. Staemmler, *Rassenpflege im voelkischen Staat*, Muenchen, Lehmanns, 1933, p. 6.
27. Baltzer, *Rasse und Kultur*, Weimar, Duncker, 1934, pp. 9 ff.
28. Rudolf, *Nationalsozialismus und Rasse*, Nationalsozialistische Bibliothek, Heft 31, 1934, p. 23.
29. Gerhart, *Kurzen Abriss der Rassenkunde*.
30. Baltzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 f.
31. Ibid., p. 144.
32. Ibid., p. 120.
33. Ibid., pp. 106 ff., cf. Weinlaender, p. 142.
34. cf. REoEH, p. 180, fig. 224 a. b.
35. cf. Baltzer. *Op. cit.*, p. 17, Hirsch, *Rasse und Kultur*, p. 164 RddV, p. 385.
36. For Nelson cf. Ellis. *A Study Of British Genius*, p. 290.
37. RddV., p. 217.
38. Baltzer, *op. cit.*, p. 264.
39. KRddV, p. 69.
40. RddV, p. 425 n. 2; Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 183 f.
41. KRddV, p. 69.
42. Hauser, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
43. cf. Coon, *Races of Europe*, plate 7 figure 1.
44. cf. Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 290.
45. For the cephalic indices of the proceeding cf. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 163.
46. REoEH, p. 188.
47. REoEH, p. 188
48. Woltmann, *Die Germanen und die Renaissance in Italien*, p. 107.; Hauser, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Baur, Fischer, Lenz, *Human Heredity*, p. 692.
49. Hauser, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
50. Woltmann, *Die Germanen in Frankreich*, p. 104.
51. Ibid.
52. Rauser, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
53. Ibid.,

54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid
57. Ellis, op. cit., p. 56.
60. Ibid.
61. Weinlaender, op. cit., p. 291, fig. 182.
62. Ibid., p. 292.
63. cf. Coon, op. cit., p. 194.
64. REoEH, p. 23, RddV, p. 68.
65. REoEH, p. 11.
66. Ibid., p. 12.
67. Ibid., p. 11.
68. Ibid., p. 157.
69. Sergi, Origine diffusione delle stirpe mediterranea., p. 22; The Mediterranean Race, p. 20; Winkelmann, Geschichte der Kunst, i, bk. i, p. 33.
70. REoEH, p. 132.
71. Ibid., p. 129.
72. Ibid., p. 177.
73. Baur, Fischer, Lenz, op. cit., p. 638. 74. "...immer wieder ihresgleichen hervorbringen." RddV. p. 9.
75. cf. RddV. p. 194, n. 2.
76. Clauss, Rasse und Charackter, Frankfurt am Main, Diesterweg, 1938, p. 12.
77. Baur, Fischer, Lenz. op. cit., p. 692.
78. cf. Franzi, Fase attuale del razzismo tedesco, Istituto Nazionale di Cultura Fascista, Roma. 1939, p. 41; Cogni, Il Razismo, Milano, Bocca, 1937, pp. 240 f.
79. cf. Rosenberg. op. cit., pp. 287, 596.
80. cf. von Leers, Rassische Geschichtsbetrachtung: was muss der Lehrer davon wissen? Berlin, Beltz, 1941, p.13. 81. cf. Ruldof, op. cit., vorwort; Rosten , Das ABC des Nationalsozialismus, chap. xvi.
82. KRddV , pp. 9 f., REoEH, pp. 1 f., Weinlaender, op. cit., p. 143.
83. R.oEH, pp. 88 ff, RddV, pp. 13 ff, 23 f; Ruldolf, op. cit., chap. iii; Rosten, op. cit., p. 232; Stengel-von Rutkowsjki, Grundzuege der Erbkunde und Rassenpflege, p. 57; Jess, Rassenkunde und Rassenpflege, pp. 79 ff.
84. cf. REoEH, p. 89; Stengel-von Rutkowsjki, op. cit., p. 57.
85. cf. Rudolf, op. cit., p. 13.
86. Stengel-von Rutkowsjki, op. cit., p. 43.
87. cf. Sergi, Origine, pp. 18 f; Lissauer, Crania Prussica, Zeitschrift fuer Ethnologie X, Virchow, Alte Berliner Schaedel, Schaedel von Neuestaedter Felde, Ibid., XII; cf. Weidenreich, Apes, Giants and Man, pp. 102 ff
- . 88. cf. Dahlberg, op. cit., pp 207 f. This criticism was accepted by the National Socialists as valid; cf. Weinert, Biologische Grundlagen fuer Rassenkunde und Rassenhygiene, Stuttgart, Enke, 1943, pp. 166 f.

89. REoEH, p. 204.
90. DNGudD, p. 75.
91. RddV, p. 15.
92. cf. Franzi, op. cit., pp. 44 f.
93. Weinert, op. cit., p. 166.
94. cf. Baynes, Hitler Speaks, 1922-39, I, p. 469 "...nicht nur von der Rasse auf die Faehigkeiten schliessen, sondern von der Faehigkeit auch auf die Rasse." cf. Jess, op. cit., p. 46. "The decisive problem which alone remained was thus: What was the method by which one was to find these men who as successors of the former creators of the body of our people and therefore as their heirs could today maintain their work? Here there was but one possibility: one could not from the race infer the capacity but one had to infer from the capacity the racial fitness for the task." Hitler in Baynes, I, p. 476, cf. II, p. 990.
95. Thieme, Vererbung, Rasse, Volk, Leipzig, Teubner, 1953 p. 41.
96. Eichenauer, Die Rasse als Lebensgesetz in Geschichte und Gesittung, Leipzig, Teubner, 1934, p. 136.
97. Ibid., p. 27.
98. as cited Eichen, Rassenwahn, Briefe ueber die Rassenfrage, Paris, Carrefour, 1936, p. 8.
99. Thieme, op. cit., pp. 38 f.
100. Ibid., p. 43.
101. Eichenauer, op. cit., p. 27.
102. Ibid., p. 20; cf. Clauss, op. cit., I, chap. 1.
103. Ibid., p. 65.
104. Ibid.
105. Gross, Der deutsche Rassengedanke und die Welt, 1939, pp. 24-28.
106. The original text did not offer note 106. This error was regrettable.
107. SS Obersturmbannfuehrer Eckstein, Rassenleib und Rassenseele, Zur Grundlegung der Rassenseelenkunde, p. 71.
108. "Race is destiny. A destiny so terrible, so compelling, so immutable that it marks one man a criminal and makes the other a genius. Neither of these men are responsible for what they are. There is no free will in the sense that I can alter or form my character as I will. My character, my essence is there. It is unchangeable; it is given to me as a destiny. I do not control my character, my character controls me..." Staemmler, op. cit., p. 10.
109. Merckenschlager, Rassensonderung, Rassenmischung, Rassenwandlung, Berlin, Hoffman, 1933.
110. von Eickstedt, Die rassischen Grundlagen des deutschen Volkes, Koeln, Schaffstein, 1934.
111. Gross, Rasse, Weltanschauung, Wissenschaft, Berlin, Junker und Duennhaupt, 1935, Der deutsche Rassengedanke und die Welt, Berlin, Junker und Duennhaupt, 1939.
112. Maggiore, Razza e Fascismo, Rome, 1939.
113. Franzi, op. cit.
114. "Race stasis (Rassenstatik), has become in the course of the last ten years even more lifeless...What now announces itself is a race dynamic." Merckenschlager, op. cit., p. 7.
115. "...races provide the original fundamentals of our essence and our expressions; it determines the physical and psychical collective expression of our people; but our Folk is a new

biological unity whose members are joined together in the portentous bands of a community of blood in a common homeland. Within a Folk the profound biological laws of human evolution, heredity and selection, adaption and genetic drift, realize themselves. Race is therefore a result, Folk is a commencement in the biological evolution of human groups..." von Eickstedt, op. cit., p. 12.

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# **Integral Nationalism:**

## **The Reborn Spirit of the Australian People**

**Brian Knight**  
**1995**

### **SECTION ONE**

#### **AUSTRALIAN NATIONALISTS ARE RESOLVED THAT OUR NATION SHALL LIVE**

Nationalists need to fully understand the fact that the Australian People are facing their national death. In revolutionary politics [and the proposition of Australian Nationalism is no bourgeois day-dream] there are no certainties. If any Nationalist desired certainty as the psychic force within his consciousness, we would advise a speedy conversion to some species of religious-political fundamentalism. Neither the existence of the Nation nor our political success are guaranteed through some law of "historical inevitability". Oswald Spengler, the historical-philosopher of an earlier epoch, maintained that "men" can only do that which history calls upon them to do; that they must, therefore, surrender to facts and base action upon realities and not sentimentalities.

Following on from such a rigid logic, we should then recognise the fact that our Nation is in the process of disintegration:

[1] The Australian Identity has been submerged by Americanisation, and Multiculturalism. The process of Asianisation will obliterate this identity - finally, and irrevocably.

[2] Australian Independence, compromised once by Empire, was never realised and the Nation passed like a worn-out whore from master to master - from British Empire to American

capitalism, to the Pacific Rim Economic Order promoted by a "developing" Asia.

[3] The Australian People, compelled into a suburban-consumer ethos by the process of 1950s capitalism, were denied by process the formative will to achieve the conquest of identity and independence.

[4] The Australian Crisis is universal throughout the nation's social order. The decline of the family, the under-replacement birth rate, the demise of personal standards and values, the drug problem, youth suicide, youth unemployment, and the degradation of our environment may all be singular problems, but taken together each presents an element of a terminal decline for the Nation.

These symbols of crisis for the Nation are facts for us, and facts which must be faced squarely.

Equally it is a fact for each of us to internalise that we Australian Nationalists carry the National Idea inside us and through our struggle affirm its will to exist. Upon us is placed an enormous weight; because there is no certainty that the Australian People and National Idea will live out the 21st century, we are therefore obliged to dedicate and rededicate ourselves to the political struggle. We proclaim not that Australia will be but that it must be. If it is the case that the Australian future is expunged from history it shall not be because we did not hear the call to sacrifice and mobilise into action. For Australia we fight; we cannot afford to lose.

## **SECTION TWO**

### **THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF INTEGRAL NATIONALISM**

Australian Nationalism is not a civic patriotism, not an old soldiers' patriotism, and definitely not a class-based conservative nostalgia (1). The academics would say our Nationalism is an integral concept. Essentially, a number of elements are fused or syncretised together, each cannot be understood without the other. In union the "total" is greater than the sum of its parts ie., an integral-nationalism is itself a political concept and not simply a term applied to a grab-bag of ideas thrown together in arbitrary arrangement.

Its basis may be given as:

[1] A Nation Is An idea.

A people can exist outside a High Culture (2), but a Nation cannot. A High Culture can create many Nations, as the European Culture most certainly has. Each Nation carries some aspects of that Culture Idea and expresses it uniquely: hence, for example, we may speak of German, Spanish, Italian, English, and French Nations.

Australian Nationalists assert that Australia is also a Nation regardless of our previously

derivative and colonial status. The Australia Nation by its actions, creations, and expressions carries an Idea. A Nation is a people carrying a Cultural Idea as an aspect of that single Idea of a High Culture. The Idea is the motivational spirit in all aspects of the National life.

## [2] A Nation Is A Destiny

The Nation is a Destiny and all citizens of this Nation are born into it (3). The Nation as an organic reality has a claim upon each person encompassed by it. The Nation is not as liberals would have it - a simple collection of "individuals" united only by loyalty to a market and a banking system. Rather, the Nation is a psychic reality which imposes itself upon "individuals" whether they will it or otherwise. The individual is a unit of the Nation: the Nation is a Destiny because it lives, and consequently the individual contributes to it and has no philosophical and cultural significance separated from it.

## [3] A Nation May Fall Prey To Decadence

Because a Nation is a Destiny, a living entity, it may fall "sick": it may be assailed in various ways, weakened, "diseased". In other words, a Nation may become a victim of decadence. The Nation struggles continually to avoid life- crisis. Decadence is expressed culturally and "psychologically": the art forms of a Nation may become confused, abstract, grotesque; its population may live private lives, economic lives, and eschew any pretence of civic or political pride; a Nation may lose its ability to affirm its identity or independence.

Nationalism therefore becomes the force which animates the people, compels it to express the National Idea. It is the VITALISTIC PRINCIPLE, that which affirms life for the Nation, the power which guarantees and regenerates it.

## [4] A National Destiny Is The Property Of The Whole People

The Nation cannot be defined only by, or through, its cultural or political elites.

The Nation exists in the flesh of every member of the National community.

Each member of the Nation contributes in some way, from the beautiful to the banal, to the life of the Nation. In that sense alone, the real equality of human beings exists. Since each contributes, each is entitled to the respect born of intellectual or physical labour.

## [5] A Nation Is A Natural Unit Of Existence

The collapse of the Marxist myth over the last decade has left internationalist liberal capitalism as the dominant "world" ideology. To globalise markets, capitalism must break down Nations into formless masses.

A "market place" does not require cultural ideas or inconvenient identities. It requires only

consumers.

The Australian Nation, already suffering the ravages of suburbanised consumer- capitalism was ripe for the final leap into an "Asian Destiny", a PACRIM economic order.

The Natural Order, however, is a world of Nations, of Peoples true to their Identities. The world of IMPERIALISM, EXPLOITATION, DIVISION OF LABOUR, and FREE MARKETS has been under constantly energetic criticism and rebellion in many parts of the globe; it is the "Nationalist" forces in European societies which struggle for this undeniable right to cultural self-determination while Islamicists, Africanists, and others affirm this idea amongst their own. Nationalism has become the great revolutionary ideal of the epoch, virulently assertive right at the very moment liberal-internationalism crows that history is about to end in a global village, the market millennium.

As people fight that which is destructive of cultural-spiritual life, they grasp for natural structures.

The Nation is a natural structure of race, people, destiny, virility, union, and freedom. Nationalism is hence the creed of any People seeking its preservation as an Identity. Nationalism reaches back behind the epoch of international capitalism, and also goes beyond it towards a different millennium: The era of diversity and integrity.

#### [6] National Regeneration Overcomes Individual Alienation

In an order which alienates the individual from his cultural-identity, the worker from his labour, each citizen from every other citizen, the farmer from his land, and pits the "enterprise" ant-heap at war with itself, we may speak of ALIENATION as the characteristic problem of the society.

The cause of National Regeneration promises not merely the VITALITY of the Nation but the "reformation" of the individual; atomised man may yield to social man, co-operative man, integrated man. National Regeneration implies the revitalization of "collective" and "individual" into a higher unity: the alienation of man in liberal-capitalist society shall be overcome, not by a class or economic revolution, but through a reaffirmation of the unity of a natural existence lived in a natural unit - the Nation.

## **SECTION THREE**

### **PARTICULAR CHARACTERISTICS OF AUSTRALIAN NATIONALISM**

The notion of an integral-nationalism as demonstrated establishes for us the essential core component of our political ideology (4); each Nation, however, is possessed of peculiar

historical circumstances which demand of it a particular response. Contemporary Australian Nationalism has peculiar traits of its own:

[1] As a nation born of a prior colonial status, Australia belongs very much to the 20th century rather than to the 19th. The idea of Nationalism emerged in Europe in the 19th Century as Nations emerged out of the dynastic era. Modern Australian Nationalism is able to find forms true to the achievement of National Identity and Independence in the post-industrial epoch, in the era of the crisis of European Civilisation and of the "decline" of Europe as a power-centre.

[2] True Australian Nationalism has no imperialistic ambition (5) and indeed could never have formed, nor could ever form, such an appetite. Australian Nationalism is the organised expression of an Identity formed by Europeans on an Island- Continent in the South West Pacific area adjacent to Asia. This Nationalism is defensive of that identity; it asks nothing more and nothing less, than the right to identity and independence, such as is already assumed by Australia's neighbours.

[3] Australian Nationalism would adopt a Co-Nationalist [ie. co-operative Nationalist] attitude towards the genuine struggles of any people towards Identity and Independence against the totalitarian structures of modern global capitalism. Islamic Nationalists, Separatist Nationalisms, African Nationalisms, and others, are not to be necessarily deprecated because they may affect "anti- Western" rhetoric, but understood as the counter struggle to the global market nightmare and solidarised with where the purpose is served.

[4] Australian Nationalism has a republican-nativist form for the historical reasons and purposes expressed as the base principles of an integral-nationalism; however, some of its forms arise from the peculiarities of Australia's formerly colonial status. Those unresolved historical problems, derived from the "British connection", will be solved by the modern movement.

[5] Australian culture is part of European Culture [a general expression and a particular expression] just as the Australian Nationality was born of [and now carried by] various European "stocks". Australian Nationalism hence recognises the essential connection with other forms of European Nationalism. It does not, however, place any form of "race-nationalism" ahead of nativist Nationalism but proclaims each an aspect of the other.

Just as "the Greenies" maintain "think globally, act locally"; so Australian Nationalists, aware as they are of a general crisis of European culture, act in their immediate backyard. They may solidarise with other European Nationalists [and one day assist - or even receive assistance from - other parties of the European Renaissance] but ACT UPON A REAL TERRAIN, the native soil of our Nation. Australian Nationalism, true to the character of the Australian People, will not lose itself in abstract notions or vague political constructs but apply itself to its immediate task: the achievement of the Australian National State through National Revolution.

## **SECTION FOUR**

# **INTEGRAL NATIONALISM AND THE NATIONAL STATE**

A Nationalism is nothing unless it secures State Power; once it has possession of State Power, it is obliged to forge a NATIONAL STATE. Integral-Nationalism would create not a machine like the current Australian State machine [which is an instrument of class rule driven increasingly to repressive methodology] but an expression of the organic-nation.

The National State must be the brain of the national organism, its command centre. The National State has as its objective the protection of the Nation from its external enemies and internal disintegration. The new State would be the means to harmonise the relations amongst all sections of the Nation and the instrument for the expression of this mobilised will. Such a State is limited by the very organic nature of its construction; it is not a totalitarian State but a State which actualises freedom in the only valid way it can be understood. This State causes the Nations's constituent elements (the Family, the trades and professions, the municipality, the cultural-class, etc.) to be "elevated" into aspects of the State inseparable from the concept of "power". The constituent elements exercise power, make policy and receive policy in an overall and mutually advantageous unity. A National State arises from a National Revolution. Obviously in the climate under which the construction of such a State would begin, the new State would exist as an act of revolutionary will. It would be compelled to clear away the refuse of a liberal bourgeois consumer order, clear away the oppressive and suppressive environment of this system so as to permit the natural order to emerge from the sick system of the modern society. During this intermediate period the State would be an instrument of the national revolutionary movement and those sections of the population moved into the dynamic process of national rebirth. The more rapidly the cleansing-rebirth phase of the struggle is completed, the sooner we may witness the integrated National State. This State would oversee the creation of new social structures and political institutions, natural forms of the expression of national life and reinvigorate other structures (eg. The Family); it is expected, and would be a certainty, that the Nation, freed of the anti-life liberal political machine, would breathe life into the new form of the State.

## **SECTION FIVE**

### **A NEW AUSTRALIAN; A NEW MAN**

The Australian National Idea rests upon a European racial and cultural basis but of a nativist expression. Similarly the Australian "type" must be defined. Can a "new man" arise beneath Southern skies? Integral-Nationalism is not a materialist but a spiritual concept.

It should be recognised that the National Idea itself is primary, and commands the Identity - and hence the allegiance. The Australian of the 21st century, will not necessarily be a person of stocks fused together (6); the National Idea may be held aloft by an Australian of "undiluted"

Irish or English or Russian stock, or by an Australian of "mixed" Swedish-Italian-Irish ancestry or Greco-French, etc. Modern Nationalists have rejected the reductionists of "Anglo-Saxon", "Anglo-Celtic", Nordicist, and even amalgamationist persuasions; if the base is not at issue, if the development of Australian Culture is not under challenge, then the Identity is never in doubt. And this Identity?

The experience in Nation-building is more than "Racial-Cultural" - it is profoundly SPIRITUAL. Overcoming the atomisation of the capitalist society allows the "return" of the subsumed type, no longer the "citizen" of our bourgeois order, but the archetype of 19th century Australia. That Australian character which formed in Australia's cultural springtime [1860-1900] still belongs to us and slumbers within us. The Australian of SELF RELIANCE, OF SELF DISCIPLINE, OF CO-OPERATIVE DISPOSITION YET INDIVIDUALLY CRAFTED, OF SACRIFICE, is more than a "model"; this Australian opened the outback, built the cities, created the labour union, fought at ANZAC cove, rescued the Nation at Kokoda, and created a style of living and thinking. This "type" is culturally-psychologically unique amongst Europeans; he may be frustrating to some, shallow to others. But this type was the Australian - and on a new level, and in another century, would be us again. It is this SPIRITUAL HARDNESS, DETACHMENT, AND CYNICAL HUMOUR which has maintained the Nation just as it formed it. We would place it in command of the Nation.

The "NEW MAN" of our continent Nation is today but a dream; the men and women of tomorrow may look at our suburbanised, consumerist, exploitive monstrosity and ask of themselves how the promise of Australia could have been lost - and why it was necessary to launch the National Revolution. To them, the old order would be incomprehensible. To us, it is our nightmare.

## **SECTION SIX**

### **GLOBAL CRISIS: AUSTRALIAN REDEMPTION AND RENEWAL**

Some years ago, in the wake of the collapse of the so-called "Eastern Bloc", some liberal pundits were predicting a sort of "end of history". Triumphant capitalism would supposedly engender a better world. Whatever it may be that liberal ideologues imagined the future would bring, Australian Nationalists see beyond the immediate.

In the 1970s it was certain "futuurologists" who warned of a global food- population crisis; the theory has been buttressed by innumerable environmentalists who have warned of the universal degradation of soils, waterways, and vegetated areas. Population increase is still occurring in our "Near North" - in Asia. In fact, the reaction of the multiracialists and multiculturalists has been to admit to the phenomena and base Australia's submergence into Asia upon that basis; to quote Donald Horne and others, it is something to be done peacefully while the option is

available.

It is no option; it is the genocide of the Australian Nationality.

The crisis will not be allayed by the immigration policies and economic enmeshment policies of the present System. Sooner or later The Yellow Peril, vehemently opposed by Australians in the 1850s-1880s (and beyond), has once again become a threat. And not just for Australia. The militarist-capitalist elite of Asia cannot be trusted not to tread the path of territorial acquisition.

Similarly the crisis of food and population operates globally to effect every European society. We stand before the opening of an era of population shift by peoples who cannot attain a national future within natural boundaries.

We live therefore, not in an era of capitalist nirvana but in the opening phase of a global struggle of peoples for resources and living space; this is not to say all Third World peoples are tomorrows imperialists. But some will be. Some could be the peaceful invaders of others' space and some the victims of other members of the Poor of The Earth. It is the politics of global capitalism that exacerbates and "catastrophizes" this underlying life-crisis, which brings on the explosion. Hence, we are privileged to live in a period where old liberal values will be threatened and then crushed by historical forces.

Once we admit that a policy of Australian survival is a worthy principle, we have a further choice. Shall we struggle for survival without MOBILISATION of the national will? It is our faith that to counsel the worth and future of the Australian National Identity is to urge a NATIONALISM that will become the weapon of that Identity. Such a Nationalism can be only an INTEGRAL-NATIONALISM. It must remould People and State.

The crisis of the first decades of the 21st century is firstly a crisis for European Civilisation; it is also a crisis of AUSTRALIAN IDENTITY. It is only in such ALL-EMBRACING THREATS to the very survival of a RACE and a NATIONALITY that a nation's will, ethos, and culture are RENEWED.

The RENEWAL OF AUSTRALIA is the revolutionary task of the new Nationalism (7).

## ENDNOTES

(1) This does not imply any lack of respect on our part for the ANZAC tradition. We see the essence of ANZAC: The fighting spirit.

(2) High culture - a term applied to commanding civilisation eg. Rome, China, Europe as

opposed to the "cultures" of Papua New Guinea, Bali, Zimbabwe, or barbarian Europe (which may have an "identity", but which are not actual nations).

(3) Australia's identity allows persons of the European Race to adopt its identity and merge into it.

(4) Around the integral-nationalist core may be grouped various ideological principles, historical philosophy, constructive environmentalism, psychological or economic arguments, etc. if they be in harmony with the core-idea and tend towards successful political realisation and otherwise express a truth for a new society.

(5) Here, we differentiate between Nationalist movements, and those organisations who claim to be Nationalist - but who actually encompass imperialism within their ideology.

(6) The "Old Australian" was largely such an amalgam; however, post-1945 immigration has taken place of large numbers of Europeans. Physical amalgamation has been slow to occur. Amalgamation must be spiritual.

(7) Australian Nationalism is no racism or chauvinism; it is not a creed of repression and State terror.

Australian Nationalism admits to ANY their right to that which we claim for ourselves: IDENTITY, INDEPENDENCE, FREEDOM. We will stand with men of any Race or Nation who reject globalism and who decline to enter the war of "Haves and Have Nots", who see in Nationalism a solution to global crisis and enforced internationalism.

Australian Nationalism is for the Australian People the faith of National Liberation. It is the mobilised faith of our People to be masters of their Continent Nation, a people with a continuity flowing from the past, through our era, and to the future. It is the will to create a New Social Order on the ruins of the old liberal order.

In the new century, the Australian People will call forth a new Nationalism. This Integral-Nationalism is our weapon in the revolutionary war before us.

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# Nietzsche And Ethical Socialism For The New Millennium

**Alec Saunders**

*Author's Note (December 2002): A pamphlet with a similar title, was published in 1986. The present Internet pamphlet is based upon that earlier document, but with additions and editing. It has been modified also with a view to eliminating a few factual mistakes or over-accentuation of particular details. The reader may note that some minor editing to this pamphlet may occur over time..*

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"And here I see the mission of the youth that forms the first generation of fighters and dragon slayers; it will bring a more beautiful and blessed humanity and culture, but will have itself no more than a glimpse of the promised land of happiness and wondrous beauty. This youth will suffer both from a malady and its antidotes; and yet it believes in strength and health and boasts a nature closer to the great Nature than its forebears, the cultured men and graybeards of the present."

Nietzsche.

"In me the Christianity of my forebears reaches its logical conclusion. In me the stern intellectual conscience that Christianity fosters and makes paramount turns against Christianity. In me Christianity ... devours itself.

" Nietzsche.

"The new individualism, for whose service Socialism, whether it wills it or not, is working, will be perfect harmony. It will be what the Greeks sought for, but could not, except in thought, realise completely because they had slaves, and fed them; it will be what the Renaissance sought for, but could not realise completely except in art, because they had slaves, and starved them. It will be complete, and through it each man will attain to his perfection. The new individualism is the new Hellenism"

Oscar Wilde.

"He who desires peace, should prepare for war"

Vegetius.

"God save me from the Marxists."

Karl Marx.

"Speak and live as you would shoot your arrow – STRAIGHT and TRUE."

An old Zoroastrian aphorism favoured by Mithraist Roman Legionaires.

Thesis - Antithesis - Synthesis

Hegel

## THE RELEVANCE OF FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE TO ETHICAL SOCIALISM

"Ethical-socialism is neither more nor less than the sentiment of action-at-a-distance, the moral pathos of the third dimension; and the root feeling of Care-care for those who are with us, and for those who are to follow."

OSWALD SPENGLER, *THE DECLINE OF THE WEST*, p.178, of the abridged edition, Helmut Werner, ( translation by C.F. Atkinson and re-prepared by Arthur Helps), The Modern Library, New York.)

"If we allow that Socialism (in the ethical, not the economic, sense) is the world-feeling which seeks to carry out its own views on behalf of all, then we are without exception, willingly or no, wittingly or no, Socialists. Even Nietzsche, that most passionate opponent of the 'herd morale', was perfectly incapable of limiting his zeal to himself in the Classical way. He thought only of 'mankind', and he attacked everyone who differed from himself. Epicurus, on the contrary, was heartily indifferent to others' opinions and acts. But Nietzschean Zarathustra – though professedly standing beyond good and evil – breathes from end to end the pain of seeing men to be other than as he would have them be, and the deep and utterly un-Classical desire to devote a life to their reformation – his own sense of the word, naturally, being the only one. It is just this, the general transvaluation, that makes ethical monotheism and – using the word in a novel and deep sense – socialism. All world improvers are Socialists."

(OSWALD SPENGLER, pp. 176-177).

By virtue of Nietzsche's hostility to mob values (in Nietzsche's Vedantist terminology i.e. Chandala morality), he has been accused by some Marxoids of being a reactionary, and many degenerate laissez-faire economic-elitists, such as Ayn Rand, have hailed him as one of their own. Both of these views are completely incorrect, as will be demonstrated by reference to Nietzsche's writings.

"For what drove me to the poorest, O Zarathustra? Was it not disgust with our richest? – disgust with those punished by riches, who glean advantage from all kinds of sweepings, with cold eyes, rank thoughts, disgust with this rabble that stinks to heaven, disgust with this guilded, debased

mob whose fathers were pick-pockets or carrion-birds or ragmen with compliant, lustful forgetful wives – for they are all of them not far from whores – mob above and mob below! What are the ‘poor’ and ‘rich’ today! I unlearned this distinction – then I fled away, far away and even farther, until I came to these cows."

(FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE, *THUS SPOKE ZARATHUSTRA*, Penguin Classics (translation by R.J. Hollingdale), p. 228)

" 'Good manners?' replied the other king indignantly and bitterly. 'What is it we are avoiding then? Is it not good manners? Our good company? – Truly, better to live amongst hermits and goat herds than with our gilded, false, painted rabble – although it calls itself 'nobility'. But there everything is false and rotten, most of all the blood, thanks to old evil diseases and worse quacks. – I think the finest and dearest man today is a healthy peasant, uncouth, cunning, obstinate, enduring: that is the noblest type today. – The peasant is the finest man today; and the peasantry should be master. But ours is the kingdom of the rabble – I no longer let myself be taken in. Rabble, however means: hotchpotch. – Rabble-hotchpotch: in that everything is mixed up with everything else, saint and scoundrel and gentlemen and Jew, with every beast out of Noah's Ark. – Good manners! Everything is false and rotten with us. Nobody knows how to be respectful any more: it is from precisely this that we are running away. They are honey-mouthed, importunate dogs, they gild palm-leaves. – It is this disgust that chokes me, that we kings ourselves have become false, arrayed and disguised in the old, yellowed pomp of our grandfathers, showpieces for the stupidest and the craftiest and whoever today traffics with power! – We are not the first of them – yet we have to pretend to be: we have at last become tired and disgusted with this deception. – Now we are avoiding the mob, all these ranters and scribbling-bluebottles, the stench of shopkeepers, the struggles of ambition, the foul breath: faugh, to live among the mob, faugh, to pretend to be the first among the mob! Disgust! Disgust! Disgust! What do we kings matter any more!'"

(F.NIETZSCHE, pp. 258-259).

"But whoever wants to eat with us must also lend a hand, even the kings. For with Zarathustra even a king may be a cook."

(F. NIETZSCHE, p. 295).

"My pity for all that is past is that I see: it has been handed over – handed over to the favour, the spirit, the madness of every generation that comes and transforms everything that has been its own bridge. – A great despot could come, a shrewd devil, who with his favour and disfavour could compel and constrain all that is past, until it became his bridge and prognostic and herald and cock-crow. – This, however, is the other danger and my other pity: he who is of the mob remembers back to his grandfather – with his grandfather, however, time stops. Thus all that is past is handed over: for the mob could one day be master, and all time be drowned in shallow

waters. Therefore, O my brothers, is a NEW NOBILITY needed: to oppose all mob-rule and all despotism and to write anew upon new law-tables, the word: 'Noble'. For many noblemen are needed, and noblemen of many kinds, for nobility to exist! Or, as I once said in a parable: 'Precisely this is godliness, that there are gods but no God!'"

"O my brothers, I direct and consecrate you to a new nobility: you shall become begetters and cultivators and sowers of the future – truly not a nobility that you could buy like shop-keepers with shop-keepers' gold: for all that has a price is of little value. Let where you are going, not where you come from, henceforth be your honour! Your will and your foot that desires to step out beyond you – let them be your honour!"

"Truly, not that you have served a prince – of what account are princes now – or have become a bulwark to that which stands, that it may stand more firmly! Not that your family have grown courtly at courts and you have learned to stand for long hours in shallow pools, motley-coloured like a flamingo: for being able to stand is a merit with courtiers; and all courtiers believe that part of the bliss after death is – BEING ALLOWED to sit! And not that a ghost, called holy, led your ancestors into promised lands, that I do not praise: for in the land where the worst of all trees, the Cross, grew – there is nothing to praise! – and truly, wherever this 'Holy Ghost' led its knights, goats and geese and cross-eyed and wrong-headed fellows always – ran at the head of the procession!"

"O my brothers, your nobility shall not gaze backward, but outward! You shall be fugitives from all fatherlands and fore-fatherlands! You shall love your children's land: let this love be your new nobility – the undiscovered land in the furthest sea! I bid your sails seek it and seek it! – You shall make amends to your children for being the children of your fathers: Thus you shall redeem all that is past! This new law-table do I put over you!"

(F. NIETZSCHE, pp. 220-221).

"Truly, I divine you well, my disciples, you aspire to the bestowing virtue, as I do. What could you have in common with cats and wolves? – You thirst to become sacrifices and gifts yourselves; and that is why you thirst to heap up all riches in your soul. – Your soul aspires insatiably after treasures and jewels, because your virtue is insatiable in wanting to give. You compel all things to come to you and into you, that they may flow back from your fountain as gifts of your love. Truly, such a bestowing love must become a thief of all values; but I call this selfishness healthy and holy. There is another selfishness, an-all-too-poor (my note: i.e. poor in the psychological sense) that always wants to steal, that selfishness of the sick, the sick selfishness."

"Sickness speaks from such craving, and hidden degeneration; the thieving greed of this longing speaks of a sick body. Tell me, my brothers: what do we account bad and the worst of all? Is it not degeneration? And we always suspect degeneration where the bestowing soul is lacking."

"Our way is upward, from the species across to the superspecies. But the degenerate mind which says 'ALL FOR ME', is a horror to us."

(F. NIETZSCHE, p. 100)

"And behold, on his way he came unawares to the gate of the great city; here however, a frothing fool with hands outstretched sprang at him and blocked his path. But this was the fool people called 'Zarathustra's ape'; for he had learned from him something of the composition and syntax of language and perhaps also liked to borrow from his store of wisdom. The fool, however, spoke thus to Zarathustra: 'O Zarathustra, here is the great city; here you have nothing to seek and everything to lose. Why do you want to wade through this mud? Take pity on your feet! Rather spit upon the gate and turn back! Here is the Hell for hermits' thoughts: here great thoughts are boiled alive and cooked small. Here all great emotions decay: here only little, dry emotions may rattle!'"

" 'Do you not smell already the slaughter-houses and cook-shops of the spirit? Does this city not reek of the fumes of slaughtered spirit? Do you not see the souls hanging like dirty, limp rags? And they also make newspapers from these rags! Have you not herd how the spirit has become a play with words? It vomits out repulsive swill. They pursue one another and do not know where. They inflame one another, and do not know why. They rattle their tins, they jingle their gold.'"

" 'They are cold and seek warmth in distilled waters; they are inflamed and seek coolness in frozen spirits; they are ill and diseased with public opinion. All lusts and vices are at home here; but there are virtuous people here, too, there are many adroit, useful virtues: many adroit virtues with scribbling fingers and behinds hardened to sitting and waiting, blessed with little chest decorations and padded, rumpless daughters. There is also much piety here and much devout spittle-licking and fawning before the God of Hosts. Down 'from on high' drips the star and the gracious spittle; every starless breast longs to go up on 'high'".

" 'The moon has its court, and the court has its mooncalves: to all that comes from the court, however, do the paupers and all the adroit pauper-virtues pray. 'I serve, you serve, we serve' – thus all adroit virtue pray to the prince: so that the merited star may at last be fastened to the narrow breast. But the moon still revolves around all that is earthly: so the prince too, still revolves around what is most earthly of all: that, however, is the shopkeepers' gold. The God of Hosts is not the god of the golden ingots; the prince proposes, but the shopkeeper – disposes!'"

" 'By all that is luminous and strong and good in you, O Zarathustra! Spit upon this city of shopkeepers and turn back! Here all blood flows foul and tepid and frothy through all veins: spit upon the great city that is the great rubbish pile where all the scum froths together! Spit upon the city of flattened souls and narrow breasts, of slant eyes and sticky fingers – upon the city of importunate, the shameless, the ranters in writing and speech, the overheated ambitious: where

everything rotten, disreputable, lustful, gloomy, overripe, ulcerous, conspiratorial festers together – spit upon the city and turn back!”

"But here Zarathustra interrupted the frothing fool and stopped his mouth. ‘Have done!’ (cried Zarathustra). ‘Your speech and your kind have long disgusted me! Why do you live so long in the swamp that you had to become a frog and toad yourself? Does not foul, foaming swamp-blood now flow through your own veins, so that you have learned to quack and rail like this? Why did you not go into the forest? Or plough the earth? Is the sea not full of green islands?’"

" ‘I despise your contempt; and since you warned me, why did you not warn yourself? My contempt and my bird of warning shall ascend from LOVE ALONE; not from the swamp! They call you my ape, you frothing fool: but I call you my grunting pig – by grunting you are undoing even my praise of folly. What, then, was it that started you grunting? That nobody had flattered you enough: therefore you sat beside this filth, so that you might have cause for much grunting – so that you might have cause for much revenge! For all your frothing, you vain fool, is revenge; I have divined you well!’"

" ‘But your foolish teaching is harmful to me, even when you are right! And if Zarathustra’s teaching were a hundred times justified, YOU would still – USE my teaching falsely!’ Thus spoke Zarathustra; and he looked at the great city, sighed and was long silent. At length he spoke thus: ‘This great city, and not only this fool, disgusts me. In both there is nothing to make better, nothing to make worse. Woe to this great city! And I wish I could see already the pillar of fire in which it will be consumed! For such pillars of fire must precede the great noontide. Yet this has its time and its own destiny. But I offer you in farewell this precept, you fool: where one can no longer love, one should – PASS BY.’"

(F. NIETZSCHE, pp. 195-198).

"Watch and listen, you solitaries! From the future come winds with a stealthy flapping of wings; and good tidings go out to delicate ears. You solitaries of today, you have seceded from society, you shall one day be a people: from you, who have chosen out yourselves, shall a chosen people (my note: not to be confused with the "Chosen People", chauvinistic psychology of Talmudic Zionism, as according to Nietzschean philosophy, such a psychology is incompatible with mental hygiene) spring – and from this chosen people, the superman!"

"Truly, the earth shall yet become a house of healing! And already a new odour floats about it, an odour that brings health – and a new hope!"

(F. NIETZSCHE, pp. 102-103).

As a sample of Nietzschean philosophy, the cited extracts are more than decisive in establishing that he certainly was not a reactionary. A reactionary is one who desires to return to some

previous Golden Age. Nietzsche who had a natural respect for the past believed that it would serve as a measure by which the future could be anticipated - his Golden Age is the New Dawn which will follow the great noontide of our Western Judaeo-Christian civilization. Neither was Nietzsche a conservative – he believed that all which was withered and devoid of objective organic vitality, should be toppled so as to permit new nascent life to replace it. Thus he was hostile to the peacock aristocracy of old Europe which was a reflection of decadence, of pomp without circumstance. Had he been alive today, he would not have been fond of the institutionalized fossils who sit upon the august ancient seats of William the Conqueror, the Emperor Canute (ruler of parts of Britain and Scandinavia) and Alfred the Great.

When insipid money-hungry/power-hungry troglodytes (no matter how influential) presume that they are somehow Nietzschean supermen, they obviously deceive themselves. Nietzsche's superman (i.e. *ubermensch* in German) more accurately translates as Overman. Walter Kaufmann, a leading translator of Nietzsche, always renders it as Overman in all his editions.

The Overman was a concept which Nietzsche became familiar with, through reading the work of the great Anglo-German philologist, Max Muller who translated the Vedic writings of India. It must be remembered that Sanskrit and Pankrit, the languages in which Vedantist philosophy was written, are related to the European languages – and collectively they form the Indo-European or Aryan ('Aryan' in the anthropological sense, a term not to be confused with Hitlerite nonsense) family of cultures. Thus the original authors of the Vedas were a Europid people, before through miscegenation, they became absorbed by the indigenous Australid-Negrito tribes who spoke a now vanished (except in certain isolated parts of the Indian subcontinent) tongue, known as the Munda Idioms.

Vedanta, being a theosophy reflecting a cosmology and sociology essentially Europid in character, therefore, found great appeal in the West, by many extraordinary thinkers. For example, and as I shall further explain, all the early prominent British Fabian-socialists such as H.G. Wells, H.M Hyndman, Annie Besant, George Bernard Shaw, etc., were all familiar with both Nietzschean philosophy and Vedantist theosophy, as was the world acclaimed novelist and journalist Jack London. All shared the highest esteem for Nietzsche and Vedanta. Other Vedantists and pantheists of prominence were W.B. Yeats, Thoreau, Emerson, Oscar Wilde etc. According to the eminent Australian historian David Walker, in his work Dream And Disillusion: A Search for Australian Cultural Identity, Australian National University Press, 1976, Nietzsche was widely read and respected by the majority of early Australian-Socialists and radical-nationalists, many of whom were also familiar with Vedantist theosophy. Lane's writings are a testimony to his Vedantism, whilst the nationalistic (a progressive but not a radical) Prime Minister Alfred Deakin, had been a member of the Theosophical Society (see: J.A. La Nauze, Alfred Deakin: A Biography. Sydney: Angus And Robertson Publishers, 1979.)

Nietzsche's anti-Christianity has been much made of, and more than often, misconstrued. It will suffice to say that any reference to either Beyond Good And Evil or Will To Power, will readily

demonstrate that he was not opposed to Jesus the Nazarean, but rather to the misapplication of a highly personal semi-Buddhist ethic, in a political context. As for Nietzsche's supposed anti-semitism, this too is a fabrication. W. Kaufmann and Oscar Levy, two of Nietzsche's translators, were of Jewish descent. Nietzsche's largest following within any ethnic group, would probably be amongst a host of professional and intellectual persons, who have emancipated themselves from the shallow belligerent dogmas of Talmudic Judaism. Therefore Nietzsche's hostility to the value-system inherent in aspects of exoteric Judaeo-Christian civilization, cannot be construed as hostility to people or peoples, but rather as opposition to ideas and philosophies and, naturally too, as hostility to the individual protagonists of such value-systems. It must be also remembered, that Karl Marx who had Rabbinical antecedents, wrote a treatise entitled A World Without Jews, in which he demanded that Western Jewry should emancipate itself from the belligerent and counter-productive religion, and value-system of Judaism, that they should completely assimilate into the national-cultures of their host countries - or alternatively they were to leave the West. Only an imbecile would describe Marx's position as *ethnic anti-Judaism* when he himself was ethnically Jewish; certainly too, as we have seen, Nietzsche is exempt from such an inference.

The following two extracts by Nietzsche will act as the conclusion to this segment. It should prove interesting food for thought, if nothing else. A more comprehensive essay entitled "The Philosophy of F. Nietzsche" is promised and this will deal in depth with Nietzsche's attitudes to Judaeo-Christian civilization, his relationship by Richard Wagner, his view of Buddhism and Islam etc., his position towards Bismarck as well as his attitude to socialism and communism generally. It is sufficient to say that Nietzsche was not opposed to an organic tribal-communitarian society, (as evidenced by the semi-Platonic political formula for social organization offered by Nietzsche in his work, Will To Power) but rather to the liberal-egalitarian dogmas of the deluded souls who believe that every individual is identical in capacity, intellect, creativity etc. with every other individual. This position is patently absurd and thus a socialist or communist ideology, which does not take into consideration socio-biological and cosmo-biological realities (Refer to Hans Eysenck, Cosmo-Biology and L.N. Gumilev, The Biological-Geographical Conception Of Ethnic History and Robert Ardrey, The Territorial Imperative) *is either childish nonsense, or demagogic lunacy*. The fact that many non-liberal British (Fabians), American, Australian and continental-European socialists, accepted Nietzschean philosophy as ethical-socialism, is demonstrative that it is one of the more realistic schools of socialist thinking.

"One must stop permitting oneself to be eaten when one tastes best: this is understood by those who want to be loved long. – To be sure, there are sour apples whose fate is to wait until the last day of autumn: and they become at the same time ripe, yellow, and shriveled. – In some the heart ages first and in others the spirit. And some are old in their youth: but those who are young late stay young long."

"For many a man, life is a failure: a poison-worm eats at his heart. So let him see to it that his

death is all the more a success. Many a man never becomes sweet, he rots even in summer. It is cowardice that keeps him fastened to his branch. Many too many live and they hang on their branches much too long. I wish a storm would come and shake all this rottenness and worm-eatenness from the tree!"

"I wish preachers of a speedy death would come! They would be fitting storm and shakers of the tree of life! But I hear preached only slow death and patience with earthly things! Ah, do you preach patience with earthly things? It is these earthly things that have too much patience with you, you blasphemers!"

"Truly, too early died that Hebrew whom the preachers of slow death honour: and that he died too early has since been a fatality for many. As yet he knew only tears and the melancholy of the Hebrews, together with the hatred of the good and just – the Hebrew Jesus: then he was seized by the longing for death.

Behold this moment', I went on: 'from this gateway Moment a long, eternal lane runs BACK: an eternity lies behind us. Must not all things that CAN happen HAVE already happened, been done, run past?'"

" 'And if all things have been here before: what do you think of this moment, dwarf? Must not this gateway, too, have been here – before? And are not all things bound fast together in such a way that this moment draws after it all future things? THEREFORE – draws itself too? For all things that can run must also run once again forward along this long lane. And this slow spider that creeps along in the moonlight, and this moonlight itself, and I and you at this gateway whispering together, whispering of eternal things – must we not all have been here before? – and must we not return and run down that other lane out before us, down that long, terrible lane – must we not return eternally?'"

(F.NIETZSCHE, pp. 178-179).

## Preface: Ethical Socialism For A New Age

"Mightier than the tread of marching armies is the power of an idea whose time has come".  
Victor Hugo.

The ethical-socialist world-view for the new millennium is the Platonic golden mean between Classical liberal- democracy (in the original sense of the French and American revolutions), Marxism (as its founder postulated and not as dished up by contemporary liberal-cosmopolitans in the West) and European Fascism (in its many variations), which, as a community of anti-communist, anti-liberal, ultra-nationalist ideologies with totalitarian aspirations ("nothing outside of the state" to paraphrase Mussolini), appeared after the First World War and

effectively disappeared in 1945. The subsequent plethora of miniscule neo-fascist groups (including neo-nazis) were/are politically ineffectual. Unlike certain Marxists and liberals, this author shall not associate military dictatorships with fascism. So as to avoid rendering the term fascism and neo-fascism historically meaningless, this author will constrain himself to defining neo-fascism as an ideology which draws upon one or more of the historical fascisms as its ideological antecedents - the bulk of which were either actively or passively aligned with the Axis powers.

Despite what cosmopolitan propagandists whether through ignorance or deception maintain is the irreconcilability of these ideologies, the FACTS of the matter are very different. It can be said that the disaster which befell the European world, indeed the whole world, in the Second World War, had some of its roots in the contention amongst these reductionist ideologies for global hegemony. There was no effort at a revolutionary syncretism.

Contemporary cosmopolitan plutocratic liberal-democracy has little relationship to the ideologies of the American and French revolutions. In fact these philosophies bore points in common with pre-Leninist Marxist Social Democracy (at the turn of the twentieth century) and historical fascism. Jacobinism, Fascism and Bolshevism all share the combat model of the command structured action party. Even their ideas of workers participation in industry through trade guilds, soviets or corporations are similar. It should be remembered that the 'Star Spangled Banner' which graces the American Congress is flanked by two fasces, the symbol of fascism, and that there is a large statue of Thomas Jefferson leaning on a fasces. Thus, the spiritual common origins of classical liberal-democracy and fascism are self-evident. I make this comparison by referring to the well known work of the American fascist poet, Ezra Pound - Jefferson And/Or Mussolini, New York, 1955. For the relationship between Fascism and Marxism-Leninism, see A. James Gregor, The Two Faces Of Janus, Yale University Press, 2000.

Apart from the thought-forms behind these ideologies, a Pan-European ethical-socialist ideal can call upon the collected wisdom of "all ages". One can apply an eclectic and syncretic approach in these matters. Platonic or Neo-Platonic thought (a derivative of which is certain Christian thought), pre-Platonic Hellenic or Roman thought, Gothic Christian or Renaissance thought and other Indo-European thought, can and already does, serve as a spiritual-political base for 'New Age' thought.

I refer to many exceptional thinkers in this pamphlet, including those whose world-view may bear a resemblance or relationship to liberal-democracy, Marxism and fascism; however, the perspective for the new millenium must remain anti-liberal, anti-marxist and anti-fascist, since these ideologies are reductionist and not holistic in their approaches. From the outset Australian socialism anticipated this new perspective as 'socialism without doctrines'.

"The (Hegelian) State of the Whole People" is the objective of the new political ideal. It is the

herald of the rebirth of the philosophy of the Overman. The new faith affirms the right of every race and nation to pursue its own path to its own "OVER-SELF" and respects the principle of 'unity in diversity', not exclusively in the form of the multiracial/multicultural society, but also in the respect amongst the plurality of the many imminent unique sovereign predominantly homogenous ethical-socialist nation states. The right of national self-determination, in theory acknowledged by the United Nations, must also unequivocally include the right of a country to determine its ethnic composition. The totalitarian cosmopolitans induced their cosmopolis predominantly through stealth and without consultation, and finally with the terror associated with 'political-correctness'.

This perspective is articulated in my The Social Revolutionary Nature of Australian Nationalism, and may be qualified in a future Internet essay, What Is Australian-Socialism?.

## PART ONE:

### Karl Marx : Racist

The following comments can be verified by an examination of Nathan Weyl's Karl Marx: Racist, Arlington House, N.Y., 1980.

The historical Karl Marx shares little in common with the mythical creature invented by the liberal/totalitarian cosmopolitan Marxoid priesthood. He was never the propagandist for "World Revolution" outside of the parameters of the European world. He regarded coloured peoples as outside of his historical dialectic. He was not in favour of the emancipation of the coloured peoples from the yoke of Western Imperialism.

The growth of the national liberation movements influenced by Western nineteenth century rationalist economic determinist thinking was the inevitable historical marriage of the genuine nationalist aspirations of Third World peoples with what they perceived was the dominant contending ideology in the West sympathetic to their emancipation; this 'sympathy' was a product of Western liberalism not a derivative of the ideology of Karl Marx. The liberation of the Third World from the yoke of Western imperialism was rather an inevitable historical trend since even a cursory historical view of former empires demonstrates they fragment along national/tribal/ethnocentric lines once the centrifugal hegemonic power has no longer the means nor willingness to assert its dominance. The most recent example was the USSR which was in many ways geographically a continuation of the former Tsarist empire, and it in itself represented a marriage of anti-Western Russian nationalist aspirations with what was then the 'trendy' ideology of the day - Marxism.

The only similarity between Marx's conception of history and that of the liberal/totalitarian cosmopolitan "marxists" is the theory of the class struggle and Economic Determinism. He and

Engels defined this theory as Dialectical Materialism.

As ethical-socialists subscribe to a holistic philosophy which in an eclectic fashion favours Hegel's dialectic of history (Hegel understood that economics is only part of the locomotive of history and not its predominant determinant), they could not subscribe to Marxism even as its founder intended it. This is not to suggest that Marx did not, in a genius-like fashion, understand certain historical processes, but rather his views were myopic and therefore over-rated.

Marx was a "Left-Hegelian" who distorted his mentor's philosophy.

