THE OTHER RADICALISM:

AN INQUIRY INTO CONTEMPORARY AUSTRALIAN

EXTREME RIGHT IDEOLOGY,

POLITICS AND ORGANIZATION 1975-1995

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INTRODUCTION

**Nothing, except being understood by intelligent people, gives
greater pleasure, than being misunderstood by blunderheads.**

Georges Sorel.

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This Thesis was conceived under singular circumstances. The author was in custody, convicted of offences arising from a 1989 shotgun attack upon the home of Eddie Funde, Representative to Australia of the African National Congress. On October 6 1994, I appeared for Sentence on another charge in the District Court at Parramatta. I had been convicted of participation in an unsuccessful attempt to damage a vehicle belonging to a neo-nazi informer. My Thesis-proposal was tendered as evidence of my prospects for rehabilitation and I was cross-examined about that document. The Judge (whose Sentence was inconsequential) said:

> … Mr Saleam said in evidence that his doctorate [sic] of
> philosophy will engage his attention for the foreseeable
> future; that he has no intention of using these exertions
> to incite violence.[1]

I pondered how it was possible to use a Thesis to incite violence. This exercise in courtroom dialectics suggested that my thoughts, a product of my experiences in right-wing politics, were considered acts of subversion. I concluded that the Extreme Right was 'The Other Radicalism', understood by State agents as odorous as yesteryear's Communist Party.

My interest in Extreme Right politics derived from a quarter-century involvement therein, at different levels of participation. Andrew Moore said I was:

> … an unusual figure … [with] … a genuine academic
> interest in theories of fascism.[2]

Participation can affect historical accuracy and integrity. However, in this case, it gave me the advantage of discerning the topography of the Extreme Right.

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[1] Judge A. Viney, <u>Sentencing Transcript</u>, in <u>R. v James Saleam</u>, District Court Registry File, No. 90/21/1432, p. 6.

[2] Andrew Moore, <u>The Right Road?: A History Of Right-Wing Politics In Australia</u>, Melbourne, 1995, p. 121. Note: all works cited in the Introduction shall be cited again in full at their first mention in the text.

Between 1975 and 1995, the Australian Extreme Right recruited, upon my estimate, around 11,000 persons. There was a bewildering array of electoral parties, combat parties, student cells, rural action groups, education-structures, violence squads and politicized skinheads. This permanent undercurrent in Australian politics had embraced, among other sectors, intellectuals and bashers, prosperous persons and working class poor, rural and urban voters, and alongside the great mass of mundane believers – a few colourful 'madmen'.

The Extreme Right did not speak with one voice, nor has it ever been as significant as the French Front National or the Italian Alleanza Nazionale; but it was disturbing enough to have invited legislative counter-action, para-State reaction and ritualized denunciation by public figures. My research advantage was clear. I have met hundreds of participants, read thousands of Extreme Right and conservative publications as well as those of their opposition, and directed activities of my own. Personal experience could be brought to bear upon the research. The 'insider' also had the advantage of access to participants and their documents – something noticeably missing from many other research efforts.

<u>The general objective of this Thesis is to provide an intellectual framework for, and appropriate and necessary detail to the scholarship of, Australian Extreme Right politics.</u>

This Thesis may prove unwelcome. Unfortunately, I have been denounced by opponents as the 'master' of misinformation.[3] However, doctoral work is not propaganda and is subject to scholarly test. That statement encapsulates part of my objective. My researches show that the scholarship of Australian Extreme Right politics is distorted by the very aversion in which this politics is held. Truth cannot be determined if scholarship is intimidated by forces which have no interests in expounding it objectively.

The present climate bodes ill for academic analysis of the Extreme Right. Since 1996 (after the time period examined in this Thesis) a storm has centred around the Pauline Hanson/One Nation Party (ONP) 'phenomenon'. The hysteria directed at this new force does not assist in producing accurate scholarship. Powerful groups have criticized Hanson/ONP as "Extreme Right". The main voice for Jewish community feeling, <u>The Australian Jewish News,</u> has anathematized Hanson;[4] one article went as far as to compare a pre-ONP manifesto, <u>Pauline Hanson: The Truth</u>, to the <u>Protocols Of The Learned Elders Of Zion</u>.[5] Mobs influenced by Trotskyist 'anti-racist' fronts have rampaged,

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[3] Daniel Dasey, "Beaten At Own Game", <u>The Sun Herald</u>, April 20 1997, p. 32; David Greason, <u>I Was A Teenage Fascist</u>, Fitzroy, 1994, p. 204.
[4] Sharon Labi, "Jewish Leaders Back Call To Put One Nation Last", <u>Australian Jewish News</u> (Sydney), May 22 1998, p. 3.
[5] David Bernstein, "The Protocols Of The Elders Of Hanson", <u>Australian Jewish News</u> (Sydney), May 2 1997, p. 20.

associating 'Hanson