## PART TWO:

### Heresy

Exoteric Judaeo-Christianity has little relationship to historical fact. It has little in common with its alleged "founders" - Moses, Jesus etc. It is simply the de-naturalised distorted representation of a series of archetypal myths (in the Jungian sense) common to various Hamito-Semitic and Indo-European cultures. The works of John M. Allegro, The Controversy Of Zion by Douglas Reed, The White Goddess by Robert Graves and The Thirteenth Tribe by Arthur Koestler illustrate this. Allegro, and Koestler were Jewish. Zionist fanatics and rabid Christian fundamentalists have threatened them with murder and violence for their intellectual "threat" to Judaeo-Christian civilization.

This is not to suggest that there may not be "valuable" ethics and ideas in both Judaism and Christianity such as belief in family, justice etc., but these things are not a monopoly of Judaeo-Christian thought in any case. Further, what has been a Judaeo-Christian monopoly has often been a distortion of other systems and not of much objective value.

R.S. Campbell, Race And Religion (Omni Christian Book Club of America), discusses this subject, as does the following H. Spencer Lewis in his The Life Of Christ; Lewis the late inspiration of A.M.O.R.C., the principal American Rosicrucian fraternity and his book is available through most New Age bookshops.

## PART THREE:

### Jung And Mythical Indo-European Archetypes

For a novel insight into the origins of Jungian mythical archetypes and customs , refer to: Julius Evola, The Hermetic Tradition Rochester: Inner Traditions ; Franz Bardon, Initiation Into Hermetics, Dieter Ruggberg, 1962; Frithjof Schuon, Castes And Races, Bedford, Perennial Books; Caitlin Matthews, Sophia: Goddess Of Wisdom, London, Harper Collins, 1992; Paul Huson, The Devil's Picture Book, Sphere Books, Abacus, London; as well as the great classic by Sir James Frazer - The Golden Bough.

(Frazer, along with Nietzsche and Ibsen were the favourite authors of the famous Australian poet, patriot and prophet, Bernard O'Dowd).

The following works trace the psychological, mythical and biological evolution of European culture and civilization:

Julius Evola, Revolt Against The Modern World, Rochester: Inner Traditions; Joshua Buckley, Collin Cleary and Michael Moynihan, Tyr: Myth Culture Tradition, Atlanta: Ultra, 2002; Pagan, Celtic Britain (Sphere, Cardinal edition, 1974), Robert Graves (ed.), The New Larousse Encyclopedia Of Mythology, (Paul Hamelyn), H.R. Ellis Davidson, Scandinavian Mythology, (Paul Hamelyn), John Gray, Near Eastern Mythology, (Paul Hamelyn), Pierre Honore, In Quest of the White God, (Futura Publications) and Carlton Coon's two classic works: Races Of Europe (1936) and Races Of Man.

On race history: Gordon Childe: Origins Of European Civilization and The Aryans: Childe was an eminent Australian anthropologist whose principal concern with the economic factor in pre-historic European development was the result of his belonging to the European ethnocentric Marxist school – which he freely acknowledged. Childe's concern with economics was not doctrinaire Marxism; he was a brilliant intellectual who would not confine his analysis to the restrictive confines of any dogmatic school of thought.

## FOUR FOUR:

### Herrenvolk?

Nietzsche has introduced into contemporary Western philosophy the term 'Herrenvolk' or Master People. This should not be confused with the Herrenvolk ideology of Hitler's fascism. The Nietzsche scholar, Walter Kaufmann, has demonstrated the distortions involved in the Nazi misrepresentation of the original concept.

Nietzsche in the Vedantist tradition subscribed to the concept of Self-Overcoming or Self-Mastery. A national community of Self-Mastered individuals led by the most capable in body

and soul constitutes a Master People or Herrenvolk. Its contending leading group, presently organized as a sub-culture, having overcome its own internal chaos, would (as the governing stratum of a nation) institute order within the whole national body-politic by acknowledging the value of every component and formulating an ideology/methodology aiming at national salvation through national reconciliation, national reconstruction, national re-birth. Self-overcoming is the *raison d'être* of every High Religion.

Such a group (organized in every nation of the European Civilization) in the Nietzschean terminology is "the Party of Life" and its world-historical mission is to vanquish our current bourgeois Western civilization in a "twilight of the idols", during the "Great Noon Tide".

An interesting insight into Nietzschean thinking is found in a number of Colin Wilson's works, in particular, "The Outsider". The writings of Ouspensky and Gurdieff, two early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Russian psycho-technologists, was a development of Nietzschean thinking.

All "good Europeans" need arise from their lethargy. Nietzsche was the first prophet of the coming age of the "good European".

## FIVE FIVE:

1984

"In an age of universal deceit, telling the truth is a revolutionary act." George Orwell

The following quotations are instrumental in the direction of overcoming the liberal/totalitarian cosmopolitan culture-distortion and falsification of history. Over the past two thousand years, there have been many inquisitions practicing intellectual and physical terror – particularly against non-liberal, non-cosmopolitan intellectuals.

These terrorists have re-written every ideology, philosophy or theology for mass consumption in 1984-fashion (except that '1984' began centuries ago). They have tried to deceive scholars in all areas into accepting philosophies which are contrary to Historical Fact and Natural Law or Sanskrit Dharma.(For a definition of dharma, refer to Frithjof Schuon, Castes And Races

The cosmopolitan levellers were the outcasts from every race, nation, people and culture within the Levant and later on the European Continent. They are the refuse of the whole human species. They represent the tactical coalescence of this waste into a single power bloc transcending all political/religious/economic doctrine, which today can be defined per Wilmot Robertson's The Dispossessed Majority, as the global 'liberal/minority coalition'. This element constitutes

Nietzsche's "Chandala" or Marx's "lumpen-proletariat" (except most of them are not proletarian, but just 'lumpen'; Lumpen is the German word for rags). They exist in every economic stratum of society. They are simultaneously the symptom of decay while also being the agents for further decay. This element centuries ago under the leadership of intelligent matoid individuals assumed the control of the covert world of secret societies and through clandestine machinations overturned the Natural Order. Their delusion has continually been the reduction of humanity to mindless conformity (biological, cultural, social etc.). The contemporary cosmopolitan mass society devoid of ethnic or social variation is the outcome of their work.

Even so, their machinations have failed; across the world we are witnessing the re-emergence of social, economic, philosophic ideas which manifest in a host of neo-tribalist ideologies. (Refer to The Social Revolutionary Nature of Australian Nationalism) Certainly 'Dharma' may have been frustrated in the past, and still could be, by pollutants, non-degradable chemical weapons or nuclear warfare, but Nature always has a habit of re-asserting itself. In that context, the New Age perspective is of importance.

The cosmopolitan-levellers had/have parasitically attached themselves to every Western (and via the West to the global scene) philosophy etc (as above) to distort it so as to make it all but impossible to detach the original article from the distorted forms.

The Hermetic, Magian, Essene Christianity (i.e. the theosophy of Joshua Ben Pandera or Jesus of Nazareth) is one example; classical liberal democratic republicanism and Marxism are two more. The idea of Republican Democracy (as practiced by its creators in the ancient world of Greece and Rome) saw its finest rendition in Plato's ideal of THE STATE.

Indeed, EVERY great Caucasian in history has had his ideals recast into liberal-cosmopolitan forms, as mere "pre-history" to the new sick creed. It has been true for all races. Non-existent ("humane") Negroid civilizations have been conjured up (Ethiopians were originally Hamitic-Caucasoids; Zimbabweans were Semitic Caucasoids; Hanibal of Carthage was not black, since his Phoenician Semite features have been preserved in a bust) to show that all races are "the same" with similar ideals. Even in Australia, the discovery of RUINS of Caucasian origin (possibly the lost Lemuria) have been misrepresented to assert that our Aboriginals were the bearers of yet another High Culture (refer to the research of Rex Gilroy for Australia and Kerry Bolton of P.O. Box 1627 Paraparamu Beach, New Zealand, for Oceania) whereas in fact they are merely proof for more Europid migration and technological achievement.

The principles of ethnocentrism (i.e. the desire to preserve the biological and cultural identity of an ethnic group) and nationalism have been presented as the monopoly of fascism. Ostensibly these ideals lead to concentration camps. In fact, these ideals were held by pre-cosmopolitan socialism, even early Marxism and the philosophers of the Enlightenment. The endless list of Enlightenment liberal or democratic thinkers and their followers in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century would include Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Lincoln, Mazzini,

Garibaldi, Albert Schweitzer etc. Ethnocentrism is no preserve of the Indo-European race either. Japanese, Chinese and Vietnamese thinkers have accepted the realities of the organic unity of race, nation and culture. Today, these races PRACTISE the principle openly. Further, to hold such views need not preclude one from the possession of a humanitarian impulse as the quotations from Lincoln and Schweitzer may illustrate.

Democracy, ancient or modern is similar here. As we know the liberal ideal was "captured" by plutocracy in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and began to inveigh against the authoritarian and ethnocentric views of the early Democrats. Their views varied greatly from those of that father of Democratic ideology – J-J Rousseau (as my quotations show).

Both the French and American Revolutions held to an authoritarian, populist, meritocratic Ideal which was their very definition of Democracy. Both the French and American Presidents had and still have quasi-dictatorial powers. Under the Australian Constitution, the Governor-General has similar powers and is in effect – President under a different label.

The term "Dictator" is Roman in origin. In times of crisis, the Roman Senate would appoint a person to resolve the matter, a man with unlimited power for a set time over certain aspects of policy. The Dictator (he who governs by decree of 'diktat' could be a 'Princep' (first or principal among peers) and often Pontifex Maximus (a high-priest, yes, but a sort of bridge between man and his gods, the custodian of the spirituality of the traditions of the Roman State). He could be a 'Hero' and demi-god himself like Octavian (or Augustus), a divine Caesar. A New Age philosophy would recognize such persons as OVER-MEN; in this case they arose on Democratic soil.

In these capacities, "dictators" would unite the Spiritual (i.e. ideological, philosophic, cultural) and Temporal powers as to create an official State Religion, or in our modern parlance, state ideology. The political/historical function so exercised roughly equates Plato's goal of a Philosopher-King.

Contrary to popular opinion, neither Julius Caesar nor Augustus were ever "emperors" in the way that Romans despised (i.e. Rex, or king, hereditary leaders), but rather they were "imperators", or victorious generals, strongmen, protectors, similar to the Greek "hegemon". There were many Roman imperators and not all of them were heads of state in the capacities of Dictator or Princep, but rather as acknowledged soldiers of proven success.

Naturally the Roman Senate often conferred the title of Princep or Dictator on a successful military commander who as imperators rose to be heads of state. This position of "Imperium" is not similar to the power enjoyed by our decadent "nobility" – the Saxe-Coburgs, the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs, the Bourbons, Romanovs, or Savoyards. The imperator carries the "odour" of the populist/meritocratic tradition of a man like Bonaparte. As a victorious general and master of statecraft (like Cromwell), he emulated the Roman tradition and rose from

Consul to a dictatorship; he practiced his meritocratic populism throughout the time of his power. (Refer to Thomas Carlyle, "The Hero As King" in Heroes And Hero Worship.)

Bonapartism is Oswald Spengler's Western case of "Caesarism". It is Voltaire's "hob nail boot" against the effeminate aristocrat's "silken slipper".

Authoritarianism transcends fascism completely. It is an aspect of Democracy, Socialism, Republicanism, and certainly Communism. In classical Marxism the "tailist" proletariat "need" the greater consciousness of their "vanguard" and the system becomes the DICTATORSHIP of the Proletariat.

Of course the movement for the rebirth of Traditional mores all over this planet (in "revolt against the modern world", to invoke Julius Evola) desires its ethical-socialist state to embody neither the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie nor the dictatorship of the proletariat. It intends to implement the "State of the Whole People". Its governing stratum will be drawn from all social classes and adherents of different philosophies or even religions; but government must be based on MERIT defined as the proven nobility of purpose combined with practical political solutions. In our national case we would demand a TOTAL commitment to the Social Republican state and to the Australian People's Commonwealth. (Note: the term 'Commonwealth' was taken originally from the term used by Cromwell to describe his 'Protectorate') Where practical ability is divorced from nobility of mind, insufferable oppression results; and where noble intentions are divorced from practical skills (real-politik) and application (i.e. if pedantism or mania emerge) then such a society so afflicted cannot function and inevitably disintegrates.

The stewardship of holistic purpose would be one characteristic of the ethical-socialist state. Its elite would approximate Nietzsche's new nobility or Plato's 'Guardians' or "Protectors'. It should over time reflect the Natural Aristocracy of a society and necessarily remain open to recruitment by merit. Before the distortion of the term by the Nazis, we could have referred to such a society as "Aryan" in form (arya being the Indo-European word for "noble" Refer to Julius Evola, Revolt Against The Modern World). This is the essence of our mission within the geo-political context of Oceania ( a new Lemuria??). This is the imperative of our Nation's "OVER-SELF".

"History is only the patter of silken slippers descending the stairs to the thunder of hob-nail boots coming up."

Voltaire.

"Were there a people of gods, their government would be democratic. So perfect a government is not made for man."

Rousseau.

"Communism is aristocratic not democratic .... only philosophers and soldiers are capable of it."

Plato.

"A race or tribe is a corporate body which nature has entrusted with an assortment of human seed or genes, the assortment differing in some degree from that entrusted to every group. If the genes are to work out their evolutionary effect, then it is necessary that the tribe or corporation should maintain its integrity through an affinity of generations. If a tribe loses its integrity by free interbreeding, that tribe has to come to an end."

Sir Arthur Keith, eminent geneticist.

" There is something that all white men must learn and know as I have: that these individuals are lesser-race. They have neither the intellectual, moral or emotional abilities to equate or share equally with White men in any of the functions of our civilization. I have given them my life to try and bring them the advantages which our civilization must offer, but I have become well aware that we must retain the status of White the Superior and they the inferior."

Albert Schweitzer, referring to African adaption to European civilization.

"Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain than the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion has drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation peaceably and in such slow degree that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their place be .... pari passu filled up by free White labourers. If on the contrary left to force itself on human nature much shudder at the prospect held up."

Thomas Jefferson, quoted from Jefferson's Works: Volume One, p. 48. Jefferson was referring to slavery; he was himself, a slave owner.

Neither Albert Schweitzer's nor Abraham Lincoln's thoughts are intended to affirm or negate the esoteric supposition of white racial superiority. But Lincoln's true thoughts or feelings have been misrepresented or suppressed by liberals. The *raison d'etre* for Lincoln's emancipation of the Negro slaves was in keeping with the spirit of Jefferson and the other Founding Fathers. Lincoln's intent was to resettle them within their own country be it in Africa (ie. Liberia) or somewhere in the Americas, but outside of the United States. He was an advocate of complete separate development.

After the Civil War the mass movement of Southern Negroes to the North supplied a cheap labour pool. The Negro had exchanged the feudal form of servitude, which offered degrees of welfare and protection to the black man (who was technically the plantationist's chattel), found

himself in a condition of wage slavery, without these advantages, at the hands of the Northern liberal capitalist industrialists. In the process, they retarded the aspirations of the white working people to a living wage by serving as a surplus un-unionised labour force. These problems Lincoln anticipated and sought to address.

The reader should now appreciate one part of the pattern of liberal cosmopolitan intellectual 'activity'. I rely on Roy P. Basler (ed.), The Collected Works Of Abraham Lincoln. Rutgers University Press, 1953, published in eight volumes.

"See our present condition - the country engaged in war! - our white men cutting one another's throats .....and then consider what we know to be the truth.

But for your race among us there could not be war, although many men engaged on either side do not care for you one way or the other ... It is better for us both, therefore to be separated.

You and we are different races. We have between us a broader difference than exists between almost any other two races. Whether it is right or wrong I need not discuss, but that the physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both, as I think your race suffer very greatly, many of them by living among us, while ours suffer from your presence. In a word, we suffer on each side. If this is admitted, it affords a reason at least why we should be separated."

Address On Colonization To A Deputation Of Negroes In Washington D.C., August 14 1862  
(Vol. V, p.371)

"Negro equality! Fudge!! How long in the government of a God great enough to make and maintain this Universe, shall there continue knaves to vend, and fools to gulp, so low a piece of demagouism as this?"

Fragments. Notes For Speeches, September 1859. (Vol. III, p. 399)

"I will say then that I am not, nor have ever been in favour of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races (applause) ... that I am not, nor have ever been in favour of, making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favour of the superior position assigned to the white race ..."

Fourth Debate With Stephen A. Douglas At Charlestown, Illinois, September 18 1858. (Vol. III, pp. 145, 161)

## PART SIX

### "Nazism Is An Inverted Form Of Zionism"

H.G. Wells

#### The Role Of The Jews In European History.

We could begin by referring to Paul Rassinier, Drama Of The European Jews (1964), now republished by Historical Review Press, P.O. Box 612 Silver Springs, Maryland 20901, U.S.A.

Rassinier was an anarcho-communist and founding member of the French Resistance. He was a prisoner of the Nazis in Buchenwald and Dachau concentration camps until release in 1945. In 1946, he was elected for a brief term to the French Chamber of Deputies.

Arthur Butz's Hoax Of The Twentieth Century published also by Historical Review Press is a development of Rassinier's work on the Nazi policies towards Europe's Jews.

Another useful work in this area is The Jewish Mask from the Omni Christian Book Club of America.

Much has been written on the Jews in European history. The above cited book for example is correct in its sections dealing with Jewish antiquity and produces much material similar to the work of Jewish scholars such as Allegro, Koestler and Lillienthal. But it errs badly when discussing the 'Jewish character' and social ideas of the socialist and communist movements (both Marxist and non-Marxist). The flaw in analysis lies in making assessments based upon misunderstandings of various historical complexities which have not been relevant since the 1930's (if certain opinions were ever really correct). Let alone relevant to those nations which were officially Marxist in Europe. (Refer to my 'Social Revolutionary Nature')

There is much anti-semitic propaganda dished up by the old-right, both in its traditional conservative and nazi/fascist forms. We have to confront it.

Permit a broad statement: although many of the leaders of the Marxist Bolshevik movement were Jews, the Marxist cause was NOT an attempt of the Zionists to achieve any political world domination. Rather it was a product of very specific 19<sup>th</sup> century Western issues; in as far as the Jews were concerned, it was product of a SPLIT (to use Winston Churchill's phrase) in the Jewish community.

The bulk of the pre-Bolshevik Marxists of the European Social Democratic Movement, (and

here I will refer specifically to those of them who were Jews) were ANTI-ZIONIST, and often European ethnocentrists. Marx himself was a pan-German imperialist and chauvinist and accused of it by the anti-German French socialists of the period. Marx's German imperialist ideas were rabid enough to cause Nesta Webster, writer of "conspiracy" history to condemn Marxism as a German/Jewish plot!!! We can read N.Weyl's Karl Marx: Racist for more here. The FACT seems that most of the Jewish Marxists (though not all) were emancipated Jews, secular and assimilated. Certainly they DID project many of their root-ideas; but the fact as cited stands.

I would say that if Marx were alive today Zionists psychotics would denounce him for anti-semitism and NAZISM (despite his Jewish ancestry) as they have done to many other anti-Zionist Jews including the liberal Chancellor of Austria, Bruno Kreisky. I am sure the Simon Wiesenthals would be most active!!

Russian Bolshevism was not a single monolithic movement but rather an amalgam of movements and tendencies synthesized and dominated by the personality of another Marxist Vladimir Illich Ulyanov (Lenin). Lenin's ethnic background was partly Swedish, part Finnic (Chuvash or pre-Slavic 'aboriginal' type which inhabited Russia), part German, part German-Jewish. Amongst the many factions within Bolshevism were Pan-Slav ethnocentrists and peasant socialists, who were more philosophically akin to Dostoyevsky than Marx. They had their origins in groups like 'Narodnaya Volya' (the Russian word Narod signifies both Nation and People similar to the German word Volk or the English word Folk; a related idea is the English word 'nation' derived of the Latin root word for 'nascent' or birth; nativity et al, thus one is born into the nation) or the National-Peoples Will (ie. the will of a specific people).

There were other Marxists of the Marx-Engels school of thinking who were desirous of creating a European Federation based on the solidarity of the respective working classes, a transnational union of 'white' proletariat. Plekhanov, an ethnic Russian, represented that trend of thought. Plekhanov had been Lenin's mentor until the famous Bolshevik/Menshevik split, and his thinking had wide support, both Jewish and Gentile.

However, Lenin's thinking became the dominant trend. Lenin's goal was a totalitarian-Marxist-cosmopolitan one in that he aimed at a UNIVERSAL TRANSCENDENTAL STATE, a union of republics, an eventual ONE-WORLD REPUBLIC with a single cultural-political form. It was to implement a universal racial/cultural homogeneity, in a proletarian guise.

Marx in the preamble to the Communist Manifesto (particularly in the preface to the Polish edition) acknowledged the principle of nationality. He desired a Federation of European communist nations under the hegemony of Germany. In this sense alone was he an internationalist. He did not promise the abolition of ethnic and national particularisms. Lenin only acknowledged this type of federation as a stepping stone to the "amalgamation" of all nations, races and peoples into the World Republic. Lenin's dream was more akin to

cosmopolitan Christianity (i.e. the universal Christian or Catholic Church embodying all of mankind) but interpreted in the light of dialectical materialism. Lenin's dream, like that of the extreme world-homogenizing Christian fraction, is hostile to LIFE which demands the heterogeneity of races, peoples, nations and cultures.

Let us discuss this liberal cosmopolitanism in more detail. It seems important to our discussion of the Jews, of liberal values, of Marxism.

During the French Revolution a similar totalitarian cosmopolitan, but economically liberal and capitalist interpretation of classical liberal-democracy arose. But it was beaten down by those who saw the "fatherland is in danger" (*le patria en danger*) and Democracy was harnessed to French ethnocentric nationalist ideals. During the American Civil War, the liberal-cosmopolitan leveler group appeared again under the leadership of the radical Republican Party. They used Abraham Lincoln's assassination (Lincoln was a racial-nationalist) as a pretext to pursue a policy of the destruction of the old Confederacy during the dark period of "Reconstruction". They were defeated both in the South and North by American nationalist secret societies/militias. W.D. Griffith's 1915 silent movie classic Birth Of A Nation tells us much here. The original book text of Margaret Mitchell's Gone With The Wind is faithful to the truth also.

The liberal cosmopolitan trend however never seems to rest in any time or any place. But he had to exercise great care in the West until 1945, the time of Fascism's military defeat. As a consequence of Fascism's ethnocentric-nationalist character, the distorter was able to brand all nationalism as "fascism" and therefore pursue a totalitarian programme to destroy all manifestations of European racial-nationalism. Of course, it could be pointed out that Hitler, Mussolini and the rest had as much opposition from non-nazi, non-fascist authoritarian-nationalists as from certain cosmopolitan forces (see my Social Revolutionary Nature as well as Douglas Reed, Prisoner Of Ottawa and Nemesis); it is a fact that the fascist movement was never synonymous with ethnocentrism or nationalism as such. It represented merely a specific community of ideologies related to the first fascism – that of Mussolini. Hitler saw Mussolini as his mentor saying: "it is uncertain that if there had never been Fascism, whether there would have been National Socialism". Indeed, Nazi ideology was never totally in synchronization with German Nationalist ideology; rather it was a fascism in the German context. In short, it was Hitlerism, just as Bolshevism was never Marxism as such, but Leninism.

In truth, the liberal-totalitarian attempt to equate European nationalisms with fascism and concentration camps – is finished! The silence into which this nationalism was compelled – is over! Truth is prevailing and "we" are returning in strength. Particularly, we have made gigantic gains in the former Socialist Bloc of countries (see Alexander Yanov, Russia's New Right, Right-wing Ideologies In The Contemporary U.S.S.R., University of California, a study of various Russian nationalist ideologies). While the title is a misnomer (nationalism can be as much 'left' as 'right'), the work is very useful. David Shipler, Russia: Broken Idols, Solemn

Dreams, Mc Donald Futura Australia, develops Yanov's information. (Kevin Coogan, Dreamer Of The Day: Francis Parker Yockey And The Post-War Fascist International, New York, 2000; in my Social Revolutionary Nature, I refer to other works regarding the transformations in post-1990 Russia).

In reality, there have been more concentration camps and mass murders perpetrated by totalitarian cosmopolitans (whether Christian liberal or "marxist") in the name of the one world ideal, than those "crimes" which can be laid at the door of nationalism, fascism included.

There could be "one-world", OUR one-world, and not that of the totalitarian world homogenisers – be they Marxist, theist, atheist, liberal or fascist. Indeed, there have even been fascist one-worlders, particularly those of the "clerical-fascist" mould and "world Aryanisers" who want to destroy groups for "aesthetic" reasons. Whether it be the amorphous brown man dreamed up by liberal world-homogenizers as the future humanity, or the blond-haired/blue-eyed Aryan ideal of Hitlerism supplanting and exterminating all inferior races, or a world where everyone is genuflecting and handling rosary beads and ignoring and supplanting all other thought-processes through an Inquisition, they all arrive at the abolition of the natural cultural and biological diversity of humanity. This world-homogenizing tendency is therefore not exclusively an appendage to liberalism, Christianity or Marxism, but rather is an expression of every ideology that aims at overruling the natural diversity, that expression of the only true manifest divinity we can arrive at through empirical observation - and intuition. This little gem of information may shock them, but it nonetheless remains a fact!

The fact is that the One World of the cosmopolitans is a product purely of the intellect devoid of instinct. The alternative arises from the 'powers' latent in any creed of blood and soil as more recently developed by Professor Lev Gumilev in the U.S.S.R.. His The Biological and Geographical Conception of Ethnic History and Ethno-genesis And The Biosphere enjoyed wide circulation, particularly now after the collapse of the old regime. His conception remains one based on Natural Law. Gumilev's works are the principle inspiration for Gennady Zyuganov's Communist Party Of The Russian Federation, as well as that of several other nationalist groups in Russia. (Refer to Gennady Zyuganov's postulates on "the third road" in his political manifesto, My Russia. Armonk (New York): M.E. Sharpe, 1997.)

Global co-operation between all peoples, races, nations and cultures as DISTINCT ENTITIES is at the core of the New Age world-view implicit in the principle of Unity in Diversity (E PLURIBUS UNUM – UNUS UNORUM EST -- "one in the many and all in the one"). We are speaking of a system transcendent of economic or social systems, i.e. a REAL DÉTENTE based on the acceptance of the uniqueness of each component. A global solidarity could help avert nuclear war, pollution, soil erosion social/cultural decomposition of certain peoples etc. A global solution to these problems through national means! This ideology is implicit in the New Age orientated national-revolutionary groups in Western Europe and the Americas. They promulgate a THIRD POSITION in politics, neither Left nor Right, neither Marxist nor capitalist (see my

‘Social Revolutionary Nature’ and the forthcoming essay ‘What is Australian-Socialism?’).

The One World of the cosmopolitan is evolutionary-negative in that it represents an impossible desire to return to the "primordial chaos" (or undifferentiated mass that resonates with the protozoic soup) , whilst our concept is the Positive Constructive of the Imperative of Evolution. Our concept is therefore NATURAL.

Let us now return back to the matter of the Jews.

Naturally, many of the cosmopolitan Bolsheviki may have been secret Zionist cultural-political - imperialists (of the type the Apostle Paul liked to call the Judaisers of Christianity: so this lot sought to remodel Bolshevism) who saw in Bolshevism an attempt to proclaim the Ural Mountains the new Mount Zion on earth. They distorted the Bolshevik movement from its Russian roots to give it other messianic directions. From certain Pan-Slav underlying bases it did, for a long period, reflect the distorters values (see the works of John Jewell: for his then-current list of Soviet anti-Zionist publications). This tendency of the Russian Jews was long recognized in the Bolshevik movement. Lenin purged the Zionist "Bund" from the party as well as entering into conflict with the Zionists (so did Stalin). What Lenin began for totalitarian-Marxist-cosmopolitan reasons, Stalin finished for ethnocentric-nationalist reasons (but within the context of Marxist categories and dialectical materialism). Stalin's "anti-cosmopolitan campaign" drove most rootless aliens out of the Communist movement (be they Jewish or Gentile) in the late 1940's, leaving the state firmly under the hegemony of ethnocentric nationalist Gentiles.

The Talmud-inspired Zionist imperialists are distinct from certain Jewish cultural nationalists, although the latter have been often manipulated by the former who dream of the messianic possibility of a World Empire dominated by God's Chosen People through proxy nations such as the United States. Two classic Soviet booklets dealt with this subject in precisely these terms (see: Caution Zionism! and Judaism Without Embellishment). The Jewish nationalist desired the right to separate from the gentile world without animosity or chauvinistic intention. This legitimate right to self-determination was achieved in the creation of the state of Israel, but it was equally achieved through the formation of the Autonomous Region of Birobidzhan in the Soviet Union, or could have been realised by the proposal for a Jewish State in Madagascar. It must be remembered that long before Hitler advanced a Madagascan solution to the German-Jewish question, that solution was proposed by Jewish nationalists in the late nineteenth century.

However, the Talmud-inspired Zionist can feel only contempt for humanity, indeed a vicious hatred worse than the supposed excesses of Hitlerism. In his gospel, the Talmud, he postulates nothing but hatred for the goyim (the unclean Gentile cattle, the Zionist precursor of the Nazi untermenschen or sub-human ideology) who exist for no other reason than to be milked by chosen hands. As he 'milks', the Chosen awaits his messiah to manifest, after which he shall have numerous goy slaves and the wealth of the world will be delivered unto him. This

Talmudism, combined with his desire to revenge himself upon the goyim for real and imagined wrongs, makes the Zionist an eternally unassimilable distorter. This fact is known to all: to gentiles, cosmopolitan and nationalist, to Jews, cosmopolitan and assimilated. It should be remembered that Ben Gurion, the first Prime Minister of Israel, defined Zionism "as the ceaseless struggle of a divinely chosen people against a campaign to dilute or exterminate them." It is interesting that Ben Gurion and his Zionist fellows, both Jewish and Gentile, equate dilution/assimilation with extermination, therefore making the Zionist, of his own choice, unassimilable.

I refer the reader to Wilmott Robertson's The Dispossessed Majority Cape Canaveral, Florida) as well as Francis Parker Yockey, The Enemy of Europe, Parts One and Two, (Noontide Press, Torrance, California.) Though both authors belong to the American political Right (Robertson is a traditional conservative, Yockey and unorthodox neo-fascist intellectual), their work deserves to be considered even if not fully endorsed by New Age revolutionary intellectuals. The New Age ethical-socialist idea is neither Left nor Right in the traditional sense but transcends it, drawing on all political and philosophical traditions in keeping with historical facts. The same can even be said of being "eclectic" towards Nietzsche and Spengler.

Theodore Herzl said: "Every nation in whose midst Jews live is either covertly or overtly anti-semitic... Anti-Semitism increases day by day and hour by hour among nations (Note: But, why? A.S.). Indeed it is bound to increase, because the causes of its growth continue to exist and cannot be removed (Note: Why can't it be removed? A.S.)..."

In grasping this subject, we can turn to Leo Cooper, In The Shadow Of The Polish Eagle: The Poles, The Holocaust And Beyond, Basingstoke (Palgrave) 2000. This Jewish author alleges that General Anders and his fellows in the anti-Nazi Polish Home Army were opposed to the return of Jewish emigrants because of a belief that prior to 1939 they exerted a disproportionate influence in Polish economic, cultural and political life. The Home Army were also accused of liquidating left-wing partisans whose leadership was often made up of pro-Soviet proletarian Jews and by such actions hoped to avert the Sovietisation of Poland after the war. Yet, the Home Army was the recognised military arm of the Polish government in exile in London, subject to general Allied direction, particularly that of Churchill. Churchill understood the struggle that was occurring in the 'Jewish soul', dividing it between Zionism and internationalist socialism of all shades.

Herzl continued, addressing the World Zionist Congress in Basle, Switzerland, in 1897:

: "...Thus united we suddenly discover our strength ...when we sink we become a revolutionary proletariat, the subordinate officers of the revolutionary party, when we rise, there also rises the terrible power of the purse!!"

Maybe, that is why there is anti-semitism?!

For references to matters raised in this Part:

1. The Talmud Unmasked, by Rev. Pranaitas
2. Facts are Facts, by Benjamin Freedman.
3. Lenin And Stalin, by Robert Payne.
4. Any of Lenin's writings on the October Revolution
5. Stalin's War Against The Jews, by Louis Rappaport. (New York: the Free Press, 1990)  
My Awakening, by David Duke. (Covington, La: The Free Press, 1998.)

I conclude here with some endearing gems from the Talmud, the Zionist Mein Kampf, because Zionism/Talmudism is the politicisation, and therefore perversion of the Jewish bible (the Torah etc). The Talmud is made up of sixty three books and is often printed in about eighteen large volumes. Much of the Talmud was written by rabbinical sages between the years 200 A.D. and 500 A.D., is not necessary to Judaism (which is older than the Talmud), and which therefore - can be dispensed with. Eight Catholic popes condemned the Talmud. Martin Luther, founder of the Protestant church, ordered it burnt, whilst Pope Clement VIII ordered it eternally proscribed. Neither Luther's nor Clement VIII's solutions to the Talmud were later shown to be compatible with the spirit of the Enlightenment. That which exists in the darkness must be exposed, and so the great French Caesar, Napoleon Bonaparte, summoned the Great Sanhedrin and asked them quite simply: 'please explain' the purpose of these statements. Being compelled to answer is to ensure that light prevails over darkness. As long as persons of Jewish confession constrain their belief-system and value-system to the pentateuch and the remainder of the Old Testament which they share in common with Christians, they are in one sense simply a sect within a broad 'Judaeo-Christianity', and not a 'problem'. They should be allowed to practise this confession in the same way as Western Civilization tolerates many other confessions compatible with its value-system. But the Talmudically inspired, be they of theistic or atheistic perspective, are incompatible with any host culture in direct consequence of the value system they espouse, as evidenced by the following. Again, we ask: 'please explain' in the event we fail to understand the purport of these Talmudic texts.

"Murdering goyim is like killing a wild animal".

Sanhedrin 59a

"Even the best of the gentiles should be killed."

Abordah Zara

"A goy who pries into The Law is guilty of death."

Sanhedrin 59a

"Sexual intercourse with a little girl is permitted if she is three years of age."

Yebhamoth 11b

"Jesus fornicated with his jackass"

Sanhedrin 105ab

"Jesus is in hell and is being punished by being boiled in hot semen. Christians are boiled in dung."

Gittin 57a

"It is permitted to kill a Jewish denunciator anywhere. It is permitted to kill him even before he denounces."

Choszen Hamiszpat 388

"Jews may swear falsely by use of subterfuge wording."

Schabouth Hag 6d

"Jews must always try to deceive Christians."

Zohar 1160a

"Do not save goyim in danger of death."

Hilkkoth Akum 11

"A Jew may keep anything he finds which belongs to the Aqum (gentile/idolator). For he who returns lost property (to gentiles) sins against The Law by increasing the power of the transgressors of The Law. It is praiseworthy, however, to return lost property if it is done to honour the name of God, namely, if by so doing Christians will praise the Jews and look upon them as honourable people."

Choshen Ham 266 1

"The Jew is allowed to go to the Aqum lead him on, do business with him, to deceive him and take his money. For the wealth of the Aqum is to be regarded as common property and belongs

to the first who can get it."

Choshem Ham 156, 5 Hagah.

"The money of the truly righteous Jew is more precious to them than their own bodies."

Sotah 12a

"You are human beings, but the nations of the world are not human beings but beasts." Baba Mecia, 114, b

"On the house of the goy, one looks as on the field of cattle."

Tosefta, Erubia, viii.

"We beg thee, O Lord, indict thy wrath on the Nations not believing in Thee and not calling on Thy name. Let down thy wrath on them and inflict them with Thy wrath. Drive them away in Thy wrath and crush them into pieces. Take away, O Lord, all bone from them. In a moment, indict all disbelievers. Destroy in a moment all foes of Thy nation. Draw out with root, disperse and ruin unworthy nations. Destroy them! Destroy them immediately, in this very moment.

(Pranaitas: Christianus in Talmudus Judeorum; quotations from Synagogue Judaica, p. 213. Minhagin, p.23; Croch Chaim, 480, Hagah) This above is the prayer said on the eve of the Passover.

"The estates of the Goys are like wilderness; who first settles in them has a right to them." Baba Batra, 54,b.

"If it can be proven that someone has given the money of Israelites to the goyim, a way must be found after prudent consideration to wiping him off the face of the earth."

Choschen Hamm 388,15.

"The property of the Goys is like a thing without a master"

Schulchan Aruch: Chozen Hamiszpat, 156, 5.

The Jew has struck his spade in the ground of the Goy; he has become master of the whole." Baba Batra, 55a.

" A Jew may rob a Goy; he may cheat him over a bill which should not be perceived by him

otherwise the name of God would become dishonoured."

Schulchan Aruch Chozen Hamizpat, 348.

"The Son of Noah, who would steal a farthing ought to be put to death; but an Israelite is allowed to do injury to a Goy; where it is written, Thou shalt not do an injury to thy neighbour is not said, thou shalt not injure a Goy." Missa Sanhedrin, 57.

"Who took an oath in the presence of the Goys, the robbers, and the customs house officer, is not responsible." Tosefta Szebnot, 11.

"In order to annul marriages, oaths and promises, A Jew must go to the rabbi, and if he is absent, he must call three other Jews, and say to them that he is sorry to have done it, and they say: 'Thou art allowed to'." (Schulchan Aruch, 2, 1.247.)

The Kol Nidre prayer of the Day of Judgment, that acquits beforehand Jews from the failure to fulfill all oaths, vows and promises:

"All vows, oaths, promises engagements and swearing which beginning this very day of reconciliation, we intend to vow, promise, swear and bind ourselves to fulfill, we are sorry for already, and they shall be annulled, acquitted, annihilated, abolished, valueless, unimportant; our vow shall be no vows, and our oaths, no oaths at all."

Schulchan Aruch, edit 1, 136.

"If a Goy killed a Goy or a Jew, he is responsible; but if a Jew killed a Goy he is not responsible."

ibid., viii, 5.

"If a Jew be called upon to explain any part of the rabbinic books, he only ought to give a false explanation, that he might not, by behaving differently, become an accomplice in betraying this information. Who shall violate this order shall be put to death."

"Every Goy who studies the Talmud, and every Jew who helps him in it, ought to die."

Sanhedrin 59a Aboda Zora 8-6 Szagiga 13.

These quotations from The Talmud may explain why there has been throughout history constant condemnation of Talmudic Judaism. Amongst many great Western thinkers there has been a critical examination of Judaic texts. I include, as follows, three observations from famous

products/precipitators of Enlightenment thought. Again, I reiterate, Judaism need not and should not be Talmudic, since it is the latter which is offensive and not necessarily the remainder of the theology:

"The Jews are nothing but an ignorant and barbaric people, which have for a long time combined the most loathsome avarice with the most abominable superstition and inexhaustable hatred of all peoples by whom they are tolerated, and through whom they are enriched." Francois-Marie Arouet (Voltaire).

"I decided to improve the Jews: but I do not want any more in my realm: indeed, I have done all to prove my scorn of the vilest nation in the world." Napoleon Bonaparte.

"There is a great danger for the United States of America, this great danger is the Jew. Gentlemen, in every land in which the Jews have settled, they have depressed the normal level and lowered the degree of commercial honesty. They have remained apart and unassimilated - they have created a state within a state, and when they are opposed they attempt to strangle the nation financially as in the case of Portugal and Spain. For more than 1700 years, they have lamented their sorrowful fate - namely, that they were driven out of their motherland, but gentlemen, if the civilized world should give them back Palestine and their property, they would immediately find pressing reasons for not returning there. Why? Because they are vampires - they cannot live among themselves; they must live among Christians and others who do not belong to their race.

If they are not excluded from the United States by the Constitution, within less than a hundred years they will stream into this country in such numbers they will rule and destroy us and change our form of Government for which we Americans shed our blood and sacrificed life, property and personal freedom. If the Jews are not excluded, within two hundred years our children will be working in the fields to feed the Jews while they remain in the Counting House gleefully rubbing their hands.

I warn you, gentlemen, if you do not exclude the Jews forever, your children's children will curse you in your graves. Their ideas are not those of Americans even when they have lived among us for ten generations. The leopard cannot change its spots. The Jews are a danger to this land and if they are allowed to enter they will imperil your institutions - they should be excluded by the Constitution."

Benjamin Franklin, 1789, addressing the question of Jewish immigration during the debates of the American Constitutional Convention.

The quotation from Benjamin Franklin is particularly relevant today in terms of world politics since it is referred to by Osama bin Laden (see: bin Laden's declaration on this site). He uses it to show the reasons why the world may yet see a global conflagration between Islam and so-called

Christendom. He says this would be a consequence of the Zionist domination of the United States of America. Since American political leverage operates over the remainder of the white world, and particularly within the Anglophone bloc, they can induce this 'clash of civilizations' that might otherwise, not occur.

## PART SEVEN:

### "I Haven't Come To Praise Caesar But To Bury Him".

"The evil that men do liveth after them; the good is often interred with their bones."  
(Shakespeare, 'Julius Caesar')

National Socialism, as Nazism or Neo-Nazism should not be necessarily equated with the idea of 'nationally-specific socialism' ie. a socialism within a nationalist (or tribalist or ethnic) context. The idea that has become popularly known as 'National Socialism' is specifically Hitlerism or Neo-Hitlerism (sic). Thus it was a doctrine limited by TIME and SPACE. It had its own unique historical, geo-political and bio-cultural origins and characteristics. Concentration camps and other 'crimes against humanity' may have been a couple of its features and with many other specifics not so atrocious and even benevolent. But it was never a universal white man's creed as postulated by contemporary neo-nazis, and it was certainly never meant for Australia or New Zealand whose fate Hitler intended was no different from the multiracialist liberals who advocate an Asian destiny. In fact, Hitler said:

"The descendants of the convicts in Australia should inspire in us nothing but a feeling of supreme indifference. If their vitality is not strong enough to enable them to increase at a rate proportionate to the size of the territories they occupy, that is their own look-out, and it is no use their appealing to us for help. For my own part, I have no objection at all to seeing the surplus populations of prolific Asia being drawn, as to a magnet, to their empty spaces. Let them all work out their own salvation! And let me repeat – it is nothing to do with us.

Adolf Hitler, Feb. 7<sup>th</sup> 1945.

The idea of a 'national-socialism' is however, transcendant of TIME and SPACE. It has existed universally from its most primitive form (i.e. primitive communism at the primary stage) even amongst Australian Aborigines, Melanesians, Polynesians, Negroes etc., through to a higher cultural form amongst various Europid and Mongoloid peoples (Celts, Teutons, Slavs, Berbers, pre-12<sup>th</sup> Century Japanese, early Chinese, Amerindians) in the secondary pre-feudal stage of development. From the early pre-feudal forms, tribal communism or tribal-socialism evolves into the national-socialism of the feudal form – the organic-national-body corporate or "bee-hive society". According to Herbert Spencer, a 19<sup>th</sup> Century English sociologist, (he was torn between his desires for an ethical-socialist society and the inorganic bourgeois social-darwinist

commercial society), Feudalism was the continuation of the tribal-socialist society which had undergone further cultural-political development and social articulation in the form of the growth of the authoritarian-aristocratic-state. He even claimed that the then-contemporary socialist and communist ideologies were aiming at the reforming of a feudal society. He argued that the modern states were overlays over feudal society where the predominantly agrarian feudal culture was revolutionized by industrialization giving the state a more "democratic" (i.e. meritocratic") basis for its leadership. A greater social-mobility and equality of opportunity had emerged to replace the ossifying effects of rigid class organization.

Between the feudal and industrial forms of State Socialism there is the period of social re-organisation (which may take decades or even centuries) during which society is more fluid and liberal as a prerequisite for permitting new dynamics (like technology) to reshape it. This anarchic period in which everything is challenged and nothing held to be absolutely valid is usually brief (historically speaking) since the perpetuation of this condition threatens the society's very existence.

From anarchic liberalism and democracy evolves authoritarian liberal democracy (the Cromwellian Protectorate, the American and French revolutionary governments) or even socialist democracy.

This liberal phase of history belongs with the Indo-European speaking section of the Caucasoid group; this group seems to retain a penchant for cyclical periods where social and individual 'rights' are defined and re-defined. Rousseau's 'Social Contract' and the American Constitution and Bill of Rights are simply recent examples of a long standing pattern of behaviour dating before Greco-Roman and other Indo-European cultures. Hamito-Semitic, Finno-Ugrian and High Mongoloid cultures seem to have moved from their feudal stages to advanced civilizations without a liberalistic period (Japan after the Meji Restoration, China, Korea Aztecs, Incas etc.). This fact has shaped much world history and is likely to influence things even more. The reality is that democracy (as westerners define it) has become a feature of state forms amongst non-Indo-European peoples only because of the great influence and power of this civilization.

As stated previously : "Democracy is the philosophy of Nature's Nobles". It is a grand IDEAL which Indo-Europeans should maintain; but it should not have become an ideology for export. Cosmopolitans have pushed it onto others minus its essential authoritarian aspect and its racial base. Libertarian-levellers are still pirating this concept.

As Rousseau suggests, the type of Absolute Freedom which is posited as the final goal of liberal-democracy, belongs only to the psycho-biological type which is imbued with an inherent desire not to abuse it – by a sense of responsibility for the welfare of the Nation as a whole. Such persons are the exception and not the norm. They exist in every race, people and nation, and form its natural aristocracy. This aristocracy represents Vilfredo Pareto's 'contending elite'. They can bear the goals set by the NEW AGE IDEAL.

A nationally-specific socialism as an ethical socialism, was a feature of classical American and French democracy, and before that the Cromwellian state. Its first form under Cromwell yielded to the economics-centred world view of the bourgeoisie. With its social-darwinist ethics, it waged the bourgeois class war. It ended as plutocracy: the dictatorship of finance capital. In response to the class war from above, the Marxist school of socialism responded with class war from below, its own version of social-darwinism. It sought the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. *Ethical-socialism can be defined as the essentially communitarian ethics ie. individual interests being subordinated to the interests of the community be it religious, regional, tribal, or national - in short, a civic religion.*

The hegemony of the English doctrine of "liberalism", the paid for creed of the plutocracy infected and distorted American and French democracy away from its ethical-socialist basis overwhelming it with the "shop-keeper's" ideology (Napoleon's phrase). Work should not simply be a means to accrue capital, but be rather, a life function and a pleasure. The bourgeois ideal is a twisted 'will to power' incompatible with the life-centred 'will to form' spoken of by Nietzsche as the mark of his 'over-man',

Prussia meanwhile was developing (through a process which restricted the "liberalizing" of the feudal structures) a modern industrial society based upon authoritarian structures and advanced social legislation. The Bismarck period consummated this process. Prussia evolved an ethical-socialist society. Whilst English children were dying of lung diseases brought on by chimney sweeping, or sweating in work houses for subsistence, Prussia had compulsory education, health insurance, pensions, and legalized unions. Social Democrats were able to achieve parliamentary representation to win social reforms. This progressive situation was both conservative and radical. It sought to conserve the best in the Prussian-German tradition whilst facilitating non-violent change through gradualness. That the programme worked can be shown by the fact that after twenty years of Bismarckian rule, Germany was able to challenge the hegemony of England and her plutocratic allies.

This "progressive-conservative" approach to State-Socialism had its British counterparts (the non-Marxist Fabians who were all ethno-centric, and nationalistic as well in favour of a Pan-European federation) and found echoes right throughout the white world. Despite what modern Fabian cosmopolitans may say (and right-wing fools), the founders of Fabianism (George Bernard Shaw, Beatrice Webb, H.G. Wells etc) were all non-Marxist, ethnocentric-nationalists and in favour of authoritarian measures in the state; their philosophic roots lay in Nietzsche NOT dialectical materialism. Today's Fabians are frauds and liars with no right to claim any part of the Fabian tradition. Indeed, today's Fabian Society has completely repudiated all formal adherence to an economic socialist objective in favour of laissez-faire economics and therefore in no way are they related to the original movement. They are nihilists, distorters.

The English capitalist idea NECESSARILY came into conflict with the Prussian socialist idea. There was the possibility that the former European aristocracies, the new proletarians and the

pressed petty bourgeois (who were going under to monopoly capital) might ally together to create a new progressive order. Germany was the PIVOT of this new conception. It was the ETERNAL IDEA given form. We now understand the Great War in this new light.

The modern world grew out of that war. Exploitation of the environment, periodic economic crashes on a global scale, disintegration of family structures, Bolshevism, Fascism, Nazism, U.S. Coca-Cola Imperialism, cultural perversion, all this, grew from the attempt to frustrate the development of the Prussian ethical socialist ideal. This ideal stood for the model of a new order in the European world, a New Age.

In recent times, a similar power bloc with the same ideals, the group which declared war on the ethical socialist Prussian idea (long before 1914), had declared (cold) war on Soviet Russia as a prelude to a possible Third World War, and continues to declare war on every movement postulating the need for a national renaissance. If these plutocrats succeed in global homogenization it may be the end of the white race and all ethnically specific nations. This global tragedy cum farce (to use Marx's phrase) may retard many civilizations for centuries. Many cultures' respective mythologies have spoken of "Armageddon"; it need not come as an explosion, but through the gradual erosion of all the values and forms that have given peoples meaning to their existence and made their life worthwhile. The world-consuming necropolis of cosmopolitan capitalism has its parallels in ancient Babylon, Rome etc. It is not the pinnacle of a civilisation, but its graveyard. (Refer to the history of culture in Oswald Spengler's The Decline Of The West).

The Soviet Union (as evidenced in Part Six and in my Social Revolutionary Nature) had not only abandoned the cosmopolitan brand of Marxist thinking (totalitarian liberal cosmopolitan marxist ideology is now a specifically Western disease and it entered into alliance with other Western liberal ideologies such as Christianity and corporate capitalism against the U.S.S.R.) but it was also abandoning its bureaucratic Marxist economic model in favour of a more holistic approach which permitted some private enterprise and rewarded personal initiative (ie. perestroika).. In fact, this new economic model was first initiated by Lenin as the "New Economic Policy", but it was abandoned after his death in favour of the centralized totalitarian economy suited to rapid industrialization.

If Lenin had not been a cosmopolitan, the evolving New Age national revolutionary U.S.S.R. could easily have affirmed him as a Great Russian "saint" (this tendency was already manifest in Soviet Nationalist mythology).

Whatever right-wing enemies of the Soviet Union may have said (be they traditional conservatives, fascists or liberal plutocrats styled as conservatives like Thatcher and Reagan) the former U.S.S.R. because of the ideological influence over Mikhail Gorbachev by the progressive-conservative Soyuz faction in the Soviet parliament, was becoming a co-nationalist commonwealth of culturally autonomous State-Socialist republics. This was forming under the

hegemony of the strongest group, the Great Russians and possibly the other Slavs. In this sense, the Soviet Union was a potential friend of the whole white race. The tradition of the great Dostoyevsky stayed alive in Russia!! Pan Slavism remained a step to a wider perspective.

The Soyuz faction maintained ideological links with the 'Conservative Revolutionary' European New Right (ie. GRECE, Thule etc) and sought the U.S.S.R.'s ideological transformation from Marxism-Leninism to a pan-European ethical-socialism. (Refer to The Dreamer Of The Day)

In the last days of the U.S.S.R. the aim was to transform the cyrillic acronym to render it as the Union Of Sovereign Syndicalist (Soviet) Republics, abolishing even the term 'Socialist' within this description, because of the popular association of 'socialism' with Marxism. The Stalinist reactionaries of the military coup of 1991 (who sought the impossible goal of re-instating 1950's political forms, including a return to totalitarian excesses) overturned the naturally destined direction of Russia. They played into the hands of the culturally-distorting compradors like Boris Yeltsin and his accomplices in the Russian mafia and the whole underworld seething with alienated discontent and egocentric malice, in the best mould of Dostoyevky's "The Possessed". In short, the Soviet system restrained these subterranean elements, but its' collapse opened up new possibilities, both for the underworld liberal/criminal elements as well as those committed to a new Russian renaissance. The covert world also included patriotic forces committed to a national renewal who operated within the Soviet system but now, with its collapse, and the explicit chaos, could shed the forms of Marxism-Leninism, a goal that they were incrementally working towards already. This was the beginning of the red-white-solution (harmonisation of tensions between Russia's communist and Tsarist heritages) essentially realised within the Red-Brown Coalition.

The 1991 attempted coup was without the consultation of the Soyuz faction (see The Dreamer Of The Day) and its principal leaders were arrested by Rutskoi who freed Gorbachev (something that he later regretted). In 1993, the parliamentary forces led by Vice-President Alexander Rutskoi, directed the so-called 'Red-Brown coalition' of the National Salvation Front to reclaim Russia from criminals and compradors but were crushed by the tanks of the Ministry of the Interior, acting on Yeltsin's orders. Young officers of the Ministry recommended to Rutskoi that he surrender before they were compelled to execute Yeltsin's orders to level the parliament building. President Bill Clinton didn't hesitate to laugh on television when advised by reporters that tanks had fired on the Russian parliament. Clinton, and his successor, George Bush, are the patrons of world dime-ocracy. They are the beacons who give us confidence in western capitalist institutions! We'll not hesitate to die for them in Iraq and elsewhere! Clinton will be remembered by history simply as "that groper between two bushes", whilst the two Bushes, history will assign, more sinister motivations.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and many other communist states, was celebrated by the global plutocrats as the end of history. They construed that cosmopolitan liberal democratic capitalism had finally triumphed not only over fascism in 1945, but also over communism. To the extent

that the plutocracies refuse to address the genuine socio-biological-geopolitical imperatives of this planet, they are yet to confront a series of continuous upheavals which will compel their system to accommodate change or alternatively perish. The more intelligent and ideologically evolved fascists and communists, in terms of their dialectical practicalities, have outgrown their irreconcilability, and have metamorphosed into new ideological syntheses. The Red Brown Coalition is a living example of this new, and radical anti-capitalist, anti-globalist, pan-nationalist ideology. Inter-Nationalism in the form of the polycentric pan-nationalism/co-nationalism will be the new form to replace the monocentric cosmopolitan-internationalism of the previous age. Such a 'global' system would be based upon an acknowledgement of the right of self-determination of all peoples which includes the right to determine their own economic and political systems. Co-operation as sovereign peoples and not American facsimiles-cum-McDonalds-clones-clowns. The Hegelian dialectical process of thesis-antithesis-synthesis is a constant as Life is eternally in flux, Being and Becoming Itself.

The defeat of Ruskoi's parliamentary forces was atoned for by Vladimir Zhirinovsky's successes in the subsequent elections and the unequivocal pardon issued to the revolutionaries of 1991 and 1993 by a massive parliamentary vote passed over Yeltsin's veto. Classical liberal-democratic thought as postulated by the American and French revolutionaries will dialectically complement the new revolutionary ethical-socialist philosophy that is imminent, but it must emancipate itself from the cosmopolitan-plutocratic baggage which it acquired, just as the historically more progressive fascists and communists had to emancipate themselves from the reductionist, materialist, social-Darwinistic thinking of the nineteenth century.

The classical liberal-democratic idea of the Sovereign Individual, when organically understood as applying to an integral member of a Sovereign National Community, co-operatively functioning within the community of nations, will guarantee the New Age revolutionary ethical-socialist idea will not recapitulate the totalitarian excesses of fascism and communism. Thus, only when liberal-democracy is truly representative of the Rousseau-esque 'general will of the masses' in tandem with contemporary socio-biological/cosmobiological thinking and not simply an instrument of cosmopolitan plutocratic elites (who have neither colour nor country, to paraphrase William Lane) can it serve as the third political ingredient of the New Age revolutionary philosophic synthesis. This perspective, founded upon historically observable Eternal Verities, is inherently authoritarian, meritocratic, populist and 'liberal' (in a classical sense of a broadly generous all-encompassing world-view which in other times was classed as a liberal or catholic perspective) and intrinsically opposed to all monocentric, totalitarian thinking. Indeed, if it had been arrived at syncretically before 1939, it may have made the Second World War with all its attendant costs - during and after - unnecessary. We were/are not the last of yesteryear, but always the first of tomorrow!

Most Russians today understand that the stand of Russia's patriotic parliamentary forces was the true general will of the Russian masses, because it sought to preserve the best aspects of the former Soviet system but move forward into a new progressive future. That stand was not

simply Russia's Alamo / Eureka Stockade. It was generally acknowledged by many Western Third Position national revolutionaries as a flashpoint between the Spenglerian forces animated by holistic political-thinking and the need for an ethical-socialist state in contrast with the purely economic thinking of the liberal plutocracy and its world-city or Babylon The Great order. For this reason a number of Western Third Position activists were present and some died with their Russian comrades.

Subsequently, David Duke of the Euro-American Unity And Rights Organization (EURO), spent some time in Russia at the invitation of pan-European Russian nationalist Alexander Prokhanov, editor in chief of *Zavtra* (Tomorrow). He has also conferred with former communist lawmaker and ultra-nationalist, General Albert Makashov, as well as many other radical nationalist figures of considerable political import. Duke has concluded that Russia "is the key to white survival" and he predicts that "racially-aware" parties could achieve political influence there. He believes that Russia's "sense of racial understanding" will unleash a trend internationally. Duke's autobiographical political manifesto *My Awakening*, has been published in the Russian language and enjoys wide circulation there. David Duke achieved sixty per cent of the white vote in Louisiana's election-for-governor in 1997 and is a well-respected figure in American patriotic circles just as he is hated and loathed by cosmopolitan liberals and Zionists. He has been formally denounced by George W. Bush.

We New Age national revolutionaries must stand ready to seize the historical opportunity to make REVOLUTION should 'Destiny' so provide. The compulsion to an ethical-socialist state is too strong to be forever held at bay by the distorting politics of liberal cosmopolitanism and the global plutocracy.

## PART EIGHT:

### The Hero As King

(Refer To Thomas Carlyle, "The Hero As King", in *Heroes And Hero Worship*.)

"Find Me The Best Man And Make Him King". Thomas Carlyle.

It is the heretical personality in history (we could include Jesus who was a heretic in the terms of Orthodox Judaism) who creates revolutions, who brings about revolutions in politics, economics, theology and culture. Let us refer to a Nietzschean from history, General ("imperator") Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of the first white English-speaking Commonwealth and Republic. He was certainly one of Nietzsche's "overmen". Indeed, Nietzsche referred to him as "that northern barbarian of the spirit". We Australians know him as an inspiration to the early Australian national revolutionary movement, the cause of the Social Republic. His spirit should be as relevant to us as it was to Henry Lawson and William Lane.

In 1895, S.A. Rosa, an anarchist of the time who was highly critical of the Cromwellian orientation of Lane's "Boomerang" wrote a novel entitled, "Oliver Spence, the Australian Caesar". It postulates the historical inevitability of an Australian dictatorship based on meritocratic ideas, populism and thorough nationalism. This ideal was indeed at the very roots of the early Australian nationalist and socialist movement.

Henry Lawson wrote:

"For Australia":

Now when the wars of the word begun,

they'll listen to you and me,

Now while the frightened nations run to the arms of democracy,

Now when the blathering fools are scared,

and the years have proven us right –

All unprepared and unprovided the

outpost of the white.

From "Australia's Peril":

Listen through the House and Senate,

listen from east to west

For the voice of one Australian

who will stand above the rest,

Who will lead his country's dawning, who will lead

in his manhood's noon –

The man may come with the hour –

but the hour may come too soon.

From "Cromwell":

... in my country's hour of need,

For it shall surely come,

While run by fools who'll never heed,

The beating of the drum,

While baffled by the fool at home

And threatened from the sea –

Lord, send me a man like Oliver –

And let me live to see.

From "The King of Our Republic":

If you find him stern, unyielding,

when his living task is set,

I have told you that a Tyrant shall

uplift the Nation yet.

The real Oliver Cromwell was scarcely the religious dogmatist as portrayed by those whose ideology was/is the "god of the golden ingot". Their motivation in defaming him lay in the fact that he abolished the powers of a corrupt parliament. This element had fought the ethical-socialist regime of Charles the First and disintegrated that state making necessary the rebirth of ethical socialism in the form of the Protectorate and Commonwealth.

This gang later devised the idea of laissez-faire and brought William and Mary to the British throne, to set up a constitutional monarchy as a façade for the money masters. From this time, British history was that of the plutocrats.

The distorters of British history chose to justify the "Glorious Revolution" of William and Mary

by blackening the name of Cromwell. They posited that his regime was based on vile anti-Catholic ideology, even more extreme than the general English attitude. This was false. In reality Cromwell made pacts with Catholic states which helped facilitate England's rise to empire. Cromwell's attitude to matters of faith was peculiarly liberal. He came close to granting Catholics an Act of Toleration. It was usually the gentile-zionists who favoured the persecution of other Englishmen on religious grounds.

The distorters further charged Cromwell with the establishment of personal dictatorship. In fact, he was raised to the position of Protector by the New Model Army, the revolutionary national army. The Protectorate was forced on Cromwell by the chaos into which England had sunk. But he refused to take a crown.

And again it was supposed that Cromwell was out to turn English society into a social lunatic asylum. They point to the activities of Levellers and Diggers who actually dubbed Cromwell "anti-Christ" and the "Great Dragon". These messianists were not to Cromwell's taste. The mailed fist and the hob-nailed boot of the Ironsides suppressed this lunacy. These gentile-zionists entered into opposition.

Cromwell's aim was to serve his State and People. He did not follow dogmatic formulae in anything. In his theology he was an "Independent" who believed everyone could find god in his own fashion. In his statecraft, he chose sure policies. His aim was the reconciliation of all in the State.

Lastly, and curiously, Cromwell has been decried by those who should be his supporters because of his use of Old Testament symbolism. Contemporary Protestant Christianity may have a Zionist bent and a love of all things Hebraic, but this charge cannot truly be laid on Cromwell. (A future essay, 'Babylon: Archetypal Cosmopolis' will examine gentile-zionsim)

We must seek always the SPIRIT BEHIND FORMS. Cromwell expressed his ideology in then contemporary language. His hostility to Rome was essentially nationalistic and in the spirit of Nietzsche, NOT in the spirit of Protestant absurdities. Historical necessities always compel symbolism. Cromwell was no messianic Anglo-Zionist ready to die Masada-style for his revelatory principles... by blood and spirit, he was related to Hengist and Horsa not Moses and Aaron.

The following quotations from Maurice Ashley's The Greatness Of Oliver Cromwell, establish certain root ideals from which a modern New Age oriented national revolutionary movement can extrapolate:

"Although Roman Catholics and Anglicans were excluded from the new order, Cromwell's own belief in liberty of conscience was illustrated at every level, and in office he grew more and not less tolerant. No new laws were passed against Roman Catholics, and the old ones were not

much pressed. During the year Cromwell had a number of mysterious interviews with the wealthy and eccentric Roman Catholic virtuoso, Sir Kenelm Digby, who afterwards expressed his obligation to the Lord Protector for his courteous treatment. It is believed that Digby sought was an undertaking that Roman Catholics should not be persecuted for the private celebration of the Mass. Later Cromwell was to write to Mazarin saying that while he could not publicly proclaim toleration for the Cardinal's fellow religionists he thought that under his government "Your Eminency on behalf of Catholics has less reason for complaint as to rigour upon men's conscience than under the Parliament." The French Ambassador reported home in September 1656 that "the Catholics find their position better than under former kings who did not allow them freedom of worship." Equally services conducted according to the Book Of Common Prayer were left undisturbed if they were held in private. In January 1654, an Anglican squire had been informed by a correspondent in London: "The news is very current about the town that the Protector expressed this much - that the ministry would discreetly use the Common Prayer Book". After the Restoration Church of England clergy recollected how they "took the confidence, being partly emboldened by the higher powers that were, to fall to the exercise of our ministerial function again in such poor parishes as would admit us." In many parts of London, the Communion was administered and services held in accordance with the old liturgy. John Evelyn, the royalist author and amateur scientist, who returned to the capital from his travels abroad in 1652, found that during the Protectorate a number of congregations met regularly for Anglican worship, which he and his wife frequently joined and neither he nor his friends ever had any serious difficulty in arranging for services of any kind - whether for christening, Communion, weddings or funerals - conducted with the customary rights. Far from being a despot, Cromwell "connived at liberty".

Finally the Jews were allowed to resettle in England. This was owing, very largely, to the persistent support of Cromwell.

It seems that the matter was first raised when John Thurloe went with a mission to Holland in 1651, and there met the famous rabbi Menesseh ben Israel. The question was discussed in the Assembly of Saints, but no decision was reached. Cromwell later suggested to a crypto-Jewish merchant who had settled in London if Menessah were to come over to London to treat it might be helpful. He duly came, and on November 12 1655, Cromwell brought his petition before the Council of State. The Council recommended that outside opinion should be consulted, and on December 4 Cromwell presided over a conference of lawyers, theologians and others. The lawyers said there was no bar to the readmission of the Jews, but the theologians objected as did the merchants of the City of London. Cromwell, realising that no help was to be obtained from the conference, referred the matter back to his Council of State. In March 1656, during the opening stages of the Spanish war (when Jewish intelligence proved valuable), he again pressed for the reconsideration of the question and eventually, on June 25, permission was granted by the Council for the Jews to hold private services (as the Anglicans and Roman Catholics) and to purchase a cemetery outside the city. In December, a house was rented as a synagogue and a cemetery opened at Mile End. Thus for four times Cromwell tried to persuade his councillors to agree to the admission of the Jews before they reluctantly consented. The episode exemplified

his liberal attitude of mind on matters of religion and also the limitations of his own influence as Protector.

What he fought to gain and toiled to defend above all else was freedom of conscience. As early as 1646 he had reminded the House of Commons that "from brethren we look for no compulsion but that of light and reason." And in the same year, he had written in a private letter:

'Where the ground (of anger) is things of difference of opinion; which to come to hurt men in their names, persons or estates will not be found to be an apt remedy. "

This was the view not only expressed by him when he was second in command of the army, but reflected by his practise as Lord Protector. Although "liberty of conscience" was enshrined in the written constitution, known as 'Instrument Of Government' under which the Protectorate was established, Cromwell had to exert his authority that it was respected. When he asked in 1655 whether there was "not yet upon the spirits of men a strange itch" to "put their fingers upon their brethren's consciences to pinch them there," he reminded members of parliament that it was in order to obtain liberty from oppression of the bishops that the Civil War had been undertaken; how then could they now become oppressors themselves? It was notable that the French Ambassador - by far the most reliable and best informed of all the foreign observers in London - remarked how, when Cromwell addressed his Second Protectorate Parliament in his own defence, the only thing on which he prided himself "upon having established liberty of conscience for everyone who believed in Christ." Not only was it a guiding principle in his domestic policy - for it was the torturing of James Naylaw that caused him to hankor after the Crown - but also in his foreign policy. He hesitated to conclude an alliance with France for fear that he might then be disarmed from striking a blow for the French Protestants; and he delayed signing the treaty of alliance until he had invoked French help in protecting the Protestants of Savoy.

It is true that as a young man he had spoken angrily of the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans; but as he grew older he grew more and not less tolerant. If religious fury induced men to disturb the public order, as the Quakers and Fifth Monarchists so often did, he felt obliged to punish them; but where saintly men like Fox and Rogers were concerned, he imposed penalties with reluctance and sorrow. He regarded the "popery" the Spaniards and Irish as primarily a political religion, as a flaming sword poised to destroy freedom of worship throughout the world. But the French Ambassador was his witness that in London under the Protectorate the Roman Catholics were allowed more scope to celebrate Mass in private than they had been under the Long Parliament and John Evelyn, the pious mouthed royalist dilettante who rejoiced when he saw Cromwell's carcass hanging a Tyburn has left in his memoirs detailed accounts of how the strict Anglicans were allowed to use the Book Of Common Prayer in the capital during the last years of the Protectorate. Cromwell was never afraid of ideas. He believed that the truth would prevail. "Notions", he told Parliament in 1654, "will hurt none but them who have them." That was why that he thought it was "an unjust and unwise jealousy to deprive a man of his natural liberty upon

a supposition that he might abuse it." When he did abuse it, it was time was judge.

It was at that point, where liberty of conscience becomes an excuse for the abuse of public order, that Cromwell was confronted at frequent intervals throughout his life with the conflict between the protection of liberty of thought and the maintenance of peaceful government. He never asked for or expected, or permitted when he became ruler so much freedom for religious practises that they disrupted the peace of the community. He had been ready, when the Presbyterians were supreme, to acquiesce in their control of a state church provided that they were willing to tolerant other Christian opinions outside it. He never (he explained) sought for "licentious liberty under the pretence of obtaining ease for tender consciences." He asked in 1647 only that "every man that walks peaceably in a blameless conversation and is beneficial to the Commonwealth may have liberty and encouragement." In 1648 he made no attempt to force his own religion on the Scots and when later as Lord Protector he tried hard to resolve the differences between the Scottish Remonstrance and Resolutioners, wherever his personal sympathies lay, he believed that Scots were entitled to work out their own salvation.

The following quotations are from some of the Ethical Socialist thinkers mentioned in this pamphlet, thinkers influenced by Nietzschean philosophy. The following references are meant to suggest that cosmopolitan Marxism always had a real alternative, not simply the sham alternative of liberal cosmopolitan capitalism. This true option is that of organic, ethnocentric and nationalist ethical-socialism. One of the variants of this universal concept is Australian-Socialism. Today, it is commonly accepted that Marxism, cosmopolitan or otherwise, is passe. We will see how long its capitalist cousin survives into the twenty first century.

"Pacifism will remain an IDEAL, war a FACT. If the white race chooses to wage it no longer, the coloureds will, and they will inherit the earth."

OSWALD SPENGLER, author of The Decline Of The West.

"I am a socialist, an up-on-hind-legs fighting Socialist Labor Party man – but above all else I am a WHITE MAN".

JACK LONDON, American author, journalist and American Socialist.

"... the natural thought forms, and dispositions, and instinctive reactions of Northern Europeans and Jews, Negroes and Whites, Indians and Chinese, vary subtly and profoundly; you can no more ignore differences of race than differences of sex. They are things greatly intensified by differences of tradition, training and conditions, but when all such modifications are eliminated, essential differences remain".

H.G. WELLS, renowned author, one of the spiritual founders of (pre-liberal-cosmopolitan) British Fabian Socialism. Quote is taken from Is Race Conflict Unavoidable? (1924). Wells is one of the eminent progenitors of the current New Age movement.

"We must remain white first, or nothing else can matter... The Australian labour movement's struggle is more than a national or social movement; it is a true racial struggle."

WILLIAM LANE, Australian Socialist, trade union leader, a founder of the Australian Labor Party, whose thinking serves modern Australian Nationalism, founder of the failed Colonia Cosme New Australia colony in Paraguay. The lifestyle practises encouraged by Lane at Colonia Cosme anticipated whole aspects of the New Age movement and the counter-culture communities.

### Extracts From "Our Land"

Bernard O'Dowd, Australian Socialist

From Northern strife and Eastern sloth removed,  
Australia and her herald gods invite  
A chosen race, its sternest ordeals proved,  
To guard the future from exotic blight.

But on our margin other folk are set  
Who, it is well, should keep a while away,  
Too long apart to mingle wisely yet,  
(E'en I who love the Hindoo, Chinese, say!)  
Yea, will we steel us to the death to fight -  
In such poor means alone avail - whome'er,  
Or Asian throng, or island brown, or white  
Blood-brother e'en would cloud our prospect fair,  
To guard the future from exotic blight.

And not alone to feel the mouths of children at her breast  
Australia wafts her sibyl call wherever white men are;  
But, warden of the boundaries, lone outpost for the West.  
She dare not risk the paling here of splendid Europe's star.  
But in the night we seem to see piratic dangers sparkle,  
And, on our moon's horizon growing, omens grimly darkle!  
Oh come ye of the white race hither, come ye to her call!  
'Tis not alone for us the word she sends you o'er the sea!  
As ye shall rise up while we soar, our failure means you fall -  
The fall of truth, the fall of love, the fall of liberty!

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# The Social Revolutionary Nature Of Australian Nationalism

by Alec Saunders

November 2001

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The first four texts presented here are based upon materials that first appeared in two pamphlets, one published in 1984, and the other in 1987. The author's 1984 pamphlet under the above title, was controversial for its refusal to accept that an Australian nationalist position could or should be wedded to the 'anti-communism' of the old conservative Right. Indeed, the author struck out in a different direction. Drawing upon the rich veins of Australian social-revolutionary thought and placing some of this opinion within the parameters of national revolutionary ideology, both of the past and the then-modern world, he showed that the new Australian nationalism was a progressive force. History has since moved on. The collapse of the former 'Eastern Bloc' obviated the place of 'anti-communism' in Australian foreign policy let alone as any sort of necessary position for nationalists. And now, with the hegemonic schemes of New World Order liberal-capitalism straddling the earth, a radically new world-view must be advanced. The texts here have been edited, necessarily updated and appropriately modified, to advance their key arguments in the contemporary situation. The author reasons that, only by striking down New World Order liberalism in our country, and by linking up with all forces which oppose it internationally, can Australian independence be secured. Essentially, that always was the position of Australian nationalists. To say it openly today, is mandatory.

Special Editorial note: the author may make minor amendments over time to those texts published under his name.

This Collection will also include selected works from Australian nationalist thinkers to complement and illustrate the ideas advanced in the contemporary items.

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[Part One: Basic Principles Of Modern National Revolutionary Ideology](#)

[Part Two: Henry Lawson And The Hegelian Holistic Revolution](#)

[Part Three: Principles Of Labour Nationalism](#)

[Part Four: William Lane And The National And Social Revolutions](#)

[Labour's Religion](#) by William Lane

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# The Horst Mahler File

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Horst Mahler has developed a new political identity in the last couple of years as a high profile member of the National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD). In the past, Horst Mahler was one of the founders of Germany's Left-terrorist movement - the Red Army Fraktion. Mahler's passage from the Left to nationalism has brought a fresh and dynamic perspective to the discussion-mode of the NPD, heightening its ability to analyse subjects such as globalism, consumerism, imperialism and the state. The first article in this File comes from a leftist newsmagazine and presents a marxist perspective on Mahler's past and present activities. It should be read critically. The other items are aspects of the controversial thought of this dedicated fighter of the German national-resistance. We expect to add to this File as time goes on. The first articles discuss the 'terror attacks' upon America in 2001, Zionism and the New World Order. Banned from Lebanon in 2001 (where he was due to attend a history conference), Horst Mahler is a significant player in the new politics which seeks to go beyond Left and Right in the struggle against globalist capitalism.

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[Horst Mahler Joins The NPD](#)

[Final Solution Of The Jewish Question](#)

[Independence Day - Live](#)

[11 September 2001: Cui Bono?](#)

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# Germany's Third Empire

Arthur Moeller van den Bruck

This Internet book is the same work published by George Allen And Unwin, London, 1934; it was reprinted by Howard Fertig, New York, 1971. This production is its first appearance in English on the Internet.

This work is often referred to in passing, but seldom read. Moeller appeared in the period after the First World War as one of the theorists of the broad Conservative Revolution in Germany. Internationally renowned for his translations of Dostoyevsky, this text is also a literary feast. However, the present book may be read for its analysis of civilization-crisis and visionary alternatives. In that sense it passes into the heritage of all who struggle against the international capitalist ascendancy of our times.

[Prefactory Letter To Heinrich von Gleichen](#)

[I. Revolutionary: Let us win the Revolution](#)

[II. Socialist: Each People has its own socialism](#)

[III. Liberalism: Liberalism is the death of nations](#)

[IV. Democrat: Democracy exists where the people take a share in determining their own fate.](#)

[V. Proletarian: The Proletarian is such by his own desire.](#)

[VI. Reactionary: A Policy may be reversed: History cannot.](#)

[VII. Conservative: Conservatism has eternity on its side.](#)

[VIII. The Third Empire: We must have the strength to live in antithesis.](#)

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# **Jean Thiriart: Biography And Interview**

## **Jean Thiriart: Biography**

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## **Jean Thiriart: Responses To 14 Questions**

**Submitted By Gene H. Hogberg**

**English translation by Dr. David Wainwright**

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# **The Oswald Spengler Collection: Biographical Essay; Extracts From The Decline Of The West; The Hour Of Decision**

**Biographical Essay by Donald Stockton**

[Biographical Essay](#)

**Extracts From The Decline Of The West**

[Extracts From The Decline Of The West: Introduction](#)

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Sections from Spengler, *The Decline of the West*:

[The Problem Of Civilization](#)

[Introduction: The Conclusion - Imperialism](#)

[Architecture and Divinities](#)

[Imitation and Ornament](#)

[The History Of Style As An Organism](#)

[Music And Plastic: The Arts Of Form](#)

[Popular And Esoteric Character](#)

[Will To Power](#)

[Impressionism](#)

[The Morale Of Dawning Civilization](#)

[The Great Style: The History Of Style As An Organism](#)

[Pergamum And Bayreuth: The End Of Art](#)

[Classical Behaviour Drama And Faustian Character Drama](#)

[Every Culture Possesses Its Own Ethic](#)

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[Origin And Landscape: The Group Of The Higher Cultures](#)

[Cities And Peoples](#)

[Reformation](#)

[Science, Puritanism](#)

[The Second Religiousness](#)

[The State](#)

[Philosophy Of Politics](#)

[Conclusion](#)

Readers notes for [The Hour Of Decision: Part One: Germany And World Historical Evolution](#), London, 1934:

This document, prepared for Internet publication, replaces chapter headings with Roman numerals, has alterations whereby internal page references are necessarily rendered into references to other sections, a spelling correction and the replacement of a body reference to a footnote.

[The Hour Of Decision](#) was composed just after the Nazi revolution, and was banned by Third Reich authority. It assessed the decline of European power and its crisis of culture and civilization, the placement of the then-Russia within the province of a global challenge to Western Civilization, and the roles of capitalism and Marxism in the crisis. The book (guardedly but prophetically) placed deep reservations against the Nazis to make appropriate choices. Dated by the immediate circumstances it describes, the work nonetheless has a general quality which makes it part of the literature of the struggle for a 'European' Cultural Renaissance.

[The Hour Of Decision: Introduction](#)

[The Hour Of Decision: Part One](#)

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## ***The Turner Diaries* and Cosmotheism: William Pierce's Theology of Revolution**

**Brad Whitsel**

### **ABSTRACT**

The 19 April 1995 bombing of the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City brought media attention to bear on a violent, futuristic novel that had been widely circulated in the radical right political subculture for nearly two decades prior to the disaster. Although the media would not explore the connection between William Pierce's novel, *The Turner Diaries*, and the bombing until weeks after it occurred, the book had incited violence before and was used earlier as a blueprint for launching a revolution against the federal government. In recent days, *The Turner Diaries* has received growing attention as a racist, anti-government tract. However, what remains unexplored about the book is its millenarian message and the apocalyptic theology that motivates its reclusive author. Pierce, who is the director of National Alliance, a neo-Nazi group headquartered in West Virginia, embraces a worldview shaped by a philosophy he refers to as 'Cosmotheism.' This syncretic belief combines scientific evolutionary theory with racial mysticism in its construction of reality. Cosmotheism, like all millennial beliefs of a catastrophic nature, mandates the destruction of the present order of earthly existence before a new era of redemption and bliss for the community of the chosen can unfold.

Although the evidence is still inconclusive, it appears as if William Pierce's pseudonymously authored 1978 novel, *The Turner Diaries*, may have been used as a blueprint for the 19 April 1995 bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City. Sources close to Timothy McVeigh, who was found guilty in June 1997 of the murder of the 168 people who died in the blast, revealed that the Gulf War veteran was utterly absorbed with the book's violent message.< 1> While the media devoted much attention to the eerie similarities between the novel's plotline and the circumstances of the bombing, this possible linkage was pursued superficially. As a consequence of the shallow treatment of the novel and its author by the media, the religious vision of *The Turner Diaries* remains underexplored both by academic and law enforcement groups.

Unfortunately, a consensus has emerged which narrowly places *Turner* in the literary genre of 'terrorist literature.' This categorization, while partially accurate, fails to perceive the book in terms other than a 'how- to' manual designed to enlighten its readers concerning the tactics of urban guerrilla warfare. Curiously, the renewed interest in *Turner* following the Oklahoma City bombing has not extended to consideration of the book's chiliastic dream for the future. This oversight is strange since once before the novel's apocalyptic message may well have served as the springboard for acts of domestic terrorism. Robert Mathews, a martyred hero to many on the radical right fringe, almost certainly regarded *Turner* as a canonical text. A one-time associate of William Pierce, Mathews used *Turner* as a guide to organize his own terrorist secret society (the Order) and followed aspects of the novel's plot in his group's use of rituals and tactics.< 2>

From 1983 to 1984 the members of the Order conducted a two-year campaign of counterfeiting and robbery to finance a racial revolution in America. The objective for Mathews' organization was to trigger a rebellion of the white population against the forces of ZOG, the Zionist Occupation Government of the United States, which was believed to be engineering the destruction of the white race and its Aryan heritage.< 3> For Mathews, this insurrectionary goal was driven by a divine imperative which ran far deeper than political concerns. Having become captivated with the spiritual aspects of racialism,< 4> Mathews heard in Pierce's fantasy novel a call for a holy war and the promise of a new dawn for those committed to the Aryan ideal of life.

Although *Turner* has often been referred to as the 'white supremacist bible' by the media, more attention has been given to its tactical and strategic plans for domestic terrorism than to the book's unusual spiritual impulse.< 5> What has been lacking thus far in the examination of the novel is a careful scrutiny of its millenarian overtones and an assessment of its implications for holy terrorism. I suggest that *Turner* should be viewed as a theological statement, marked by a vision of divine transformation and a sense of ultimacy derived from a fusion of racial and spiritual ideas. By examining the novel through this conceptual lens, our understanding of the strange appeal of *Turner* to a potentially violent faction of the antigovernment subculture may be substantially broadened.

## **PIERCE AND THE COSMOTHEIST WORLDVIEW**

*The Turner Diaries* is the first and better known of two novels written by William Pierce, a figure generally viewed as an intellectual leader of the American far right. Having sold nearly 200,000 copies, <6> *Turner* has been remarkably well-received for a book with an obvious fringe theme. The futuristic story unfolds in the 1990s and recounts the experiences of Earl Turner, a leader of an underground guerrilla force (the Organization) that engages in a campaign of terrorism against a Jewish-controlled American government. Turner's group of devoted revolutionaries succeeds in carrying out a series of sabotage operations, bombings, and assassinations which result in the occurrence of an all-out race war and the eventual violent dissolution of the central government.

The novel concludes with an apocalyptic vision of the future in which the Organization, having established a separate 'white territory' in California, initiates a global nuclear war. The nuclear strikes carry strange symbolic connotations, both for their timing and for their intended consequences. Undertaken in the late 1990s, the worldwide nuclear apocalypse occurs just prior to the arrival of the new millennium, the dawn of a pristine era promising glory and fulfillment for the Organization and its racial kinsmen. Equally chiliastic is the totality of destruction wrought by the weapons themselves and the metaphorical 'cleansing' effect they seem to possess. By unleashing the forces of mass destruction against its enemies, the terrorists erase from the face of the earth the impure 'alien hordes' who have long impeded the evolution of a new species 'the rejuvenated white race.' <7>

The millennial subcurrents of *Turner* convey a deeper message than that which is often associated with the book. While Pierce intended for this fictional work to promote the ideas of his racist organization (the National Alliance) to a wider readership, *Turner* also reflects the author's observance of a belief system steeped in conceptions of ultimate things. <8> Strangely, this central feature of Pierce's worldview has gone essentially unnoticed despite his occasional statements and writings suggesting his adherence to a divine cosmology.

Pierce's gravitation toward extremism appears to have begun during his days at Oregon State University in the early 1960s. While employed there as an assistant professor of physics (1962-65), Pierce became increasingly preoccupied with what he saw as the 'racial erosion' of American society. <9> Convinced that the university environment fostered a 'politically correct atmosphere' which prevented an honest dialogue on race from taking place, Pierce gave up on an academic career and shortly thereafter immersed himself completely in a quest for radical solutions to America's 'race problem.' <10>

Following a short association with George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party (ANP) in Arlington, Virginia, Pierce continued his work as a racial activist with a number of ANP successor organizations. By 1974, after having worked in high-ranking positions for a number of groups in the neo-Nazi orbit, he founded the National Alliance, an Arlington-based group devoted to promoting the progress of the white race. <11> In 1985, Pierce relocated his organizational headquarters to a 300-acre property in a remote portion of southeastern West Virginia. At this site, Pierce and a few members of his group run the organization's day-to-day operations, which involve the printing and distribution of racial separatist propaganda through the National Alliance's literature-selling arm, National Vanguard Books.

From the time of its inception, the National Alliance has separated itself from other neo-Nazi groups by its adoption of a distinctive and highly literate organizational rhetoric and a guiding philosophy that invokes sacred themes. Although the disparate ranks of the American neo-Nazi circle have commonly shared ideals loosely based on 'Blood and Soil' mythology and Nordic lore, this general movement has tended to be more ideological than spiritual. In marked contrast to these 'Hitler cults' which emerged in the wake of the post-Rockwell Nazi movement, Pierce's National Alliance sought to establish itself as a community of the Elect galvanized by a common belief in racial destiny and the Aryan path to godhood.

In order to understand Pierce's millenarian worldview, it is necessary briefly to explore the racially rooted theology upon which his organization is based. This philosophy, which Pierce calls 'Cosmotheism,' resonates in his literary work, particularly in *Turner*, and provides adherents with a totalistic logic explaining the order of the universe. <12> Blending Darwinian evolutionary theory with ideas from ancient Teutonic legend, Cosmotheism synthesizes the scientific with the mystical in its construction of reality. While the empirical and otherworldly components of this belief system might initially appear incompatible, in a strange sense each reinforces the other in an all-encompassing concept for human evolutionary development. <13>

Pierce perceives the world in terms of separate, biologically differentiated evolutions of racial groups. Reflecting strong traces of the theories of scientific racism he read while at Oregon State University, <14> Pierce's conception of racial progress would seem, at first glance, to be merely an extension of the early twentieth century's 'racial anthropology' literature. Here it is important to see that Pierce's system of thought diverges significantly from the purely scientific structure adopted by early racial theorists. In the Cosmotheist thoughtworld, evolution takes on a spiritual meaning as mankind follows predetermined courses of racial destiny. Pierce has described this process as an 'upward path' with its end point leading to the goal of 'oneness with the Creator.' <15> This ultimate Cosmotheist objective, the white race's realization of godhood, is viewed as a genetically wired certainty. According to Pierce, who has lectured on the subject to

small gatherings of National Alliance members, the race's 'divine spark' has propelled it to greatness throughout history and separates it from all other forms of life.<16>

The concept of a unique Aryan path to godhood has parallels with the 'secret wisdom' beliefs found in ancient Gnosticism. Although lacking the racial mystique that would come to preoccupy some of its distant offshoots, Gnosticism established an early foundation for alternative expressions of salvationism. Embracing a mysterious and syncretic belief system borrowed from Platonism, oriental religions, Judaism, and Christianity, Gnosticism flourished in the first few centuries c.e. in the Mediterranean Basin as a counter religious movement to orthodox Christianity.<17> The importance of Gnosticism as a forebearer of other elite, alternative theological systems is found in its dualistic interpretation of reality. Perceiving in themselves a divine spark that differentiated those within the sect from outsiders, the early Gnostics held that the realization of spiritual unity with God could be achieved through secret revelation and initiation into the group's esoteric tradition.<18> This knowledge, which was deemed unavailable to group outsiders, permitted the 'release' of one's godly potential, and thus facilitated the 'insider's' personal path to divinity.

The Gnostic gravitation toward dualism and group secrecy was continued by a host of esoteric orders in the Western world. In particular, notions of occult revelations resonated with many of the secret societies which drew their inspiration from the Gnostic worldview. It is interesting to note that the uniquely German permutations of Gnostic belief, which in the nineteenth century combined Volkish nationalism with the mysticism of legendary secret societies, became the prime expositors of a 'revolutionary gnosis' that possessed both a racial basis and a political agenda.<19> The best-known of these relatively obscure ideas was Ariosophy, an Aryan variant of the era's widely popular Theosophy. Blending German nationalistic sentiments, occultism, and Teutonic belief, Ariosophy emerged as a 'crisis cult' in response to its adherents' sense of dislocation within late nineteenth-century German society and the disunified nature of the German state.<20>

Pierce has consistently displayed a fascination with various figures who are commonly associated with the Western esoteric tradition. Throughout his writing career, Pierce has admired the metaphysical ideas of mystical philosophers such as Meister Eckhart (1260-1327 c.e.) and Giordano Bruno (1548-1600 c.e.).<21> Scholars have generally located Eckhart and Bruno in the lineage of esotericists whose brand of mysticism incorporated Gnostic and Neoplatonist themes.<22> For Pierce, these theological scholars provided their race with a glimpse of the Divine in man's soul. Inspired by similar views about the innate urge to achieve union with a higher nature, Eckhart and Bruno observed cosmologies which, while subtly differentiated, stressed the possibility of the soul's perfectibility.<23> It was, in fact, the mystical reference to this divine spark, a point of central importance in Eckhart's philosophy,<24> which Pierce integrated into his own racially based cosmology. In a 1978 essay entitled 'The Faustian Spirit,' Pierce employs the Gnostic understanding of the soul's upward path in his racially deterministic framework of thought:

The race which is the bearer of this spirit must, therefore, be doubly careful that its genetic basis is preserved that it does not become a race solely of lawyers, clerks, laborers, and merchants but remains a race also of philosophers, explorers, poets, and inventors: of seekers of ultimate knowledge, of strivers toward the perfection which is Godhood.<25>

Cosmotheism appears to be philosophically related to this ancient esoteric tradition in some important ways. First, Cosmotheism can be viewed as an extension of the same type of protest subculture which organized around groups in the Gnostic constellation. Galvanized by the feeling that society was flawed and on the wrong course of development, these groups turned inward, away from the surrounding social system, and sought security in a group-specific, utopian image of the world. Second, despite the chronological gap between the emergence of the Gnostic outlook and that of Cosmotheism, there are similarities in their respective uses of dualism. Employed by each as a means to divide society into camps comprised of the 'enlightened' and the 'unknowing,' these philosophies provide believers with a neat, systematized way of differentiating between insider and outsider. Such an outlook provides the group with a sense of unity and a means to coalesce around shared ideals which are held to be superior to those of the outside culture.<26>

## **DESTRUCTION AND REBIRTH**

Cosmotheism is partly differentiated from what some scholars of radical mass movements have termed the 'reconstructed tradition,' which defines the outlook of groups seeking to return society to a past golden age.<27> Finding the dominant culture unsatisfying and threatening, separatist movements of this type are mobilized around inspirational themes taken from a putatively untarnished past. Despite sharing this tendency to look backward through history particularly to Viking lore and classical antiquity for models of an earlier, glorified existence, Cosmotheism possesses an inherently forward-looking character which extends from its emphasis on evolutionary development. In this respect, the Cosmotheist vision for the future is presented as a linear path of racial progress, with each forward step taking the race closer to the threshold of divinity. Whereas other factions in the radical right constellation (such as the Christian Identity fold and the various Klan organizations) perceive in bygone eras a purity of life to which they long to return,<28> the National Alliance uses utopian imagery drawn from both the past and the future. It is the more forward-looking component of Pierce's philosophy which carries revolutionary implications.

Like all millennial beliefs, Cosmotheism is a salvific philosophy that anticipates the dissolution of an existing world order and the eventual realization of a new and perfect society. Its bio-racial underpinnings reflect a deterministic view of

history in which the anticipated age of ultimate renewal is arrived at through evolutionary means. This process of 'racial advancement,' as Pierce sees it, is preordained, and thus part of a cosmic plan for universal order.<29> The connotations of logical progress in Cosmotheism, albeit disturbing, convey optimism about the future, an attitude which is linked to an underlying faith in racial destiny. But unlike those 'progressive' millenarians whose beliefs are anchored in a view of history defined by constant improvement,<30> Pierce and his adherents envision the secular world in an eroded and decaying condition.

The conviction that the entire social system is headed for destruction is actually a key source of faith for millenarians whose dreams of renewal are contingent upon the realization of a sweeping disaster period. This system of thought, which religion scholar Catherine Wessinger has termed 'catastrophic millennialism,' is predicated upon a group's belief that the imminent destruction of the existing order must first take place before the perfect age, the new millennium, is brought about.<31> From the perspective of the believer, the catastrophe initiates the process whereby the forces of total worldly transformation are set in motion. In this vision, hope for the future is inextricably tied to the catastrophic event which alone has the power to recast an impure environment in a more hallowed form.

The redemptive quality of the apocalyptic vision for world transformation is understood in two ways by catastrophic millenarians. At one level, the disaster completely eradicates the past, giving birth to the new order in which life starts in a pristine form. The second level at which redemption occurs takes place within the community, which sees itself as benefiting from the destruction of the old way of life. As Norman Cohn observed, for revolutionary chiliasts the meaning of the Heavenly City on earth is inherently exclusive. Salvation is reserved for the 'chosen people' who will reap the reward for their faith when history is brought to its consummation.<32>

Catastrophic millennial theory provides us with a starting point from which to gauge the connection between disaster and salvation, but it fails to elaborate on an important aspect of this nexus. What is left undeveloped is the notion that disaster assumes a role in the renewal process that carries with it a faith-sustaining power. When considered from this vantage point, catastrophic events designed to bring down the decayed order of things perform a critical function in the totalistic mindset of those engaged in 'the final struggle.' This function, as Michael Barkun notes, is illusory and gives catastrophically inclined millenarians the appearance that the ultimate dream for change is unfolding.<33> Thus, for the believer, the disaster may be seen to be as much an act of self-confirmation, or reassurance, as it is part of the transformative cycle. At this point we begin to encounter the strong possibility that disaster is itself part of the millennial dream and not merely a precursor to it or a separate time on the millennial clock. The result is that whereas disaster and the era of perfection might, in other situations, be viewed as distinct epochs of history, here they are joined together in a synthesis of revolutionary change.

Pierce's conception of total change from the degraded state of present affairs to a sublime future has as its major obstacle the societal institutions which are believed to be responsible for the decline of white America. Presented in National Alliance literature in pathological terms, the government, courts, media, universities, and all other vestiges of the modern democratic social system are considered sick and inherently corrupted.<34> Comprising the core of this societal power structure are the same groups Pierce portrayed in *Turner* as 'unassimilable,' especially Jews and non-whites.<35> These groups, along with the government and its supporters, are seen as the promoters of a subversive 'diversity' agenda which has as its goal the disintegration of white culture. There is, however, a strong hint of hopefulness to be found in the National Alliance's appraisal of America's diseased condition. As Pierce points out in a recent article he wrote outlining the future strategy of his organization, the nation's advanced state of social decay represents the beginning of the end for the old Order:

The situation in America is no longer quasi-static, as it was during most of the 1970s and 1980s. During that earlier period the Jewish media were able to keep nearly all of the public hypnotized, to provide a false reality for them in the place of the real world around them. . . . Now the process of decay and disintegration has accelerated; now the hypnosis is beginning to wear off as reality becomes too harsh to ignore. This process will continue to accelerate in the future.<36>

## **TAPPING INTO THE MILLENNIAL OUTLOOK**

The theme of 'rebirth' undergrids all expressions of millennialism; but when catastrophe is eagerly anticipated as a precondition for earthly bliss, critical questions should be asked about the implications of the group's beliefs. Above all, it is necessary to consider whether the group's vision of disaster promotes action on the part of adherents to 'trigger' the events leading to the perfect age. It is this specific behavior, the act of forcing the millennium through human effort, which may place the group on a collision course with society. The distinction between the passive expectation and active promotion of catastrophe is important because it effectively separates disaster-prone millennialism into either nonviolent or potentially violent types. When we turn our attention to the Cosmotheist impulse which informs Pierce's literary work, it becomes clear that the doctrine legitimizes violence as a tool for implementing its program for change.

*The Turner Diaries'* fictionalized route to racial Armageddon provides us with a glimpse of Cosmotheism's track of logic. Presented in the novel in its most highly distilled form, the philosophy mandates the complete eradication of enemies who are portrayed as subhuman. Only by purging the world of their degenerate and impure society can a new system'an Aryan

order of life be created. The pure vs. impure dynamic in *Turner* does not lend itself to strategies of change which are less than total. This interpretive framework is ultimately reductionistic. Absolute distinctions drawn between 'the righteous' and 'the alien' take the form of a timeless truth and propel the believer on a course running counter to the interests and values of the larger society.

With these insights in mind, we can begin to see how Pierce's Cosmotheist beliefs, if followed to their logical ends, may activate the revolutionary forces needed to overthrow the opposing power structure. As the designs for an Aryan society are increasingly thwarted by the despised regime, some members of the faith may take it upon themselves to 'make history.' Although Pierce has been quick to dismiss as 'impulsive and overzealous' the perpetrators of the Oklahoma City bombing, <37> his early writings reveal an entirely different perspective on the use of terrorism to further organizational goals. In a 1971 essay, Pierce minces no words about the resolve necessary to do battle with the 'system':

We do not need to reason with the monster; we need to put a bullet into its brain and hammer a stake through its heart. If that means blood and chaos and battling the alien enemy from house to house in burning cities throughout our land then, by God, it is better that we get on with it now than later. <38>

While *Turner's* call for anti-government mobilization appears in the shape of a religious imperative, the novel's millennial hopes depend on the psychology of its readers. Touching upon the same general themes normally found in the discourse of the far right, particularly alienation and nativism, *Turner's* threatening motif is peculiarly well-suited to appeal to a Manichaean mindset. In this sense, Pierce's work does not so much reorient the beliefs of readers, but rather taps into the psychological outlook of those already inclined to see the world in apocalyptic and conspiratorial terms. <39> Here, *Turner's* versatility as an instigator for anti-system activism merits special attention. Depending upon the convictions of the reader, the 'enemy' may assume a number of forms, all of which become psychologically reconstituted as part of the larger New World Order. This does not suggest, however, that all those finding confirmation of their beliefs in *Turner* are blind to its sanction for religious warfare. One case, of course, stands out. Robert Mathews' close association with William Pierce, described by some as a student-mentor relationship, <40> points to the probability that he was a Cosmotheist believer. <41>

It is likely that the evolutionary basis of Pierce's syncretic Aryan theology lacks the explosive dynamism required to mobilize legions of religiously inspired terrorists. But, when dealing with issues of faith, the numerical size of an extremist millenarian movement may have little bearing on its ability to conduct sacred warfare. Visualizing themselves as participants in a cosmic-level battle with the forces of evil, religious terrorists are moved by a desire to reshape the existing order in accordance with the divine will. This source of inspiration is fueled by the group's profound sense of alienation and a certainty that its way of life is imperiled. <42>

Pierce's 1989 novel, *Hunter*, may provide us with some perspective on the author's maturation as a revolutionary prophet. Eschewing the fanciful strategic guerrilla war theme laid out in *Turner* for a more realistic plot, <43> Pierce focuses on the activities of a lone terrorist (the fictional Oscar Yeager) in his second novel. Yeager, a self-employed engineer and contractor in the Washington, D.C. area, comes to the realization that his one-man attempts at striking out against the government by random assassinations will not bring about its demise. However, the central character comes to see that by creating an environment in which such acts trigger exponentially greater effects, the isolated terrorist incident can be useful as a revolutionary tactic. Joining forces with the National League, a small band of like-minded revolutionaries, Yeager and the group undertake a calculated campaign aimed at inciting a nationwide backlash against Jews. Using a media propaganda strategy to win the allegiance of disaffected whites opposing the Jewish domination of America, the National League succeeds in fomenting a state of racial discord across the country. As tensions rise, American cities are reduced to combat zones where armed conflicts take place between minorities and whites. Like *Turner*, the novel ends on an apocalyptic note as America dissolves along racial lines and an all-out race war seems an inevitability. <44>

Pierce's apparent advocacy of a new strategy for insurrection, that of the small propaganda-utilizing cadre, would seem tailor-made for contemporary times when the far right's activities are being increasingly scrutinized by law enforcement organizations. Prefiguring the general strategy of 'leaderless resistance' outlined in 1992 by Christian Identity figure Louis Beam, <45> the protagonists of *Hunter* make use of the media to mobilize individuals or small groups in support of a racial cause. Such a plan improved upon the dated tactics of *Turner* for two reasons: leaderless terrorists are difficult for the state to monitor and control, and, lacking central direction, the 'cells' or individuals engaging in illegal activity provide the inciting policy with a high degree of plausible deniability from the actor's endeavors.

## CONCLUSION

Although Pierce's perception of the best-suited strategy for revolutionary violence may have changed from the time he wrote *Turner*, the same Cosmotheist ideals still influence his work. While the golden age vision in *Hunter* is presented in a less obvious manner than in the clearly millennial context of *Turner*, a Cosmotheist impulse also provides *Hunter's* protagonists with their sense of racial duty. At a primordial level of understanding, the 'heroes' in *Hunter* know that an integrated, multi-racial world is unnatural. By instigating racial unrest, the major characters in the novel set the stage for the unfolding forces of racial evolution to purge the country of its alien presence.

Pierce is not alone in his role as the far right's expositor of millennial violence. In recent days, other writers on America's rightward fringe have succeeded in attracting a limited following of sympathizers and in captivating the attention of media, law enforcement, and various interest groups. Of these, two stand out. The first is Richard Kelly Hoskins, whose 1990 book, *Vigilantes of Christendom*, tells the story of the Phineas Priesthood. Although Hoskins has been writing in the racist genre since the late 1950s, his *Vigilantes of Christendom* appears to have gained the reclusive author a significant measure of recent notoriety. Tracing the existence of a divinely ordained group of zealots from the biblical stories of Phineas, Hoskins maintains that individuals from this special priesthood have appeared throughout history whenever God's Law was broken.<46> According to Hoskins, the Phineans act as agents of God's wrath and, in accordance with their holy duty, 'execute judgment' against those held responsible for the corruption of Christian society.<47> Hoskins, whose theological justifications for violence seem based in a Christian Identity worldview, has either intentionally or unintentionally had his beliefs operationalized. Not unlike *Turner*, which has at least once incited a receptive mind to violence, *Vigilantes of Christendom* has already motivated a handful of sympathizers to place themselves in the self-perceived role of the Phineas Priest.<48>

Less well-known than Hoskins' *Vigilantes of Christendom* is another violent work of growing fringe popularity with roots in the Odinist tradition. Written under the pen name O.T. Gunnarsson, the anonymous 1993 novel *Hear the Cradle Song* mimics *Turner's* race war theme, but sets the futuristic action in a localized area (southern California) and substitutes an Odinist cosmology for the implicit Cosmotheism in Pierce's first book, after which Gunnarsson's saga is clearly modeled. The novel's protagonists, a contingent of Odinists who heroically defend a white community in coastal southern California against invasion by Hispanic and Chinese armies, rely on their bravery and cunning to defeat the numerically superior racial outsiders in an America torn apart by economic turmoil and social chaos. The millennial subcurrents of *Hear the Cradle Song* surface conspicuously at the novel's conclusion when, following the final victory over the invaders, the white community purges itself of troublesome Jews and homosexuals and begins a new future as a racially pure, orderly utopia.<49> Gunnarsson's novel is a modern-day extension of the Golden Age ideology embraced by the youthful Odinist subculture of Weimar-era Germany. Turning to the legendary Teutonic gods for inspiration during the darkest days of the interwar period, disillusioned German youth revived pagan deities as a means of reconstructing a time of imagined greatness.<50>

Both *Vigilantes of Christendom* and *Hear the Cradle Song* cater to an audience attracted to a reconstructed vision of a fanciful past and in search of a decisive plan for instituting order in a world perceived as having gone awry. However, despite their innate differences with the predominantly forward-looking nature of Cosmotheism, all share a common trait: each emphasize the use of 'purifying' violence enmeshed within a philosophy of the divine. That such works are gaining increasing attention in the far right subculture at this moment in time may not be surprising. Countercultural ideas of an intellectual and quasi-religious character have flourished during previous fin de siècle periods, and the arrival of the new millennium conveys images of a historical slate wiped clean of the past.<51> At a sociopsychological level, this turn of the cosmic clock has contributed to a pervasive mood of anticipation. For millennialists within this protest movement, however, the hopes associated with the new dawn of time involve the utter destruction of the old order of things before utopia can be achieved. It is this concept—the notion of eradicating a corrupted and decayed realm of life—which carries serious implications for public order. The potential consequences of such outbreaks of catastrophic millennial activism oblige scholars and police agencies to expand their efforts at understanding the beliefs of those willing to use violence to usher in the perfect age.

## ENDNOTES

<1> Mark Hamm, *Apocalypse in Oklahoma: Waco and Ruby Ridge Revisited* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997), 144-45.

<2> Kevin Flynn and Gary Gerhardt, *The Silent Brotherhood: Inside America's Racist Underground* (New York: Free Press, 1989), 140.

<3> Michael Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement*, rev. ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 11.

<4> Flynn and Gerhardt, 121-22.

<5> 'Links of Anti-Semitic Bank Provokes 6-State Parley,' *New York Times*, 27 December 1984, B7.

<6> This figure is cited on the inside cover of *The Turner Diaries* (Hillsboro, West Virginia: National Vanguard Books, 1978). Scholars have generally accepted this sales figure as accurate. See, for example, Robert S. Robins and Jerrold M. Post, *Political Paranoia: The Psychopolitics of Hatred* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 206.

<7> *Ibid.*, 210.

<8> I base this impression upon my personal interview with William Pierce conducted at his West Virginia Cosmotheist Community on 5 January 1993. This interview lasted approximately 90 minutes. Pierce proved willing to answer all of my questions concerning Cosmotheism, his writing career, and his views on the current social and political condition of America. However, he refused to divulge any information regarding the

numerical size of the National Alliance.

<9> Ibid.

<10> Ibid.

<11> William Pierce, *Human Dignity: A Racial Ethic* (Hillsboro, West Virginia: National Vanguard Books, 1978). This is a recorded speech given by Pierce at Arlington, Virginia before a small audience of National Alliance members.

<12> While Cosmotheist beliefs are most clearly evident in Pierce's first novel, the same conception of ultimate truth also informs his second novel, *Hunter* (Hillsboro, West Virginia: National Vanguard Books, 1989). Pierce has been a relatively prolific writer. In addition to his novels, he has written many editorials and essays for the publications with which he has been associated over the years. For a good understanding of the Cosmotheistic impulses which move Pierce, see his 'The Radicalizing of an American,' in *The Best of Attack! and National Vanguard Tabloid* (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books, 1989), 124-26. The article is one of many written by Pierce found in this compendium of essays marketed by National Vanguard Books.

<13> See Brad Whitsel, 'Aryan Visions for the Future in the West Virginia Mountains,' *Terrorism and Political Violence* 7, no. 4 (1995): 129.

<14> Pierce, interview with author.

<15> Ibid.

<16> Ibid.

<17> John Saliba, *Understanding New Religious Movements* (Grand Rapids, MI: William Eerdman Publishing Co., 1985), 39.

<18> Ibid., 39.

<19> Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *The Occult Roots of Nazism: Secret Aryan Cults and Their Influence on Nazi Ideology* (New York: New York University Press, 1992), 31.

<20> Ibid., 29.

<21> William Pierce, *Cosmotheism: Wave of the Future*, audiotape of lecture by William Pierce at Arlington, Virginia (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books, 1977). In this address, Pierce pays tribute to Meister Eckhart for his visionary ideas about human perfectibility. Also see William Pierce, 'Giordano Bruno: Visionary and Martyr,' in *The Best of Attack! and National Vanguard Tabloid*, 165.

<22> Emily Sellon and Ren'e Weber, 'Theosophy and the Theosophical Society,' *Modern Esoteric Spirituality: An Encyclopedic History of the Religious Quest*, eds. Antoine Faivre and Jacob Needleman (New York, NY: Crossroad, 1992), 311.

<23> Antoine Faivre, 'Ancient and Medieval Sources of Modern Esoteric Movements,' in *Modern Esoteric Spirituality*, eds. Faivre and Needleman, 7.

<24> Oliver Davies, ed., *The Rhineland Mystics: Writings of Meister Eckhart, Johannes Tauler, and Jan van Ruusbroec and Selections from the 'Theologica Germanica' and the 'Book of Spiritual Poverty'* (New York: Crossroad, 1980), 30-34.

<25> William Pierce, 'The Faustian Spirit,' in *The Best of Attack! and National Vanguard Tabloid*, 145.

<26> Philip J. Lee, *Against the Protestant Gnostics* (London: Oxford University Press, 1987), 33.

<27> Jeffrey Kaplan, 'Right Wing Violence in North America,' *Terrorism and Political Violence* 7, no. 1 (1995): 57-58.

<28> Michael Barkun, 'Religion and Violence in the Christian Identity Movement' (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., 3 September 1993).

<29> Pierce, *Cosmotheism*.

<30> For an understanding of the distinctions between catastrophic and progressive millennial thought, see Catherine Wessinger, 'Millennialism With and Without the Mayhem,' in *Millennium, Messiahs, and Mayhem: Contemporary Apocalyptic Movements*, eds. Thomas Robbins and Susan J. Palmer (New York: Routledge, 1997), 49-51.

<31> Ibid.

<32> Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), 308.

<33> Michael Barkun, *Disaster and the Millennium* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 210.

- <34> *What is the National Alliance?: Ideology and Program of the National Alliance* (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books, 1993). This pamphlet describes the beliefs of National Alliance members.
- <35> It should be noted that in *The Turner Diaries* other groups, including feminists, liberal Christians, and conservatives, are also viewed as 'obstacles' to the goals of the Organization.
- <36> *What is the National Alliance?*, 6.
- <37> William Pierce, 'OKC Bombing and America's Future' (address given 29 April 1995 on the radio program *American Dissident Voices*). This is a weekly, short-wave program broadcasted from WRNO Radio, New Orleans.
- <38> William Pierce, 'Why Revolution?,' in *The Best of Attack! and National Vanguard Tabloid*, 9.
- <39> Michael Barkun, 'Religion, Militias, and Oklahoma City: The Mind of Conspiratorialists,' *Terrorism and Political Violence* 8, no. 1 (1996): 59.
- <40> Flynn and Gerhardt, 271.
- <41> *Ibid.*, 96. It is also known that Mathews studied Odinism. In some respects, Odinism and Cosmotheism are quite similar. However, as a reconstructed belief, Odinism lacks the forward-looking, evolutionary character of Cosmotheism.
- <42> Bruce Hoffman, 'Holy Terror: The Implications of Terrorism Motivated by a Religious Imperative,' *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 18 (1996): 273.
- <43> Pierce, interview with author.
- <44> William Pierce [Andrew MacDonald, pseud.], *Hunter* (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books, 1989), 259.
- <45> Barkun, *Religion and The Racist Right*, 280. It bears attention that Pierce's new strategy for civil insurrection, as laid out in *Hunter*, preceded Beam's 1992 essay 'Leaderless Resistance,' which was included in the program of Rev. Pete Peters' Estes Park Conference of the same year.
- <46> Richard Kelly Hoskins, *Vigilantes of Christendom* (Lynchburg, VA: The Virginia Publishing Company, 1990), 23. The tale of Phineas is taken from Psalms 106: 'Then stood up Phineas, and executed judgment, and so the plague was stayed.'
- <47> *Ibid.*, 26.
- <48> 'Possible Lead in Bomb Blast at Olympics,' *New York Times*, 27 January 1997, A-3. Federal law enforcement officials reported that three men with ties to the Phineas Priesthood were considered suspects in the Olympic Park Bombing.
- <49> O.T. Gunnarsson, *Hear the Cradle Song* (self-published, 1993). Marketed by the Institute for Historical Review, Newport Beach, CA.
- <50> Jeffrey Kaplan, *Radical Religion in America: Millenarian Movements from the Far Right to the Children of Noah* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997), 15.
- <51> Walter Laqueur, 'Once More with Feeling,' *Society* 33, no. 1 (Nov./Dec. 1995): 16.

# The Decline And Splendor Of Nationalism

by *Tomislav Sunic*

No political phenomenon can be so creative and so destructive as nationalism. Nationalism can be a metaphor for the supreme truth but also an allegory for the nostalgia of death. No exotic country, no gold, no woman can trigger such an outpouring of passion as the sacred homeland, and contrary to all Freudians more people have died defending their homelands than the honor of their women. If we assume that political power is the supreme aphrodisiac, then nationalism must be its ultimate thrill.

To talk about nationalism in Anglo-Saxon countries usually evokes the specter of tribalism, violence, heavy politics, and something that runs counter to the idea of progress. For an American liberal, nationalism is traditionally associated with irrational impulses, with something incalculable that has a nasty habit of messing up a mercantile mind-set. A merchant does not like borders and national emblems; his badge of honor is his goods, and his friends are those who make the best offer on the global market. It is no coincidence that during World War II the Merchant preferred the alliance with the Commissar, despite the fact that the Commissar's violence often eclipsed that of the Nationalist. Daniel Bell once wrote that American liberals find it difficult to grasp ethnic infatuation because the American way of thinking is "spatially and temporally suspended." Indeed, to an insular maritime mind, it must appear absolutely idiotic to observe two people quarreling over a small creek or a stretch of land when little economic yield lies in the balance. A politician in America, unlike his rooted European counterpart, is essentially a realtor, and his attitude towards politics amounts to a real estate transaction. It is hard to deny that a person on the move, reared on Jack Kerouac or Dos Passos, is frightened by the ethnic exclusiveness that is today rocking the part of Europe from the Balkans to the Baltics. The mystique of the territorial imperative, with its unpredictable ethnic cauldron, must be a paramount insult to the ideology of the melting pot. Contrary to widespread beliefs, nationalism is not an ideology, because it lacks programmatic dimension and defies categorization. At best, nationalism can be described as a type of earthbound behavior with residues of paganism. Whereas liberalism operates in the rational singular, nationalism always prefers the irrational plural. For the liberal, the individual is the epicenter of politics; for the nationalist, the individual is only a particle in historical community. To visualize different brands of nationalism one could observe a European family camping on the rocky beaches of the French Riviera and contrast it to an American family on the sandy beaches of Santa Barbara. The former meticulously stakes out its turf, keeps its children in fold; the latter nomadically fans out the moment it comes to the beach, with each family member in search of privacy. Incidentally, the word "privacy" does not even exist in continental European languages.

Following World War II, for a European to declare himself a nationalist was tantamount to

espousing neofascism. On the ossuary of Auschwitz, few indeed were willing to rave publicly about the romantic ideas of 19th century poets and princes, whose idyllic escapades gave birth, a century later, to an unidyllic slaughterhouse. At Yalta, the idea of a Europe frolicking with the liturgy of blood and soil was considered too dangerous, and both superpowers held high this reminder in the form of their respective strategy of "double containment." After their excursion into the largest civil war in history, Europeans decided not to talk about nationalism or self-determination any longer. Many European intellectuals, and particularly German pundits, preferred instead to recommit their suppressed nationalist energy to far-flung Palestinians, Sandinistas, Cubans, or Congolese instead of to their own ethnic soil. Third World nationalism became for the European mandarins both the esoteric catharsis and the exotic superego; and to theorize about the plight of Xhosa in South Africa, or Ibo in Nigeria, or to stage treks to Cashmere or Katmandu became an elegant way of wallowing in new political romanticism. This vicarious type of meta-nationalism continued to play a role of psychological repository for the dormant and domesticated Europeans who needed time to heal wounds and wait for yet another renaissance.

Has this renaissance already occurred? The liberal parenthesis that lasted for 45 years, and which received its major boost after the recent collapse of its communist alter ego, may indeed be coming to an end. From Iberia to Irkutsk, from Kazakhstan to Croatia, hundreds of different peoples are once again clamoring for their place under the sun. To assume that they are raising their ethnic voices for economic reasons alone is misleading, and liberals are committing a serious mistake when they try to explain away nationalism by virtue of structuralist-functional paradigms, or when they shrug it off as a vestige of a traditional ascriptive society. Contrary to popular assumptions, the collapse of communism in Europe and the Soviet Union is a direct spin-off of ethnic frustrations that have for decades laid dormant, but have refused to die away. The paradox apparent at the end of the 20th century is this: while everybody is talking about integration, multiculturalism, ecumenism, and cosmic fraternity, fractures, fissures, and cleavages are appearing everywhere. Paradoxes abound as little Luxembourg preaches sermons to a much larger Slovenia on the utility of staying in the Yugoslav fold; or when Bush, after failing to rescue the Balts, comes to the aid of artificial satrapy in the name of the "self-determination" of its handful of petrocrats; or when Soviet apparatchiks fake concern for the plight of Palestinians only to further crack down against their Bashkirs and Meshkets.

Nationalism is entering today the third phase of its history, and similar to a heady Hydra and howling Hecuba it is again displaying its unpredictable character. Must it be creative in violence only? Ethnic wars are already raging in Northern Ireland, in the land of Basques, in Corsica, let alone in Yugoslavia, where two opposing nationalisms are tearing Versailles Europe apart and showering the treaty successors with embarrassing and revisionist questions.

There are different nationalisms in different countries and they all have a different meaning. Nationalism can appear on the right; it does, however, appear on the left. It can be reactionary and progressive, but in all cases it cannot exist unless it has its dialectical Other. German

nationalism of the 19th century could not have flourished had Germany not been confronted by the aggressive French Jacobinism; modern English nationalism could not have taken off had it not been haunted by assertive Prussia. Each nationalism must have its 'Feindbild,' its image of the evil, because nationalism is by definition the locus of political polarity in which the distinction between the foe and friend, between hostis and amicus, is brought to its deadly paroxysm. Consequently, it is no small wonder that intra-ethnic, let alone inter-ethnic, wars (like the one raging today between Croats and Serbs) are also the most savage ones, with each side vilifying, demonizing, and praying for the total destruction of the other.

In addition, side by side with its positive founding myths, each nationalism must resort to its negative mythology, which in times of pending national disasters sustains its people in the fight with the enemy. In order to energize younger generations Polish nationalists will resurrect their dead from the Katyn, the Germans their buried from Silesia and Sudetenland; Croats will create their iconography on their postwar mass graveyards, Serbs their hagiography out of their war-camp victims. Body counts, aided by modern statistics and abetted by high-tech earth excavators, will be completed by mundane metaphors that usually tend to inflate one's own victimology and deflate that of the enemy. German nationalists call Poles "Polacks," and French chauvinists call Germans "boches." Who can deny that racial and ethnic slurs are among the most common and picturesque of weapons used by nationalists world wide?

Nationalism is not a generic concept, and liberal ideologues are often wrong when they reduce European nationalism to one conceptual category. What needs to be underlined is that there are exclusive and inclusive nationalisms, just as there are exclusive and inclusive racisms. Central Europeans, generally, make a very fine distinction between inclusive Jacobin state-determined ('staatsgebunden') unitary nationalism vis-a-vis the soil-culture-blood determined ('volksgebunden') nationalism of Central and Eastern Europe. Jacobin nationalism is by nature centralistic; it aims at global democracy, and it has found today its valiant, albeit unwitting, standard-bearer in George Bush's ecumenical one-worldism. Ironically, a drive towards unitary French nationalism existed before the Jacobins were even born, and it was the product of a peculiar geopolitical location that subsequently gave birth to the modern French state. Richelieu, or Louis XIV, were as much Jacobins in this sense as their secular successors Saint-Just, Gambetta, or De Gaulle. In France, today, whichever side one looks -- left, right, center -- the answer is always Jacobinism. In a similar vein, in England, the Tudors and Cromwell acted as unitary nationalists in their liquidations and genocides -- ad majorem Dei gloriam -- of the Cornish and Irish and a host of other ethnic groups. Churchill and other 20th-century English leaders successfully saved Great Britain in 1940 by appealing to unitary nationalism, although their words would have found little appeal today among Scots and Irish.

Contrary to widespread beliefs, the word "nationalism," ('Nazionalismus') was rarely used in National Socialist Germany. German nationalists in the 1920's and 30's popularized, instead, such derivatives as 'Volkstum,' 'Volksheit,' or 'Voelkisch,' words that are etymologically affiliated with the word 'Deutsch' and which were, during the Nazi rule, synonymously used

with the word 'rassisch' ("racial"). The word 'Volk' came into German usage with J.G. Fichte in the early 19th century, when Germany belatedly began to consolidate its state consciousness. The word 'Volk' must not be lightly equated with the Latin or English 'populus' ("people"). As an irony of history, even the meaning of the word "people" in the English language is further blurred by its polymorphous significance. People can mean an organic whole, similar to 'Volk,' although it has increasingly come to be associated with an aggregate of atomized individuals. Ironically, the German idea of the Volk and the Slavic idea of 'narodi' have much in common; and indeed, each group can perfectly well understand, often with deadly consequences, each other's national aspirations. It is no small wonder that in the German and Slavic political vocabulary the concept of federalism and democracy will acquire a radically different meaning than in linguistically homogeneous England, France, or America.

By ostensibly putting aside its racist past, yet by pushing its universalist message to the extreme, the West paradoxically shows that it is no less racist today than it was yesterday.

French and English nationalisms lack a solid territorial dimension, and their founding myths lie elsewhere. Over the course of their history, due to their colonial holdings, these countries have acted both as European and non-European nations -- which explains, particularly in the light of massive non-European immigration -- why their elites find it difficult to argue for their strong ethnic identity. Continental European nationalism, and specifically the German idea of 'Volksheit,' is by contrast the product of a set of geographic circumstances unparalleled in France or England. In France and England, the people were created out of the existence of the state. In Germany and Continental Europe, nationalism has manifested itself primarily as a cultural phenomenon of frequently stateless peoples. In Germany, Poland, Romania, etc., poets and writers created the national consciousness of their peoples; in France, princes created state consciousness. Popular figures in Central Europe -- like Herder or Father Jahn in Germany, Sandor Petofy in Hungary, Ljudevit Gaj in Croatia, Vuk Karadzic in Serbia, or Taras Shevchenko in the Ukraine -- played a crucial role in laying the foundation of the modern state for their respective peoples. Quite different was the story of nationalism in France where 'legists' created the unitary French state by suppressing regionalism in the French Hexagon. Similarly, in England, the role of nation-state builders fell to merchants and to maritime companies, which, aided by buccaneers, brought wealth for the English crown. Interestingly, during the Battle of Britain, Churchill even toyed with the idea of transferring Downing Street and the Westminster Palace to the heartland of America -- a gesture which in Central Europe would have amounted to national suicide.

Like America, France first became a state, and in turn set the stage for the molding of the French people of different tribes; by contrast, Germans have always been a stateless yet compact people. The history of France is essentially the history of genocide, in which French rulers from the Capetians to the Bourbons, all the way down to modern Jacobins, meticulously carried out destruction of Occitans, Vendéans, Bretons, Franche-Comte, etc. Suppression of regionalism and nativism has been one of the major hallmarks of French acculturation, with the

latest attempt being to frenchify Arabs from the Maghrib countries. Today, France is paying the price for its egalitarian and universalist dreams. On the one hand, it is trying to impose universal values and laws on the masses of Third World immigrants; on the other, it must daily proclaim the principle of self-determination for its multiracial social layers. If one puts things in historical perspective, everything presages that France has become a prime candidate for sparking off racial warfare all over Europe.

Looking at Germany and its East European glacis, a sharp eye immediately discovers a fluid area of levitating borders, "seasonal states," yet strong culturally and historically minded peoples. Central and Eastern Europe have a long ethnic and historical memory, but their borders fall short of clean-cut ethnographic lines. Germany, for instance, offers a view of an open and poorly defined stage yet at the same time it is a closed community. By contrast, Jacobin France, functionalist-minded England, and America are geographically closed states, but open societies. Nationalism in these countries has always been inclusive and has invariably displayed globalist and imperialistic pretensions, notably by spreading its unitary message to disparate peoples worldwide.

Geographic location has also affected the ethnopsychology of European peoples. An average German is essentially a peasant; his psychologic cast and conduct are corporal and telluric. A German displays great courtesy but lacks politeness, and like most peasants he usually exhibits heavy-handed ("schwerfaellig"), and frequently an awkward approach to social relations. By contrast, a Frenchman, irrespective of his ideological stripe and social background, is always a petty bourgeois; he is full of manners and stylishness but also full of pretensions. Unlike a German nationalist, a Frenchman displays a surfeit of manners but lacks courtesy. Even the most ignorant foreign tourist who goes to Germany and France will notice something foggy and unpredictable about Germans, while at the same time he will be gratified by the German sense of professional correctness and absolute honesty. By contrast, the body language and mannerisms of the French, as appealing as they may be, frequently leave one perplexed and disappointed.

In the course of their ethnogeneses, languages gave final veneer to their respective peoples. The German language is an organic language that branches off into eternity; it is also the richest European language. The French language, similar to a great extent to English, is an opaque language spun more by context than by flexion. As idiomatic languages, French and English are ideal for maritime and seaport activities. Over the course of history the French sabir and 'pidgin' English proved to be astounding homogenizing agents as well as handy acculturative vectors for the English and French drives toward universalism. Subsequently, English and French became universal languages, in contrast to German, which never spread out beyond the East European marshlands.

The German idea of the 'Reich' was for centuries perfectly adapted to the open plains of Europe, which housed diverse and closely knit communities. Neither the Habsburgs nor the

Brandenburgs ever attempted to assimilate or annihilate the non-Germanic peoples within their jurisdiction as the French and English did within theirs. The Danube monarchy, despite its shortcomings, was a stable society, proven by its five hundred years of existence. During the First and Second Reich, principalities, towns, and villages within the bounds of the Austrian and Prussian lands had a large amount of self-government that frequently made them vulnerable to French, Swedish, and English imperial ambitions.

German 'Volksheit' is an aristocratic as well as a democratic notion, since traditionally the relations between domestic aristocracy and the German people have been organic. Unlike France or England, Germany never experimented with foreign slavery. In Germany, ethnic differences between the local aristocracy and the German people are minimal; by contrast, in France, Spain, and England the aristocracy has usually recruited from the Northern European leadership class and not the masses at large. Incidentally, even now, despite the exactions of the French Revolution, one can see more racial differences between a French aristocrat and an average Frenchman than between a German aristocrat and a German peasant. In Germany the relationship between the elites and the commoners has always been rooted in the holistic environment, and as a result Germany has remained a society barely in need of an elaborate social contract; it has based social relationships on horizontal hierarchy and corporate structure, buttressed in addition by the idea of "equality among the equals." By contrast, French and English society can be defined as vertically hierarchical and highly stratified; consequently, it should not be surprising that French and English racisms were among the most virulent in the world. It is also worth recalling that the first eugenic and racial laws in this century were not passed in Germany, but in liberal America and England.

Political scientists will one day ponder why the most glaring egalitarian impulses appear in France and America, two countries which, until recently, practiced the most glaring forms of racism. Are we witnessing today a peculiar form of remorse or national-masochism, or simply an egalitarian form of inclusive racism? Inclusive nationalism and racism, that manifest themselves in universalism and globalism, attempt to delete the difference between the foreigner and the native, although in reality the foreigner is always forced to accept the legal superstructure of his now "repented" white masters. By ostensibly putting aside its racist past, yet by pushing its universalist message to the extreme, the West paradoxically shows that it is no less racist today than it was yesterday. An elitist like Vilfredo Pareto wrote that liberal systems in decline seem to worry more about the pedigree of their dogs than the pedigree of their offspring. And a leftist, Serge Latouche, has recently written how liberal racists, while brandishing their ethnic national masochism, force liberal values and liberal legal provisions upon their "decorative coloreds."

Peoples and ethnic groups are like boughs and petals; they grow and decay, but seldom resurrect. France and England may evoke their glorious past, but this past will invariably have to be adjusted to their new ethnically fractured reality. Lithuania was, several centuries ago, a gigantic continental empire; today it is a speck on the map. The obscure Moscow in the 15th

century became the center of the future Russian steamroller because other principalities, such as Suzdal or Novgorod, fantasized more about aesthetics than power politics. Great calamities, such as wars and famines, may be harbingers of a nation's collapse, but license and demographic suicide can also determine the outcome of human drama. Post-ideological Europe will soon discover that it cannot forever depend on the whims of technocratic elites who are in search of the chimera of the "common European market." As always, the meaning of carnal soil and precious blood will spring forth from those who best know how to impose their destiny on those who have already decided to relinquish theirs. Or to paraphrase Carl Schmitt, when a people abandons politics, this does not mean the end of politics; it simply means the end of a weaker people.

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# Marx, Moses And The Pagans In The Secular City by

*Tomislav Sunic*

**W**ith the conversion of the Roman Emperor Constantine to Christianity, the period of pagan Europe began to approach its end. During the next millennium the entire European continent came under the sway of the Gospel-sometimes by peaceful persuasion, frequently by forceful conversion. Those who were yesterday the persecuted of the ancient Rome became, in turn, the persecutors of the Christian Rome. Those who were previously bemoaning their fate at the hands of Nero, Diocletian, or Caligula did not hesitate to apply "creative" violence against infidel pagans. Although violence was nominally prohibited by the Christian texts, it was fully used against those who did not fit into the category of God's "chosen children." During the reign of Constantine, the persecution against the pagans took the proportions "in a fashion analogous to that whereby the old faiths had formerly persecuted the new, but in an even fiercer spirit." By the edict of A.D. 346, followed ten years later by the edict of Milan, pagan temples and the worship of pagan deities came to be stigmatized as *magnum crimen*. The death penalty was inflicted upon all those found guilty of participating in ancient sacrifices or worshipping pagan idols. "With Theodosius, the administration embarked upon a systematic effort to abolish the various surviving forms of paganism through the disestablishment, disen-dowment, and proscription of surviving cults."(1) The period of the dark ages began.

Christian and inter-Christian violence, *ad majorem dei gloriam*, did not let up until the beginning of the eighteenth century. Along with Gothic spires of breathtaking beauty, the Christian authorities built pyres that swallowed nameless thousands. Seen in hindsight, Christian intolerance against heretics, Jews, and pagans may be compared to the twentieth-century Bolshevik intolerance against class opponents in Russia and Eastern Europe-with one exception: it lasted longer. During the twilight of imperial Rome, Christian fanaticism prompted the pagan philosopher Celsus to write: "They [Christians] will not argue about what they believe-they always bring in their, 'Do not examine, but believe'. . ." Obedience, prayer, and the avoidance of critical thinking were held by Christians as the most expedient tools to eternal bliss. Celsus described Christians as individuals prone to factionalism and a primitive way of thinking, who, in addition, demonstrate a remarkable disdain for life.(2) A similar tone against Christians was used in the nineteenth century by Friedrich Nietzsche who, in his virulent style, depicted Christians as individuals capable of displaying both self-hatred and hatred towards others, i.e., "hatred against those who think differently, and the will to persecute."(3) Undoubtedly, early Christians must have genuinely believed that the end of history loomed large on the horizon and, with their historical optimism, as well as their violence against the "infidels," they probably deserved the name of the Bolsheviks of antiquity.

As suggested by many authors, the break-up of the Roman Empire did not result only from the onslaught of barbarians, but because Rome was already "ruined from within by Christian sects, conscientious objectors, enemies of the official cult, the persecuted, persecutors, criminal

elements of all sorts, and total chaos." Paradoxically, even the Jewish God Yahveh was to experience a sinister fate: "he would be converted, he would become Roman, cosmopolitan, ecumenical, gentile, goyim, globalist, and finally anti-Semite. "(!)(4) It is no wonder that, in the following centuries, Christian churches in Europe had difficulties in trying to reconcile their universalist vocation with the rise of nationalist extremism.

## **Pagan Residues in the Secular City**

Although Christianity gradually removed the last vestiges of Roman polytheism, it also substituted itself as the legitimate heir of Rome. Indeed, Christianity did not cancel out paganism in its entirety; it inherited from Rome many features that it had previously scorned as anti-Christian. The official pagan cults were dead but pagan spirit remained indomitable, and for centuries it kept resurfacing in astounding forms and in multiple fashions: during the period of Renaissance, during Romanticism, before the Second World War, and today, when Christian Churches increasingly recognize that their secular sheep are straying away from their lone shepherds. Finally, ethnic folklore seems to be a prime example of the survival of paganism, although in the secular city folklore has been largely reduced to a perishable commodity of culinary or tourist attraction. (5) Over the centuries, ethnic folklore has been subject to transformations, adaptations, and the demands and constraint of its own epoch; yet it has continued to carry its original archetype of a tribal founding myth. Just as paganism has always remained stronger in the villages, so has folklore traditionally been best protected among the peasant classes in Europe. In the early nineteenth century, folklore began to play a decisive role in shaping national consciousness of European peoples, i.e., "in a community anxious to have its own origins and based on a history that is more often reconstructed than real."(6)

The pagan content was removed, but the pagan structure remained pretty much the same. Under the mantle and aura of Christian saints, Christianity soon created its own pantheon of deities. Moreover, even the message of Christ adopted its special meaning according to place, historical epoch, and genius loci of each European people. In Portugal, Catholicism manifests itself differently than in Mozambique; and rural Poles continue to worship many of the same ancient Slavic deities that are carefully interwoven into the Roman Catholic liturgy. All over contemporary Europe, the erasable imprint of polytheist beliefs continues to surface. The Yule celebration represents one of the most glaring examples of the tenacity of pagan residues. (7) Furthermore, many former pagan temples and sites of worship have been turned into sacred places of the Catholic Church. Lourdes in France, Medjugorje in Croatia, sacred rivers, or mountains, do they not all point to the imprint of pre-Christian pagan Europe? The cult of mother goddess, once upon a time intensely practiced by Celts, particularly near rivers, can be still observed today in France where many small chapels are built near fountains and sources of water. (8) And finally, who could dispute the fact that we are all brain children of pagan Greeks and Latins? Thinkers, such as Virgil, Tacitus, Heraclitus are as modern today as they were during the dawn of European civilization.

## **Modern Pagan Conservatives**

There is ample evidence that pagan sensibility can flourish in the social sciences, literature, and arts, not just as a form of exotic narrative but also as a mental framework and a tool of conceptual analysis. Numerous names come to mind when we discuss the revival of Indo-European polytheism. In the first half of the twentieth century, pagan thinkers usually appeared under the mask of those who styled themselves as "revolutionary conservatives," "aristocratic nihilist," "elitists"- in short all those who did not wish to substitute Marx for Jesus, but who rejected both Marx and Jesus.(9) Friedrich Nietzsche and Martin Heidegger in philosophy, Carl Gustav Jung in psychology, Georges Dumézil and Mircea Eliade in anthropology, Vilfredo Pareto and Oswald Spengler in political science, let alone dozens of poets such as Ezra Pound or Charles Baudelaire-these are just some of the names that can be associated with the legacy of pagan conservatism. All these individuals had in common the will to surpass the legacy of Christian Europe, and all of them yearned to include in their spiritual baggage the world of pre-Christian Celts, Slavs, and Germans.

In the age that is heavily laced with the Biblical message, many modern pagan thinkers, for their criticism of Biblical monotheism, have been attacked and stigmatized either as unrepentant atheists or as spiritual standard-bearers of fascism. Particularly Nietzsche, Heidegger, and more recently Alain de Benoist came under attack for allegedly espousing the philosophy which, for their contemporary detractors, recalled the earlier national socialist attempts to "de-christianize" and "repaganize" Germany. These appear as unwarranted attacks. Jean Markale observes that "Naziism and Stalinism were, in a sense, also religions because of the acts that they triggered. They were also religions insofar as they implied a certain Gospel, in an etymological sense of the word . . . Real paganism, by contrast, is always oriented towards the realm of sublimation. Paganism cannot be in the service of temporal power."(11) Paganism appears more a form of sensibility than a given political credo, and with the exhaustion of Christianity, one should not rule out its renewed flourishing in Europe.

## **Paganism Against the Monotheist Desert**

Two thousand years of Judeo-Christian monotheism has left its mark on the Western civilization. In view of this, it should not come as a surprise that glorification of paganism, as well as the criticism of the Bible and Judeo-Christian ethics-especially when they come from the right wing spectrum of society-are unlikely to gain popularity in the secular city. It suffices to look at American society where attacks against Judeo-Christian principles are frequently looked at with suspicion, and where the Bible and the Biblical myth of god's "chosen people" still play a significant role in the American constitutional dogma. (12) Although the secular city has by now become indifferent to the Judeo-Christian theology, principles that derive from Judeo-Christian ethics, such as "peace," "love," and "universal brotherhood," are still showing healthy signs of life. In the secular city many liberal and socialist thinkers, while abandoning the belief in Judeo-Christian theology, have not deemed it wise to abandon the ethics taught by

the Bible.

Whatever one may think about the seemingly obsolete, dangerous, or even derogatory connotation of the term "European paganism," it is important to note that this connotation is largely due to the historical and political influence of Christianity. Etymologically, paganism is related to the beliefs and rituals that were in usage in European villages and countryside. But paganism, in its modern version, may connote also a certain sensibility and a "way of life" that remains irreconcilable with Judeo-Christian monotheism. To some extent European peoples continue to be "pagans" because their national memory, their geographic roots, and, above all, their ethnic allegiances—which often contain allusions to ancient myths, fairy tales, and forms of folklore bear peculiar marks of pre-Christian themes. Even the modern resurgence of separatism and regionalism in Europe appears as an offshoot of pagan residues. As Markale observes, "the dictatorship of Christian ideology has not silenced those ancient customs; it has only suppressed them into the rden," has been one of the main purveyors of imperialism, colonialism, and racism in the Third World.(14)

In the modern secular city, the century-long and pervasive influence of Christianity has significantly contributed to the view that each glorification of paganism, or, for that matter, the nostalgia of the Greco-Roman order, is outright strange or at best irreconcilable with contemporary society. Recently, however, Thomas Molnar, a Catholic philosopher who seems to be sympathetic to the cultural revival of paganism, noted that modern adherents of neo-paganism are more ambitious than their predecessors. Molnar writes that the aim of pagan revival does not have to mean the return to the worship of ancient European deities; rather, it expresses a need to forge another civilization or, better yet, a modernized version of the "scientific and cultural Hellenism" that was once a common reference for all European peoples. And with visible sympathy for the polytheistic endeavors of some modern pagan conservatives, Molnar adds: "The issue is not how to conquer the planet but rather how to promote an oikumena of the peoples and civilizations that have rediscovered their origins. The assumption goes that the domination of stateless ideologies, notably the ideology of American liberalism and Soviet socialism, would come to an end. One believes in rehabilitated paganism in order to restore to peoples their genuine identity that existed before monotheist corruption."(15)

Such a candid view by a Catholic may also shed some light on the extent of disillusionment among Christians in their secular cities. The secularized world full of affluence and richness does not seem to have stifled the spiritual needs of man. How else to explain that throngs of European and American youngsters prefer to trek to pagan Indian ashrams rather than to their own sacred sites obscured by Judeo-Christian monotheism?

Anxious to dispel the myth of pagan "backwardness," and in an effort to redefine European paganism in the spirit of modern times, the contemporary protagonists of paganism have gone to great lengths to present its meaning in a more attractive and scholarly fashion. One of their most outspoken figures, Alain de Benoist, summarizes the modern meaning of paganism in the

following words:

"Neo-paganism, if there is such a thing as neo-paganism, is not a phenomenon of a sect, as some of its adversaries, but also some of the groups and chapels, sometimes well-intentioned, sometimes awkward, frequently funny and completely marginal, imagine ... [What worries us today, at least according to the idea which we have about it, is less the disappearance of paganism but rather its resurgence under primitive and puerile form, affiliated to that "second religion," which Spengler justifiably depicted as characteristic of cultures in decline, and of which Julius Evola writes that they "correspond generally to a phenomenon of evasion, alienation, confused compensation, without any serious repercussion on reality." (16)

Paganism, as a profusion of bizarre cults and sects, is not something modern pagan thinkers have in mind. A century ago, pagan philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche had already observed in *Der Antichrist* that, when a nation becomes too degenerate or too uprooted, it must place its energy into various forms of Oriental cults, and simultaneously "it must change its own God" (979). Today, Nietzsche's words sound more prophetic than ever. Gripped by decadence and rampant hedonism, the masses from the secular city are looking for the vicarious evasion in the presence of Indian gurus or amidst a host of Oriental prophets. But beyond this Western semblance of transcendence, and behind the Westerners' self-hatred accompanied by puerile infatuation with Oriental mascots, there is more than just a transitory weariness with Christian monotheism. When modern cults indulge in the discovery of perverted paganism, they also may be in search of the sacred that was driven underground by the dominating Judeo-Christian discourse.

### **From Monotheist Desert to Communist Anthropology**

Has monotheism introduced into Europe an alien "anthropology" responsible for the spread of egalitarian mass society and the rise of totalitarianism, as some pagan thinkers seem to suggest? Some authors appear to support this thesis, arguing that the roots of tyranny do not lie in Athens or Sparta, but are traceable, instead, to Jerusalem. In a dialogue with Molnar, de Benoist suggests that monotheism upholds the idea of only one absolute truth; it is a system where the notion of the enemy is associated with the evil, and where the enemy must be physically exterminated (cf. Deut. 13). In short, observes de Benoist, Judeo-Christian universalism, two thousand years ago, set the stage for the rise of modern egalitarian aberrations and their modern secular offshoots, including communism.

"That there are totalitarian regimes "without God," is quite obvious, the Soviet Union for example. These regimes, nonetheless, are the "inheritors" of the Christian thought in the sense as Carl Schmitt demonstrated that the majority of modern political principles are secularized theological principles. They bring

down to earth a structure of exclusion; the police of the soul yield its place to the police of the state; the ideological wars follow up to the religious wars."(17)

Similar observations were echoed earlier by the philosopher Louis Rougier as well as by the political scientist Vilfredo Pareto, both of whom represented the "old guard" of pagan thinkers and whose philosophical researches were directed toward the rehabilitation of European political polytheism. Both Rougier and Pareto are in agreement that Judaism and its perverted form, Christianity, introduced into the European conceptual framework an alien type of reasoning that leads to wishful thinking, utopianism, and the ravings about the static future.(18) Similar to Latter-day Marxists, early Christian belief in egalitarianism must have had a tremendous impact on the deprived masses of northern Africa and Rome, insofar as it promised equality for the "wretched of the earth," for odium generis humani, and all the proles of the world. Commenting on Christian proto-communists, Rougier recalls that Christianity came very early under the influence of both the Iranian dualism and the eschatological visions of the Jewish apocalypses. Accordingly, Jews and, later on, Christians adopted the belief that the good who presently suffer would be rewarded in the future. In the secular city, the same theme was later interwoven into modern socialist doctrines that promised secular paradise. "There are two empires juxtaposed in the space," writes Rougier, "one governed by God and his angels, the other by Satan and Belial." The consequences of this largely dualistic vision of the world resulted, over a period of time, in Christian-Marxist projection of their political enemies as always wrong, as opposed to Christian-Marxist attitude considered right. For Rougier, the Greco-Roman intolerance could never assume such total and absolute proportions of religious exclusion; the intolerance towards Christians, Jews, and other sects was sporadic, aiming at certain religious customs deemed contrary to Roman customary law (such as circumcision, human sacrifices, sexual and religious orgies). (19)

By cutting themselves from European polytheistic roots, and by accepting Christianity, Europeans gradually began to adhere to the vision of the world that emphasized the equality of souls, and the importance of spreading God's gospel to all peoples, regardless of creed, race, or language (Paul, Galatians 3:28). In the centuries to come, these egalitarian cycles, in secularized forms, entered first the consciousness of Western man and, after that, entire humankind. Alain de Benoist writes:

"According to the classical process of the development and degradation of cycles, the egalitarian theme has entered our culture from the stage of the myth (equality before God), to the stage of ideology (equality before people); after that, it has passed to the stage of "scientific pretension" (affirmation of the egalitarian fact). In short, from Christianity to democracy, and after that to socialism and Marxism. The most serious reproach which one can formulate against Christianity is that it has inaugurated this egalitarian cycle by introducing into European thought a revolutionary anthropology, with universalist and totalitarian character."(20)

One could probably argue that Judeo-Christian monotheism, as much as it implies universalism and egalitarianism, also suggests religious exclusiveness that directly emanates from the belief in one undisputed truth. The consequence of the Christian belief in theological oneness-e.g., that there is only one God, and therefore only one truth-has naturally led, over the centuries, to Christian temptation to obliterate or downplay all other truths and values. One can argue that when one sect proclaims its religion as the key to the riddle of the universe and if, in addition, this sect claims to have universal aspirations, the belief in equality and the suppression of all human differences will follow suit. Accordingly, Christian intolerance toward "infidels" could always be justified as a legitimate response against those who departed from the belief in Yahveh's truth. Hence, the concept of Christian "false humility" toward other confessions, a concept that is particularly obvious in regard to Christian attitude toward Jews. Although almost identical in their worship of one god, Christians could never quite reconcile themselves to the fact that they also had to worship the deity of those whom they abhorred in the first place as a deicide people. Moreover, whereas Christianity always has been a universalist religion, accessible to everybody in all corners of the world, Judaism has remained an ethnic religion of only the Jewish people. (21) As de Benoist writes, Judaism sanctions its own nationalism, as opposed to nationalism of the Christians which is constantly belied by the Christian universalist principles. In view of this, "Christian anti-Semitism," writes de Benoist, "can justifiably be described as a neurosis." Might it be that the definite disappearance of anti-Semitism, as well as virulent inter-ethnic hatred, presupposes first the recantation of the Christian belief in universalism?

### **Pagan Notion of the Sacred**

To the critics who argue that polytheism is a thing of the prehistoric and primitive mind incompatible with modern societies, one could respond that paganism is not necessarily a return to "paradise lost" or a nostalgia for the restoration of the Greco-Roman order. For pagan conservatives, to pledge allegiance to "paganism" means to rekindle Europe's historical origins, as well as to revive some sacred aspects of life that existed in Europe prior to the rise of Christianity. One could also add that, as far as the alleged supremacy or modernity of Judeo-Christianity over the backwardness of Indo-European polytheism is concerned, Judeo-Christian religions, in terms of their modernity, are no less backward than pagan religions. To emphasize this point de Benoist writes:

"Just as it was yesterday a grotesque spectacle to see the "pagan idols" denounced by Christian missionaries, who were themselves enamored of their own bric-a-bracs, so it is somewhat ridiculous to see the (European) "past" denounced by those who never tire of praising Judeo-Christian continuity, and who refer us to the example of "always modern" Abraham, Jacob, Isaac, and other proto-historic Beduins."(22)

According to some pagan thinkers, Judeo-Christian rationalization of historical time has precluded the projection of one's own national past and, in so doing, it has significantly contributed to the "desertification" of the world. In the last century, Ernest Renan observed that Judaism is oblivious of the notion of the sacred, because the "desert itself is monotheistic." (23) In a similar tone, Alain de Benoist in *L'éclipse*, while quoting Harvey Cox's *The Secular City*, writes that the loss of the sacred, which is causing today the "disenchantment" of the modern polity, resulted as the legitimate consequence of the Biblical renunciation of history. First, the disenchantment of nature had started with the Creation; the desacralization of politics with the Exodus; and the deconsecration of values with the Alliance of Sinai, especially after the interdiction of idols (129). Continuing with similar analyses, Mircea Eliade, an author himself influenced by pagan world, adds that Judaic resentment of pagan idolatry stems from the ultra-rational character of Mosaic laws that rationalize all aspects of life by means of a myriad of prescriptions, laws, and interdictions:

"Desacralization of the Nature, devaluation of cultural activity, in short, the violent and total rejection of cosmic religion, and above all the decisive importance conferred upon spiritual regeneration by the definite return of Yahveh, was the prophets' response to historical crises menacing the two Jewish kingdoms." (24)

Some might object that Catholicism has its own form of the sacred and that, unlike some other forms of Judeo-Christian beliefs, it displays its own spiritual transcendence. But there are reasons to believe that the Catholic concept of the sacred does not emerge *sui generis*, but rather as a substratum of the Christian amalgam with paganism. As de Benoist notes, Christianity owes its manifestation of the sacred (holy sites, pilgrimages, Christmas festivities, and the pantheon of saints) to the indomitable undercurrent of pagan and polytheistic sensibility. Therefore, it seems that the pagan revival today represents less a normative religion, in the Christian sense of the word, than a certain spiritual equipment that stands in contrast to the religion of Jews and Christians. Consequently, as some pagan thinkers suggest, the possible replacement of the monotheistic vision of the world by the polytheistic vision of the world could mean not just the "return of gods" but the return of the plurality of social values as well.

Courage, personal honor, and spiritual and physical self-surpassment are often cited as the most important virtues of paganism. In contrast to Christian and Marxian utopian optimism, paganism emphasizes the profound sense of the tragic, the tragic—as seen in Greek tragedies—that sustains man in his Promethean plight and that makes his life worth living. (25) It is the pagan sense of the tragic that can explain man's destiny—destiny, which for old Indo-Europeans "triggered action, endeavor, and self-surpassment. (26) Hans Günther summarizes this point in the following words:

"[I]ndo-European religiosity is not rooted in any kind of fear, neither in fear of deity nor in fear of death. The words of the Latter-day Roman poet, that fear first

created the Gods (Statius, *Thebais*, 3:661: *primus in orbe fecit deos timor*), cannot be applied to the true forms of Indo-European religiosity, for wherever it has unfolded freely, the "fear of the Lord" (Proverbs, Solomon 9, 10; Psalm 11, 30) has proved neither the beginning of belief nor of wisdom."(27)

Some have suggested that the greatest civilizations are those that have shown a strong sense of the tragic and that have had no fear of death.(28) In the pagan concept of the tragic, man is encouraged to take responsibility before history because man is the only one who gives history a meaning. Commenting on Nietzsche, Giorgio Locchi writes that, in pagan cosmogony, man alone is considered a forger of his own destiny (*faber suae fortunea*), exempt from biblical or historical determinism, "divine grace," or economic and material constraints.(29) Paganism stresses a heroic attitude toward life as opposed to the Christian attitude of culpability and fear toward life. Sigrid Hunke writes of the [e]ssentialization of life, since both life and death have the same essence and are always contained in both. The life, which at any moment is face-to-death and with-death, renders the future per-manent in each instant, and life becomes eternal by acquiring an inscrutable profundity, and by assuming the value of eternity.

For Hunke, along with other authors of pagan sensibility, in order to restore these pagan virtues in the secular city, man must first abandon the dualistic logic of religious and social exclusion, "a logic which has been responsible for extremism not only among individuals, but also among parties and peoples, and which, starting out from Europe, has disseminated into the world this dualistic split that has acquired planetary proportions."(30) To achieve this ambitious goal, Western man must first rethink the meaning of history.

## **The Terror of History**

Modern pagans remind us that Judeo-Christian monotheism has substantially altered man's attitude toward history. By assigning history a specific goal, Judeo-Christianity has devalued all past events, except those that display the sign of Yahveh's theophany. Undoubtedly, Yahveh does admit that man may have a history, but only insofar as history is bestowed with an assigned goal, a certain goal, and a specific goal. Should man, however, continue to cling to the concept of history that evokes collective memory of his tribe or people, he runs the risk of provoking Yahveh's anger. For Jews, Christians, as well as Marxists, historicity is not the real essence of man; the real essence of man is beyond history. One could observe that the Judeo-Christian concept of the end of history correlates well with modern egalitarian and pacifist doctrines that inspire themselves, often unknowingly, with the Biblical proverb: "the wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid" (Isa. 11:6). De Benoist notes in *L'éclipse* that, unlike the pagan concept of history that involves organic solidarity and communal ties, the monotheistic concept of history creates divisions. Accordingly, Yahveh must forbid "mixtures" between the present and the past, between people and the divine, between Israel and the *goyim* (31). Christians, of course, will reject Jewish exclusiveness-as their century-long religious proselytism amply demonstrates-but they will, nonetheless, retain

their own brand of exclusiveness against "infidel" Moslems, pagans, and other "false believers."

Contrary to the Judeo-Christian dogma that asserts that historical time starts from one unique father, in European paganism there are no traces of the beginning of the time; instead, historical time is seen as a perpetual recommencement, the "eternal return" emanating from multiple and different fathers. In pagan cosmogony, as de Benoist writes, time is the reflection of the non-linear or spheric conception of history, a conception in which the past, the present, and the future are not perceived as stretches of cosmic time irrevocably cut off from each other, or following each other on the single line. Instead, present, past, and future are perceived as dimensions of actuality (*L'éclipse* 131). In pagan cosmogony, it is incumbent to each people to assign itself a role in history, which in practice means that there cannot be self-appointed peoples occupying the central stage in history. Similarly, just as it is erroneous to speak about one truth, it is equally wrong to maintain that entire humanity must pursue the same and unique historical direction, as proposed by Judeo-Christian universalism and its secular fall-out "global democracy."

The Judeo-Christian concept of history suggests that the flow of historical time is monolinear and, therefore, limited by its significance and meaning. Henceforth, for Jews and Christians, history can be apprehended only as a totality governed by a sense of ultimate end and historical fulfillment. History for both Jews and Christians appears at best parenthetical, at worst an ugly episode or a "vale of tears," which one of these days must be erased from earth and transcended by paradise.

Furthermore, Judeo-Christian monotheism excludes the possibility of historical return or "recommencement"; history has to unfold in a predetermined way by making its way toward a final goal. In the modern secular city, the idea of Christian finality will be transposed into a myth of a finite "classless" society, or the apolitical and ahistorical liberal consumer society. Here is how de Benoist sees it in *L'éclipse*:

"Legitimization by the future that replaces legitimization of the immemorial times authorizes all uprootedness, all emancipations" regarding the adherence in its original form. This utopian future that replaces a mythic past is incidentally always the generator of deceptions, because the best that it announces must constantly be put off to a later date. Temporality is no longer a founding element of the deployment of the being who tries to grasp the game of the world temporality is pursued from one goal, reached from one end; expectation and no longer communion. To submit globally the historical becoming to an obligatory meaning means in fact to shut history in the reign of objectivity, which reduces choices, orientations and projects."(155-56)

Only the future can enable Jews and Christians to "rectify" the past. Only the future assumes the value of redemption. Henceforth, historical time for Jews and Christians is no longer reversible;

from now on each historical occurrence acquires the meaning of divine providence, of "God's" finger, or theophany. In the secular city, this line of monolinear thinking will give birth to the "religion" of progress and the belief in boundless economic growth. Did not Moses receive the Laws at a certain place and during a certain time, and did not Jesus later preach, perform miracles, and was he not crucified at a specifically recorded time and place? Did not the end of history begin for Communists with the Bolshevik Revolution, and for liberals with the American century? These "divine" interventions in human history are never again to be repeated. Eliade summarizes this point in the following words:

"Under the "pressure of history" and supported by the prophetic and Messianic experience, a new interpretation of historical events dawns among the children of Israel. Without finally renouncing the traditional concept of archetypes and repetitions, Israel attempts to "save" historical events by regarding them as active presences of Yahveh. . . . Messianism gives them a new value, especially by abolishing their [historical events] possibility of repetition ad infinitum. When the Messiah comes, the world will be saved once and for all and history will cease to exist."(31)

Directly commanded by the will of Yahweh, history henceforth functions as a series of events, with each event becoming irrevocable and irreversible. History is not only discarded, but also fought against. Pierre Chaunu, a contemporary French historian, observes that "the rejection of history is a temptation of those civilizations that have emerged out of Judeo-Christianity." (32) In a similar tone, Michel Maffesoli writes that totalitarianism occurs in those countries that are hostile to history, and he adds: "We enter now into the reign of finality propitious to political eschatology whose outcome is Christianity and its profane forms, liberalism and Marxism."(33)

The foregoing observations might need some comments. If one accepts the idea of the end of history, as proposed by monotheists, Marxists, and liberals, to what extent, then, can the entire historical suffering be explained? How is it possible, from liberal and Marxist points of view, to "redeem" past oppressions, collective sufferings, deportations, and humiliations that have filled up history? Suffice it to say that this enigma only underscores the difficulty regarding the concept of distributive justice in the egalitarian secular city. If a truly egalitarian society miraculously emerges, it will be, inevitably, a society of the elect-of those who, as Eliade noted, managed to escape the pressure of history by simply being born at a right time, at a right place, and in a right country. Paul Tillich noted, some time ago, that such equality would result in immense historical inequality, since it would exclude those who, during their life time, lived in unequal society, or-if one can borrow Arthur Koestler's words-who perished with a "shrug of eternity." (34) These quotes from Koestler and Eliade illustrate the difficulties of modern salutary ideologies that try to "arrest" time and create a secular paradise. Would it not be better in times of great crisis to borrow the pagan notion of cyclical history? This seems to be the case with some East European peoples who, in times of crisis or catastrophes, frequently resort to popular folklore and myths that help them, in an almost cathartic manner, better to cope with

their predicament. Locchi writes:

“The new beginning of history is feasible. There is no such thing as historical truth. If historical truth truly existed then there would be no history. Historical truth must time and again be obtained; it must always be translated into action. And this is exactly-for us-the meaning of history.”(35)

We might conclude that for Christians it is Christ who defines the value of a human being, for a Jew it is Judaism that gauges someone's "choseness," and for Marx it is not the quality of man that defines the class, but rather the quality of the class that defines man. One thus becomes "elect" by virtue of his affiliation to his class or his religious belief.

### **Pagans or, Monotheists: Who is More Tolerant?**

As observed, Yahveh, similar to his future secular successors, in the capacity of the single truth-maker, is opposed to the presence of other gods and other values. As a reductionist, whatever exists beyond his fold must be either punished or destroyed. One can observe that, throughout history, the monotheistic true believers have been encouraged, in the name of "higher" historic truths, to punish those who strayed away from Yahveh's assigned direction. Walter Scott writes:

“In many instances the Mosaic law of retaliation, an "eye for eye, tooth for tooth," was invoked by the Israelites to justify the atrocities which they visited upon their fallen enemies ... The history of the Israelite campaigns shows that the Hebrews were most often the aggressors.” (36)

Thus, in the name of historical truth, the ancient Hebrews could justify the slaughtering of Canaanite pagans, and in the name of Christian revelation, Christian states legitimized wars against infidel heretics, Jews, and pagans. It would be imprecise, however, in this context to downplay the pagan violence. The Greek destruction of the city of Troy, the Roman destruction of Carthage, clearly point to the frequently total and bloody nature of wars conducted by the ancient Greeks and Romans. Yet, it is also important to stress that seldom do we find among the ancients the self-righteous attitude toward their victories that accompanied Christian and Jewish military victories. Seldom, if ever, did the Romans or the Greeks attempt, after the military destruction of their opponents, to convert them to their own deities. By contrast, both the Gospel and the Old Testament are interspersed with acts of self-congratulatory justice that will, in turn, justify "redeeming" violence against opponents. Similarly, in the modern secular city, to wage war for democracy has become a particularly nefarious means for erasing all different polities that refuse the "theology" of global progress and that shun the credo of "global democracy." To underscore this point, Pierre Gripari writes that Judaism, Christianity, and their secular offshoots Naziism, socialism, and liberalism, are barbarian doctrines that cannot have their place in the modern world (60).

By contrast, notes de Benoist, a system that recognizes an unlimited number of gods acknowledges also the plurality of cults offered in their honor, and above all, the plurality of customs, political and social systems, and conceptions of the world of which these gods are sublime expressions.(37) It follows from this that pagans, or believers in polytheism, are considerably less inclined to intolerance. Their relative tolerance is primarily attributed to the acceptance of the notion of the "excluded third" ("der ausgeschlossene Dritte"), as well as the rejection of Judeo-Christian dualism.

To underscore pagan relative tolerance, it is worth mentioning the attitude of Indo-European pagans toward their opponents during military confrontation. Jean Haudry remarks that war for pagans was conducted according to strict regulations; war was declared according to the rituals that beseeched first the help of gods and asked for their anger against the adversary. The conduct of war was subject to well-defined rules and consequently, "the victory consisted of breaking the resistance, and not necessarily of destroying the adversary" (161). In view of the fact that Judeo-Christianity does not permit relative truths, or different and contradictory truths, it will frequently adopt the policy of total war toward its opponents. Eliade writes that the "intolerance and fanaticism characteristic of the prophets and missionaries of the three monotheistic religions, have their model and justification in the example of Yahveh."(38)

How does the monotheist intolerance transpire in the purportedly tolerant secular city? What are the secular consequences of Judeo-Christian monotheism in our epoch? In contemporary systems, it is the opposite, the undecided-i.e., those who have not taken sides, and those who refuse modern political eschatologies-that become the targets of ostracism or persecution: those who today question the utility of the ideology of "human rights," globalism, or equality. Those, in short, who reject the liberal and communist credo.

In conclusion, one could say that, in the very beginning of its development, Judeo-Christian monotheism set out to demystify and desacralize the pagan world by slowly supplanting ancient pagan beliefs with the reign of the Judaic Law. During this century-long process, Christianity gradually removed all pagan vestiges that co-existed with it. The ongoing process of desacralization and the "Entzauberung" of life and politics appear to have resulted not from Europeans' chance departure from Christianity, but rather from the gradual disappearance of the pagan notion of the sacred that coexisted for a long time with Christianity. The paradox of our century is that the Western world is saturated with Judeo-Christian mentality at the moment when churches and synagogues are virtually empty.

*Dr Tomislav Sunic writes from Croatia.*

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**Notes:** 1. Charles Norris Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture* (New York: Oxford UP, 1957), 254-55,

329. 2. T. R. Glover, *The Conflict of Religion in the Early Roman Empire* (1909; Boston: Beacon, 1960), 242, 254, *passim*. 3. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Der Antichrist*, in *Nietzsches Werke* (Salzburg/Stuttgart: Verlag "Das Bergland-Buch," 1952), 983, para. 21. 4. Pierre Gripari, *L'histoire du méchant dieu* (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme, 1987), 101-2. 5. Michel Marmin, "Les Piegès du folklore," in *La Cause des peuples* (Paris: édition Le Labyrinthe, 1982), 39-44. 6. Nicole Belmont, *Paroles païennes* (Paris: édition Imago, 1986), 160-61. 7. Alain de Benoist, Noël, *Les Cahiers européens* (Paris: Institut de documentations et d'études européens, 1988). 8. Jean Markale, et al., "Mythes et lieux christianisés," *L'Europe païenne* (Paris: Seghers, 1980), 133. 9. About European revolutionary conservatives, see the seminal work by Armin Mohler, *Die Konservative Revolution in Deutschland, 1919-1933* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972). See also Tomislav Sunic, *Against Democracy and Equality: The European New Right* (New York: Peter Lang, 1990). 10. See notably the works by Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts* (München: Hoheneichen Verlag, 1933). Also worth noting is the name of Wilhelm Hauer, *Deutscher Gottschau* (Stuttgart: Karl Gutbrod, 1934), who significantly popularized Indo-European mythology among national socialists; on pages 240-54 Hauer discusses the difference between Judeo-Christian Semitic beliefs and European paganism. 11. Jean Markale, "Aujourd'hui, l'esprit païen?" in *L'Europe païenne* (Paris: Seghers, 1980), 15. The book contains pieces on Slavic, Celtic, Latin, and Greco-Roman paganism. 12. Milton Konvitz, *Judaism and the American Idea* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1978), 71. Jerol S. Auerbach, "Liberalism and the Hebrew Prophets," in *Commentary* 84:2 (1987):58. Compare with Ben Zion Bokser in "Democratic Aspirations in Talmudic Judaism," in *Judaism and Human Rights*, ed. Milton Konvitz (New York: Norton, 1972): "The Talmud ordained with great emphasis that every person charged with the violation of some law be given a fair trial and before the law all were to be scrupulously equal, whether a king or a pauper" (146). Ernst Troeltsch, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen* (1922; Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1965), 768; also the passage "Nurrechtlicher and liberaler Character des freikirchlichen Neucalvinismus," (762-72). Compare with Georg Jellinek, *Die Erklärung der Menschen-und Bürgerrechte* (Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1904): "(t)he idea to establish legally the unalienable, inherent and sacred rights of individuals, is not of political, but religious origins" (46). Also Werner Sombart, *Die Juden and das Wirtschaftsleben* (Leipzig: Verlag Duncker and Humblot, 1911): "Americanism is to a great extent distilled Judaism ("geronnene Judentum")" (44). 13. David Miller, *The New Polytheism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 7, *passim*. 14. Serge Latouche, *L'occidentalisation du monde* (Paris: La Découverte, 1988). 15. Thomas Molnar, "La tentation païenne," *Contrepoint* 38 (1981):53. 16. Alain de Benoist, *Comment peut-on être païen?* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1981), 25. 17. Alain de Benoist, *L'éclipse du sacré* (Paris: La Table ronde, 1986), 233; see also the chapter, "De la sécularisation," 198-207. Also Carl Schmitt, *Die politische Theologie* (München and Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1922), 35-46: "(a)ll salient concepts in modern political science are secularized theological concepts" (36). 18. Gerard Walter, *Les origines du communisme* (Paris: Payot, 1931): "Les sources judaïques de la doctrine communiste chrétienne" (13-65). Compare with Vilfredo Pareto, *Les systèmes socialistes* (Paris: Marcel Girard, 1926): "Les systèmes métaphysiques-communistes" (2:2-45). Louis Rougier, *La mystique démocratique, ses origines ses illusions* (Paris: éd. Albatros, 1983), 184. See in its entirety the passage, "Le judaïsme et la révolution sociale," 184-187. 19. Louis Rougier, *Celse contre les chrétiens* (Paris: Copernic, 1977), 67, 89. Also, Sanford Lakoff, "Christianity and Equality," in *Equality*, ed. J. Roland Pennock and John W. Chapaman (New York: Atherton, 1967), 128-30. 20. Alain de Benoist, "L'Eglise, L'Europe et le Sacré," in *Pour une renaissance culturelle* (Paris: Copernic, 1979), 202. 21. Louis Rougier, *Celse*, 88. 22. *Comment peut-on être païen?*, 170, 26. De Benoist has been at odds with the so-called neo-conservative "nouveaux philosophes," who attacked his paganism on the grounds that it was a tool of intellectual anti-Semitism, racism, and totalitarianism. In his response, de Benoist levels the same criticism against the "nouveaux philo-sophes." See "Monothéisme-polythéisme: le grand débat," *Le Figaro Magazine*, 28 April 1979, 83: "Like Horkheimer, like Ernest Bloch, like Levinas, like René Girard, what B. H. Lévy desires is less 'audacity,' less ideal, less politics, less power, less of the State, less of history. What he expects is the accomplishment of history, the end of all adversity (the adversity to which corresponds the Hegelian *Gegenständlichkeit*), disincarnate justice, the universal peace, the disappearance of frontiers, the birth of a homogenous society . . ." 23. Ernest Renan, *Histoire générale des langues sémitiques* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1853), 6. 24. Mircae Eliade, *Histoire des croyances et des idées religieuses* (Paris: Payot, 1976),

1:369, passim. 25. Jean-Marie Domenach, *Le retour du tragique* (Paris: édition du Seuil, 1967), 44-45. 26. Jean Haudry, *Les Indo-Européens* (Paris: PUF, 1981), 68. 27. Hans. K. Günther, *The Religious Attitude of Indo-Europeans*, trans. Vivian Bird and Roger Pearson (London: Clair Press, 1966), 21. 28. Alain de Benoist and Pierre Vial, *La Mort* (Paris: ed. Le Labyrinthe, 1983), 15. 29. Giorgio Locchi, "L'histoire," *Nouvelle Ecole* 27/28 (1975):183-90. 30. Sigrid Hunke, *La vraie religion de l'Europe*, trans. Claudine Glot and Jean-Louis Pesteil (Paris: Le Labyrinthe, 1985), 253, 274. The book was first published under the title *Europas eigene Religion: Der Glaube der Ketzer* (Bergisch Gladbach: Gustav Lubbe, 1980). 31. Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return or, Cosmos and History*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1965), 106-7. 32. Pierre Chaunu, *Histoire et foi* (Paris: Edition France-Empire, 1980), quoted by de Benoist, *Comment peut-on être païen?* 109. 33. Michel Maffesoli, *La violence totalitaire* (Paris: PUF, 1979), 228-29. 34. See Paul Tillich, *The Eternal Now* (New York: Scribner's, 1963), 41, passim. "Shrug of eternity" are the last words Arthur Koestler uses in his novel *Darkness at Noon* (New York: Modern Library, 1941), 267. 35. Giorgio Locchi, et al., "Über den Sinn der Geschichte," *Das unvergängliche Erbe* (Tübingen: Grabert Verlag, 1981), 223. 36. Walter Scott, *A New Look at Biblical Crime* (New York: Dorset Press, 1979), 59. 37. *Comment peut-on être païen?* 157-58. 38. Mircea Eliade, *Histoire des croyances*, 1:194.

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# A Global Village And The Rights Of The Peoples? by

*Tomislav Sunic*

**T**he great conflicts of the future will no longer pit left against right, or East against West, but the forces of nationalism and regionalism against the credo of universal democracy. The lofty ideal of the global village seems to be stumbling over the renewed rise of East European separatism, whose aftershocks may soon spill over into the Western hemisphere. Already the dogma of human rights is coming under fire by the proponents of peoples' rights, and the yearning for historical community is making headway into atomized societies deserted by ideologies.

With the collapse of communist internationalism the clock of history has been turned back, and inevitably the words of the 19th-century conservative Joseph de Maistre come to mind: "I have seen Poles, Russians, Italians, but as to man, I declare never to have seen him." Indeed, this paradigmatic universal man, relieved from economic plight and from the burden of history, this man on whom we pattern the ideology of human rights, is nowhere to be seen. He appears all the more nebulous as in day-to-day life we encounter real peoples with specific cultures. If he resides in Brooklyn, his idea of human rights is likely to be different from somebody who lives in the Balkans; if he is a fundamentalist Moslem his sense of civic duty will be different from somebody who is a Catholic. The rise in nationalist sentiments in Eastern Europe should not be seen as only a backlash against communist economic chaos; rather, it is the will of different peoples to retrieve their national memories long suppressed by communism's shallow universalism.

All of Europe seems to be undergoing a paradoxical and almost ludicrous twist of history. On the one hand Western Europe is becoming more and more an "americano-centric" national meta-society, while post-communist Eastern Europe threatens to explode into a myriad of mini-states. Conversely, whereas Western Europe is experiencing an unparalleled wave of foreign immigration and the inevitable surge of racism that must follow, the racial homogeneity of East Europeans has made them today more "European" than West Europeans—the East's own multi-ethnic turmoil notwithstanding.

In view of the disintegrating state system in Eastern Europe, Woodrow Wilson's crusades for the right of national self-determination and global democracy must seem contradictory. Home rule as envisioned by the architects of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 may have suited the demands of Poles, Czechs, and those European peoples who benefited from the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, but it had little appeal for those who were forced to exchange one foreign ruler for another. For the Germans stranded in, a newly emerged and bloated Poland or Romania in 1919, or for the Slovaks in a hybrid Czechoslovak state, the right to home rule meant nothing less than the creation of their own separate nation-states.

Yugoslavia, too, has owed its relative longevity more to Western liberal well-wishers than to the true consensus of its disparate peoples. For the last seventy years the Yugoslav experience has been an exercise in civil wars and constant ethnic strife among four of its major ethnic groups. Naturally, in light of the present salvos being exchanged between the Croats and the Serbs, the question that comes to mind is why does the artificial blending of different peoples always lead to instability and ethnic chaos? The answer seems to be rather obvious: that the rights of peoples are incompatible with universalism. Ethnic particularities cannot coexist in a state that places abstract principles of human rights over the real principles of peoples' rights.

It would be impossible to chronicle with precision who is right or wrong in the present ethnic turmoil that besets Yugoslavia. A litany of grievances can be heard today among Croats, Serbs, Slovenes, and ethnic Albanians, of which each group is tirelessly trying to outdo the others with its own impressive victimology. As Yugoslavia demonstrates, in multiethnic countries the notion of justice depends solely on the constantly shifting inter-ethnic balance of power, as well as the perception that each ethnic group may have of its neighbor. Both Serbs and Croats, the two largest ethnic groups in Yugoslavia, are today utterly disappointed with their country; the former, on the grounds that Yugoslavia is not centralized enough to allow the consolidation of the Yugoslav state; the latter, on the grounds that Yugoslavia is already too centralized. The lesson to draw today from the Yugoslav experience is that in multiethnic states democracy can only function when the national question has been resolved.

Moreover, democracy can take root only within the ethnographic frontiers of various peoples, who will define that word in accordance with their genius loci and their own history. Just as it was foolish some time ago to talk about Yugoslav anticommunist dissidence, so it is foolish now to anticipate the emergence of the all-out "Yugoslav" democracy. What seems good for a Croatian democrat today may be seen as a direct threat by somebody who styles himself a Serbian democrat tomorrow. Even America, because of its erratic immigration policy and the declining birthrate among whites, may soon find itself in a similar situation of having to redefine the concept of democracy. The legacy of the Founding Fathers, in the years to come, may be interpreted differently given the changing racial fabric of America. Voting preferences are likely to hinge on skin color, which could lead to a Balkanization worse than the one presently threatening Yugoslavia.

Democracy in any multiethnic state, at least as the global democrats would like to see it, is semantic nonsense; the liberal principle of "one man, one vote" is inapplicable in a country of diverse ethnic groups. Consequently, the genuine democratization of Yugoslavia, or for that matter the multiethnic Soviet Union, would require the disintegration of the country and the establishment of new nation-states. The German Holy Empire was an example of a rather stable confederal system that lasted for almost one thousand years, although at one point it was divided into three hundred sovereign principalities.

Paradoxical as it may seem, the ideology of global democracy seems to parallel closely the

failed communist Utopia, with one exception: it is presently more successful in the pursuit of its goals. What we are witnessing in the West is a liberal transposition of the Christian ideal of one world into a post-industrial society—a *civitas dei* in an age of cable TV and Michael Jackson. Everything presages, however, that this brand of universalism can be as dangerous for the peoples of Eastern Europe as the now moribund communism. From the point of view of a globe-trotting merchant a centralized and unified Yugoslavia, or Soviet Union, organized into giant free markets, would be the best solution insofar as that would facilitate the free movement of capital, and thus better ease the strain of ethnic animosity. Indeed, the prospects of having to deal with an additional twenty states on the Euro-Asian continent is a nightmare to a businessman more interested in the free flow of capital than in the self-determination of ethnic groups. The political liberal will surely endorse a global village that includes different ethnic parades—so long as they do not turn into military marches. Such a line of thinking, that "economics determines politics," clearly points to the Marxian morphology inherent in liberalism, confirming, once again, that communism is nothing else but its pesky brainchild.

But will the free bazaar in the global village dissolve ethnic passions? Although the masses in franchised Eastern Europe are today mimicking every move of the West, nothing indicates that their honeymoon with the global village will last long. Ethnic intolerance will only worsen once the peoples of Eastern Europe realize that the global village promises a lot but delivers little.

What makes a people? A people has a common heritage and a will to a common destiny. A people exists despite superficial cleavages such as parties, interest groups, and passing trends in ideologies. As Georges Dumézil, Mircea Eliade, and Carl G. Jung have demonstrated, a people shares a "mythe fondateur"—a communal myth that gives birth to original cultural endeavors. The culture of a people, recalls Alain de Benoist, is its identity card and its mental respiration, and "it is the passport for a future that takes the shape of destiny."

When a people becomes oblivious of its founding myth it is doomed to perish. Worse, it may turn into an aggregate of happy robots whose new dictum of universal human rights could be just another cloak for mindless hedonism. Western Europe is already experiencing this kind of ethnic and cultural oblivion. Paris in August resembles Oran or Marrakesh, and wide stretches of Berlin, at noon, have the distinct flavor of Anatolia. To many foreigners France is becoming more a synonym for its famous goat cheese and less a symbol of Corneillian heroism, and if one decides to go to Florence it is for a good bottle of Chianti rather than the mystic transcendence experienced through Botticelli's paintings. Yugoslavia, founded on similar principles of multiculturalism, is a product of the Russian 19th-century pan-Slavism combined with the Wilsonian dream. This experiment has not resulted in perpetual peace. In times of great crises host nations no longer look at aliens as purveyors of exotic folklore, but rather as predators snatching bread from their host's mouth. Peoples are not the same; they never have been and never will be. Ethnic groups can be compared to the inmates of large American prisons, who usually begin to respect each other only when their turf is staked out and when their cells are separated by massive stone walls. Thrown into one cell they are likely to devour each other in a

perpetual conflict over "territorial imperative."

The best way, therefore, to resolve the Yugoslavian multiethnic crisis is not by appealing to the spirit of "brotherhood and unity" but rather by dismantling the country into a loose confederal state. Blood and soil will forever determine the life of nations. "Scratch the skin of any globalist, goes the proverb in Croatia, and you will find beneath a passionate Croat, Serb, German, or Jew."

With the end of communism, the end of history will not follow, as some would wish us to believe. Had the Euro-peans in the 13th century conjured up the "end of history," the Mongol khananat would have been transferred to the Iberian peninsula. Had the Germans and the Poles preached the liturgy of affirmative action in 1683, Vienna would shine today as the capital of the Turkish sultans. The endless power game among nations and ethnic groups, the constant shifts in demographic trends, teach us that life goes on in all its "creative" hatred-Hitler, Stalin, or Saddam notwithstanding.

Today, more than ever before in the history of mankind, it is the specificity of peoples that is threatened by the universalist credo. Whether one travels to Warsaw or Sarajevo, or lands in Bucharest or Berlin, the blaring of rock music and the iconography of junk culture have become the new lingua franca, of the global village. One could spend days in the Budapest Hilton without ever knowing one had left the suspended bridges of the hotel complex of down-town Atlanta. The new universalism, in order to enforce its creed, no longer needs to resort to genocide and depopulations, to the frigid climate of Kolyma or Katyn, to which Stalin, in the name of a paradigmatic global proletarian, carted off Volga Germans, Kalmuks, and Chechens. The new universalism need only turn to a tepid universe of Kentucky Fried Chicken, a society in which everybody equals everybody, and where ethnic identities, therefore, mean nothing.

This "cool Stalinism" strips peoples of their souls by creating a Homo economicus-dollaricus. The end results of both brands of universalism are pretty much the same, except that the veiled violence of liberal universalism can now be more dangerous than the blunt violence of communism. It is an irony of history that naked violence often preserves regionalism and ethnic roots; each persecution has its cathartic virtue, and each sacrifice invariably strengthens a peoples' historical memory. Communist violence has triggered a hitherto unseen ethnic pride from the Balkans to the Baltic lands. In an air-conditioned hell of cool universal-ism, by contrast, regionalism and the love of one's country do not need to be openly crushed; instead, they can be turned into a commodity, and thereby rendered superfluous, if not outright funny. If ever the ethnic pride disappears from Eastern Europe it will not be as a result of communist repression, but rather as the outcome of a new infatuation with capitalist gadgetry. The global village knows how to enslave Ulysses' lotus eaters without even making them realize the peril that they face.

In a system in which everything has become a commodity, ethnic identity is viewed as an

expendable triviality too—a triviality that may at best arouse some culinary interest or a tourist's curiosity. If necessary, universalism will even do good business from the hammer, sickle, and swastika—as long as they sell well. For a globe-trotting merchant, home is where he hangs his hat, and where he makes a big buck. Montesquieu was, after all, not wrong when he wrote that commerce is the vocation of equal people.

Until recently, the concepts of egalitarianism and global democracy were strictly limited to Western peoples. Today, in a spasm of masochism, and because of the so-called "white guilt," the West has extended these principles to the antipodes of Earth. The *bon sauvage* has been transformed in our postmodern age into the therapeutic role of white man's superego. Not long ago it was the white man who had to teach the nonwhites the manners of the West. Today the roles are reversed; now it is the non-European, with his pristine innocence, who grafts himself onto the ailing consciousness of the Westerner, pointing out to him the right path to the radiant future.

The very concept of "the West" has been stripped of its original geopolitical and geographical significance, becoming instead a metaphor for a meta-system that encompasses Alaska, the Philippines, South Korea, and any nook or cranny where the idea of the mercantile global village thrives.

With the end of its competing ideology the philosophy of the global village has taken hold in many countries, eulogizing those who support it, vilifying those who don't. What the future holds is not difficult to guess. It may well happen that inter-ethnic troubles will eventually subside in Eastern Europe, but this is not likely to happen in the West, where racial turmoil looms large. We may soon see replicas of the Berlin Wall erected in New York and Philadelphia in order to contain the multiethnic violence of the global village. The lesson of artificial Yugoslavia should not be forgotten. Our "promiscuous altruism," as Garrett Hardin writes, may lead us against our will into a war of all against all.

The cult of the global village appears today as a political response to theological and ideological battles that have rocked the West for more than a century. But it remains to be seen how the singular principle of human rights can be implanted in a world that remains eminently plural. "We invoke human rights," continues Hardin, "to justify interfering in another nation's internal affairs. Thereby we risk making enemies of that nation . . . The intentions behind the fiction of 'human rights' may be noble, but insisting on such rights poses grave dangers." Global democracy is the last twilight dream of those who are spiritually homeless and physically uprooted. It is a doctrine that eloquently masks the ethnic and racial reality behind the theology of universalism.

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# History And Decadence: Spengler's Cultural Pessimism Today

Tomislav Sunic

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Oswald Spengler (1880-1936) exerted considerable influence on European conservatism before the Second World War. Although his popularity waned somewhat after the war, his analyses, in the light of the disturbing conditions in the modern polity, again seem to be gaining in popularity. Recent literature dealing with gloomy post-modernist themes suggests that Spengler's prophecies of decadence may now be finding supporters on both sides of the political spectrum. The alienating nature of modern technology and the social and moral decay of large cities today lend new credence to Spengler's vision of the impending collapse of the West. In America and Europe an increasing number of authors perceive in the liberal permissive state a harbinger of "soft" totalitarianism that may lead decisively to social entropy and conclude in the advent of "hard" totalitarianism(1).

Spengler wrote his major work *The Decline of the West (Der Untergang des Abendlandes)* against the background of the anticipated German victory in World War I. When the war ended disastrously for the Germans, his predictions that Germany, together with the rest of Europe, was bent for irreversible decline gained a renewed sense of urgency for scores of cultural pessimists. World War I must have deeply shaken the quasi-religious optimism of those who had earlier prophesied that technological inventions and international economic linkages would pave the way for peace and prosperity. Moreover, the war proved that technological inventions could turn out to be a perfect tool for man's alienation and, eventually, his physical an-nihilation. Inadvertently, while attempting to interpret the cycles of world history, Spengler probably best succeeded in spreading the spirit of cultural despair to his own as well as future generations.

Like Gianbattista Vico, who two centuries earlier developed his thesis about the rise and decline of cultures, Spengler tried to project a pattern of cultural growth and cultural decay in a certain scientific form: "the morphology of history" - as he himself and others dub his work - although the term "biology" seems more appropriate considering Spengler's inclination to view cultures as living organic entities, alternately afflicted with disease and plague or showing signs of vigorous life(2).

Undoubtedly, the organic conception of history was, to a great extent, inspired by the popularity of scientific and pseudo-scientific literature, which, in the early twentieth century, began to focus attention on racial and genetic paradigms in order to explain the patterns of social decay. Spengler, however, prudently avoids racial determinism in his description of decadence, although his exaltation of historical determinism often brings him close to Marx- - albeit in a reversed and hopelessly pessimistic direction. In contrast to many egalitarian thinkers, Spengler's elitism and organicism conceived of human species as of different and opposing peoples, each experiencing its own growth and death, and each struggling for survival. "Mankind," writes Spengler, should be viewed as either a "zoological concept or an empty word." If ever this phantom of "mankind" vanishes from the circulation of historical forms, "we shall then notice an astounding affluence of genuine forms." Apparently, by form ("*Gestalt*") Spengler means the resurrection of the classical notion of the nation-state, which, in the early twentieth century, came under fire from the advocates of the globalist and universalist polity. Spengler must be credited, however, with pointing out that the frequently-used concept "world history," in reality encompasses an impressive array of diverse and opposing cultures without common denominator; each culture displays its own forms, pursues its own passions, and grapples with its own life or death. "There are blossoming and aging cultures," writes Spengler, "peoples, languages, truths, gods, and landscapes, just as there are young and old oak trees, pines, flowers, boughs and petals - but there is no aging `mankind.'"(3) For Spengler, cultures seem to be growing in

sublime futility, with some approaching terminal illness, and others still displaying vigorous signs of life. Before culture emerged, man was an ahistorical creature; but he becomes again ahistorical and, one might add, even hostile to history: "as soon as some civilization has developed its full and final form, thus putting a stop to the living development of culture" (2:58; 2:48).

Similarly, each culture undergoes various cycles or different historical "seasons": first appears the period of cultural blossoming or the springtime of culture, followed by the period of maturation, which Spengler alternately calls summer or fall, and finally comes the period of decadence, which in Spengler's view is synonymous with "civilization." This "seasonal" flow of history is a predicament of all nations, although the historical timing of their decline varies with the virility of each nation, geographical area, or epoch. In the field of politics and statecraft, the process of decadence is very much the same. Thus, the closing years of the First World War witnessed the passing of the feudal rule of the landed aristocracy and the emergence of budding forms of parliamentary plutocracy - soon to be followed by the rise of rootless mobocracy and the "dictatorship of money" (2:633; 2:506). Undoubtedly Spengler was inspired by the works of Vilfredo Pareto and Gustave le Bon, who had earlier attempted to outline similar patterns of the rise and fall of political elites. In Pareto's and Le Bon's scheme, decadence sets in when the power elite no longer follows the established rule of social selection, and fails to identify internal and external enemies(4). Once it becomes emasculated by economic affluence and debilitated by the belief in the boundless goodness of its political opponents, the elite has already signed its own obituary. In similar words, Spengler contends that the rise of Caesarism must be viewed as a natural fulfilment of the money-dictatorship as well as its dialectical removal: "The sword wins over money; the master-will conquers again the booty-will" (2:634; 2:506). Then a new cycle of history will begin, according to Spengler, although he remains silent about the main historical actors, their origins, and their goals.

Spengler was convinced, however, that the dynamics of decadence could be fairly well predicted, provided that exact historical data were available. Just as the biology of human beings generates a well--defined life span, resulting ultimately in biological death, so does each culture possess its own aging "data," normally lasting no longer than a thousand years - a period, separating its spring from its eventual historical antithesis, the winter, or civilization. The estimate of a thousand years before the decline of culture sets in, corresponds to Spengler's certitude that, after that period, each society has to face self-destruction. For example, after the fall of Rome, the rebirth of European culture started anew in the ninth century with the Carolingian dynasty. After the painful process of growth, self-asser-tiveness, and maturation, one thousand years later, in the twentieth century, cultural life in Europe is coming to its definite historical close.

As Spengler and his contemporary successors see it, Western culture now has transformed itself into a decadent civilization fraught with an advanced form of social, moral, and political decay. The first signs of this decay appeared shortly after the Industrial Revolution, when the machine began to replace man, when feelings gave way to *ratio*. Ever since that ominous event, new forms of social and political conduct have been surfacing in the West - marked by a wide-spread obsession with endless economic growth and irreversible human betterment - fueled by the belief that the burden of history can finally be removed. The new plutocratic elites, that have now replaced organic aristocracy, have imposed material gain as the only principle worth pursuing, reducing the entire human interaction to an immense economic transaction. And since the masses can never be fully satisfied, argues Spengler, it is understandable that they will seek change in their existing polities even if change may spell the loss of liberty. One might add that this craving for economic affluence will be translated into an incessant decline of the sense of public responsibility and an emerging sense of uprootedness and social anomie,

which will ultimately and inevitably lead to the advent of totalitarianism. It would appear, therefore, that the process of de-cadence can be forestalled, ironically, only by resorting to salutary hard-line regimes.

Using Spengler's apocalyptic predictions, one is tempted to draw a parallel with the modern Western polity, which likewise seems to be undergoing the period of decay and decadence. John Lukacs, who bears the unmistakable imprint of Spenglerian pessimism, views the permissive nature of modern liberal society, as embodied in America, as the first step toward social disintegration. Like Spengler, Lukacs asserts that excessive individualism and rampant materialism increasingly paralyze and render obsolete the sense of civic responsibility. One should probably agree with Lukacs that neither the lifting of censorship, nor the increasing unpopularity of traditional values, nor the curtailing of state authority in contemporary liberal states, seems to have led to a more peaceful environment; instead, a growing sense of despair seems to have triggered a form of neo-barbarism and social vulgarity. "Already richness and poverty, elegance and sleaziness, sophistication and savagery live together more and more," writes Lukacs(5). Indeed, who could have predicted that a society capable of launching rockets to the moon or curing diseases that once ravaged the world could also become a civilization plagued by social atomization, crime, and addiction to escapism? With his apocalyptic predictions, Lukacs, similar to Spengler, writes: "This most crowded of streets of the greatest civilization: this is now the hell-hole of the world."

Interestingly, neither Spengler nor Lukacs nor other cultural pessimists seems to pay much attention to the obsessive appetite for equality, which seems to play, as several contemporary authors point out, an important role in decadence and the resulting sense of cultural despair. One is inclined to think that the process of decadence in the contemporary West is the result of egalitarian doctrines which promise much but deliver little, creating thus an endless feeling of emptiness and frustration among the

masses of economic-minded and rootless citizens. Moreover, elevated to the status of modern secular religions, egalitarianism and economism inevitably follow their own dynamics of growth, which is likely to conclude, as Claude Polin notes, in the "terror of all against all" and the ugly resurgence of democratic totalitarianism. Polin writes:

"Undifferentiated man is par excellence a quantitative man; a man who accidentally differs from his neighbors by the quantity of economic goods in his possession; a man subject to statistics; a man who spontaneously reacts in accordance to statistics"(6). Conceivably, liberal society, if it ever gets gripped by economic duress and hit by vanishing opportunities, will have no option but to tame and harness the restless masses in a Spenglerian "muscle regime."

Spengler and other cultural pessimists seem to be right in pointing out that democratic forms of polity, in their final stage, will be marred by moral and social convulsions, political scandals, and corruption on all social levels. On top of it, as Spengler predicts, the cult of money will reign supreme, because "through money democracy destroys itself, after money has destroyed the spirit" (2:582; 2:464). Judging by the modern development of capitalism, Spengler cannot be accused of far fetched assumptions. This economic civilization founders on a major contradiction: on the one hand its religion of human rights extends its beneficiary legal tenets to everyone, reassuring every individual of the legitimacy of his earthly appetites; on the other, this same egalitarian civilization fosters a model of economic Darwinism, ruthlessly trampling under its feet those whose interests do not lie in the economic arena.

The next step, as Spengler suggests, will be the transition from democracy to salutary Caesarism; substitution of the tyranny of the few for the tyranny of many. The neo-Hobbesian, neo-barbaric state is in the making:

Instead of the pyres emerges big silence. The dictatorship of party

bosses is backed up by the dictatorship of the press. With money, an attempt is made to lure swarms of readers and entire peoples away from the enemy's attention and bring them under one's own thought control. There, they learn only what they must learn, and a higher will shapes their picture of the world. It is no longer needed-as the baroque princes did-to oblige their subordinates into the armed service. Their minds are whipped up through articles, telegrams, pictures, until they demand weapons and force their leaders to a battle to which these wanted to be forced. (2:463)

The fundamental issue, however, which Spengler and many other cultural pessimists do not seem to address, is whether Caesarism or totalitarianism represents the antithetical remedy to decadence or, rather, the most extreme form of decadence? Current literature on totalitarianism seems to focus on the unpleasant side-effects of the bloated state, the absence of human rights, and the pervasive control of the police. By contrast, if liberal democracy is indeed a highly desirable and the least repressive system of all hitherto known in the West - and if, in addition, this liberal democracy claims to be the best custodian of human dignity - one wonders why it relentlessly causes social uprootedness and cultural despair among an increasing number of people? As Claude Polin notes, chances are that, in the short run, democratic totalitarianism will gain the upper hand since the security it provides is more appealing to the masses than is the vague notion of liberty(7). One might add that the tempo of democratic process in the West leads eventually to chaotic impasse, which necessitates the imposition of a hard-line regime.

Although Spengler does not provide a satisfying answer to the question of Caesarism vs. decadence, he admits that the decadence of, the West need not signify the collapse of all cultures. Rather, it appears that the terminal illness of the West may be a new lease on life for other cultures; the death of Europe may result in a stronger Africa or Asia. Like many other cultural pessimists, Spengler acknowledges that the West has grown old,

unwilling to fight, with its political and cultural inventory depleted; consequently, it is obliged to cede the reigns of history to those nations that are less exposed to debilitating pacifism and the self-flagellating guilt-feelings which, so to speak, have become new trademarks of the modern Western citizen. One could imagine a situation where these new virile and victorious nations will barely heed the democratic niceties of their guilt-ridden former masters, and may likely, at some time in the future, impose their own brand of terror which could eclipse the legacy of the European Auschwitz and the Gulag. In view of the ruthless civil and tribal wars all over the decolonized African and Asian continent, it seems unlikely that power politics and bellicosity will disappear with the "decline of the West." So far, no proof has been offered that non-European nations can govern more peacefully and generously than their former European masters. "Pacifism will remain an ideal," Spengler reminds us, "war a fact. If the white races are resolved never to wage a war again, the colored will act differently and be rulers of the world"(8).

In this statement, Spengler clearly indicts the self-hating "homo europeanus" who, having become a victim of his bad conscience, naively thinks that his truths and verities must remain irrefutably valid forever, forgetting that his eternal verities may one day be turned against him. Spengler strongly attacks this Western false sympathy with the deprived ones - a sympathy that Nietzsche once depicted as a twisted form of egoism and slave moral. "This is the reason," writes Spengler, why this "compassion moral," in the day--to-day sense, "evoked among us with respect, and sometimes strived for by the thinkers, sometimes longed for, has never been realized" (1:449; 1:350).

This form of political masochism could be well studied particularly among those contemporary Western egalitarians who, with the decline of socialist temptations, substituted for the archetype of the European exploited worker, the iconography of the starving African. Nowhere does this change in political symbolics seem more apparent than in the current

Western drive to export Western forms of civilization to the antipodes of the world. These Westerners, in the last spasm of a guilt-ridden shame, are probably convinced that their historical repentance might also secure their cultural and political longevity. Spengler was aware of these paralyzing attitudes among Europeans, and he remarks that, if a modern European recognizes his historical vulnerability, he must start thinking beyond his narrow perspective and develop different attitudes toward different political convictions and verities. What do Parsifal or Prometheus have to do with the average Japanese citizen, asks Spengler? "This is exactly what is lacking to the Western thinker," continues Spengler, "and which *precisely* should have never lacked to him; insight into *historical relativity* of his achievements, which themselves are the manifestation of *one and unique, and of only one* existence" (1:31;1:23). On a somewhat different level, one wonders to what extent the much vaunted dis-semination of universal human rights can become a valuable principle for non-Western peoples if Western universalism often signifies blatant disrespect for all cultural particularities.

Even with their eulogy of universalism, as Serge Latouche has recently noted, Westerners have, nonetheless, secured the most comfortable positions for themselves. Although they have now retreated to the back stage of history, vicariously, through their humanism, they still play the role of the undisputable masters of the non-white--man show. "The death of the West for itself has not been the end of the West in itself," adds Latouche(9). One wonders whether such Western attitudes to universalism represent another form of racism, considering the havoc these attitudes have created in traditional Third World communities. Latouche appears correct in remarking that European decadence best manifests itself in its masochistic drive to deny and discard everything that it once stood for, while simultaneously sucking into its orbit of decadence other cultures as well. Yet, although suicidal in its character, the Western message contains mandatory admonishments for all non-European nations. He writes:

The mission of the West is not to exploit the Third World, nor to christianize the pagans, nor to dominate by white presence; it is to liberate men (and even more so women) from oppression and misery. In order to counter this self-hatred of the anti-imperialist vision, which concludes in red totalitarianism, one is now compelled to dry the tears of white man, and thereby ensure the success of this westernization of the world. (41)

The decadent West exhibits, as Spengler hints, a travestied culture living on its own past in a society of different nations that, having lost their historical consciousness, feel an urge to become blended into a promiscuous "global polity." One wonders what would he say today about the massive immigration of non-Europeans to Europe? This immigration has not improved understanding among races, but has caused more racial and ethnic strife that, very likely, signals a series of new conflicts in the future.

But Spengler does not deplore the "devaluation of all values" nor the passing of cultures. In fact, to him decadence is a natural process of senility which concludes in civilization, because civilization is decadence. Spengler makes a typically German distinction between culture and civilization, two terms which are, unfortunately, used synonymously in English. For Spengler civilization is a product of intellect, of completely rationalized intellect; civilization means uproot-edness and, as such, it develops its ultimate form in the modern megapolis which, at the end of its journey, "doomed, moves to its final self-destruction" (2:127; 2:107). The force of the people has been overshadowed by massification; creativity has given way to "kitsch" art; geniality has been subordinated to the terror of reason. He writes:

Culture and civilization. On the one hand the living corpse of a soul and, on the other, its mummy. This is how the West European existence differs from 1800 and after. The life in its richness and

normalcy, whose form has grown up and matured from inside out in one mighty course stretching from the adolescent days of Gothics to Goethe and Napoleon - into that old artificial, deracinated life of our large cities, whose forms are created by intellect. Culture and civilization. The organism born in countryside, that ends up in petrified mechanism. (1:453; 1:353)

In yet another display of determinism, Spengler contends that one cannot escape historical destiny: "the first inescapable thing that confronts man as an unavoidable destiny, which no thought can grasp, and no will can change, is a place and time of one's birth: everybody is born into one people, one religion, one social status, one stretch of time and one culture." (10) Man is so much constrained by his historical environment that all attempts at changing one's destiny are hopeless. And, therefore, all flowery postulates about the improvement of mankind, all liberal and socialist philosophizing about a glorious future regarding the duties of humanity and the essence of ethics, are of no avail. Spengler sees no other avenue of redemption except through declaring himself a fundamental and resolute pessimist:

Mankind appears to me as a zoological quantity. I see no progress, no goal, no avenue for humanity, except in the heads of the Western progress-Philistines.... I cannot see a single mind and even less a unity of endeavors, feelings, and understandings in these barren masses of people. (*Selected Essays* 73-74; 147)

The determinist nature of Spengler's pessimism has been criticized recently by Konrad Lorenz who, while sharing Spengler's culture of despair, refuses the predetermined linearity of decadence. In his capacity of ethologist and as one of the most articulate neo-Darwinists, Lorenz admits the possibility of an interruption of human phylo-genesis - yet also contends that new vistas for cultural development always remain open. "Nothing is more foreign to the evolutionary epistemologist, as well, to the physician," writes Lorenz, "than the doctrine of fatalism." (11) Still,

Lorenz does not hesitate to criticize vehemently decadence in modern mass societies which, in his view, have already given birth to pacified and domesticated specimens unable to pursue cultural endeavors. Lorenz would certainly find positive resonance with Spengler himself in writing: "This explains why the pseudodemocratic doctrine that all men are equal, by which is believed that all humans are initially alike and pliable, could be made into a state religion by both the lobbyists for large industry and by the ideologues of communism" (179-80).

Despite the criticism of historical determinism which has been leveled against him, Spengler often confuses his reader with Faustian exclamations reminiscent of someone prepared for battle rather than reconciled to a sublime demise. "No, I am not a pessimist," writes Spengler in "Pessimism," for "pessimism means seeing no more duties. I see so many unresolved duties that I fear that time and men will run out to solve them"(75). These words hardly cohere with the cultural despair which earlier he so passionately elaborated. Moreover, he often advocates force and the toughness of the warrior in order to stave off Europe's disaster.

One is led to the conclusion that Spengler extols historical pessimism or "purposeful pessimism" ("Zweckpessimismus"), as long as it translates his conviction of the irreversible decadence of the European polity; however, once he perceives that cultural and political loopholes are available for moral and social regeneration, he quickly reverts to the eulogy of power politics. Similar characteristics are often to be found among many poets, novelists, and social thinkers whose legacy in spreading cultural pessimism played a significant part in shaping political behavior among European conservatives prior to World War II (12). One wonders why they all, like Spengler, bemoan the decadence of the West if this decadence has already been sealed, if the cosmic die has already been cast, and if all efforts of political and cultural rejuvenation appear hopeless? Moreover, in an effort to mend the unmendable, by advocating

a Faustian mentality and will-to-power, these pessimists often seem to emulate the optimism of socialists rather than the ideas of those reconciled to impending social catastrophe.

For Spengler and other cultural pessimists, the sense of decadence is inherently combined with a revulsion against modernity and an abhorrence of rampant economic greed. As recent history has shown, the political manifestation of such revulsion may lead to less savory results: the glorification of the will-to-power and the nostalgia of death. At that moment, literary finesse and artistic beauty may take on a very ominous turn. The recent history of Europe bears witness to how easily cultural pessimism can become a handy tool for modern political titans. Nonetheless, the upcoming disasters have something uplifting for the generations of cultural pessimists whose hypersensitive nature - and disdain for the materialist society - often lapses into political nihilism. This nihilistic streak was boldly stated by Spengler's contemporary Friedrich Sieburg, who reminds us that "the daily life of democracy with its sad problems is boring, but the impending catastrophes are highly interesting."(13)

One cannot help thinking that, for Spengler and his likes, in a wider historical context, war and power politics offer a regenerative hope against the pervasive feeling of cultural despair. Yet, regardless of the validity of Spengler's visions or nightmares, it does not take much imagination to observe in the decadence of the West the last twilight-dream of a democracy already grown weary of itself.

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Notes:

1. In the case of the European 'New Right', see Jean Cau, *Discours de la décadence* (Paris: Copernic, 1978), Julien Freund, *La décadence: histoire sociologique et philosophique d'une expérience humaine*

(Paris: Sirey, 1984), and Pierre Chaunu *Histoire et décadence* (Paris: Perrin, 1981). In the case of authors of "leftist sensibility," see Jean Baudrillard's virulent attack against simulacra and hyperreality in America: *Amérique* (Paris: Grasset, 1986)-in English, *America*, trans. Chris Turner (New York, London: Verso, 1988)-and Jean-François Huyghe, *La soft-idéologie* (Paris: Laffont, 1987). There is a certain Spenglerian whiff in Christopher Lasch, *The Culture of Narcissism* (New York: Warner Books, 1979), and probably in Richard Lamm, *Megatraumas: America at the Year 2000* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985). About European cultural conservatives see my *Against Democracy and Equality: The European New Right* (forthcoming).

2. See Spengler's critic and admirer Heinrich Scholz, *Zum 'Untergang des Abendlandes'* (Berlin: von Reuther and Reichard, 1920). Scholz conceives of history as polycentric occurrences concentrated in creative archetypes, noting: "History is a curriculum vitae of many cultures having nothing in common except the name; because each of them has its own destiny, own life, and own death" (11)-my translation.

3. Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, trans. Charles Francis Atkinson, 2 vols. (1926; New York: Knopf, 1976), 1:21. My text, however, contains my own translations from *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (München: Beck, 1923), 1:28-29. Citations hereafter are in the text, in parentheses, giving references to these two editions, respectively.

4. Vilfredo Pareto, 'Dangers of Socialism', in *The Other Pareto*, ed. Placido Bucolo, trans. Gillian and Placido Bucolo, pre. Ronald Fletcher (New York: St. Martin's, 1980). Pareto writes: "There are some people who imagine that they can disarm the enemy by complacent flattery. They are wrong. The world has always belonged to the stronger and will belong to them for many years to come. Men only respect those who make themselves respected. Whoever becomes a lamb will find a wolf to

eat him" (125). In a similar vein, Gustave le Bon, *Psychologie politique* (1911; Paris: Les Amis de G. L. Bon, 1984), writes: "Wars among nations have, by the way, always been the source of the most important progress. Which pacifist people has ever played any role in history?" (79)-my translation.

5. John Lukacs, *The Passing of the Modern Age* (New York: Harper, 1970), 10, 9.

6. Claude Polin, *L'esprit totalitaire* (Paris: Sirey, 1977), 111: my translation.

7. Claude Polin, *Le totalitarisme* (Paris: Presses Universitaires Françaises, 1982) argues that egalitarianism, universalism and economism are the three pivots of totalitarianism: "Totalitarian power is first and foremost the power of all against all; the tyranny of all against all. Totalitarian society is not constructed from the top down to the bottom, but from the bottom up to the top" (117) – my translation.

8. 'Is World Peace Possible?' in *Selected Essay*, trans. Donald O. White (1936: Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1967), 207.

9. Serge Latouche, *L'occidentalisation du monde* (Paris: La Découverte, 1989), 9; my translation. About Westerners' self-hate and self-denial, see Alain de Benoist, Europe, *Tiers monde même combat* (Paris: Laffont, 1986): "And whereas Christian universalism had once contributed to the justification of colonization, Christian pastoralism today inspires decolonization. This `mobilization of consciences' crystallizes itself around the notion of culpability." The colonized is no longer "a primitive" who ought to be "led to civilization." Rather, he is a living indictment, indeed, an example of an immaculate morality from whom the "civilized" has much to learn (62). See also Pascal Bruckner, *Le sanglot de l'homme blanc. Tiers monde, culpabilité, haine de soi* (Paris: Seuil, 1983), 13: for the bleeding-heart liberal Westerner "the birth of the Third world gave

birth to this new category; expiatory militantism." My translations here.

10. Spengler, 'Pessimismus', *Reden and Aufsätze* (München: Beck, 1937), 70; in English, 'Pessimism?' in *Selected Essays*, 143.

11. Konrad Lorenz, *The Waning of Humaneness* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1987), 58-59.

12. It would be impossible to enumerate all cultural pessimists who usually identify themselves as heroic pessimists, often as conservative revolutionaries, or aristocratic nihilists. Poets and novelists of great talent such as Gottfried Benn, Louis F. Céline, Ezra Pound, and others, were very much inspired by Oswald Spengler. See Gottfried Benn, "Pessimismus," in *Essays und Aufsätze* (Wiesbaden: Limes, 1959): "Man is not alone, thinking is alone. Thinking is self-bound and solitary" (357). See also the apocalyptic prose of Ernst Jünger, *An der Zeitmauer* (Werke) (Stuttgart: Klett, 1959): "It seems that cyclical system corresponds to our spirit. We make round-shaped watches, although there is no logical compulsion behind it. And even catastrophes are viewed as recurrent, as for example floods and drought, fire-age and ice-age" (460-61). My translations.

13. Friedrich Sieburg, *Die Lust am Untergang* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1954), 54. My translation.

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**AGAINST DEMOCRACY AND EQUALITY**  
**The European New Right**  
**by**  
**Tomislav Sunic**

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**The Book:**

**Tomislav Sunic's** book, prefaced by Paul Gottfried, is both a theoretical account and an historical survey of 'conservative revolution' and its contemporary protagonists in Europe. The ideas and authors analyzed in this book, ranging from Carl Schmitt and Oswald Spengler to Alain de Benoist, contend that both liberal and communist democracy lead to social massification and entropy. Their claim is that Europe must revive the organic concept of democracy and discard the Judeo-Christian legacy and its various secular offshoots. In the age when traditional conservatism has been badly bruised by other contending beliefs, the European New Right offers a new, aristocratic and 'pagan' notion of politics.

**The Author:**

**Tomislav Sunic**, an essayist, translator, and a short-story writer, has published articles in Croatian and English dealing with cultural pessimism and the historical meaning of conservatism. He obtained his B.A. degree in literature and foreign languages at the University of Zagreb, Croatia, and completed his Ph.D. in political science at the University of California, Santa Barbara. He also worked as a diplomat at Croatia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.





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**Revalo P. Oliver**

# **Christianity and the Survival of the West**

**(Sterling, Virginia: Sterling Enterprises, 1973)**

**I. The Religion of the West**

**II. The Orient**

**III. Christianity Today**

**IV. The Predictable Future**

**V. The Consequences**

**VI. Sucedaneous Religion**

**Postscript**

A return will set in of the re-active pressure of nature upon mankind. Mankind will again be restive under it. . . . But woe to that people which has not men that will stand up and fight without flinching. Those countries where the moral decay shall have gone deepest, where the proved stock shall have died out and given way to poor stock, where the great effeminization of men shall have taken place (for the masculinization of women will be no compensation), where the strong and the wise and the shrewd

shall gain no more of wealth, power, and influence than the weak, silly, and incompetent, all being equal,—those will go to the wall. And when this fate shall have overtaken most of our western white men's countries, our cycle of civilization will be completed.

—Correa Moylan Walsh (1917)

Glücklich wird niemand sein, der heute irgendwo in der Welt lebt.

—Oswald Spengler (1918)

Jamais comme aujourd'hui les peuples n'ont eu la sensation d'être menés par les événements. Jamais ils n'ont été plus impuissants, plus *volontairement* impuissants devant eux. . . . Et c'est bien ce qui me paraît le plus tragique dans l'aspect du monde de 1932: on n'y voit qu'une civilisation qui tombe et la nuit qui approche.

—Pierre Loewel (1932)

The mission of this generation is the most difficult that has ever faced a Western generation. It must break the terror by which it is held in silence, it must look ahead, it must believe when there is apparently no hope, it must obey even if it means death, it must fight to the end rather than submit. . . . The men of this generation must fight for the continued existence of the West.

—Francis Parker Yockey (1948)

## Chapter One

### THE RELIGION OF THE WEST

You, who are now reading these lines, and I are strangers. I have no means of knowing whether you are a Christian or an atheist. That, however, will not matter, so long as we talk about facts and not wishes.

The observed and verifiable facts of the world about us are not affected by religious faith or the lack of faith.

Christians and atheists must find themselves in perfect agreement when they affirm that lead is more malleable than steel, that the earth is an oblate spheroid rotating on its axis, that whales are mammals, that Germany was defeated and devastated by the many nations allied against her in 1945, and that the Chinese are Mongolians. About such matters there can be no dispute among Western men, who instinctively accept the reality of the world about us and *cannot* believe, as do many Orientals, that it is merely an illusion in the mind of a dreamer.

If we would salvage and restore our civilization—the Occidental culture that is peculiarly our own and that now seems to be disintegrating and rotting before our very eyes—we must do so as Western men, by observing reality objectively and by reasoning from it dispassionately. And when we try to compute what resources remain to us, we need first of all to determine the actual strength of the Christian tradition at the present time.

It is a fact, which Christians will regard with satisfaction and some atheists may deplore, that Western civilization, for about half of its recorded history, has been a Christian civilization in the sense that the great majority of the people belonging to it (though never, at any time, *all* of them) believed implicitly in the truth of the Christian revelation. That religious unanimity was for a long time so nearly complete that, after the fall of the Roman Empire and the evanescence of hopes for its restoration, we of the West regarded our religion as the bond that united us and distinguished us from the rest of the human species. During the Middle Ages, our ancestors occupied the greater part of Europe, and, until they discovered the American continents, they lived only in Europe, but despite that geographical unity, they did not generally refer to themselves as the Europeans. For all practical purposes, furthermore, our ancestors belonged to the same division of the white race: they, like the true Greeks and the true Romans before them, were all members of the great race that we now call Indo-European or Aryan, but they had in their languages no word to designate their blood relationship and biological unity. Thus, when they referred to the unity of which they were always conscious as something transcending the constantly shifting territorial and political divisions of Europe, they called themselves Christendom. And for many centuries that word was adequate and misled no one.

For many centuries the West was Christendom and its civilization was indubitably Christian: that, whether you like it or not, is an historical fact. There is a complementary historical fact that was less obvious at the time and that even thoughtful men overlooked or tried to ignore until the events of the past two decades made it indubitable: Christianity is a religion of the West, and, for all practical purposes, *only* of the West. It is not, as its polemical adversaries so often charge, a Semitic cult, for it has never commanded the adhesion of any considerable number of Semites, and it is not, as Christians once generally believed, a universal religion, for experience has proved that it cannot be successfully exported to populations that are not Indo-European.

Experience has also proved that it does not do the slightest good to deny ascertained facts. The men of Classical antiquity knew, of course, that the earth is spherical, and Eratosthenes in the third century B.C. calculated its circumference as 24,663 miles. But the early Fathers of the Church, living in the age of growing ignorance that shrouded the last century of the Roman Empire, decided, on the basis of some statements in the Old Testament, that the earth ought to be flat or, at least, no more curved than a shield. Lactantius was the most eloquent and probably, therefore, the most influential of the many who assiduously demanded that the earth be flat and so imposed on their contemporaries the conviction that it was. In the Middle Ages, to be sure, there were some learned men, such as Buridan, who knew that the globe is a globe, but they, like learned men today, who all know very well that talk about the equality of races is utter nonsense, usually refrained from publicly denouncing fashionable delusions. It was not until the Fifteenth Century that the truth became again inescapable, but when it did, the Christians, being men of the West, who do not deny the lessons of experience, surrendered the comfortable error in which they had once generally believed; and since that time, no rational Christian has doubted that the earth is spherical.

Today, as in the Fifteenth Century, Western men have had to discard a congenial assumption to bring their conception of the world into conformity with observed reality. So long as we of the West held unquestioned dominion over the whole earth, we permitted ourselves to assume that our civilization in general, and our religion in particular, could be exported and made universal. We did not sufficiently observe that talent for mimicry is common to all human beings and indeed to all anthropoids; that all human beings stand in awe of those who have power over them; and that a genius for dissimulation and hypocrisy is hereditary in the most intelligent Orientals. Even with these oversights, the evidence against our assumption was fairly clear, but in the pride of our power we felt that we could indulge an assumption that was so congenial to the romantic generosity that is a peculiarity of our race. But the events of half a century, and especially of the last two decades, have shown us, beyond peradventure of doubt, the shape of the world in which we live. We now know what our prolonged missionary effort, cultural as well as religious, accomplished—and how its visible effects were produced.

When Cortés and his small but valiant band of iron men conquered the teeming empire of the Aztecs, he was immediately followed by a train of earnest missionaries, chiefly Franciscans, who began to preach the Gospel to the natives and soon sent home, with naïve enthusiasm, glowing accounts of the conversions they had effected. Their pious sincerity and innocent joy still lives in the pages of Father Sahagun, Father Torquemada, and many others. For their sake I am glad that the poor Franciscans never suspected how small a part they played in the religious conversions that gave them such happiness. Far, far more persuasive than their sermons and their book had been the Spanish cannon that breached and shattered the Aztec defenses, and the ruthless Spanish soldiers who slew the Aztec priests at their own altars and toppled the Aztec idols from the sacrificial pyramids. The Aztecs, Tepanecs, and other natives accepted Christianity, not because their hearts were touched by alien and incomprehensible doctrines of love and mercy, but because it was the religion of the white men whose bronze cannon and mail-clad warriors were invincible.

That was early in the Sixteenth Century and even then there were not wanting indications that should have given pause to a critical mind, but we of the West went on repeating that fond mistake for four centuries, as the missionaries whom we sent to all parts of the world wrote home glowing reports of the number of "hearts" they had "won for Christ." It was only after our enemies' campaign of "anti-colonialism" really got under way that most of us realized that what had won all those hearts was primarily the discipline of British regiments and the manifest power of the white man.

We now know what happened. On many a shore of Africa, for example, missionaries eager to "win souls for Christ" ventured to land alone, and the aborigines, after mutilating and torturing them for a good communal laugh, ate them, cooked or raw according to the custom of the local cuisine. Usually, a few weeks or a few months later, a British cruiser hove to off shore and lobbed half a dozen 4.5 shells into the native village, and, if not pressed for time, landed half a company of marines to beat the bushes and drag out a dozen or so savages to hang on convenient trees. Consequently the tribe, if not very obtuse, took the hint and respected the next bevy of missionaries as somehow representing the god of thunder and lightning. And if the men of God distributed enough free rice and medical care with their sermons, they were able to make "converts," as the natives learned to utter the words that Christians like to hear.

That is, in essence, the whole history of "winning souls" among the savages. There were, of course, many local variations. If the first missionaries were preceded by troops or white settlers, the blacks had already been convinced of the virtues of Christian rifles and had learned that white men should not be regarded as esculent comestibles. It often happened, however, that the natives, even after many years of preaching and conversion, rejected the white man's odd rites very emphatically, and a fresh supply of missionaries was needed. In 1905, for example, the Maji-Maji conspiracy in Tanganyika murdered all the missionaries and almost all the white

men and women in the entire territory, and it required a German regiment and several companies of marines to restore the teachings of the Gospel. That was done by giving some forty or fifty thousand demonstrations that a Mauser bullet could penetrate even a black hide that had been most carefully anointed with the grease of a boiled baby.

The Christian missionaries did teach a ritual and often inculcated a superstition that had some superficial resemblance to their religion, but as for teaching the spiritual substance of Christianity, they might as well have followed the example of St. Francis and preached sermons to the birds. That is why the many, many thousands of devoted Christians who expended their whole lives to "save souls" built only an edifice of cardboard and tinsel that is now gone in the wind.

What the vanishing of that flimsy façade has made obvious was predictable from the first. The religion of the West has *never* been comprehensible to the rudimentary minds of Congoids, Capoids, and Australoids, races so primitive that they were congenitally incapable of inventing a wheel and even of using one without supervision—races that could not develop for themselves even the first and simplest preliminaries of a civilization. When the missionaries invented systems of writing the crude languages of the primitives, they had also to invent words to express such concepts as "God," "soul," "justice," "morality," and "religion"—invent them by either creating new words or by perverting to such meanings sounds that in the native jargons conveyed impressions that were faintly and remotely analogous. That fact alone should have made us think. It was clear, furthermore, that the "converts," even those who had been most thoroughly imbued with an awe of the god of repeating rifles and locomotives, would conform to the white man's morality only under coercion, and that whenever they escaped from the white man's supervision they spontaneously reverted not only to their own *mores* but also to whatever form of voodoo they had practiced before. Even if earlier experience had not been conclusive, what happened in Haiti at the very beginning of the Nineteenth Century should have removed the last lingering doubt. But the missionaries did not learn, and the "Ladies' Missionary Society" went on contributing their mites, plying their needles, and glowing with tender emotion for the sweet little savages depicted by their romantic imaginations.

Although it is true that in some places in the former colonial possessions missionaries are still tolerated, if they are obsequious to the natives and pay very well, we have at last learned that the Gospel follows the British regiments in the white man's ignominious and insane retreat from the world that was his.

## Chapter Two

### THE ORIENT

We Indo-Europeans have been Christian for about half of our recorded history, and our whole culture was so intimately connected with our religion that we called our world Christendom. Today, however, our religion and hence our understanding of ourselves and the world about us have been drastically affected by three distinct developments that have no necessary relation to one another and that we should be careful not to confuse, viz.:

(1) The catastrophic decline of religious faith and belief among our own people during the past century and a half or two centuries. That is a phenomenon which, although perhaps slightly accelerated by alien influences, arose within our culture and was simply a revival of the tendency of our Western philosophy before the appearance of Christianity. It is therefore a separate topic that we must postpone for later consideration.

(2) The now obvious failure of our efforts to communicate Christianity to the primitive races, which we discussed briefly in our opening chapter.

(3) The futility of all our efforts to export our Occidental religion to the old and civilized nations of the Orient. This is really the most striking phenomenon of all.

Among the biologically and mentally primitive Congoids, Capoids, and Australoids, Christian missionaries attained for a while some specious semblance of success. One can only marvel, however, at the illusions that Christendom obstinately entertained, century after century, despite its constant and virtually total failure to win converts among the highly intelligent and subtle Orientals, both white and yellow, who had elaborate cultures of their own.

Since we are, on the whole, a rational race, there was *some* basis for those illusions. The sacred books of Christianity did not originate in the West. The Old Testament deals almost entirely with the activities of Israelites and Jews. The events of the New Testament, to be sure, took place in a Roman province in Asia Minor, and largely in Galilee, a small territory inhabited by a conglomerate population that the Jews despised as inferiors, but the first apostles, whatever their race, were certainly not Europeans, and Paul was admittedly a Jew. It was known, furthermore, that in the early centuries there had been some small Judaeo-Christian sects,\* and that it was not until later that the new religion attracted votaries that could be identified as authentically Greek, Roman, and Celtic. Although Europeans knew the Christian scriptures only in Greek and Latin, and during the Middle Ages only in Latin, the Asiatic origins created a supposition that Christianity, the religion of Europe, was not European, even when everyone knew that it had no adherents outside Europe except in the territories of the Byzantine Empire, and that Byzantine Christianity was so adulterated with Levantine elements that it was unacceptable to the West.\*\*

(\* The Ebionites and the Cerinthians were the most important of these sects, but there were others, most of which are catalogued in the seven-volume edition of Adolf von Harnack's *History of Dogma*. I need scarcely add that the term "Judaeo-Christian" is correctly used *only* with reference to these sects and their antecedents.)

(\*\* The differences between Western and Oriental Christianity were so profound and fundamental that repeated attempts made before 1453 to effect a union of the two churches were utter failures despite the Byzantines' desperate need for military aid from the West, despite the West's idealistic notion that its religion was "universal," and despite a generous amount of hypocrisy on both sides. After the capture of Constantinople by Mohammed II, most of the surviving Byzantines devoutly thanked their god that they had fallen under the rule of Moslems (with whom they had much in common) instead of European Christians, who would have tried to impose on them an alien religion. It is significant that the abyss between the two religions that called themselves Christian was too wide to be bridged, even though the conglomerate and partly Levantine population of the Byzantine Empire had inherited the culture and learning of the ancient (and extinct) Greeks.)

We cannot here analyze the effects of that supposition on Mediaeval Christendom. A concise and incisive treatment of that subject may be found in Lawrence R. Brown's brilliant work, *The Might of the West* (New York, 1963). It will here suffice to note that even during the high-tide of Christian faith marked by the

Crusades, that supposition prevented our ancestors from drawing the correct deductions from their manifest and perpetual failure to extend Western Christianity beyond the borders of the West.

Ever since it was founded, the Christian Church has labored incessantly to convert Jews, using every method from flattering exhortations and cash rewards to legislative pressure and armed coercion, and it has failed utterly. That failure, furthermore, was conspicuous in every city and almost every town of Christendom, year after year and century after century. It was known even to the most ignorant and isolated peasant.

In Christendom, as elsewhere, the international race planted its colonies wherever there was money to be got from the natives, and it always followed the standard procedure that it used, for example, in Alexandria in the fourth century B.C. The colonists filtered in in small groups until their numbers were sufficient to take over a part of the city for themselves to establish their own ghettos, from which the natives of the country were informally, but effectively, excluded. But the main body of colonists, ostentatiously exclusive, was usually or always accompanied by a number, smaller or greater as the occasion demanded, of *Marranos*, i.e., Jews who feigned conversion to the religion and culture of the nation in which they had come to reside. As they had professed Greek philosophy in Alexandria, so in Mediaeval Europe they professed Christianity. They, so to speak, covered the flanks of their less versatile congeners.

Here and there in Europe, Christians sometimes tried to dislodge and expel the Jewish colonies, but they never succeeded. By violence or threats of violence some cities and territories were able to drive Jews from their ghettos for a few years, but invariably, except in Spain and Portugal, the ostentatiously alien Jews returned sooner or later and industriously restored their ghettos. The Marranos, sheltered by their professed "conversion," eluded all efforts to control them, and in Spain and Portugal, at least, they not only entered the highest offices of the state but, despite the frantic efforts of the Inquisition, they filled even the Church with nuns, priests, bishops, and archbishops who solemnly celebrated in public the rites of a religion they despised and, when they met in their secret conclaves, laughed at the stupidity of the gullible *goyim*.

The amazing versatility of subtlety of the Marranos, especially in "most Christian" Spain and Portugal, has been described by many distinguished Jewish scholars. *A History of the Marranos*, by Professor Cecil Roth of Oxford, is a concise survey; the recent work by Haim Beinart, *Anusim be-Din ha-Inqwizisiah* (Tel Aviv, 1965), unfortunately not available in English, is a highly detailed study of a single community at one point in its history.

Was a Jew ever converted to Christianity? The learned and candid Rabbi Solomon Schindler,\* addressing a Christian audience in Boston, was certain that *no* Jew could "submit conscientiously" to so inferior a creed. "There never was a Jew," he said, "converted to Christianity who conscientiously believed in the doctrines of his adopted religion. They were all hypocrites, who changed their creed for earthly considerations merely." And the acute, sagacious, and earnest Maurice Samuel,\*\* after diligent and conscientious study, concluded that "Obviously you do not make a gentile of a Jew by baptizing him any more than you would make an Aryan of a negro by painting him with ocher." Such sweeping generalizations may be too absolute, and there seem to be some certain instances of Jews who sincerely defected to Christianity, but they are few. On the whole, the failure of Christians to allure or compel Jews has been total and spectacular.

(\* Solomon Schindler, *Messianic Expectations and Modern Judaism*, with an introduction by [the Reverend] Minot J. Savage. Boston, Cassino, 1886.)

(\*\* Maurice Samuel, *You Gentiles*. New York, Harcourt-Brace, 1924.)

Christians often explain that failure by attributing to the Jews some peculiar perversity or malevolence, the result of either a divine curse or of conscious collaboration with Satan. But in the interests of both fairness and objectivity, we should consider respectfully and dispassionately the testimony of the erudite and discerning Jews who have earnestly studied and pondered the many and profound differences between their people and ours, and who assure us, as courteously as they can, that to *their* minds *our* religion and most of the standards of *our* culture appear ludicrous or repulsive and sometimes utterly incomprehensible. How can we expect or require a man to believe what is to *his* mind mere nonsense? Would not that be as absurd as to expect the Jews who reside in our country to consult our interests rather than their own?

So long as Christendom knew only the Jewish colonies in its territory and the Semitic and Hamitic Moslems on its southern borders, some theory of an obduracy or perversity peculiar to Jews and Moslems could perhaps be maintained, but surely Christians should have perceived, as their geographical horizons expanded, that their religion has no appeal for *any* Oriental people.

The name of Christ, to be sure, is used by certain Monophysite cults in the Near East and Malabar and by other sects in Egypt and Abyssinia, of which vague rumors reached Mediaeval Europe and inspired the romantic legends of Prester John. But actual contact with those sects in the Sixteenth Century brought disillusion; the reading of their sacred books in Syriac, Coptic, and Geez showed how vastly those conceptions of religion differed from the European; and missionaries were dispatched to convert those "Christians" to Western Christianity—efforts that always ended in failure and sometimes in bloody failure.

With the exceptions of such isolated and minor cults as the Mandeans and the Yezidis, the Semitic peoples of Asia have found *their* aspirations and *their* religiosity fully satisfied by Islam, and all the exhortations of our missionaries for a millennium induced only a handful of Moslems to profess Christianity. In India, where the blood of the Aryan conquerors was blotted up long ago, a few outcasts and famished drudges became "rice Christians," and some educated babus said they were converts so long as "conversion" seemed likely to expedite their advancement in the bureaucracy of British India; and the Hindus sent us in return hundreds of sloe-eyed swamis to convert us and care for our souls—especially the souls of wealthy dowagers. In China and Japan the seeds of the Gospel, though sown over and over again by generations of earnest and often martyred missionaries, produced no better harvest.

In sum, experience has shown us that the Jews, though unique as an international race, do not differ from other Orientals in their resistance to the "glad tidings" (*euangelium*) of Christianity. In Asia, as in Africa, though for far different reasons, Christianity is evaporating as rapidly as dew in the morning sun, and there is every reason to believe that, with a few possible exceptions, the remaining Asiatic "Christians," including native clergymen and bishops, are simply Arab, Hindu, Chinese, or Japanese Marranos and profess a Western religion for business or diplomatic reasons.

We have an unbroken record of failure of failure in all our efforts to export Christianity to other peoples. That failure has nothing to do with the decline of faith among our own people in very recent times as a result of a skepticism based on *our* science and technology. Uniformly since the foundation of the Western Church, Christianity failed to attract and convince other races, and in the great Age of Faith in Europe that failure was as complete as it is today. Christendom should have understood the reasons for that inevitable failure long ago.

For centuries our clergymen had the strange custom of looking through all the other religions and cults of the whole world to find superficial similarities that they would then adduce as somehow corroborating our religion. They clutched eagerly at every ghost story in the world and used it to "prove" that a belief in immortality was

"universal." What all the other doctrines and myths really proved was that *our* belief in immortality was something peculiar to ourselves and probably incomprehensible to other races.

We Aryans have a deep and innate longing to endure forever. But the immortality of which the atheist despairs and for which the Christian hopes is a *personal* immortality—the survival of the individual consciousness complete with all its memories of life on earth. For each of us, immortality is the prolongation of *his* consciousness after the death of his body. Although we, if not spiritually sick, desire the survival of our race and culture, that is not what *we* mean by immortality; even if we felt assured that our people would eventually own the whole earth and all the other peoples in it, that would seem *to us* to have nothing to do with the question whether or not you and I as individuals will live after death. Again, we can believe that at death a man will be either annihilated or become a single disembodied consciousness: we cannot believe that he will become five or six different and widely scattered pieces of a ghost. Again, if some psychic spark of ourselves should survive death but be unconscious, having no knowledge or memory of what we were in life, *to us* that fate would be annihilation, not immortality. Again, if I am to live after death, so must my wife: no number of houris could reconcile me to a Paradise attained by many millions of men but only four women and one dog. Furthermore, we can imagine reincarnation, but only reincarnation as ourselves. If my wife has been Napoleon and Richard the Lion-Hearted, she is nothing that I have ever known or loved. And if I was ever Aspasia and Nell Gwyn, then I do not exist even now: I am just an illusion.

The kinds of "immortality" posited by the other major religions are unacceptable to us: meaningless, absurd, or repulsive to our racial instincts. But obviously such notions of a future life are not only satisfactory to other peoples but represent what *they* instinctively desire. To the great majority of the world's inhabitants our conception of immortality is meaningless, absurd, or repulsive. That is simply a fact that we cannot change.

Christianity embodied all the moral instincts of our race, such as our concepts of personal honor, of personal self-respect and integrity, of fair play, of pity for the unfortunate, of loyalty—all of which seem preposterous to other races, at least in the form and application that we give to them. They simply lack our instincts. We think that it makes a great difference whether we kill a man in a fair fight or by treacherously stabbing him in the back or by putting poison in the cup that he accepts from our friendly hand; to at least one other race, we are simply childish and irrational: if you are to kill a man, kill him in the safest and most convenient way. Again, we, whether Christians or atheists, have an instinct for truth, so that if we lie, we have physical reactions that can be detected by a sphygmomanometer (often called a polygraph or "lie detector"). When officers of American military intelligence tried to use that device in the interrogation of prisoners during the Korean War, they discovered that Koreans and Chinese have no reaction that the instrument can detect, no matter how outrageous the lies they tell. We and they are differently constituted.

We can no longer be so obtuse as to ignore the vast differences in mentality and instinct that separate us from all other races—not merely from savages, but from highly civilized races. The differences are innate, and to attempt to change their way of thinking with argument, generosity, or holy water is as absurd as attempting to change the color of their skins. That is a fact that we must accept. However one may relate that fact to Christian doctrine, if we, a small minority among the teeming and terribly fecund populations of the globe, call all other peoples perverse or wicked, we merely confuse ourselves. If we are to think objectively and rationally, we must do so in the terms used by Maurice Samuel, who, after his discerning and admirably candid study of the "unbridgeable gulf" that separates Indo-Europeans from Jews, had to conclude that "This difference in behavior and reaction springs from something more earnest and significant than a difference of beliefs: it springs from a difference in our biologic equipment."

We cannot reasonably expect beings differently constituted to have our instincts or to believe as we do, any

more than we can expect dogs to climb trees or cats to bark at intruders. And let us beware of the word "superiority." If it means that we are superior in terms of our own values, it is mere tautology; if it has an objective and practical meaning, it poses a question that can only be answered only when the future has proved which peoples will survive and which will go under in the proximate struggle for possession of an overcrowded globe.

This is not a matter of doctrine or wishes, and it does not depend on our faith or lack of faith. Whatever may be the meaning of certain passages in the Old Testament, the earth is not flat. Whatever may be the meaning of certain passages in the New Testament, Christianity was not for "all the world." The earth is spherical. Christianity is an Indo-European religion.

### Chapter Three

#### CHRISTIANITY TODAY

If you desire to preserve our country and our civilization, you must face two fundamental facts.

The first of these is that 90% of all the active support of pro-American efforts has come from Christians.

Of that, there can be no doubt. Almost without exception, all of the thousands of "conservative" and "anti-Communist" organizations that have come and gone during the past fifty years have been specifically Christian, proposing to defend Christianity and the Constitution simultaneously. Many of the most active organizations today are evangelical and try to revive Christian faith by holding meetings in which the Gospel and patriotism are inseparably blended. Some organizations specifically established to resist or promote certain legislation do not explicitly raise religious issues, but they take Christianity for granted. The only patriotic organizations that are explicitly non-Christian are a small periodical, *The Truth Seeker*, which, having spoken disrespectfully of Jews, is now being forced to the wall, and one small "activist" group in California.

It is true that a very successful promotion was founded by a master-salesman who began by admitting, with a show of candor, that he rejected belief in a personal god as childish and preferred a vague pantheism that recognized an "upward reach" in "all mankind" that was similar to the upward reach of growing plants. But after testing the market, he began to claim that he was purveying a doctrine that was a kind of pep pill good for all religions and guaranteed to make the purchaser a better Christian, better Pharisee, or better Moslem, as the case might be. (There are no Buddhists, Parsees, Yezidis, Jains, Saivites, or Tantrists with large bank rolls in the United States at the present time, nor are they represented by oil-rich governments abroad.) The only point that need concern us now is that the promoter accurately gauged his market. Of all the members who passed through his organization in its heyday, at least 80% were Christians—probably 90% of those who really worked and gave money to the limit of their resources.

You have only to attend *any* "anti-Communist" meeting, including both the most sincere efforts and the most

fraudulent promotions, and talk to the persons who attend and contribute to convince yourself that almost all of them are Christians, and by that I mean persons who really *believe* in Christ, as distinct, of course, from the many persons who attend Sunday-morning clubs because they think it good for business, politically expedient, or socially amusing. Whether you like it or not, you must accept the fact that 90% of the active support for patriotic and pseudo-patriotic efforts comes from men and women who have a sincere faith in Christ.

During more than two decades, the active Defense of the West has rested almost entirely on the shoulders of Christians in all Occidental nations. And that has been true on all levels. I know that comparisons are invidious, but to make my point I will say that if I had to pick one periodical on our side as having the highest literary finish and intellectual content, I should have to name *Découvertes*, the monthly publication of a highly cultivated group of staunchly Christian Frenchmen now in Lisbon.

That is not astonishing. For almost fifteen centuries Occidental civilization was Christendom, and, as is shown by the data that we have always examined, Christianity as we know it is, and always has been, an Indo-European religion, incomprehensible to the rudimentary minds of the primitive races and unacceptable to the subtle minds of the Orientals who have civilizations of their own. If that seems to you negative proof, consider the conversion of the Norse peoples during the early Middle Ages. They were not subject to a Christian government that could coerce them and they needed no Christian support against anyone; the Christians whom they plundered on occasion were certainly not militarily superior, nor were the institutions and culture of the Dark Ages anything that Vikings and Varangians might have envied and wished to imitate. Their only reason for abandoning the bleakly pessimistic religion of Thor and Odin must have been that Christianity was more congenial to their minds.\* Such *spontaneous* conversions are rare phenomena in the history of the world's religions; the closest parallel is the adoption of decadent Buddhism by the Chinese who found it congenial to their mentality.\*\*

(\* One historical factor often overlooked was Christianity's appeal to the historical sense of our race. Norse theology was a collection of inconsistent tales, admittedly mythical since the skalds could revise or elaborate them at will, about the adventures of various gods in Niflheim, Jotunheim, Asgard and other realms outside the known world and inaccessible to men, at dates no more specific than "once upon a time." Christianity offered a circumstantial and realistic narrative of events that had taken place in remote but specific and well-known towns and geographical areas at precisely stated times during the reigns of known Roman Emperors; the historicity of the narrative was further guaranteed by the generally consistent and apparently independent statements of four eyewitnesses, whose veracity was further guaranteed by the official reports of Roman governors who had themselves participated in the climactic scene (i.e., the *Acta Pilati*, *Epistula Lentuli*, and other forgeries that were accepted as genuine during the Dark Ages). It may be relevant that the *Epistula Lentuli* certifies Christ as unmistakably Nordic: tall, fair-skinned, with blonde hair and blue eyes.)

(\*\* Note, however, the very important difference that although the Chinese adaptation of the Buddhist religion eventually made a large number of converts, it never supplanted Taoism and other native cults, to say nothing of the widely-held doctrine of Confucius (which virtually ignores the supernatural) and the more restricted philosophy of the Fa Chia (which regards all religions as myths useful for governmental purposes). It would *never* have been proper to speak of China as a Buddhist country.)

There is a second fact that you must also face. The Western world is no longer Christendom. The religion that once united us has become the faith of a minority.

That is obvious from what is happening here and in every country of Europe except Spain and Portugal. The real question is how small a minority are Christians in the United States.

In 1942, after a very careful study of the situation in England, Professor A. N. Whitehead concluded that "in the whole country far less than one-fifth of the population are *in any sense* Christians today." There is very little difference in this respect between England and the United States. And today?

Let us transcend all the doctrinal differences, important as they are, that divide the Christian churches. The absolute minimum requirement of a Christian is faith that Christ was literally the Son of God. Of course, persons who do not have that faith may have the impudence to call themselves Christians, just as they may call themselves elves, Martians, or pterodactyls, but if they do, they are obviously intending some hoax or fraud.

How many adult Americans today really believe that Christ was God Incarnate? I have consulted discerning Christians of indubitable piety and zeal who have had exceptional opportunities to observe in all parts of the country. The lowest estimate was 9%. The figure that was best supported was approximately 12%.

Of the 12% of adult Americans who truly believe in Christ, not all, by any means, are active in efforts to defend our nation and civilization. Of true believers, some also believe that the End of the World is at hand; others believe that the destruction of the Western world has been ordained as condign punishment for its sins, and that it would be impious to resist the manifest Will of God; and others quite logically regard the events of the brief life on earth as merely preparation for the salvation of their souls. I should be astonished if more than half of the remaining Christians are actively committed to the preservation of our country. And yet this 6% has provided almost all of the support for anti-Communist causes. That is something to think about.

We must specifically notice that the minority that still believes that Christ was really the Son of God does not include the majority of the persons who now talk from the pulpits of Sunday-morning clubs, including the propaganda-chain operated by the National Council of Churches. The majority of professional clergymen were trained in theological seminaries in which they were taught that the Christian Bible is an agglomeration of forgeries perpetrated by persons too ignorant to write coherently and patched together by persons too stupid to make a consistent story out of it. They were further taught that Christ, *if* he existed and was not merely a myth created by awkward revision of the Essene story about the Teacher Yeshu, was a crack-pot agitator to whom were attributed, long after his death, some nice remarks about ethics and "social justice."\*

(\* Christians who have the courage to contemplate the present status and the now inevitable future of all the large organized denominations *must* read a recent book by a highly reputed "Biblical scholar" whose works have been long been respected as authoritative in ecclesiastical seminaries: Dr. Hugh J. Schonfield's *The Passover Plot* (1965). Although his reconstruction of the way in which a crack-brained Jewish agitator named Jesus tried to stage a fake miracle is admittedly conjectural, his interpretation of the character and motives of that man (assuming that he ever existed) is now accepted in all of its essentials by virtually all educated clergymen, although, understandably, they may prefer to envelop it in clouds of misty verbiage when they harangue the persons who fill the collection-plates each Sunday. *That* Jesus, although an ignorant blunderer, is thought admirable because he was an early Bolshevik who tried to incite a revolution to destroy our race's Classical civilization and realize the old Jewish dream of One World ruled, of course, by God's Own People.)

Believing this but lacking the courage to seek honest employment, the poor wretches are ordained and find themselves in a business in which their income depends on their ability to keep congregations awake or, at least, in a donating mood each Sunday, while they must curry the favor of both their atheistic superiors and of the Lords of the Press and Radio. It is no wonder that they preach the "social gospel." Some of them, no doubt, really believe it, for it is a fact that the loss of religious faith merely leaves many minds morbidly susceptible to the contagion of the most grotesque superstitions. Some see no reason why they shouldn't peddle the brand of

buncombe that pays the best. Some doubtless thirst for revolution and chaos to avenge themselves on the society that makes them exert themselves in pulpits, and, like the Vicar in Daphne du Maurier's memorable novel, *Jamaica Inn*, picture themselves as clever wolves preaching to congregations of uncomprehending mutton-heads. That is the real explanation of what has happened to most of our churches, and there is no need to imagine some fantastically large and cunning conspiracy of Illuminati or other Supermen to account for the behavior of clergymen who do not believe in Christianity.

The catastrophic decline of Christian faith is the most important, the crucial event of our recent history. Even the dullest members of Sunday-morning clubs know that it has happened, but they will try to deny it by informing you that the Seventh Baptistical Church has just moved to a wonderful new edifice that cost half a million dollars and is architecturally indistinguishable from a night club, and that St. Olaf's Presbutheran Church has just added a hundred-thousand-dollar gymnasium to its sacred facilities. Believing Christians, on the other hand, know what has happened and deplore it. When they try to account for the catastrophe, however, they, if they recognize a natural cause at all, most commonly blame the Jews. That, I think, is unfair and, what is much worse, incorrect and therefore dangerous.

The most comprehensive and scholarly survey of Jewish pressures on, and infiltration of, Christianity from the earliest times is the work of one of the most learned ecclesiastical historians of our day and is now available in a passable English translation: *The Plot Against the Church* by Maurice Pinay. The virtual capture of the Catholic Church in recent years, which has been celebrated in articles in *Look* and other periodicals, is ably described by Vicomte Leon de Poncins in his *Judaism and the Vatican*. No Protestant scholar, so far as I know, has made a comparable study of Protestant denominations. It would be difficult to take exception to the reporting of historical facts in the two books that I have cited, and let us not question the authors' conclusions. Do they adequately explain the decline of Christianity?

I have no wish to defend the Jews, and I shall not ask whether it is entirely reasonable to blame them for forwarding their own interests by their own methods wherever they have planted colonies among populations whom they regard as inferior, much as our ancestors regarded the aborigines of North America. Let the Jews be as wicked and diabolical as you wish, but let us consider the religious question objectively, lest error delude us with fallacious hopes.

If we, from our vantage point in the present, look back over the history of our religion dispassionately, we can discern, at a distance of a thousand years and more, the origins of our plight today. I do not refer to sectarianism and heresies: they are simply normal in all evangelical religions. In Islam, for example, the multiplicity of sects is proverbial, and by the time that Buddhism became a religion in the second century B.C., there were already eighteen major sects, each claiming, of course, to be the sole repository of the true doctrine. Christianity is exceptional only for its relative stability. Over a period of twelve centuries, from 325 A.D., when its doctrine had taken form in all essentials, to the Protestant Reformation in the Sixteenth Century, the religion of the West was an effective unity, not seriously disturbed by such sporadic heresies as the Albigensians, and Waldenses, the Patarini, and the Hussites.\*

(\* We are not here concerned with the theological convulsions of the Byzantine ("Orthodox") Church, which, as we observed earlier, was a radically different kind of religion, imbued with Levantine elements rejected by the West, and thereby appealing to a racially different people. A discussion of the origin, incidence, and relative importance of Jewish and other Levantine elements in the early Christian doctrines, the progressive supersession of such elements in the West, and their recrudescence in some heresies would necessarily be long, involved, and somewhat abstruse. We cannot touch upon that topic here, where our concern is with Christianity as it was generally understood and accepted by our race. Debates about whether our distant ancestors

understood it correctly or should have accepted what they did would be, for our present purposes, irrelevant and otiose.)

Christianity is, as we have said, an Indo-European religion and it was therefore accepted and understood in terms of the mentality and thought-processes peculiar to our race. Our minds, unlike those of other races, demand that all the elements of a doctrine be logically consistent with one another and in conformity with observed reality. The intellectual efforts of the early Fathers of the Church, who labored to establish texts and resolve contradictions, have some analogies in other religions, but the Scholasticism of the Middle Ages is unique. This great philosophical effort to understand the world about us has nothing to do with heresies or even skepticism; it was, as one of the Scholastics defined it, *fides quaerens intellectum*; it was carried on by churchmen, and, as we too often forget, accompanied by mathematical investigations and empirical observation of nature. There are many histories of Scholasticism, and a good outline may be found in the second volume of Ueberweg's standard *History of Philosophy*. There are some very stimulating observations on late Scholasticism in the first volume of Egon Friedell's *Cultural History of the Modern Age*. The histories of science by Sarton and by Thorndike cover the Mediaeval period fairly well. The reader, however, will find the essentials most clearly presented in the brilliant work of Lawrence R. Brown, *The Might of the West*, which not only brings together facts that are artificially separated in other works, but identifies in its Mediaeval origins the great tension of modern thought. Christianity brought with it from Asia Minor alien elements that were generally ignored but remained latent in its sacred books and dogmas, incompatible at the limit with Western man's innate need to know and master the physical world, and further complicated by historical accidents. That is what gave us, as Mr. Brown observes, "a society whose inward convictions have been at hopeless variance with the outward professions that the events of history have forced it to make." We need only add that the conflict became even more acute with the Renaissance and became one of the hidden causes of the Reformation and Europe's first Civil War.

From the Renaissance to the present, we of the West have had to observe an ever increasing discrepancy between the tenets of our religion and the observed phenomena of the world in which we live, and during the past century the discrepancies became catastrophic.

One can enumerate sixteen intellectual factors that have contributed to the decline of Christianity, but the four most important, all of which took effect during the past hundred years, are:

- (1) The recovery by archaeological excavation of much of the history of the Near East.
- (2) Perception of the great physiological and anatomical similarity of human beings to extinct sub-human species and to existing anthropoids, the whole forming a neat evolutionary sequence.
- (3) Determinations that the earth is at least a billion years older than the Creation posited by Christian doctrine.
- (4) Most important of all, perhaps, perception of the size of the universe. It is one thing to call it infinite; it is another to know that there are galaxies so remote that light from them, travelling at more than eleven million miles a minute, has taken eight billion years to reach us.

Christian theologians, to be sure, have offered innumerable explanations of these discrepancies. Some are forthright efforts to meet the issues squarely, of which the best that I have seen is *The Genesis Flood*, by Professor John C. Whitcomb, Jr., of Grace Theological Seminary, and Professor Henry M. Morris, of the Virginia Polytechnical Institute. Some are bizarre efforts to conjure a god from the Planck constant or squeeze

him out of the (hypothetical) Lorentz contractions. And some reach the level of the books that Teilhard de Chardin must have written with tongue in cheek. But we are not here concerned with the validity of any of these Christian explanations. The important fact is that they convince no one except Christians. Perhaps they should, but they do not.

That is the *principal* cause of the recession of Christian faith, and you cannot blame the Jews for it. It is most unlikely that the Jews planted every inscribed tablet found by excavators in Asia Minor, and it is quite certain that they did not create quasars or even the great galaxy in Virgo. The blame, if any, must fall entirely on our race—on the philosophical mentality and Faustian will that distinguish us from all other races and that alone made possible the abstruse and complex determinations of fact that undermined our faith. The four intellectual factors that I listed above and eleven of the twelve that I did not have space to enumerate all depend on data that *no* other race had either the capacity or the wish to ascertain—data, furthermore, that all other races either cannot comprehend or regard as insignificant and irrelevant to their racial mentality.

To repudiate the science of the West is simply to blow out our brains figuratively, as our fetish-men, witch-doctors, and other "Liberal intellectuals" would have us do. And if we of the West do it figuratively, we may as well all do it literally, too, and so escape the ultimate misery and degradation in store for us.

I began this cursory discussion by saying that it did not matter whether we were Christians or atheists so long as we faced facts and reasoned objectively about them. As rational men, all that we can do is measure the consequences of the disastrous decline of faith—for it is a disaster even greater than most Christians suppose—and ascertain by what means (if any) we can hope to survive it.

## Chapter Four

### THE PREDICTABLE FUTURE

Christendom is no longer Christendom. The faith that Christ was literally the Son of God, which dominated the Western world for fifteen centuries, and effectively united all the men of our race for ten, has become the faith of a minority.

It is vain to wish that this calamity had not happened, and nugatory to try to blame our enemies for it, however cunning and malevolent they may be. For it is our destiny—the destiny that is biologically innate in our race and the only source of our greatness and of the power that enabled us thus far to survive in a world in which we are a small and universally hated minority—to think philosophically about the external and physical world, and to seek objective truth, at whatever cost to our vanity or comfort. As Lawrence R. Brown says, in the book that I quoted before, "Whatever has been easier to believe than to discover has never been what created the unique greatness of our society. Not the comforting satisfaction of inward belief, but the potential humiliation of outward fact has been the last standard of truth in the West." And that has been the *principal* cause of the waning of what was once our common faith.

We cannot expect, therefore, within the foreseeable future any increase in the number of believing Christians, who now number about 12% of adult Americans; on the contrary, a gradual decrease is possible and in some circumstances likely, since the majority of them are now in or past middle age.\*

(\* I need not remark that no one should take seriously the little bands of hysterical adolescents who occasionally try to attract attention by emerging from the communal squalor of their *kibbuzim* and yelling "Jesus!" instead of "Peace in Vietnam!" Although some enterprising operators in the evangelical business advertise such outbreaks as harbingers of a "revival of faith," it is quite clear that the young derelicts, insofar as they are not indulging in mere exhibitionism, are actuated by the hallucinations that normally occur in minds that have been rotted by the drugs now commonly used by children in the public schools, chiefly marijuana, mescaline, lysergic acid diethylamide, and heroin. The febrile excitement of derelicts "hooked on Jesus" is merely a variation of their feeble-minded enthusiasm for every kind of occult posturing and mystery-mongering, including witchcraft, black magic, Satanism, astrology, oneiromancy, necromancy, and innumerable adaptations of various Oriental cults. More disturbing are the reports of colonies of youngsters who, reportedly without the help of hallucinatory drugs, exchange thoughts with a superior race on Jupiter, chat with visiting spooks, or have at the top of their skull a psychic opening through which the Holy Ghost whispers instructions. Like the "hippies," these unfortunates are commonly graduates of the cut-rate diploma-factories that are still called "universities." That is a fact that will be terribly significant to those who are not afraid to think about it.)

We have no reason to anticipate a drastic and revolutionary change in the scientific evidence—a discovery, for example, that the earth ceased to rotate on its axis for a day or two when the Israelites invaded Canaan, or that stars outside the solar system are optical illusions. Rightly or wrongly, a great many men of intellectual integrity can now discern no evidence of the existence in the universe of a *conscious* power superior to man, and, precisely because they are men of intellectual integrity, they are not going to change their deductions in the absence of radically *new* evidence that is intellectually cogent to them. And precisely because they are men of our race, who reason from dispassionately ascertained data, they are not going to be swayed by the emotions of orating evangelists, and they will be simply disgusted by attempts to equate "atheism" and "Communism."

No one doubts but that the power of man—which, for all practical purposes, means the power of our race—is small indeed. We and our planet and our whole solar system are infinitesimal motes in a galaxy that is itself an insignificant part of the known universe. No one doubts, furthermore, but that for many phenomena we have no satisfactory explanation. But knowledge cannot be derived from what is not known, and to deify known natural forces is to resort to a mocking evasion, not unlike that of Epicurus. In the 1930's, Leopold Ziegler thought that the Second Law of Thermodynamics was a quite satisfactory "god" and others have applied that term to biological evolution toward more complex organic forms, to the fact of human consciousness, to instincts found in one or more races that seem analogous to a growing plant's heliotropic striving for sunlight, to the theories of indeterminacy or of parity in sub-atomic physics, and a wide variety of other phenomena. But no alert Christian will be deceived. His God is a *conscious* being, a *personal* God, a God who is aware of, and has concern for, the *individual*; He is a God to whom one can pray.

Men prayed to the Sun when they believed that that incandescent globe was a conscious being who could hear them; but nobody prayed to the Great Mystery that [cannot render equation—Editor]. Christians rightly regard the difference between an atheist and a "pantheist" today as the difference between six apples and half-a-dozen. They can derive no comfort from the prudential evasions of some writers.

Christians are demonstrably right when they insist that if we and the other nations of the West were still Christian nations, we should not find ourselves in our present plight. We should have other difficulties, of course; we should, no doubt, continue to quarrel among ourselves, and we should have to face, as now, the open

hostility or covert hatred of the rest of the world. But if we Occidentals were still Christian nations, we should have no need to worry about International Bankers, Illuminati, Bolsheviks, Jews, "Liberals," or any other *internal* menace that you may choose to name or imagine. Recognition of that fact, however, will not produce a religious revival. It is a peculiarity of our Indo-European mind that for us truth is not demonstrated by either comfort or self-interest. We *cannot* believe a proposition to be objectively true just because we wish that it were or because our personal safety depends upon it. No exposition of present danger, therefore, can create faith.

Is there *any* hope of a significant increase in the minority that now believes that Christ was the Son of God?

Some Christians anticipate that the trend will be reversed by divine intervention, but there is little agreement about the nature of the expected miracle. Some expect the Second Coming of Christ, which will provide visible evidence of the truth of Christian doctrine and thus start a wave of conversions, while others count on God's application of a psychological force that will change men's minds and force them to believe what now seems unreasonable. Others as positively expect a virtually total loss of faith with miraculous suddenness. Not infrequently one encounters a Christian, usually a lady, who is quite certain that on a day in the very near future she and 499 other persons will soar aloft into the atmosphere, apparently to a level above the cumulus and below the cirrus cloud-formations, and there float in ecstasy while the rest of the earth's population is condignly destroyed in a succession of catastrophes. But the majority of Christians, I am sure, do not count on impending miracles.

One common ground for hope is, at best, uncertain. We Americans, thanks to our folly, will soon undergo a considerable amount of physical suffering: domestic violence, economic collapse, probably some starvation, quite possibly conquest by foreign invaders and resident revolutionists. It is true that, as history shows, such afflictions usually induce a revival of religion, and many Christians expect such an effect here. That is not likely in the future that we can foresee. For one thing, the historical effect requires an unremitting and prolonged suffering—thirty years or more. The Crusade to Save the Soviet in 1939–45 inflicted great suffering on many nations of Europe, especially Germany and Poland, but produced no significant religious revival. Secondly, if there should be such an effect, it probably would not benefit Christianity. The Protestant Churches as a whole have long been disgraced by the pinks and punks of the National Council. The Catholic Church is now committing suicide by repudiating its own doctrines and burlesquing its traditions. In the eyes of non-believers now, the religion has been compromised by the antics of the greater part of the professional clergy, and despite the admirable loyalty of "traditionalist" and "fundamentalist" minorities, it is likely that the coming disasters will—unjustly, but understandably—make Christianity seem a religion that failed. Thus any revival of religiosity will benefit cults that will have the attraction of novelty and a new "revelation," possibly including some doctrine of metempsychosis.

We are left, therefore, with the present situation and very little hope that it will or can be soon altered. So we had better reckon with it, whatever our personal desires or convictions.

The visible consequences of the withering of our religion are enormous, overshadowing, frightening. Christianity was much more than a religion comparable to the religion of Osiris in early Egypt, the worship of the Olympian gods, the Orphic mysteries, or Mithraism. Unlike those cults in their time and place, Christianity for a large part of our history was the whole formal basis of our entire culture, the absolute from which were deduced our moral codes, our laws, and our political systems; it largely informed our art, inspired our literature, animated our music, and sustained our men of science. The void that has been left is so great that few can peer into the dark abyss without vertigo.

There is, however, no rational escape from a question to which there can be *only* two answers. Was Christ the

Son of God?

Christians answer Yes. And on that faith they found their lives.

The majority of adults today, including most of the persons who are doing business in the pulpits, answer No. The negative answer cannot be covered with verbiage about "great Teacher," "social vision," "moral earnestness," and the like. There is no escape from logic.

If Christ was not the Son of God and an Incarnate God, then he was, on the record, a lunatic with delusions that he was. And a lunatic's views on morality and justice are simply worthless. From this simple alternative our "modernist" clergy try to escape by claiming that all the passages in which Christ speaks of his own divinity, or miraculous proof of it is given, are forgeries concocted by clumsy interpolators, but if that is true, there is no passage that is exempt from the suspicion of forgery, and we have to conclude, as did Father Loisy in his famous work on *Le mystère chrétien* (1930), that there is *no* authentic record of what Jesus said—and, indeed, no certainty that He is not, like the words attributed to him, merely an invention of the clumsy "interpolators." At the very best, if Christ was not literally the Son of God, his opinions are of infinitely less value than the opinions of learned, earnest, and thoughtful men, such as Aristotle, Cicero, and Marcus Aurelius in antiquity, and in modern times, David Hume, Schopenhauer, and Renan. From that clear alternative there is no escape except in the kind of patter and chatter that stage magicians use to distract the attention of the audience from a trick of prestidigitation.

If Christ was not literally the Son of God, the *entire* morality on which our civilization was *consciously* based for so long seems to collapse, to vanish as an illusion, to be as unfounded as the old notion that the earth was flat. And this apparent dissolution includes all of the ancient Indo-European morality that guided our peoples in the many centuries that preceded our adoption of Christianity.\* That is obviously what is happening—has happened today, when we witness everywhere tacit and explicit repudiation of *all* morality—not only Christian teaching, but the antecedent and basic morality without which civilization is flatly impossible. And, what is even more disheartening, there seems to be no basis left for *any* morality.

(\* Christianity, of course, introduced very little that was novel in the practical ethics governing human conduct in society, most of which were not only traditional in our race but were common to most civilized societies, including the oldest of which we have adequate knowledge. (Clergymen who impudently talk of "Judaeo-Christian ethics" try to give the impression that the prohibition of theft, adultery, etc. in the Ten Commandments was some kind of dazzling and miraculous invention, but if they were honest they would speak of "Sumerian-Christian ethics" in that connection.) About the only element that can fairly be called a Christian innovation was the great emphasis on forgiveness as a duty rather than an act of unnecessary generosity. (Its doctrine of rewards and punishments after death tended to enforce observance of the whole moral code, but that is another matter.) The historical antecedents, however, will not help us now, for our religion was so long regarded as the one and *only* basis for morality and the *unique* source of all right conduct that the earlier traditions have vanished except insofar as we still instinctively regard certain actions as dishonorable. Even those feelings, however, may be consciously repressed as "relics of superstition" by persons who have reacted strongly against the religion and are proud of having "emancipated" themselves from it.)

For a long time, men, except a few romantic and evangelical atheists, have agreed that a viable morality must be based on a religious faith. Hesiod, whom some scholars place in the ninth century B.C., warned the judges of his day that Zeus had 30,000 invisible and immortal observers who go through the whole earth and report the evil deeds of men. A discerning correspondent, whose letter reached me yesterday, remarks that "unfortunately, most people need to feel that they are watched by a superhuman power."

For Aristotle, Plato, and Cicero, civilized society must be based on a generally accepted and uniform religious faith. And, with few exceptions, the thoughtful non-Christians of our world have held the same opinion. Renan, for example, took leave of Christianity with elegiac sadness and deep apprehension: "What is ominous is that we cannot foresee for the future any means of giving men a code of conduct that they will generally accept . . . I frankly admit that I cannot imagine how it will be possible to restore, without the ancient illusions, the foundations of a noble and serene life."

On a quite different level, the pragmatic and cynical Augustus believed religion the indispensable basis of political stability, and many rulers and statesmen, before him and after him, had the same conviction. And some of the world's most acute minds have drawn the conclusions that Machiavelli, perhaps, stated most bluntly:

Principalities and republics that would save themselves from decadence must above all other things keep uncorrupted the ceremonies of their religion, and hold it always in veneration; for there can be no greater symptom of the ruin of a state than to see divine rites held in contempt. . . . They should therefore use every opportunity to foster and augment their religion, even though they perceive it to be false; and the more prudent they are and the more they know about natural phenomena, the greater their obligation to do this.

It is now too late to heed Machiavelli's warning. The disaster that he apprehended has come upon us.

It is vain to dream of a religion to replace Christianity. Comte's notion of a "Religion of Humanity," whereby congregations would throng temples to venerate Henry Ford, Thomas Edison, and Werner von Braun as "benefactors," was one of the ideas that occurred to him when he was out of a straight-jacket, but it should have suggested to his friends and keepers the need to hustle him into one. True, there have been serious proposals by eminently sane men, who, however, seem to forget that a religion must be based on faith, not speculation or psychological peculiarities. Captain Ludovici is a highly intelligent and earnest man, and when he wrote his *Religion for Infidels* (1961), he must have known that his "rational religion" could appeal only to a few, and had no chance whatsoever of meeting our society's need for a unifying faith.

If the faith of Christendom was an error, alien gods can command no true piety—not even in the little circles where they may enjoy a passing vogue. The Oriental cults that make wealthy dowagers beam and write cheques are not for men. Christianity is irreplaceable.

## Chapter Five

### THE CONSEQUENCES

No more than 12% of adult Americans believe that Christ was the Son of God. No more than half of this minority has thus far provided from 80% to 90% of all the support given to "conservative" and "anti-

Communist" efforts. So there is another fundamental fact that you must face, if you desire to preserve our country and our civilization.

If most of the men included in that 6% were physically robust and vigorous, disciplined and well trained in the techniques of guerrilla warfare, equipped with the necessary weapons (including, in addition to automatic rifles, machine guns, and land mines, such devices as infra-red projectors), and willing to fight ruthlessly under a unified command, they could recapture the United States.

If the 6%, though not capable of military action, formed a group that would not only contribute money and work to the very limit of their powers and vote as a solid bloc, but would also, at the command of their leaders, endorse and propagate the propaganda line that those leaders judged most expedient at any given time, even though that line was mendacious and contrary to all that they as individuals believed, and would furthermore, at command, work politically for candidates whose political pattern suggested the very opposite of what they as individuals want, it might be possible for them, by persistent effort over many years, to recapture the country with conspiratorial tactics.

Obviously, however, the active Christian minority is incapable of either of the only two kinds of action that could bring success. It is, furthermore, incapable of even sentimental agreement, for it is fragmented by real and important doctrinal differences, and any accord that may be established among Christians can always be quickly disrupted by even the crudest incitation of sectarian emotions. Even now, one of the most influential of the Christian "anti-Communist" preachers varies his message from time to time with clear intimations that the Pope is the Antichrist. The remaining Christians in the Catholic Church, having faith in its traditions, are more sensitive than ever to Protestantism now that they see their church resorting to cheap parodies of Protestant services as part of its effort to commit suicide. "Fundamentalist" Protestants frequently quarrel over the question whether or not certain tribes of Israelites migrated to northern Europe or the British Isles after they were supposedly captured by the Babylonians. And one evangelist with a very well-known name and small following is currently urging that all the Jews residing in the United States be killed "county by county" without delay, and most vehemently denounces all who have so little faith in Scripture that they have doubts about the feasibility of carrying out the proposed purification successfully this year.

Seeking the most inclusive definition, we defined Christians as persons who have an abiding faith that Christ was in fact the Son of God. But each Christian necessarily believes more than that, and the diversity of faith in other tenets reduces the Christian minority to a multiplicity of groups that are incapable of sustained unity of purpose and could not act effectively, even if they had the means of action. Crusades were possible in ages in which Faith in Christ could bring together large and well-equipped armies of veteran warriors ready to smite and slay the pagan and to vindicate their faith with the sword, but today a suggestion that Christians could launch a Crusade is simply ludicrous.

If Christians and other Americans really want to survive as Americans rather than as brutalized and stultified fellahin, the despised slaves of an alien and international super-state, they had better think seriously about the 88% of non-Christians of their race in the United States. We are here concerned only with Christians who are willing to make that effort, and we are well aware that many will find it much more entertaining to continue orating to one another, pounding their typewriters, quoting Scripture and wrangling about what it means, and contributing their money to every clever promoter who promises to produce with talk precisely the kind of miracle that would make them happy.

So what of the 88%?

The most logical alternative to Christianity is obviously atheism, by which we mean the belief that, in all probability, there does not exist in the universe a personal god to whom one can address prayers and who has conscious purposes. If the faith that was well nigh universal among members of our race for so many centuries was a fiction and a delusion, then it is *a priori* highly improbable that Apollo, Odin, Vishnu, Dionysus, or any other Savior God is less of a myth and fantasy than the Christian God. If the faith that inspired our race for so large a part of its recorded history was merely a figment of overwrought imaginations, it is highly probable that faith in any substitute for Christianity is likewise a product of the same overheated fancy. He who finds Christianity unbelievable should at least equally suspect all other revelations, and conclude that, so far as we can ascertain, there is no god, no conscious power in the universe superior to man. That is only reasonable.

It is odd, therefore, that we hear so little of atheism today. There is, to be sure, a small number of evangelical atheists, who devote themselves to spreading the glad tidings that there is no god. They are best represented by the little periodical, *The Truth Seeker*, that does not enjoy enough support to continue publication in conventionally set type and has had to resort to photo-offset reproduction from copy prepared on a quite ordinary typewriter. It would be a gross exaggeration to estimate the avowed and active atheists at one-half of one percent of our adult population. And one suspects that their number is steadily dwindling.

It is true, nevertheless, that doubt and denial of religion is a long-standing and ancient tendency in our race, and is very closely connected with our peculiar capacity to think objectively about the world in which we live and our experience of it.\* I shall not argue that atheism is distinctively Indo-European like Christianity, for I doubt that such an argument could be maintained, nor shall I advance the more defensible claim that the atheism of Occidental minds differs generically from the manifestations of irreligion in other races, for that would entail a long excursus on China, with particular consideration of the doctrines of Confucius, Mencius, Hsun Tzu, and, most important of all, the Fa Chia;\*\* a second excursus on the *falasifa* who flourished briefly in the world of Islam and included true Semites from southern Arabia; and, at least, a third excursus on the atheism that is so wide-spread among the Jews today. I shall merely remind you of two items in the history of India, and suggest that you reflect on their significance.

(\* It may be pertinent to recall that during the Viking Age many men, including even some kings, confessed that they were atheists (*godlauss*) and openly derided the Norse theology; many more, no doubt, were content to keep their opinions to themselves.)

(\*\* I remark in passing that although the Fa Chia, which I mentioned in an earlier note, was a political philosophy confined to an intellectual élite in positions of power, it effectively dominated the practice of Chinese governments from the third century B.C. to the present, except for comparatively brief intermissions. It appears to be totally unknown to the journalists, both "Liberal" and "anti-Communist," who manufacture books about the present régimes in Formosa and on the mainland, ignoring the racial determinants of the Mongolian mind and pretending that the Chinese have a yen for "democracy" and the other abstractions that are effective bait for voters in this country. The best thing to do with such books is to drop them in the wastebasket unopened; that saves time and eyestrain.)

If you search the annals of mankind for a parallel to the strict materialism and concomitant atheism that is the premise of a very large part of the dominant thought of our time and simply taken for granted by many of our best minds, you will find the closest parallel in the philosophy called Lokayata, of which traces remain in the next-to-oldest parts of the *Mahabharata*, in the *Arthasastra*, and in a few other ancient works in Sanskrit. It is quite clear that this virtually scientific materialism flourished while the Aryan conquerors of India were in the plenitude of their power, and vanished as completely as though it had never been when the natives of that sub-continent succeeded, by such devices as miscegenation, military imitation, and exploitation of rivalries, in

breaking the Aryan power and racial consciousness.

Late in the sixth century B.C. a young Aryan prince named Siddhartha, doubtless influenced by the Lokayata prevalent in intellectual circles, evolved an atheistic pessimism that differed from a strict materialism only in the assumption that an individual's will-to-live (as distinct from his mind and personality) could survive his death. This palingenesis of the will (which must be sharply distinguished from the reincarnation of a soul) strikingly resembled the basis of the modern philosophy of Schopenhauer, and Siddhartha, yielding to our racial instinct to deduce and formulate universal laws, presented it as true for all men. His doctrine therefore appealed to sentimental Aryans who were concerned for "all mankind" and had an itch to "do good" for the lower races by pretending that those races were their equals. They accordingly preached the philosophy of Siddhartha and gradually transformed that bleak pessimism into a religion complete with gods, saviors, and innumerable angels and demons, and they called Siddhartha "the Enlightener of Mankind" (*Buddha*). As an odd mixture of philosophy and religion, Buddhism became the Established Religion of India, consummated the mongrelization of the Aryans and their submergence in the prolific native races, and then, its work of subversion accomplished, it disappeared from India and survived only as a grossly superstitious religion in Tibet, China, Japan, and adjacent Mongolian territories, and, with many doctrinal differences, in Ceylon and Southeast Asia, where it appears to have become as decadent as Christianity among us.\*

(\* When Arnold J. Toynbee visited Burma he was impressed by the "spiritual light" that is particularly radiant in Buddhist friars who assemble in mobs and, when the spirit moves them, start killing people with the clubs, revolvers, and hand-grenades they carry under their sacred yellow robes. This social gospel, however, is a very recent innovation. On the other hand, much that is old survives, as was evident a few years ago when our propaganda-machine for political purposes exhibited on television the spectacle of some Buddhists who incinerated themselves. The yokels who gawked at the exhibition did not know that it was merely the observance of an ancient custom, much older than Christianity and even older than Buddhism itself.)

If we consult the direct tradition of our civilization, we find from the earliest recorded times to the present eminent men who reject the popular religion of their day and the god or gods of that religion, believing that the world is uncreated and eternal and holding, in keeping with the mentality of our race, that the world operated by natural law, that is to say, the uniform and automatic processes of a nature that is independent of supernatural intervention. What is rare is not thinking that dispenses with gods, but proselytizing atheism. That rarity cannot be entirely explained by fear of persecution, and it must be attributed in part to a reluctance to destroy the religion of the people.

In the seventh century B.C., Thales, who was regarded as the founder of both astronomy and natural philosophy, and is believed to have been the first who could predict eclipses of the sun by mathematical calculation, appears to have identified the gods with what we should call kinetic energy, gravitation, magnetic force, and, perhaps, chemical processes. Such a definition cannot have been either instructive or encouraging to persons intent on praying for mercy or favor from Zeus or one of his divine associates or subordinates, but Thales was not technically an atheist, and he disturbed established beliefs less than did Xenophanes, whose rigorous monotheism required him to ridicule all anthropomorphic gods. Democritus, one of the greatest minds of antiquity, explained all phenomena in terms of atoms governed by uniform natural forces, and he left nothing for gods to do, although he cheerfully conceded, for the benefit of those who felt strongly about the matter, that the same natural forces that produced man could have produced superior races, more perfectly formed of a more tenuous matter and so possibly exempt from some of our ills and limitations. Epicurus argued, perhaps sincerely, on the basis of epistemological considerations, that gods probably existed, but must dwell outside our world and must, by their very nature, have no interest in or concern for human beings. It is obviously folly to try to attract the attention of such superior beings, and it is preposterous to think that a god would have cared who

won the Trojan War, or that a son of God (*Dios nysos*, i.e. Dionysus) could have suffered, been slain, and have arisen from the dead to save mankind, but Epicurus was not technically an atheist. Euhemerus blandly devised evidence and argument to show that Zeus had been a King of Crete and that the notion of worshipping gods was merely a development of men's natural tendency to venerate the memory of great men after they are dead. Many an ancient writer explained religion in the terms most generally accepted by modern anthropologists: *primus in orbe deos fecit timor*. Primitive men personified and tried to placate forces of nature that they did not understand. Intelligent readers could draw their own deductions, but ancient writers refrained from preaching atheism as such, and addressed themselves only to very limited and select audiences.

There may have been an intermission of such skepticism during the Roman Decadence and the darkest part of the Dark Ages, but by the Thirteenth Century men knew of the famous book *De tribus impostoribus* that is now lost. (The extant work is a forgery produced in the Eighteenth Century.) The three impostors, of course, were Moses, Christ, and Mahomet, charlatans who imposed on the credulity of their ignorant contemporaries, but so far as we can tell, the author of that doctrine did not specifically deny the existence of a god. From the Thirteenth Century to the present, the chain of such thinking is unbroken, and it is easily recognized under the various forms that it successively assumed. During the Renaissance, for example, a favorite precaution was the doctrine of "two truths," which enabled a philosopher, such as the most illustrious of the Paduans, Petrus Pomponatius, to affirm that by faith he believed to be true precisely those propositions (e.g., the immortality of the soul) that he had just demonstrated to be false in the light of reason and observation. After the Reformation, the modern method appears. For example, Sir Walter Raleigh's friend, Thomas Hariot, now chiefly remembered for his work on the mathematics of navigation and cartography, simply ignored Christianity (except that he thought it good for the American Indians); his contemporaries suspected him of atheism, but they couldn't prove it. Today, you may pick up any serious treatise on astronomy, geology, biology, or almost any science, and you will find that the author simply ignores religion as irrelevant and does not even take the trouble to mention as curious myths the Christian beliefs that are tacitly refuted by his findings. Authors today have nothing to fear from the rage of Christian divines, but they are content to let intelligent readers draw their own conclusions. A formal profession of atheism would be in bad taste, and, what is more, many of the authors really do not want to destroy what religion is left to our people.

Our whole tradition, therefore, deprecates gratuitous and unnecessary offense to religious beliefs, and one of the strongest reasons for that restraint is, and long has been, a conviction that a belief in gods who punish moral transgressions is the most efficacious, and possibly the unique and indispensable, means of maintaining in a large population the morality without which a civilized society would become impossible. Machiavelli did not originate the doctrine that he expressed with brutal frankness in the passage from his *Discorsi* that we quoted above. The idea is ancient; it appears in Herodotus, the "Father of History," and was probably old in his time. It is not even confined to Aryans. Although he was doubtless influenced by Greek thought, the great Arabian poet, Abu'l-'Alá al-Ma'arrí, gave the idea an epigrammatic expression in verses that may be translated thus:

The Moslems stumble; Christians are astray;

The Jews are mad, and Magians grope their way.

We mortals are composed of two great schools—

Enlightened knaves or else religious fools.

"Enlightened knaves" will flout and circumvent the ethics imposed by religious sanctions, and no society can

support more than a small proportion of them. Such, at least, has been the conclusion of careful observers of human society.

An infidel, to be sure, is not necessarily a scoundrel, but even if we claim that a system of ethics can be so logically deduced from objectively ascertained data that it will be cogent to every rational reader, we cannot reasonably expect that the demonstration will sway any very large part of the population. How many persons, for example, would be willing to read the *Nicomachean Ethics* or the *De officiis*, or would understand them, if they did read them? Even if we could construct an intellectually irrefragable code of morality, we should still find religion indispensable, as Aristotle said, "in order to persuade the majority." Or as James Burnham, who is certainly one of the best minds in conservative circles today, expresses it: "The political life of the masses and the cohesion of society demand the acceptance of myths. A scientific attitude toward society does not permit belief in the truth of the myths. But the leaders must profess, indeed foster, belief in the myths, or the fabric of society will crack."

That conclusion always has been widely accepted by men who, naturally, refrain from proclaiming it in public. I knew a gentleman who, although not wealthy in the usual sense of that word, contributed some five thousand dollars a year to his local church. "Of course, I don't believe in immortality and the rest of that bunk," he told me, "but belief in a hereafter is the only thing that will keep most people straight, so I do what I can." That opinion was based, not on reading, but on his own observation of men. Essentially the same opinion is held by some clergymen. I have conversed with one, who is certainly not one of the "social gospel" shysters. He is a very well educated and thoughtful man, who believes religion necessary for social stability, although he regrets that a series of historical accidents made so confused and vulnerable a cult as Christianity the religion of the West instead of the form of Buddhism found in the *Milinda-panha* (c. 125 B.C.), which, incidentally, he has read in the original Pali. That, of course, is not what he tells his congregation, but he holds that since a belief in the supernatural must be fostered for the comfort of the majority, it is best for society that the doctrine be dispensed by men who can take an honest and coldly rational view of their task and will not be carried away by fanaticism or exhibitionism. That view is not unique, and we should remember, for example, that in this century the staunchest and most eloquent defender of the Christian faith in France was the genial Charles Maurras, who, perhaps indiscreetly, confessed that he personally was an atheist.

One of the most striking proofs of the extent of irreligious support of religion as a social utility is the current rash of books and articles that urge Christians to unite with all other religions in "combating skepticism," because the important thing is to have "a faith," chosen from the contemporary flowerbed that provides nosegays to match any complexion or ensemble. That, of course, is the equivalent of saying that it does not matter what you believe, provided that you believe it hard enough. Just as the antithesis of love is not indifference but hate, so the opposite of a true religion is not skepticism but a false religion. So far as there is any honesty in this campaign to "save religion"—so far as it is not a swindle—it must be based on the premise that the beliefs of all Christians, Pharisees, Kabbalists, Theosophists, Moslems, Buddhists, etc., are equally false, but should be encouraged because such superstitions may serve to restrain men's natural propensity to crime. Obviously, the "interfaith" cuddling that is so much in the vogue among professional clergymen these days is possible only for those who have no faith in their own religion, and we can only hope that some of them are thinking in terms of social utility rather than promoting a racket—or a conspiracy.

The incidence of disbelief in a personal god—atheism, although many atheists escape social disapproval by using such euphemisms as agnosticism and pantheism—cannot, therefore, be estimated, even roughly. It is not limited to strict materialism. The structure of the human consciousness is at present so little understood, and so many psychological phenomena (e.g., hypnotism, the effects of hallucinogenic drugs, possible instances of telepathy, certain instincts of civilized men, many of the mental peculiarities of our race) remain unexplained

that a belief that we have an immaterial and spiritual component is widely held, often associated with hypotheses concerning a fourth (or, if time is the fourth, a fifth) dimension. This spiritual element, thought yet mysterious in the way that the observed effects of radioactivity were mysterious before radium was isolated and identified, is regarded as subject to natural laws yet unascertained, and therefore as involving no presumption that a deity is responsible for those phenomena. Some of our contemporaries, indeed, consider probable a doctrine similar to that of the "godless" Yogins of India (*Nirisvara-samkhya*) and posit cycles of reincarnation governed by moral laws that are as automatic and impersonal as gravity. And Captain Ludovici, in his well-known *Religion for Infidels*, believes in the efficacy of prayer even in the absence of a god or other conscious force to hear it.

For many earnest Americans, religion has become a private matter, a system of ethical conduct reposing on metaphysical premises, hopes, or conjectures that they are unwilling to discuss and might have difficulty in defining precisely even to themselves. All that is certain is that there must be the greatest variety in their conceptions of the praeterhuman. It is impossible, therefore, to estimate the persistence in our time of the Stoic conception of a deity that is the Soul of the Universe, which reappeared in the Deism of the late Eighteenth Century, which was professed by some of the founders of the American Republic—just as it is difficult to be certain to what extent that Deism was more than a way of rejecting Christianity without incurring the stigma of atheism. Many of its pronouncements, indeed, such as Voltaire's famous dictum, *si Dieu n'existait pas, il faudrait l'inventer* (particularly when read in context), suggest much more concern for the stability of society than faith in the unnamed god.

One suspects that a numerical majority of our population has simply lost interest in religion as such and does not think about it at all, except as a kind of social convention, regarding the existence or non-existence of a god as something that cannot be determined, so that thought about it is impractical and profitless—a waste of time that can be used more advantageously in thinking about how to get a raise in salary, and more pleasurably in watching a baseball game or a prize fight. The conventions must, of course, be observed; indeed, some corporations when they send an "executive" into a new territory, perhaps as District Sales Manager for Charnel House cosmetics or Bloaters' beer, stipulate that he must promptly join a country club, a church, and a local business men's association. I am told that at least one corporate monstrosity has thoughtfully compiled a catalogue of the churches that are best for business in each section of the country, so that its "executives" and their wives (who must be "college graduates" without intellectual interests and active in "community work") won't have to worry about a choice. "Fundamentalist" churches, I hear, are *streng verboten*: being suspected of taking Christianity seriously would be, like atheism, bad for sales. And that, I fear, is symptomatic of what religion has become for a large section of our people: not a matter of belief or disbelief, not a subject that excites either emotion or thought, but just a social gesture, to be made perfunctorily and with indifference.

All this, I know, is acutely painful for Christians, but it will do them no good to weep or to curse infidels or to hire an evangelist to tell them that they must "fight atheism" by booking him for a return engagement. The facts are but little less distressing to non-Christians who want to preserve what is left of our culture and our race, and who desperately wish that there were some way to restore the faith that was our bond of unity when the West was Christendom. But we were born into the Twentieth Century, not the Eleventh or the Thirteenth, and, unless we prefer to retreat into a dream-world or passively await our doom, it is with the realities of the present that we must cope, if we can.

## Chapter Six

### SUCCEDANEOUS RELIGION

The loss of Christian faith as the West's bond of union was a disaster; the spiritual vacuum thus created was a catastrophe.

Since the later part of the Eighteenth Century, we have had among us bands of evangelical atheists, numerically small but at times very influential, who, either openly or under the euphemistic appellation of "anti-clericals," worked to destroy Christianity. Although they were used by political conspiracies with which they sometimes knowingly collaborated, and although they were certainly encouraged and often subsidized by the Jews, who always profit from the misfortunes of the peoples among whom they have planted their colonies, most of the polemicists against our religion were quite sincere and many were men of good moral character. Let us, for our own instruction, disregard here the scabrous plotters who appear so often darkly in the background, and let us disregard also the often funeste consequences of the anti-religious agitation. Let us reduce to the simplest terms the principles of every society for the promotion of atheism, whatever it was formally or informally called.

There are just three basic propositions. Let us examine them, remembering that we are trying to reason about a desperate situation in which we find ourselves, whatever our beliefs. If we feel a need to indulge orgiastic emotions, let us do that elsewhere and after we have concluded our serious business.

(1) Christianity is false. This conclusion is drawn from (a) a critical examination of the Christian Scriptures to discern the innumerable internal inconsistencies and contradictions, and to weigh the innumerable and equally contradictory attempts of theologians to explain them away; (b) comparison of Scriptural accounts, so far as possible, with historical records; (c) examination of Scriptural statements in the light of known natural laws; and (d) consideration of the discrepancies between Biblical statements about the world and the observed nature of that world. Obviously, we cannot here consider the data and arguments adduced by the atheists under each of those four headings, but the important point is that, with no exceptions worth mentioning, this first step is *intellectually sound*. Each writer reports the facts correctly (except insofar as they were supplemented by later discoveries) and reasons from them with strict logic to rigorously drawn conclusions. Christians, to be sure, surmount these conclusions by various acts of faith, and their faith is entitled to every respect, but although it is asking much of them—as it is asking much of any man to ask him to be objective and just to his opponent—I hope that they will be able to admire the *intellectual* processes by which the conclusions were obtained. They cannot deny the facts without lying; to throw themselves on the floor, kick with their heels, and scream "blasphemy!" is unworthy of adults.

(2) Religion is therefore an imposture on the ignorant perpetrated by priests for their own profit. This conclusion is drawn from (a) the long, long history of fraudulent simulation of supernatural phenomena, from the witch-doctors among the Congoids, who excite the awe of their tribesmen with some of our simpler parlor-tricks, to the elaborate machinery and drugs used in ancient Egypt, Asia Minor, and even Greece to show the ways of god to the suckers; (b) the manufacture of relics and the forgery of decretals and donations in Christianity; (c) the power-politics of the established clergy in many historical periods; and (d) the corruption and scandalous profligacy or dishonesty of many churchmen of exalted rank, including some Popes. Here, however, we have gone a little fast, haven't we? There is no conduct attributed to the clergy, even to its worst members, that is not at least matched by conduct that is common enough among laymen, including rulers and

members of a nobility or aristocracy, and while believers may be distressed that their religion does not transform men, how can atheists think it very significant that ecclesiastics are human beings? And have we not *excluded* some data here? Does not the record show a very large number of well educated and highly intelligent men, both churchmen and laymen, who, if not insane, *must* have held the faith they professed? And can we suppose that religion answers no natural need or desire in men? That it serves no purpose in civilized society? That it would never have existed, if the equivalent of our stage magicians and our confidence men had not imposed on the credulity of our ancestors?

(3) Let us, therefore, destroy religion, that monstrous engine of deception and exploitation—*écrasez l'infâme!*—and men, governing their conduct by clear-sighted reason alone, will enjoy the infinite progress that Science makes possible. This conclusion is based on—what? History provides no example of a people that governed itself by cold reason, and, for that matter, not many examples of leaders and governors who behaved reasonably even in terms of their own personal advantage or the advantage of their family or other small group. It provides no example of a civilized people without a prevalent religion.\* If, in our society, religion is a fraud, it is only one of the hundreds of frauds currently practiced by playing on ignorance and emotions, usually with appeal to such constant human incentives as greed and malice. So what is the basis of the atheists' third proposition? Faith. Faith in a statement that is completely unsupported by data or by logical deductions, and even contrary to the indications of *all* the relevant evidence that can be found.\*\* It is a faith that can be based on no revelation other than the effervescence of an overheated imagination, and that can have been accepted for no reason other than that it promises a miracle that seems delightful.

(\* I speak, of course, of nations as a whole. It is true that small and essentially aristocratic groups, delimited by birth and education, such as Victorian gentlemen, found in a code of personal honor an adequate substitute for religion, and there have been times when incredulity was normal among an upper and politically dominant group, but it may be significant that the incredulity was most open and notorious in the periods that immediately preceded a great national catastrophe. Even during those periods, however, the mass of common people remained religious. In Eighteenth Century France, 95% of the population practiced Christianity until the Revolution. In the late Roman Republic, before the great Civil Wars, the Capitoline gods suffered some neglect, but the religiosity of the populace was increasing as shown by the importation and spread of various Oriental cults, and the local deities of the countryside seem to have enjoyed about as much veneration as ever. We shall come to the situation in the United States today below.)

(\*\* For example, Robert G. Ingersoll was a very intelligent and well-read man, but readers of his famous orations and of his collected letters (which will guarantee the candor of the speeches) can only marvel at the facility with which his evangelical eloquence disregards the French Revolution, which should have provided him with an unforgettable lesson of what Gibbon termed "the danger of exposing an old superstition to the contempt of the blind and fanatic multitude." Ingersoll must have read, in one of the three historians whom he most highly esteemed, the passage from which I have quoted, and he must have read many reports, written by non-Christians and so acceptable to him, of the orgy of sadism, savagery, and homicidal mania in France, but the lesson was evidently lost on him, perhaps because he had faith in institutions that have now disappeared in all but name from the United States—and yet he had himself fought in the fratricidal madness commonly called the Civil War, and he had himself witnessed the sadistic reprisals carried out by hate-crazed fanatics on the civilized inhabitants of the conquered and helpless Confederacy!)

What has happened to the evangelical atheists without their being aware of it is clear. When they expelled their faith in Christianity, they created within themselves a vacuum that was quickly filled by another faith. And the fervor with which they hold that faith is of religious intensity. They preach the joyful tidings that there is no God with as much ardor and sincerity as ever a Christian preached his gospel. They sacrificed themselves, and

some even underwent martyrdom, for their faith. If we wanted to indulge in paradox, we could describe them as the zealots of an anti-religious religion, but it is more accurate to say that their faith in a religion, which was rational in that it expected miracles only from the supernatural power of its invisible deity, was replaced by a superstition that expects miracles from natural causes that have never produced such effects—a superstition that is totally irrational.

Societies for the promotion of atheism as such are relatively innocuous and merely exhibit on a small scale a psychological phenomenon that has catastrophic effects when it occurs on a large scale, much as sand spouts and dust devils are miniature tornadoes. When religious faith is replaced by materialistic superstition on a large scale, the consequences are enormous devastation.

The great wave of anti-Christian evangelism swept over Europe about the middle of the Eighteenth Century, and its natural results were most conspicuous in France, where decades of strenuous social reform imposed by a centralized government under a king whose mediocre mind had been thoroughly addled by "Liberal" notions, naturally triggered the outbreak of insanity and savagery known as the French Revolution. Since the shamans and fetish-men of the new superstition control our schools and universities today, the history of that event is little known to the average American, who is likely to have derived his impressions, at best, from Carlyle's novel, *The French Revolution*, and, at worst, from the epopts and fakirs of Democracy. Obviously, we cannot here insert an excursus of a thousand pages or so on what happened at France at that time, nor need we. The efforts at social uplift through economic and political reforms during the reign of Louis XVI are well summarized by Alexis de Tocqueville in *The Old Régime and the French Revolution*.\* The best short account in English of the underlying forces of the disaster is the late Nesta Webster's *The French Revolution*, supplemented by the two volumes of her biography of Marie Antoinette and Louis XVI and the pertinent chapters of her *World Revolution*.\*\*

(\* The reader should remember that de Tocqueville wrote at a time (1856) when the recrudescence of religion that followed the French Revolution permitted him the illusion that Christianity had been "definitely reëstablished" and that the climate of his time was "highly favorable to Christianity.")

(\*\* Mrs. Webster wrote as a Christian and so, although she was a woman of great learning and penetrating mind, her interpretations of the facts that she correctly reports are colored by (a) failure sufficiently to allow for the fact that while the publication of the great French *Encyclopédie* was undoubtedly subversive of both church and state, it was nevertheless an accurate report of the science, technology, and historical knowledge of the time, so that if we deplore the publication of encyclopaedias, we must logically demand that accumulated knowledge be made accessible only to a restricted and small élite; and (b) the Christian conception of a universal conflict between God and Satan, whence it follows that whatever is anti-Christian is morally evil and wicked. Many of the early colonists in North America, especially the English, accordingly thought that the Indians must have been incited by the Devil not to surrender their hunting grounds to the Christians, and today many think that Jews are Satanic and wicked because they act in conformity with the interests, instincts, and beliefs of their race. Non-Christian readers should make allowance for this tendency without illogically rejecting Mrs. Webster's report of the facts.)

We need not here concern ourselves with the sinister and mephitic conspiracies that clandestinely incited and contrived so much of the disaster, for our interest is not in the manipulators but in the men of our race who were manipulated. Our problem is not what was done to them, but why they let it be done. Adam Weishaupt, the founder and titular head of the homicidal conspiracy of the Illuminati,\* was undoubtedly a cunning creature, who was able to enlist some of the kings and princes of Europe in a conspiracy to abolish monarchy, to enlist Christian clergymen in a conspiracy to destroy Christianity, and to enlist tender-hearted sentimentalists in a

conspiracy to murder thousands of cultivated men and women, but however subtle his methods of deceit, his success argues some fundamental weakness, mental or moral, in his victims.

(\* We must, of course, be careful to avoid exalting Weishaupt to the rank of Satan by making him and his scabrous crew responsible for the whole of the catastrophe to which they (and many others) undoubtedly contributed. In my *Conspiracy or Degeneracy?*, note 19, I commented sufficiently on the notion, popular in some circles, that the Illuminati were and now are an incredibly powerful gang of Master Minds who have conspired and labored for hundreds or thousands of years, and have caused all the woes of the world for some purpose of their own. The underlying premise, sometimes explicitly but often left latent these days, is that the terrible but unidentified Illuminati are engaged in a Conspiracy Against Christianity, presumably with the active cooperation of the Devil. If those diabolic conspirators had not done their dirty work, there would now be no nasty skeptics and awful atheists, and everyone in the whole world—well, everyone in the United States, at least, would believe every word in the Bible and conduct himself accordingly. Now, as I have indicated above, if you accept that idea, you must accept its necessary corollary, that most of the physical world about us is an illusion that we mistake for reality—an illusion somehow contrived by the Illuminati or their immortal Superintendent. And if you believe that, the best thing to do is to retire, as did the well-known group of Byzantine monks, and contemplate your navel (assuming that it is not also an illusion).)

No historical period is more instructive than the half-century in France during which the yet numerous members of the hereditary aristocracy and the more numerous *nouveaux-riches* with their purchased titles worked so assiduously to produce the cataclysm in which they perished. They spoke proudly of their time as the Enlightenment, the *Siècle des Lumières*, the Age of Reason. Most of them saw the light at last when they faced a new humanitarian machine for amputating their heads; and many did not live until 10 November 1793, when they could have seen Reason finally enthroned and incarnate in the person of a nude whore seated on the high altar of Notre Dame. The results proved that, taken as a whole, the French aristocracy, which included much of the best (and some of the worst) blood in the nation, was the most spectacular collection of boobs seen anywhere before Twentieth-Century America.

The Eighteenth Century saw great and solid achievements in all the basic sciences, in industrial technology, and in historical scholarship. It is indubitable that almost all of those brilliant achievements in science and scholarship directly or indirectly impugned the tenets of Christianity. Although comparatively few men had a thorough understanding of those discoveries, a superficial knowledge of their implications was communicated, usually by witty popularizers, to the entire educated class. That sufficed to destroy their religious faith, which was accordingly replaced by the weird superstitions of the self-styled *philosophes*. That gabbling crew could no longer believe in God, but they could believe in World Peace, which was to be magically produced by either the Abbé de Saint-Pierre's project for a "United Nations" or by tobacco, which, if smoked by everyone, would infallibly soothe men's nerves that they would no longer lose their tempers and want to fight. They could not believe in Christ, but they could believe that an oleaginous Jew who impudently called himself the Comte de Saint-Germain had witnessed the Crucifixion and had remained in good health ever since by abstaining from all food and extracting his nourishment directly from the air—and they thought it the most natural thing in the world that such a long-lived genius should be installed in the royal palace as a personal adviser to the king. They could not believe in the immortality of the soul, but they could believe that a sleazy Jew named Balsamo, alias Mr. Bacthymore, alias Comte Pellegrini, alias Comte de Cagliostro, etc., could conjure up the dead, foresee each person's future, make diamonds grow bigger, and distill an elixir that would rejuvenate old men and convert young men into infants.\*

(\* In this connection, we should perhaps mention the Cardinal de Rohan, a model ecclesiastic who was so intellectual that he discovered how profitable it was to collaborate with the Cerf-Beers and other Jewish banking

houses. He knew, of course, that Christianity was a "silly superstition," but after he saw the "Comte de Cagliostro" manufacture a potful of gold out of dross, he logically concluded that the conjurer was Divine and perhaps an incarnation of God, and must therefore have the power to help the Cardinal seduce Marie Antoinette and cuckold the King.)

If there is any one individual who can be regarded as a perfect representative and, as it were, archetypal symbol of the Enlightenment, it is the famous Marquise d'Urfé. She was a high-born, wealthy, and intelligent woman who evidently had a serious interest in chemistry and is credited with the invention of a self-regulating laboratory furnace for use in her experiments. She also believed that it would be much nicer to be a young man than an old woman, and accordingly she took steps to have herself transformed. She took one important step on the advice of Querilinthos, a Genius then residing in the Milky Way, and at the exactly calculated astrological moment she, after a solemn prayer to Selenis, the Spirit of the Moon, cast into the Mediterranean a casket which she had filled with fifty pounds of gold, silver, mercury, and other metals, and diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires, chrysolites, topazes, and opals. (Casanova, of course, had thoughtfully substituted fifty pounds of lead before the lady cast into the waves her offering to the Seven Planets.) This devotion so moved Selenis that she sent from the Moon an immortal Undine (one of Casanova's mistresses in green tights) to give the Marquise a ceremonial bath. The Marquise d'Urfé, I need not say, was a true intellectual, who had emancipated herself from vulgar prejudices.

It is not astonishing that a society of such intellectuals took seriously a crack-brained vagabond who was given to snivelling ecstatically as he meditated on the Virtue that filled his Pure Heart, and to denouncing the corruption of the Christian Churches that maintained the orphan asylums at which his bastards were surreptitiously abandoned. Rousseau, unfortunately for us, had the ability to write an emotional prose that gave spice to his balderdash, and he seems on occasion to have been capable of a forced lucidity (as in his *Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne*), but he himself summed up his whole career when, in a moment of candor, he told Boswell, "I live in a world of fantasies, and I cannot tolerate the world as it is."\*

(\* Not by any means his only confession; cf. his letter to Malesherbes, 4 January 1762: "Je trouve mieux mon compte avec les êtres chimériques que je rassemble autour de moi qu'avec ceux que je vois dans le monde." One could collect at least a dozen more or less candid admissions that he could not bear to think about the real world.)

We should not damn Rousseau for his influence. The real gravamen of guilt falls on the educated, skeptical, intellectual society that did not laugh at his fantasies about the innate Virtue of hearts uncorrupted by civilization, the Noble Savage, the Equality of all human beings, who can become unequal only through the wickedness of civilized society, the sinfulness of owning property of any kind, and the rest of the tommyrot that you will find in the thousands of printed pages of Rousseau's whining and ranting. You can read all of it—if you grit your teeth and resolve to go through with it—and you really should, for otherwise you will not believe that books so widely read and rhapsodically admired can be so supremely silly and so excruciatingly tedious.

What Rousseau's fantasies produced is an amazing superstition. It is not exactly an atheism, for a vague god was needed to create perfectly noble savages to be corrupted by civilization, and to inspire perfectly pure hearts, like Rousseau's, that overflow with Virtue and drip tears wherever they go; but for all practical purposes, Rousseau's creed substituted "democracy" for God, and put civilized society in place of the Devil. It replaced faith in the unseen and empirically unverifiable with faith in the visibly and demonstrably false.

We cannot afford to smile at poor Mme. d'Urfé. Her instructions came from Querilinthos, but that great Spirit had been conveyed to the Milky Way by seven salamanders, so naturally she could not expect him to come in

person for her to see. You may think that if the noble lady had been really shrewd at the time that the immortal and voiceless Undine was giving her a lustral scrub, she would have jabbed that Moon-maid with a pin, but, after all, a woman who has just thrown a fortune in gold and jewels into the sea is apt to be a little excited, and something must be allowed for the impatience of an old woman eager to become a young man. No such apology can be made for the mighty minds that were stunned by Rousseau's drivel. They could have tested the proposition about natural Equality by just walking down the street with their eyes open, looking inside the nearest prison, or paying a little attention to the conduct of any one of the score of really noteworthy degenerates of very high rank.\* They must have met every day military men and others who had observed savages in their native habitat and could comment on the innate nobility of the dear creatures. And some conversation with a few footpads and cutpurses would have elucidated the problem whether or not Society was responsible for their having been born without a conscience, wings, and other desirable appurtenances. In fact, no rational person could have escaped a daily demonstration that Rousseau's babble was utter nonsense—except, perhaps, by confining himself in a windowless and soundproof room. But the *philosophes* were able to attain in their own capacious minds a far more total isolation from reality.

(\* Including, by the way, the great Apostle of Democracy to whom we owe both the word *Sadism* and the nonsensical dictum that "All men are created equal" ("La Nature nous a fait naître tous égaux"). This favorite dictum of the Marquis de Sade is elaborated early in the first volume of his *Justine*, where he expounds the doctrine, now tacitly or explicitly espoused by our "Liberals," that the most revolting crimes are always justified as a form of social protest and receive the special approbation of Providence, since it is only through every form of criminal action that we can restore the blessed state of perfect equality intended by our Creator ("l'état où elle [la Providence] nous a créés est l'Égalité"). De Sade was twice condemned to death for revolting crimes of which it had been possible to convict him in the courts, but under the decadent government of Louis XVI, as in the United States today, political influences were always available to save the utterly depraved from execution, and De Sade was held in a comfortable prison until he was released by the French Revolution. He became one of the most fervent orators for Social Justice and Brotherhood, and continued to exercise his phenomenal ingenuity for torturing and mutilating the men and women whom he kidnapped for his private amusement, throughout the Revolution. The degenerate creature was clapped into an insane asylum as soon as Napoleon came to power.)

How was this possible? There are two obvious factors.

Of the first of these, let us take one of the innumerable examples that have no political or religious implications.

Many of the novels of Dickens were published serially in periodicals, and naturally each installment was published in England before it appeared in the United States. In 1840, ships arriving from Britain found awaiting them on the dock little knots of well-dressed men and women who, as soon as the vessel came within hailing distance, inquired with tearful anxiety, "Is Little Nell dead?" Now those who asked that question with bated breath were literate and presumably educated persons of what is called the leisure class. They were neither drunk nor insane, so they must have known that Little Nell was a purely fictitious product of Dickens' imagination and that she appeared in a tale set quite some time before the present. If they had any acquaintance with human life, they must have further known that the fictitious Little Nell was a paragon that resembled no child ever born of woman. A minimal amount of reflection would have assured them that Dickens was contriving with conscious art a tear-jerking story of which the peripeties and denouement would be determined by his judgement of what would most excite the sentimentality of his readers within the limits of length that he thought most advantageous for his magazine.

The inquirers were not idiots; they knew all that. But the imaginations that Dickens had stimulated were so

vivid and powerful, and were reënforced by sentiments of generosity and pity so strong, that the rational mind was, so to speak, put on a chain, like an inconvenient watchdog, and a part of the consciousness luxuriated in the illusion that Little Nell was a real being and in anxiety over her fate.

The hypostatization of Little Nell was merely an extension or, rather, perversion of a psychological process common to our race and that we all experience whenever we read a work of imaginative literature, in prose or verse. When we take up a work of poetry or prose fiction, we begin with what literary critics commonly call the poetic suspension of doubt. We resolve that during our reading we will believe that whatever the author tells us actually happened, and that we will vicariously be present when it happens and will experience the emotions that we would experience if we were physically present. That is the literary experience of great literature—and, indeed, our experience when we read any fiction that is sufficiently well written to keep us from throwing the book in the fireplace. When we read tales of the marvellous and praeternatural, we make a temporary act of faith and accept the world that the author has created. Only the poor in spirit will refuse to believe in hippogriffs when they read the *Orlando furioso* or doubt Prospero's power when they read *The Tempest*. We make what is essentially the same act of faith when we read fiction written in more realistic terms. It is a faith of strictly limited duration, and, unless our minds have slipped a cog or two, when we put down Hardy's greatest novel we no more suppose that we have read the biography of a man named Jude the Obscure than we expect to find hippogriffs mingling with the traffic on the street outside after we have read Ariosto.

Literature provides us with emotional and spiritual experience of which we have a racial need, for we Indo-Europeans inherit genetically vivid imaginations that are apt to get out of control if we try to repress or ignore them instead of exercising them rationally and thus satisfying our inner yearning for worlds brighter, more beautiful, and more dramatic than the one in which we live. Our first great literature was the poems of Homer, both the *Iliad*, with its eternal figuration of the unalterably tragic fate that only men of the West are strong enough to meet knowingly, and the *Odyssey*, with its magic casements opening on the foam of perilous seas. And that literature we shall need so long as we endure as a race. The power of our imagination, while not, perhaps, unique, as is the capacity for philosophic reasoning that enables us to know and partly master the physical world, is a part of our racial being, and we can deny it only at our own peril.

The danger comes, of course, when imagined scenes are so vivid that we ignorantly mistake them for reality. That is what makes "historical" and "thesis" novels as dangerous as nitroglycerine and to be handled with the same caution. Many a person who has not read in the historical sources has been left with the impression that Dickens' *Tale of Two Cities* describes the French Revolution. Many readers of Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* have thought that they had learned something about Indian tribes that had actually lived in North America. And, incredible as it seems, the sentimental drivel exuded by the infected imagination of Harriet Beecher Stowe so inflamed weak minds that it became one of the causes of national insanity and a fratricidal war that permanently impoverished our nation and may yet prove to have been suicidal.

On a vulgar and prosaic level, we see constantly cases of imaginative intoxication that match anything produced by alcohol. The good ladies of the local church's sewing circle read the prose of some missionary or journalist, and lo! each sees in her imagination sweet little black boys and girls just like her Johnny and her Mary, only a little nicer, and her heart yearns to equip them with trousers and dresses and a copy of the New Testament, and to supply them with ice-cream cones. And so she plies her needle for their sake and puts her mite in the collection box, blissfully unaware that the darling objects of her concern are no more real than Lewis Carroll's Sylvie and Bruno. It is also a commonplace phenomenon that whenever some particularly vicious young brute has rearranged his wife's anatomy with an axe, a certain number of females will generate pictures of a dear misunderstood boy and write him offers of marriage, and a much larger number of females, seeing the same vision but less impulsive in their behavior, will hope that, at the very worst, the parole board will turn the lad

loose in a year or two so that he can resume his amateur surgery. The phenomenon is not by any means confined to the more lachrymose sex, and we see instances of it every day. We enact laws to discourage people who see pink elephants on the wall from driving automobiles, but we do nothing about the far graver problem of preventing people who see World Peace around the corner from voting.

Our hyperactive imaginations usually act in concert with the generous impulses that are peculiar to our race—so peculiar that no other race can understand them except as a kind of fatuity from which they, thank God! are exempt. Long before we began to indulge in international idiocy on a governmental scale, it was virtually routine for Americans to hear that the Chinese in some province were starving, and within a few weeks numerous individuals, many of them comparatively poor, made private contributions, and food was bought and shipped to the starving (if the collections were honestly made). Now I do not deprecate that exercise of charity, which is a virtue that we instinctively admire, but we should understand that although the Chinese gladly ate the food and politely said "thank you," they privately concluded that we must be weak in the head. They would never have done anything of that sort, not even for men of their own race in a neighboring province. The White Devils, they decided, must have maggots in their minds. Sympathetic generosity, however, is a virtue or vice of our race, and we shall have to live with it.

What happened in the Eighteenth Century was that Rousseau's fantasies so excited imaginations and generous impulses that the reasoning mind lost control. The nobility's collective heart bled for Little Nell.

There is, however, a second factor more important for our purposes here. You will find a clear illustration in our recent history, during the presidency of Woodrow Wilson, who appears to have been a not uncommon combination of mental auto-intoxication with corrupt ambition, and who was appointed President after the resident General Manager, Barney Baruch, and his crew had (as one of them boasted to Colonel Dall) led him around "like a poodle on a string," taught him to sit up and bark for bonbons, and made sure that he was well trained. As we all know, Baruch eventually decided that it would be good for the Jewish people to prolong the war in Europe, so that more Indo-Europeans would be killed and more of their countries devastated, and that the time had come to repay Germany and Austria for their generosity toward the Jews, who had been given in those countries more of economic, social, and political dominance than in any other European nation. It followed therefore that the thing to do was to stampede an American herd into European territory.

Our concern here is with the herd: what set it in motion? We all know how credulous individuals, many of whom had visited Germany and knew better, were impelled to imagine pictures of the evil War Lord, Kaiser Wilhelm II, and the terrible Huns—pictures that were as vivid and convincing as the vision of the monster Grendel that we see every time we read *Beowulf*. And, of course, there was much rant about supposed violations of a code of chivalry that no one even remembered a few years later. A college professor with some reputation as an historian was hired, doubtless for a small fee, to prove that wars are caused by monarchies, although he somehow forgot to mention the terribly bloody war that had taken place on our soil some fifty years before and which had obviously been caused by the dynastic ambitions of King Lincoln and King Davis. And, naturally, the press was filled with many other ravings. So pretty soon the Americans found themselves engaged in a "war to end wars" and a "war to make the world safe for democracy." It would probably have been a little more expensive—good propaganda costs money—to make them fight a "war to end selfishness" and a "war to make the world safe for goblins," but it doubtless could have been done. Green snakes are not much harder to see on the wall than pink elephants.

We must not tarry to discuss either the methods of the conspirators who so easily manipulated the American people or the folly of those who were manipulated. Let us consider our enthusiastic rush on Europe as an historical movement.

If, taking the larger view, you ask yourself what that movement most resembled, you will see the answer at once. It was a crusade—or, to be more exact, an obscene parody of a crusade. It was a mass movement inspired by a fervor of religious intensity.

The Crusades, which mark the high tide of Christianity, were (given our faith) entirely rational undertakings.\* It was obviously desirable that Christendom own the territory that was a Holy Land, where its God had appeared on earth and whither many pilgrims journeyed for the welfare of their souls. The Crusades were, furthermore, the first real effort of European unity since the fall of the Roman Empire, and they were also a *realistic* missionary effort. It was impossible to convert Orientals to Christianity, but it was possible to make Orientals submit to Christian rulers. The Crusaders established the Kingdoms of Cyprus and Jerusalem and the Principalities of Edessa, Tripoli, and Antioch—and eventually they found it necessary to capture Constantinople. But they could not take Bagdad and their high emprise ultimately failed for reasons which need not concern us here. The Crusades were, as we have said, the high tide of Christianity.

(\* Except, of course, the so-called Children's Crusade, which is significant only as evidence that even at that early date some members of our race had a pathological propensity to have hallucinatory imaginations.)

Wilson's fake crusades against Europe evoked from the American people the energies and spirit that the real Crusades had aroused in Europe, and while we must deplore their delusions, we must admire the unanimity and devotion with which the Americans attacked and fought the Europeans.\* The crusade was irrational, however, because it was prompted, not by religion, but by the debased and debasing superstitions represented by Rousseau.

(\* Of course, we did not actually fight Great Britain, France, and Russia, our ostensible allies; they were defeated in other ways.)

From about the middle of the Eighteenth Century to the present we have witnessed the spread and propagation throughout the West of a superstition that is as un-Christian as it is irrational, as obviously contrary to the Scriptures and tradition of Christianity as it is a blanket denial of the reality that all men see and experience every day—a superstition by which faith in an unseen God is replaced by hallucinations about the world in which we live. After that grotesque superstition inspired the most civilized and intelligent part of France to commit suicide, and loosed the frenzied orgy of depravity, crime, and murder called the French Revolution, its influence was contracted by a resurgence of both Christian faith and human reason, but recovering its malefic power over the imagination and sentimentality of our people, it grew again and as a succedaneous religion it gradually supplanted Christianity in the consciousness of both unintelligent non-Christians and infidel Christians, paralyzing both reason and faith.

This grotesque caricature of religion is now the dominant cult in the United States: its marabouts yell from almost all the pulpits; its fetish-men brandish their obscene idols before all the children in the schools; its witch-doctors prance triumphantly through all the colleges and universities. And virtually everyone stands in fearful awe of the fanatical practitioners of mumbo-jumbo. Both the God of Christendom and the reasoning mind of our race have been virtually obliterated by the peculiar system of voodoo called "Liberalism."

It is obvious that this mass delusion is leading, and can lead, to but one end. James Burnham named it correctly in his generally excellent book, *Suicide of the West*.

It can be argued—and argued very plausibly—that a race that could long accept the "Liberal" voodoo-cult as a substitute for both its religion and its powers of observation and reason—a race capable of such mindless orgies as a "war to end wars"—a race that has for decades worked to commit suicide—is a race that has become too imbecile to be biologically viable. It is entirely possible that our unique capacity for science and technology will, after all, be no more effective in the struggle for life than was the vast bulk and musculature of the dinosaurs. It may be that any attempt to reason with a people seemingly in the grip of suicidal mania is itself the greatest folly, and that the vainest of all illusions is the hope that anything can save men who evidently no longer want to live.

If we permit ourselves as Christians any hope this side of Heaven, and if we permit ourselves as atheists any hope at all, we must base that expectation on the hypothesis that the collapse of Christendom, the loss of faith in the religion of the West, was a traumatic shock to our racial psyche that stunned but did not kill. If that is so, then there is hope not only that we may revive from the shock and survive, but also that the unique powers of our unique race may again be exerted to give us a future that will be brilliant, glorious, and triumphant beyond all imagining. If that is so. . . .

The question is one that only the future can answer. But a significant indication will be given by the attitude and action of the Christian minority that has thus far been the only defender of our race, the only champion of our embezzled heritage. Will they be willing to face, as did their ancestors in the great Crusade, the fact that wars are won only by mobilizing and directing superior *force* against the enemy; that pious sermons, Scriptural citations and benevolent intentions never turned a single spear or blunted a single blade; and that if Christians had put their trust in miracles, they would long since have disappeared from the face of the earth? Christendom survived at Chalôns, and at Tours, and at Vienna, and in many another crisis, not by book, bell, and candle, but by grace of the shining sword in a mailed fist directed by a dauntless heart.

## POSTSCRIPT

The foregoing pages were written in March and April, 1969, as a sequel to my article, "After Fifty Years," and were to be published first as a series of articles and then as a booklet on behalf of the newly formed National Youth Alliance. The first chapter appeared in the Summer (1969) issue of the *American Mercury*, but the rest of the work was withdrawn as soon as I had reason to apprehend that the Youth Alliance, contrary to the assurances given its sponsors (Professor Austin J. App, Mr. Richard Cotten, Admiral John G. Crommelin, General Pedro del Valle, the Reverend Mr. Ferrell Griswold, and myself), would be turned into one of the sucker-list operations that now constitute the principal business of the American "right-wing."\*

(\* My apprehensions were soon verified and the original Alliance came to an end. What I have said above implies no criticism of the *legitimate* successor organisation, the National Youth Alliance headed by Dr. William Pierce, which has my best wishes, although I have no connection with it.)

I was unwilling to have the booklet published under other auspices because conversations with some very influential Christians showed me the futility of trying to talk sense to them. Their plan for salvaging the nation

consisted of cursing the Jews and repudiating reason by reciting the mantram, "A little child shall lead them." They could not remember that precisely that phrase had been the inspiration of the Children's Crusade, which succeeded only in filling the slave-markets of the Near East with a choice breed of biped cattle.

I also observed that, on the whole, American "conservatives" and "anti-Communists" seem to be either unwilling or unable to learn anything from the total and unmitigated failure of all their efforts for the past fifty years. They have dwindled to a little band of aged and aging men and women who now can talk only to themselves, repeating ever more shrilly their futile anachronisms, closing their eyes more tightly to avoid seeing the world of today, and retreating ever farther into a realm of fantasy filled with good fairies and wicked witches who can be summoned or exorcised with magic words. And they have, inadvertently and unwittingly, made patriotic organizations almost a monopoly of confidence men who cynically sell them fallacious hopes and comforting fictions.

Many well-meaning, estimable, and voluntarily blind Americans seem to derive satisfaction from writing cheques whenever a sucker-list operator has his computer write them an "urgent" letter promising the impossible; from imagining that they can hire a lobbyist so glib that he can talk 370 congressmen into committing political suicide; from going to cozy little chapter-meetings to hear the latest version of Little Red Riding-Hood and the Bad Old Wolf, composed by an expert with just the right sequence of phrases to excite their imaginations, flatter their egos, soothe their nerves, and stimulate their hands as they reach once again for the well-worn billfolds. No one would question their right to purchase consoling illusions, any more than he would question their right to put their money on the horses at Saratoga or to make the rounds of the clip-joints on Montmatre, but their very eagerness for such distractions seemed evidence of an invincible determination never to find out that the United States passed the point of no return in 1964.

As Professor Andrew Hacker cheerfully assures us in *The End of the American Era* (1970), the United States has ceased to be a nation: "What was once a nation has become simply an agglomeration of self-concerned individuals." Despite the assumptions made by jabbering politicians and journalists, the United States has become a territory filled with bewildered individuals who have in common only a geographical area inhabited by incompatible races. Our "history as a nation has reached its end" because "the American people have never developed a feeling for history." We have been so crazed by the debasing superstitions of "democracy" and "humanitarianism," our minds have been so thoroughly sabotaged by the witch-doctors in the public schools, and our society has been so rotted by feckless sentimentality that we have reached "a juncture at which it becomes pointless to call for rehabilitation or renewal." Professor Hacker optimistically thinks it likely that our amorphous horde can continue to exist for some time in ever increasing discomfort, disorder, degradation, and danger—provided no healthy nation desires our territory and sees the advantages of using its present population to fertilize the depleted soil.

Although our people will not believe it so long as the routine of their personal lives is not suddenly and violently disturbed, we have ceased to be a nation because Americans no longer have the will to be one. That is the conclusion reached by Professor Hacker, a diligent observer who cannot be suspected of having the slightest taint of "conservatism" (to say nothing of horrid "racism"!), and whose sympathies, evidently, lie with the very forces that he identifies as the cause of our national decease.

The last years of the late Whittaker Chambers were overshadowed by a bleak pessimism of which some adumbrations appear in the pages of his *Witness* and the posthumous book, *Cold Friday* (1964). He was convinced that the American people are actuated by a subconscious, but ineradicable and irresistible, death-wish—a subliminal longing for extinction that makes them turn in fury on anyone who tries to make possible their survival. Before his death in 1962 so drastic a conclusion, extending the effects of morbid psychological

states and degenerative diseases to an entire population or even an entire race, seemed highly improbable and could be dismissed as a reflection of the bitterness of his own experience. But another decade has produced no evidence that Chambers was not right. We usually tell ourselves that our domestic enemies have stealthily captured all of our means of information and communication, and now administer through the schools, the liepapers, and the boob-tubes a corrosive brainwashing that accounts for the ovine apathy of our people as they are herded toward national suicide, but it seems a little odd that our people should have been so obtuse as to permit that capture, and we cannot categorically deny that what we optimistically attribute to systematic brainwashing may have a deeper and hidden cause.

Our race is a biological species and it would be the wildest megalomania to pretend that we are exempt from any of the laws of nature, including those that we cannot yet precisely define. Innumerable other species, less loquacious than ours, have become extinct because they did not have the intelligence to cope with relatively slight changes in their environment. The dinosaurs, the pterodactyls, the mammoths, the Neanderthals, and the moas cannot have had the capacity for ratiocination on which we pride ourselves, but it is not impossible that when their environment no longer matched the conditions in which the species had become dominant, the resulting frustration of some inherited instinct produced in the individuals of the doomed species behavior that resembled a subconscious awareness that they were biologically obsolete. In some species that are now becoming extinct, notably the mountain gorilla, we can observe a depletion of the vital energies and a resulting apathy that can be described as loss of the will to live.

A gorilla cannot reason. As he shambles toward a new growth of esculent young bamboo, his dim consciousness doubtless is filled by satisfaction with himself and feels no concern for the future; when he slinks away from some challenge that would have roused his ancestors to combat, he does not need to cover his cowardice with a pretense that he has become morally superior and a peace-lover. He cannot know that his contented apathy manifests a genetic deterioration that dooms his species to proximate extinction.

Our race is a biological species, and our peculiar intelligence, like the gorilla's mighty shoulders, once gave us dominance over other species. But what we must now objectively observe in our behavior is not really the gorilla's apathy. It is something much worse: a perverse and idiotic delight in whatever weakens us and strengthens our enemies. This morbid racial masochism is now most conspicuous in the United States and Britain, where we are not only doing everything in our power to subsidize and accelerate the breeding of voracious parasites to impoverish, degrade, and destroy us, but are also applying the most effective biological techniques to breed ourselves into imbecility and eventual extinction.

Six years ago in my *Conspiracy or Degeneracy?* I asked the one crucial question: Have we, the men of the West, lost the will to live?

Nothing, certainly, has happened since then to suggest a negative answer. To be sure, after some sensationally flagitious outrage to our race, a considerable number of men, invariably the least "educated," mutter angrily among themselves; and in a city of almost two million some fifty men and women may boldly assemble to voice their protest, thus embarrassing the vast majority of Aryans, who hasten to assure the world that their heads are so stuffed with mush that they love their Enemies and hope for nothing better than the privilege of being spat-on and kicked some more. And if the outrage is widely reported, the computers will whirr more loudly as they churn out appeals to patriotic suckers, and the travelling salesmen will drive harder as they rush from chapter-meeting to chapter-meeting to meet a temporarily increased demand for patriotic paregoric to soothe nervous stomachs. Nowhere can one discern the slightest indication that in the great majority of our people the racial instinct of self-preservation has not been lost.

The question remains unanswered, however, for we cannot yet determine whether the instinct has been extinguished or is merely in abeyance while our people are in a kind of cataleptic trance from which they may be roused by physical suffering and acute privation when the times comes, as it assuredly will in a few years. In the meantime the question remains open, although our fragmentary data point to an affirmative answer—to the loss of the will to live. The laws of biological processes, like the law of gravitation, are constant and unalterable; they cannot be evaded by magic or oratory or whimpering; and it would be supremely silly to expostulate with a people that is not biologically fit to survive.

All these considerations confirmed my decision to withhold these pages from the press.

This booklet is now published at the instance of Mr. Richard Cotten, who refuses to despair of the future, and who has himself set an example of perseverance in the face of great odds.

There are a few encouraging indications. The greatest of these is the publication and increasingly wide distribution of a very important volume, entitled *The Dispossessed Majority* by Wilmot Robertson. This is the first attempt to survey the present plight of the American people coolly and objectively in terms of fact and logic, without mysticism or sentimentality, transcending the self-imposed and self-defeating limitations of the "anti-Communists" who have failed totally and continuously for fifty years. It is addressed to the large number of highly intelligent and scientifically trained men who find it impossible to believe in Christianity, and who should find it impossible to tolerate the preposterous and fetid superstitions of our "Liberal" witch-doctors and fetish-men—superstitions, by the way, that "anti-Communist" buncombe-artists have always been careful not to offend.

The author, who is a man of keen and discerning intellect, and who has devoted ten years of his life to his task, believes that it is yet possible to salvage much from the ruins of our nation. In a man of his intelligence, such optimism is in itself grounds for some hope.

There are some corroborative indications. I am reliably informed that a number of "Liberal intellectuals," who seemed to be devotees of their orgiastic cult, have read Robert Ardrey's new book, *The Social Contract*, and, instead of howling execrations and trying to scalp the author, as is the custom of "Liberals" when confronted with inconvenient facts, they not only understood it but have begun to talk rationally about the structure of human society. That could be the beginning of a true enlightenment.

There are signs that many thoughtful men are becoming skeptical or disillusioned, and question, at least in their own minds, the prevalent superstitions. I cannot believe that so staunch a "Liberal" as Professor Hacker, whose book I mentioned above, is really pleased with the results that he observed and felt obliged to report. Recently Professor William Shockley of Stanford and Professor Arthur Jensen of California dared to suggest openly that the scientific method and the known laws of biology were applicable to blacks; of course, mobs of Professors of Voodoo and Doctors of Obeah rushed out of their lairs, screaming, spitting, and wildly flourishing their fetishes. The obscene exhibition, however, and the bold claim that it is the function of universities to paralyze the American mind with lies, disquieted many men who, preoccupied with other studies, had not taken time to think about egalitarian idolatry.

This one exposure of "Liberal" charlatanry, obscurantism, and fanaticism may have done more good than all the preaching of "anti-Communist" evangelists for half a century.

There are also some encouraging signs of a disposition in some "conservative" circles to discuss questions

normally charged with emotion by dispassionately considering the evidence. In my *Conspiracy or Degeneracy?*, note 45a, I mentioned the existence of data that may indicate that our race is mentally inferior to the Jews, and I intimated that it would be futile to haul in Satan to explain away evidence of crucial importance that needed to be examined with all of our race's capacity for objective thought. It is gratifying, therefore, that the problem has been considered coolly in the light of social structure and biological forces by Mr. Ivor Benson in a short but very valuable article that has been reprinted in this country in *Conservative Viewpoint* (July, 1972) and in the British periodical, *Spearhead* (July, 1972). The reader may also profit from this reminder that the dereliction and "alienation" that is destroying a large part of our genetically sound youth is mainly caused by ignorant or cunning frustration of basic human instincts of which the biological origin was clearly explained in Robert Ardrey's *The Territorial Imperative* (1966) as well as in his latest book. Benson's monthly bulletin, *Behind the News*, is peppered with Scriptural quotations and evidently addressed primarily to a Christian audience. That makes the article particularly encouraging.

These and some other indications that I need not enumerate may warrant some hope, but we must understand that it is hope of surviving the calamities that we in our folly have brought upon ourselves. There can be no hope of escaping them by floating back to 1928 on the magic carpet that the travelling salesmen of pseudo-patriotic businesses promise their customers. What is gone cannot be restored by telling how nice it was; what is dead cannot be resurrected by necromancy, no matter how eloquent the incantation.

It is true that the part of our population that pays taxes still works, receives bogus money that it can still spend, can still amuse itself in its hours of leisure, and, with the exception of individuals who have been robbed, raped, or crippled, can still pretend that everything is nearly normal and will stay that way forever. But no one who gives a moment's thought to the news that cannot be kept out of the daily papers can fail to see the extent of our social disintegration and decay, or to guess how deep the rot goes.

The limits of what can now be accomplished by "political action" were clearly demonstrated a few days ago, when many American watched, in addition to football and with almost as much interest, the staged game that was played to make it seem that "the people" were selecting an office boy to run errands in the White House for Commissar Kissinger or whomever our masters may appoint to succeed Kissinger as Chief Executive. The "conservative principles" of the "American businessman" are now exhibited by his joyous expectation that he can make a few bucks out of trading with our enemies in Russia and China at the expense of the taxpaying serfs in the United States. The economic status of our ruined nation is apparent to professional economists, who now speculate only about the date at which the counterfeit dollars printed by the Federal Reserve will be declared worthless and replaced by new counterfeits. And the goals of "education" are made more obvious by the "university" in California that has proudly established a special "curriculum" for homosexuals.

If you listen perceptively to the young who have not yet been permanently deranged by drugs and depravity, you will see that their febrile emotionalism, their promiscuity, their ostentatious clamor or indifference, their mercurial inconstancy, all mask an underlying and subconscious despair that is terribly significant. And now everyone knows that the peace-lubbers' efforts to sabotage our army and navy and to reduce us to military impotence have been successful, and that even if we had the will, we should not have the capacity to defend this country against the Soviet Union, should its masters order an attack on us.

Our situation is desperate, and we can afford no illusions, no retreat into a land of dreams. Now, more than ever, *optimism is cowardice*.

We are born into this time, and there is no escape from it save in death. If the courage of our ancestors was not entombed with them, if their ability to meet desperate perils with clear-sighted resolution was transmitted to

their heirs, if their will to live is not extinct in us, our race and our civilization may yet survive.

If, as I am told, this little booklet can make even the slightest contribution to our survival, its publication is justified.

I have consented to the publication in the hope that it may clarify for some readers the function of Christianity in our history, and also that it may persuade some of the remaining Christians that, however strong and assured their personal faith may be, and however perfect the peace and beatitude they will enjoy in Heaven, they are now living in a world that is governed by impersonal and immutable laws of nature from which there can be no derogation and no appeal, and of which it is childish to complain. If they wish to provide, if possible, a place on this planet for their progeny, their only hope must be based on our science and technology and on our race's capacity for objective thought, which our shamans and howling dervishes have been intensively sabotaging for decades under the guise of "education" and "social science," and which will shortly be attacked by a carefully planned epidemic of occult hocus-pocus and orgiastic irrationality, designed to destroy forever what is left of our sanity.

The behavior of the Christian remnant at this juncture and the extent of its ability to subordinate religious emotions to the grim task of racial survival will be a datum to be considered if you try to guess whether the future holds for us more than a day on which the crucial question will have been definitively answered—when the Americans will have been the only people in history compulsively and yet knowingly to commit suicide, and when all that is left of them will lie forgotten in dishonored tombs.

20 November 1972

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# Theories Of The Right: A Collection Of Articles

This is a developing collection of articles by scholars and participants which set out different theories of 'Right' ideology and politics. We use this term 'Right', not particularly because we agree that it is a proper description of many of the movements which are discussed, but only because it is a convenience that allows investigation to proceed.

It is important for our readers to also understand the differences amongst the organizations under discussion. It is easy, from a distance or under the influence of corrupting liberal journalism, to believe that all the parties of the 'Right' (ie. Austrian Freedom Party, One Nation Party, the French National Front etc), represent convergent forces. This is not so. This is particularly useful to understand when Australians set out to construct a movement to resist the New World Order system.

Some of the academic work that may appear here, is hardly friendly towards the subject. However, we will not publish anything wilfully or lazily inaccurate and biased.

Readers are welcome to advise of any item worthy of republication here.

[Europe For The Europeans: Fascist Myths Of The European New Order](#)

[1922 - 1992](#)

Roger Griffin

[Interregnum Or Endgame: Radical Right Thought In The Post-Fascist Era](#)

Roger Griffin

Homepage

# The Francis Parker Yockey Collection

[The Tragedy Of Youth \(1939\)](#)

[The Proclamation Of London \(1948\)](#)

[Liberalism \(1948\)](#)

[The Nature Of Politics \(1948\)](#)

[What Is Behind The Hanging Of The Eleven Jews In Prague? \(1952\)](#)

[The Destiny Of America \(1955\)](#)

[The World In Flames \(1961\)](#)

Yockey was born in Chicago in 1917. He graduated with honours from Notre Dame University in 1941. After a short wartime stint in the Army he served as Assistant Prosecuting Attorney for Wayne County (Detroit, Michigan). He took a position with the War Crimes Tribunal in 1946 (a legal bit of gobbledygook which underlay American imperialism, as much as it now today justifies New World Order morality) and shortly after, quit in disgust and opposition to the process. Later, in 1948, he wrote Imperium while living in Ireland. The American State Department refused to renew his passport, yet he managed to enter and leave the United States throughout the 1950's. He was ultimately detected and seized by the FBI on charges of passport fraud. Held in custody, he mysteriously died (suicide?) on June 21, 1960.

Yockey has been an enigma to many. This situation was largely corrected with the publication of Kevin Coogan's Dreamer Of The Day: Francis Parker Yockey And The Post-War Fascist International (2000). His life involved work with the pre-war American nationalist and neutralist movements, opposition to American involvement in the Second World War, support for Continental pan-European/national-revolutionary groups after the war, and the development of a new concept of Conservative Revolution. Yockey was not anti-Soviet (as were most groups of the American right-wing) whereso the Eastern bloc challenged the American liberal-capitalist-imperialism which he had come to detest as the prime enemy of all humanity.

The collected pieces presented here contain material of general ideological interest, as well as contentious ideas. The reader will note that some of the material has references which could be described as - *anti-semitic*. It should be noted that Yockey wrote to mobilise people who may have been influenced by the assorted theses of the American right-wing scene; this marginalised force often demonstrated an intense interest in this issue. Yockey, of course, set out to push them in new directions, while necessarily using some of their language. Further, Yockey did question the role of Zionism in internal Western politics and in global politics, matters still of relevance, given the pro-Israel stance taken by all Western governments. In his ultimate position on the subject, he posited that Stalinism had become an enemy of Zionism, an opinion which did not endear him to the anti-communist Right.

This Collection is published to fill a gap in knowledge about Yockey's thought and stimulate further commentary. The reader, whatever his inclination, can judge Yockey for himself.

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# The Alain De Benoist Collection

This Collection of articles features pieces by Alain de Benoist - and others about him. It is impossible to do justice in a brief introduction to the importance of the thought of de Benoist. Readers should appreciate that in a career of over three decades, de Benoist has laboured to change the very discourse of that mercurial entity sometimes labelled - 'radical nationalist politics'. Through the Research Group For The Study Of European Civilization (GRECE in its French acronym), and the circles and publications which grew up around it, de Benoist developed a theory of long-term counter-cultural struggle for hegemony with the dominant 'Western liberal internationalist ideology'. Drawing upon the theories of the Italian communist Antonio Gramsci, de Benoist started a struggle to 'contest' and delegitimise this opposing ideology. Labels should not be imposed on de Benoist although the term 'Nouvelle Droite' (New Right) was one which he used. In a war of ideas, it was the appointed function of the Nouvelle Droite to provide new arguments. The breadth of de Benoist's thought ranges from his defence of the old 'pagan' ethos through to his dissection of American cultural imperialism and the Indo-European myth in European civilization.

It can be said, as some of the material here reveals, that there are now visible indications that liberalism is under substantive challenge. Yet the hour is late and the ideology of market-driven disintegration is still empowered in all European societies. The thought of de Benoist, of course, was first composed in French. Thanks to the labours of other Europeans, it passed into most languages, progressively through the 1980's and definitely throughout the 1990's. For the first time on an Australian Internet site, it appears. And recently, the related 'Rallying Point Information Service' has published some of de Benoist's texts in English.

The importance of de Benoist in altering 'our' discourse is one where some participants in our politics express their thoughts in a language without knowing its source. That is 'success' indeed! The ideological outpouring of the GRECE school is vast and covers the gamut of contest, from the characterisation of European Identity with its Indo-European roots through to the discussion of race, the place of economics in society, psychology and philosophy.

We expect to add to this Collection over time.

[Between The Gods And The Titans](#) Alain de Benoist

[The Red Brown Scandal](#) Reflex magazine

[The French New Right: New Right - New Left - New Paradigm](#) Telos journal

[The Progressive Left's Dirty Little Secret](#)

[The Time Of The Nets](#) Alain de Benoist

[Gemeinschaft And Gesellschaft: A Sociological View Of The Decay Of Modern Society](#)  
Upstream Issues journal

[Whose Gramscism? Right-wing Gramscism](#) Bob von Kranenburg (International Gramsci Society)

[Jihad VS McWorld](#) An Interview With Alain de Benoist

[The French New Right In The Year 2000](#) Alain de Benoist and Charles Champetier

[Monotheism vs. Polytheism](#) Alain de Benoist with introduction by Dr. Tomislav Sunic

[Homepage](#)

# The Percy Stephensen Collection

Percy Reginald Stephensen, born in Biggenden, Queensland, in 1901, and died in Sydney, 1965, was a giant of Australian letters. The subject of an award winning biography (Craig Munro, [Inky Stephensen: Wild Man Of Letters](#). St. Lucia, 1992), Stephensen is often remembered only as the wild fascistophile of the 1930's and early 1940's who was consigned to a war-time internment camp for suspected disloyalty, a characterisation which has hitherto understated his impact on Australian literary and political nationalism and culture.

Stephensen's great intellectual achievement was to link together the vision of Australian political and economic independence (then from the old Empire) with the 'idea' of Australian cultural independence. The two broad concepts are still linked together as Australia is now conceived by the traitor class as a landspace inhabited by groups who "negotiate across the boundaries of race, class and gender" (to use the words of prominent multiculturalists Mary Kalantzis and Bill Cope). In this "country without nation", any idea of Identity and Independence is decried.

It was finally in 2000 that an Australian nationalist had issued from Oxford University, Stephensen's degree, something the Rhodes Scholar, in his contempt for the old-imperialism, had not bothered to formally take up. The relevant document was donated to the Maryborough, Wide Bay And Burnett Historical Society. A copy of it appears on this site.

A special essay on Stephensen will appear in due course in this Collection such that readers may appreciate the breadth and depth of the thought and achievement of this foremost Australian nationalist.

'A Brief Survey Of Australian History: Our Story In Fifteen Decades' (1938) is a nationalist's examination of Australia's national development. Ever provocative, it forces us to imagine Australia as it could have been - if it had won independence in the nineteenth century. It painted a grim picture of the dependent Australia of the 1930's.

'Fifty-Points For An Australia-First Party After The War' (1941) was quality political analysis and theory, written with a cautious eye on wartime censorship, but a forthright statement on Australian nationalism.

'A Reasoned Case Against Semitism' (1940) written as war came to Australia, is of peculiar contemporary relevance in the situation imposed by the 2001 'War On Terrorism' as declared by the 'Western Alliance'. The discussion of the question of 'anti-semitism' is likely to have

currency as Australia debates radical Islam, Zionism and Australia's foreign policy. We do not necessarily endorse Stephensen's article on any particular matter of opinion. We note too, that it was composed prior to the so-called 'Holocaust' which has stifled free discussion into the question.

This Collection will be expanded over time. The first instalment of The Foundations Of Culture In Australia (Stephensen's classic 1935-1936 serialized book about Australia's Identity and the struggle for national independence), became available in 2001. The other two sections followed progressively in 2002.

Readers will have to bear with us for further offerings. But check back from time to time.

[A Brief Survey Of Australian History: Our Story In Fifteen Decades](#)

[Fifty Points For An Australia-First Party After The War \(and appendix: Manifesto Of The Australia-First Movement\)](#)

[A Reasoned Case Against Semitism](#)

[The Foundations Of Culture In Australia:  
An Essay Towards National Self-Respect. Part One](#)

[The Foundations Of Culture In Australia:  
An Essay Towards National Self-Respect. Part Two](#)

[The Foundations Of Culture In Australia:  
An Essay Towards National Self-Respect. Part Three](#)

[Percy Stephensen's Oxford Degree](#)

[Decline And Fall Of The British Empire: An Australian Nationalist Point Of View](#)

[The Meaning Of "Australia First": Unity And Independence As Natural National Aims](#)

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*"Without matured book-publishing facilities and conventions, without sophisticated journals of information and of opinion, our pathetic intellectuals are in a pitiable, as well as a deplorable, fix. We must provide those facilities, those rallying points. Without them our poor isolated thinkers are scattered and deployed, an army without a plan "each man his own General." Some kind of plan or objective must be formulated." P.R. STEPHENSEN, 1935*

The Rallying Point Information Service is a unique non-profit association. Its objective is to provide for the needs of Australian Nationalist - and other patriotic - readers. We aim to stock the widest array of cheaply-priced, but quality-produced materials. In this regard, our pamphlet service relies on the best photocopying equipment and attention to presentation. As our financial resources develop, the array of offset-printed materials will develop. The Rallying Point Information Service also stocks regular books, both new and second hand, and audio tapes. We also guarantee quick service. The editors of this Service do accept manuscripts or originals of existing documents for consideration for publication.

### NATIONALIST PAMPHLETS

#### PART ONE: POPULATION ISSUES

THE ASIANISATION OF AUSTRALIA by Chris Anderson (February 1998 edition).

Produced in three volumes:

The Asianisation Of Australia: An Exposé Of The "Asian Future" Being Forced Upon Australia  
(Volume One)

The Asianisation Of Australia: Statistics (Immigration, Ethnicity, And Trade) (Volume Two)

The Asianisation Of Australia: Opinion Polls, The Traitor Class, And The Yellow Peril (Volume Three)

Exposes how our country's Establishment has committed itself - both in ideological and practical terms - to the Asianisation of our nation. It shows how the unofficial policy of Asianisation began with the widening and liberalisation of Australia's mass immigration programmes; was strengthened by the policy of Multiculturalism (which is only a stepping stone to the "Asian future" planned for our country); and is being facilitated by politicians, businessmen, and bureaucrats eager to enmesh Australia with the so-called "economic power-house" of Asia. Includes yearly migration statistics 1959/60 to 1995/96 (settlers, net settlers, net permanent and long-term migration, etc.; compares Asian and European migration in particular). Well documented.

\$7.00 per volume (separate or together)

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Considers the use and conservation of Australia's resources, regarding ecologically sustainable development and attainment of national self-sufficiency.

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Looks at the current problems facing Australia, in the context of achieving an ecologically sustainable environment. (12 pages, A5) ..... \$2

BLACK POWER, A MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY, AND THE IMMIGRATION SAGA by Arthur Calwell.

Calwell (Australia's first Minister for Immigration, 1945-1949), and leader of the Australian Labor Party (1960-67) - mounts a passionate defence of Australia's traditional immigration policies, opposes non-European immigration, and explains that the creation of multi-racial societies invariably lead to bloodshed and disaster.

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THE DESIRABLE COMPOSITION OF ANY MIGRANT INTAKE by Denis McCormack.

A well researched look at Australia's immigration policies; and at the views of the politicians that promote mass immigration and an Asian Future for Australia.

(21 pages, A5) ..... \$2

THE DEMISE OF THE WHITE AUSTRALIA POLICY by Chris Anderson.

Explains how Australia's traditional immigration policies were "white-anted" and undermined by both Labor and Liberal politicians, and looks at the reasons behind such moves. Exposes how "the thin edge of the wedge" tactics were used in the destruction of the White Australia Policy. Well documented.

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Critically examines the very real problems of internationalism and the creation of a "borderless world".

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THE GRAND DESIGN by Denis McCormack

Looks at how Australia's Asianisation is happening so fast, and also at the moves and tactics behind this change from the "White Australia Policy" to the new "Surrender Australia Policy".

(20 pages, A5) ..... \$2

MASS IMMIGRATION: UNDERMINING AUSTRALIA'S CIVILISATION edited by Ryan T. Jones.

Reveals that Australia's past and present mass immigration policies have been, and are still, devastating to our national identity and culture, as well as leading to the destruction of our country's fragile environment. Other aspects of mass immigration are discussed, such as health, defence, and education.

(21 pages, A4) ..... \$6

Summary available

(6 pages, A4) ..... 60cents

THE MENACE OF MULTICULTURALISM by Cameron McKenzie.

Explains how the political doctrine of Multiculturalism arose in Australia as a consequence of mass immigration policies. It reveals that the Multiculturalist doctrine is contradictory, costly, dangerous, and divisive; and that its continuing implementation is leading to the destruction of the Australian national identity and culture.

(32 pages, A4) ..... \$6.00

Summary available

(4 pages, A4) ..... 40 cents

WHITE AUSTRALIA SAVED AUSTRALIA by Jack Lang.

Lang (Premier of New South Wales, 1925-1932) gives a brief history of the White Australia Policy, exposes how Britain interfered with attempts to keep out coloured immigrants, and praises the policies that established White Australia.

(4 pages, A4) ..... \$2

## PART TWO: CULTURE AND NATIONALISM

AUSTRALIA'S SACRED EMBLEM: THE SYMBOL OF AUSTRALIAN NATIONALISM by Frank Cayley.

An overview of the Eureka Rebellion; as well as an historical background to the Eureka Flag. (12 pages, A5) ..... \$2

THE AWAKENING NATION AND THE TRADE UNION NATIONALIST by Brian Knight. Discusses the activities of W.G. Spence (1846-1926) as a Trade Union organiser and Labor parliamentarian, and his belief in racial-nationalism. Includes a reprint of "Labor's Objective" (a chapter from Spence's 1909 book, Australia's Awakening). (13 pages, A5) ..... \$2

THE LABOR PARTY AND WHITE AUSTRALIA: PART ONE: LABOR PARLIAMENTARIANS 1901 - 1935 by Kevin McCauley.

A compilation of quotations at length from the greats of the old Australian Labor Party - King O'Malley, James Page, George Pierce, Dr. William Maloney and more. The spirit of constructive nationalism speaks from the pages in the style which founded the country. All give their reasons for supporting the famous 'White Australia Policy'. The text is followed with appendix documents from Labor political programmes, where the demand for immigration restriction was married to the vision of independence and social justice.

(32 pages ....A5) \$5.00

THE LABOR PARTY AND WHITE AUSTRALIA: PART TWO: LABOR LEADERS AND PREMIERS OF QUEENSLAND AND NEW SOUTH WALES by Kevin McCauley.

A compilation of quotations at length from some luminaries of the Labor Party in two states spanning the period 1890 to 1940. All speak up strongly for the 'White Australia Policy' and place their stance within the issues of the time. The pamphlet features T.J. Ryan, Jack Lang, Thomas Glassey and others. It is illustrated with photos and some cartoons from the workers' press of yesteryear.

(24 pages .....A5) \$3.00

THE LABOR PARTY AND WHITE AUSTRALIA: PART THREE: LABOR PRIME MINISTERS AND LEADERS 1901 - 1916 by Kevin McCauley.

A compilation of quotations at length from Labor Party leaders and Prime Ministers - John Watson, Andrew Fisher and William Morris Hughes. These giants of the past define the issues that led Australians to adopt the 'White Australia Policy'. What comes through is the deep patriotism, awareness of the national identity and suspicion of the capitalist class, which animated these men. Yet there is no 'hatred' towards others in the assertion of a racial-patriotism. The pamphlet has introductions to the lives of its subjects and is illustrated.

(44pages .....A5) \$3.00

EUREKA STOCKADE: BIRTH OF THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL IDEA

Reviews the influence of Eureka upon the development of the Australian national identity and the fight for Australian independence. (6 pages, A5) ..... \$1

THE EUREKA TRADITION by D. Miller.

Reviews the perceptions of the Eureka tradition, and its use as a symbol for later times. (8 pages, A4) ..... \$2

THE FIGHT FOR AUSTRALIAN CULTURE by Andrew Patterson.

Looks at the development and distinctiveness of our national identity, and the threats posed to it by mass immigration, multiculturalism, the British mind-set, Americanisation, and Asianisation. Explores the concepts of People, Nation, and State. Discusses the ideology and outlook of nativist Australian nationalism.

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FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE: THE EUREKA REBELLION OF 1854

by Robin Golan.

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PETER LALOR'S STATEMENT: 10 APRIL 1855

A reprint of a letter from Peter Lalor, leader of the Eureka Rebellion, to the Argus newspaper, explaining many of the details concerning the Rebellion.

(5 pages, A4) ..... \$2

THE FOUNDATIONS OF CULTURE IN AUSTRALIA (Extracts) by Percy Stephensen

This is part of the classic work of the same name written in 1935-6 by a giant of Australian literary criticism and activist Nationalism. This text points out the scope of Australian cultural evolution, from British and European roots into an application of this heritage upon our native soil and with the development of a new, and native Australian culture. A veritable call to arms. (22 pages, A4) ...\$3.00

FIFTY POINTS FOR AUSTRALIA by Percy Stephensen

This is a reprint of the programme for Australian renewal drawn up in 1940 by a man then active in the struggle to found an Australia First party in time of war. In some areas dated by time, it still preserves the timeless impulse of the independent Australian spirit. (24 pages A5) .....\$3.00

REVOLUTIONARIES AND RACISTS: AUSTRALIAN SOCIALISTS AND THE PROBLEM OF RACISM by Verity Burgmann.

A commentary on the racial-nationalist ideas of William Lane, especially as expressed through his editorship of The Boomerang magazine from 1887 to 1890. Unfriendly account, but generally accurate.

(7 pages, A4) ..... \$2

WILLIAM LANE 1861-1917: NATIONALISM AND THE LABOUR STRUGGLE by Brian Knight

. Discusses Lane's involvement in the Labour struggles of the 1890s; and looks at his belief in old-style socialism and racial- nationalism.

(17 pages, A5) ..... \$2

PART THREE: REPUBLICANISM

AUSTRALIAN NATIONALISM VS. ANGLO-SAXONISM: THE VITAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN NATIVE- AUSTRALIANISM AND BRITISH-AUSTRALIANISM edited by John Croft.

Exposes how Anglo-Saxonist lobbyists actually oppose the basic principles of Australian Nationalism; how they ignore or belittle Australian culture, ignore the contribution of non-British Europeans to Australia, as well as politically and culturally denied or distorted the native-Australian requirement of formal independence. British culture however, is important, but is placed within its proper context, as a key starting point for the development of an local culture and identity.

(10 pages, A4) ..... \$2

COLONY AND EMPIRE: A BROAD BACKGROUND TO AUSTRALIA'S SUBSERVIENT RELATIONSHIP WITH BRITAIN by Thomas Ross.

Demonstrates that, while we owe much to Britain for the foundations of our nation, the British Establishment and those of the local "British-Australian" mind-set have consistently stunted the development of our national identity and culture, and have opposed the attainment of Australian

Independence.

(41 pages, A4) ..... \$8.00

REPUBLIC VS. MONARCHY by William Byrne.

Puts forward the basic arguments against Australia being under the "rule" of the Queen of the United Kingdom (although, in practical terms, she is primarily the Queen of England). It is shown that the symbolic use of the British Monarch as Australia's Head of State has actual political and cultural repercussions, whereby such symbolism has helped to encourage a "cultural cringe", and to spawn a British-centred psychology (a colonial legacy) within Australia which has stunted the development of the nativist Australian national culture and identity; as well as frustrating, and having a general negative affect upon, aspirations towards true national independence.

UNION JACKS AND SOUTHERN SKIES: THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH FLAG AND THE NEED FOR A NEW NATIONAL FLAG by Gary Howell.

Tells the real story of the political-social machinations behind the creation of the Australian Commonwealth Flag, thus showing the need for a new flag to represent our nation. The symbolism of including Britain's Union Jack within the design of Australia's "national" flag is criticised (whatever the achievements of war), as this - like the retention of the British Monarch as our Head of State - promotes and continues the Anglo-centrism that still affects our nation's culture.

(21 pages, A4) ..... \$5

PART FOUR: GOVERNMENT AND STATE POWER

WHAT IS TO BE DONE (2001)? THE COMING STRUGGLE: TASKS FOR AUSTRALIAN NATIONALISTS .

This is a new an updated/modified edition of the pamphlet composed in 1985. Looks at the historical development of modern Australian Nationalism, and explains the differences between Nationalist and Conservative patriots. Discusses the ideology of Australian Nationalism, as well as its necessary political form. A brief outline is given of the ideological-political problems facing patriots. Most importantly, it outlines tactics and the forms of organisation necessary for the development of a modern Nationalist movement. Essential reading for all serious Nationalists, it takes into full account the failures of conservative and 'radical' forms of patriotism in the 1990's. The wheel has returned to the Nationalist idea of political guerilla warfare against the State power. How will it be done? This pamphlet tells gives the answer.

(40 pages, A4) ..... \$10.00

Summary available

(6 pages, A4) ..... \$2

THE WINNING EDGE: RECLAIMING OUR FREEDOM THROUGH EFFECTIVE

### POLITICAL ACTION by Lachlan Black

This is a simple and readable account on the purposes of a grassroots and localised political method. It can serve local groups or branches of larger entities in mobilising activists to get results. The author takes the reader through how to run a number of different campaigns, how to 'target' and how to monitor and follow up. He shows that this method is necessary to avoid the heavy hand of over-centralisation in the movement or organization and maintains that we need to wage the counter-cultural struggle against the dominant politics and ideology of internationalism. Sure to be a manual!

(14 pages, A4) ..... \$4.00

### DEMOCRACY by Ted Mack.

Mack (federal Member of Parliament for North Sydney 1990-96; the only Australian to ever have been elected and re elected as an Independent to local, state, and federal government) shows how our current system of government is actually anti-democratic due to its misuse and abuse. Problems include: 1) the major political parties, which are self-serving, power-seeking machines; each run by a political elite, whereby effectively 5 or 6 people determine parliamentary decisions, 2) a system of single member electorates, which ensures that about 45% of the population are not truly represented, and 3) a bogus "representative" system where Members of Parliament represent - not the people - but the Member's own particular party or party faction. A system of participatory democracy is put forward as an alternative to the present mess.

(16 pages, A5) ..... \$2

### THE NATURE OF STATE POWER: THE FARCE OF DEMOCRACY IN AUSTRALIA

edited by David Tremayne.

Shows how the ideology of liberal-internationalism has entrenched itself within the media, education system, and parliament. It reveals the reality of State Power: that when the liberal-internationalist Establishment is threatened, it will react like a cornered rat; that despite its outward trappings of democracy, the Establishment will not hesitate to use undemocratic, authoritarian tactics to save itself and prevent the rise of Nationalists to political power.

(15 pages, A4) ..... \$5

Summary available

(5 pages, A4) ..... 50 cents

### HOW TO COMBAT THE POLITICAL POLICE: TACTICS TO COUNTER THE ANTI-NATIONALIST ACTIVITIES OF A.S.I.O. AND OTHER INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES IN AUSTRALIA edited by George Kyriakopoulos.

Gives a brief background to the various political police agencies operating in Australia. It exposes some of the tactics that have been used by ASIO, Special Branch, etc., to harass, weaken, and destroy Nationalist groups. The System no longer regards Communists as the main threat to its established order; it now regards so-called "racists" as the main enemy. The tactics and harassment ("legal" and illegal) carried out against the Communists in the past several decades - are now being used against Nationalists. Herein, practical advice is given on how to

counter the anti-Nationalist activities of the political police.

(30 pages, A4) ..... \$6

Summary available

(2 pages, A4) ..... 20¢

ANTI-RACIAL VILIFICATION LEGISLATION: AN AUTHORITARIAN RESPONSE TO CRITICISM OF IMMIGRATION/MULTICULTURAL POLICY by Dr. Jim Saleam

Is an analysis of the logic behind the passage of "anti-racial vilification legislation" and its relationship to the economic groups which seek to benefit from silencing criticism of "Asianisation". This pamphlet analyses the Report of the 1988-91 National Inquiry Into Racist Violence and its prescriptions for an authoritarian police state. It shows that the authoritarian impulse of the Australian State is longstanding and now directed at a new enemy: those stigmatised as "racist" by the liberal class. The footnoting is extensive. (40 pages, A4) \$7.00.

REVOLUTIONARY NATIONAL DEMOCRACY by Dr. Jim Saleam.

Explains that the present Australian political order is a dictatorship of economic and liberal political interests. It goes on to discuss how the dominance of the Westminster system should be broken and a system which combines direct popular power and executive authority can be built. This pamphlet suggests that the people should be 'armed' as the ultimate democratic sanction and have the right to directly initiate legislation.

(20 pages, A5) \$4.00

PART FIVE MISCELLANEOUS

AUSTRALIA'S EXPERIMENT IN COMMUNISM by Jack Lang.

A short history of William Lane's ill-fated experiment for a utopian settlement in Paraguay, South America (the name of this "Working Man's Paradise" was New Australia). Demonstrates the futility and impossibility of Communism in the "real world". (2 pages, A4) ..... \$2.00

FIRE OF THE SOUTHERN CROSS: A COLLECTION OF POETRY FOR AUSTRALIAN NATIONALISTS

Includes poetry from Douglas Robertson, "Banjo" Paterson, Henry Lawson, and others. Inspiring reading for Australian Nationalists. (45 pages, A4) ..... \$5.00

NATIONALIST POEMS OF THE AUSTRALIAN REPUBLIC, THE EUREKA REBELLION OF 1854, AND EUREKA'S FLAG OF STARS More poetry for Australian Nationalists.

(15 pages, A4) ..... \$2.00

THE POLITICALLY INCORRECT ETHNIC JOKE BOOK

Published in an effort to gather and record (for cultural and sociological reasons, especially in a historical context) "politically incorrect" ethnic jokes (before ethnic jokes are made illegal via so-called "racial vilification law"). (38 pages, A4) ..... \$5.00

DAVID GREASON: 'RACISM EXPERT': CREDIBILITY EXPLODED by P.Giannopoulos  
A devastating expose of one of Australia's 'anti-racist' journalists and activists. With page by page citations, the author proves that David Greason plagiarised his 1994 opus "I WAS A TEENAGE FASCIST" from the works of various people including Communist Party defector of the 1940's Cecil Herbert Sharpley. Rather than a description of Greason's passage from the 'Right-wing' darkness into the liberal-internationalist light, we have an intellectual fraud probably constructed to establish his alleged expertise. (16 pages, A5) .....\$2.00

## SPECIAL ITEMS: NATIONALIST IDEOLOGY AND POLITICS

THE OTHER RADICALISM: AN INQUIRY INTO CONTEMPORARY AUSTRALIAN EXTREME RIGHT IDEOLOGY, POLITICS AND ORGANIZATION 1975 - 1995 by Dr. Jim Saleam.

This Doctor Of Philosophy thesis can be especially ordered. A complete analysis of the Australian Right over a twenty year period, it contains a wealth of information, usefully interpreted. Fully footnoted and with bibliography, it is a guide for both student and the interested person. It is a resource as well as a history and political interpretation. Using a working-construct called the 'Extreme Right', it proceeds to get to what the Nationalist, patriotic and conservative movements were/are about. By understanding the historical 'divisions' on the Right scene, it is possible to explain successes and failures and make some statements about the future. In some areas, detail about Intelligence-operations aimed at the patriotic movements, is given. Over 500 pages, hard cover. Because of its double spaced presentation as a thesis, and with photocopying and binding, the work is relatively expensive. But it represents value for money. \$95.00 plus postage.

JAPAN THREAT by Nicholas Lindeman.

This book, published in 1977 is dated now. Yet the basic idea of covetous eyes from Asia being cast at the Australian Continent is ever-fresh. The book brings a lot of detail to Australia's relationships in Asia and argues that in the interests of the Nation's survival, notions of 'free enterprise' and bourgeois 'rights' must be put aside. \$6.00

CAMP OF THE SAINTS by Jean Raspail.

The classic novel about an unarmed refugee invasion of Europe. When 1,000,000 Indians set sail, chaos in Europe results as one country - France - is put to the test. The lunacy of the liberal mind (which welcomes them all as heroes of a new world without borders) is graphically dissected. The reader can almost hear Australian liberals despairing at the boatloads of current-day 'refugees' and 'asylum seekers' knocking at our gates. \$12.00

BEYOND ECONOMIC TREADMILL by Allan R. Jones.

A critical examination of new technologies which could make Australia economically independent and self-sufficient. A close look is taken at the banking system and the author argues for 'National Credit', the debt-free finance principles of the old labour movement. Soft cover. \$6.00

THE FRENCH NEW RIGHT IN THE YEAR 2000 by Alain de Benoist and Charles Champetier

This pamphlet was composed by two leading lights of the European 'New Right' (not the economic school, but the philosophic circle in Paris which pioneered a revolution in Euro-nationalism). It examines the underlying disease of modern liberalism and the need for a new cultural-moral regeneration of our European world. It goes beyond Left and Right, racism and anti-racism, capitalism and socialism, to get to the idea of struggling against globalism in all things that 'Western', indeed all, culture may be renewed. A feast of determination which moves the reader to discover his identity and the courage to 'resist'. (30 pages, A5) \$5.00

EUROPE FOR THE EUROPEANS: FASCIST MYTHS OF THE EUROPEAN NEW ORDER

1922-1992 by Professor Roger Griffin (with special introduction).

This is a pamphlet reproduction of a major article written by this eminent scholar of the fascist and neo-fascist phenomena. It reviews the 'other' trend in the historical fascist movement: that of pan European nationalism and observes how the Aryanist racism of the Nazis and the particular predatory nationalistic ideas of some fascist parties conflicted with this second tendency present in both German and Italian fascism (and other fascisms). It explains how and why after 1945, a new Euro-nationalism emerged which looked towards the renewal of the whole Western civilisation. The positions taken by the main pan-Europeanist forces are contrasted with the cultists who believe wrongly that Nazism was the true 'white racial ideology'. The introduction alerts the reader to certain issues to watch as Griffin develops his evidence and explains how this evidence can serve Nationalist ideology and politics in the fight against erroneous racist-cultist ideas of all sorts. ( 40 pages, A4). \$6.00

NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND RACE by Dr. A. James Gregor

This is a pamphlet version of an article written by one of historical fascism's premier scholars. It first appeared in 'The European' magazine in 1958. This was the journal of the Euro-nationalist Union Movement in Britain. Gregor dissects the actual racial theories of the Nazi party, dividing these theories into categories and schools. In doing so, Gregor (who was then involved in Euro-nationalism himself) repudiated the notion that Nazism as we know it represented any sort of 'pan-European' or 'pan-white' system. Gregor shows how the Nazis divided European 'types' from each other in the pursuit of pan-Germanic and imperialist goals. A piece of scholarship in its own right, this pamphlet is essential to building an historical perspective on the past. ( 16 pages, A5 ) \$5.00

THE METAPHYSICS OF BOLSHEVISM by Alexander Dugin

This pamphlet (part of a series) was composed by one of contemporary Russia's leading national revolutionary thinkers. Dugin analyses Russian history in the twentieth century and trends in Russian thought which approximated the goals of the European political tendencies like

'Conservative Revolution' and the (somewhat misnamed) 'National Bolshevism'. Dugin believes a revolution will again occur in Russia, this time against 'westernisation' (ie. liberal internationalist New World Order ideology), and this process will restore Russia to its cultural roots. He prophesises that a Russian revolution may also assist in bringing about true change in 'the West', a spiritual revolution against the same system which is destroying Western Civilisation. This text is in the 'broken English' in which Dugin translated it. Understandable. ( 28 pages, A5) \$5.00

## TAPES

We offer a number of tape-recordings of interest to ideological formation amongst patriotic people.

THE MACPHERSON REPORT. Professor Frank Ellis.

This speech, delivered at the 2000 Conference of the American Renaissance organisation, was a critical analysis of a document of the same name, imposed by Britain's 'race-relations industry', as a script for a new 'anti-racism' in the police, judiciary and society. Devastatingly, the speaker shows the totalitarian impulse which lurks in modern liberalism. \$10 (post included)

THE LATEST RESEARCH ON RACE Professor Philippe Rushton

This speech, by an eminent Canadian psychologist, was delivered at the 2000 Conference of the American Renaissance organisation. Racial differences are explained, and regarded as positive expressions of the genuine natural diversity, not things to be explained-away to serve the false politics of multicultural internationalism.

\$10 (post included)

THE DISRUPTION OF PATRIOTIC ORGANISATIONS Dr. Jim Saleam

This speech, delivered at the 2001 Inverell Forum (a gathering of Australian patriotic groups and individuals), was an analysis of the role played by neo-nazi groups in disrupting the activities of Australian patriotic organisations. It covers a thirty year period with historical examples.

\$10 (post included)

RACIAL ATTITUDES IN AFRICA Professor Eugene Valberg

This speech, delivered to the 1994 Conference of the American Renaissance organisation, is a very politically incorrect assessment of African attitudes to race.

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# Links

## [Australian Nationalism Information Database](#)

<http://www.ozemail.com.au/~natinfo>

A source site of many essential documents regarding Australian Nationalism.

## [The National Republicans](#)

<http://www.alphalink.com.au/~eureka>

A radical nationalist movement, based upon a philosophy of Australian Nativism.

## [Junger In Cyberspace](#)

<http://www.juenger.org>

This site is an academic production which deals with the remarkable life and philosophy of the German National-Revolutionary ideologist, Ernst Junger.

## [The Scorpion](#)

<http://www.stormloader.com/thescorpion/>

This site is the archived collection of 'The Scorpion' magazine. This redoubtable journal, which commenced publication in Britain in the early 1980's, has carried the torch for 'New Right' ideology in the English-speaking world. It has delved into issues related to the cultural identity of European peoples, Conservative Revolution and elements of modern national revolutionary ideology. Non-partisan, it is a treasure-trove for the special reader.

## [The Eurasia Archive](#)

<http://utenti.lycos.it/ArchivEurasia/index.html>

This Russian site was created by the Russian theorist, Alexander Dugin. It carries articles in several languages. The Eurasia Archive has a wide array of geopolitical theory on the position of Russia and Europe in the clash between the New World Order and those countries and cultures which remain outside it. The reader is taken to material on the conspiracy to obtain control over Central Asian oil (a factor in the present - 2001 - Afghan war) and on the idea of Euro-nationalism. The material, whether one concurs with only a small part, is challenging and necessary reading in the struggle for Australian independence. The site contains some Australian material.

## [Euroknowledge](#)

<http://www.euroknowledge.net>

This site serves as a valuable archive of material suitable to those who value their European cultural identity and who seek to preserve it. This site was established in the United States of America. Euroknowledge issues an occasional e-zine of high quality.

## [Autarky Network](#)

<http://autarky.rosenoire.org>

This 'national revolutionary' site is a network of valuable resource sites, with fascinating links. The component sites retain a substantial volume of internet books, pamphlets, articles and interviews. It is your pathway too, into the labyrinth of Arab, Moslem and other oppositionist sites and politics.

## [The Occidental Quarterly](#)

<http://theoccidentalquaterly.com>

This is one of the premier journals of culture and politics in the English language. The breadth of analysis should serve the reader in assessing the nature of the cultural disease within the 'European civilization' and what the prescriptions may be for a cultural renewal. This journal is therefore of a general interest to Australian readers as part of the necessary cultural struggle.

## [The Douglas Reed Collection](#)

<http://www.douglasreedbooks.com/>

This collection of works by Douglas Reed has only recently (Feb.2003) appeared on the Internet. Douglas Reed, among other things, studied the life of Otto Strasser, whose ideas and organization challenged Hitler in Germany. The key work in that regard is Nemesis. Reed's other work, limited now by time, is nonetheless useful reading in delineating the politics of the previous Century.

## [The Site Of Dr. Tomislav Sunic](#)

</www.watermark.hu/doctorsunic/>

This site publishes the work of Dr. Tomislav Sunic, a prominent contemporary 'Conservative Revolutionary' thinker, connected to GRECE and other similar projects. With a broad academic thrust, this site addresses issues of European Civilization and the challenges to it by cosmopolitan American style capitalism and liberalism. Essential.

[Homepage](#)

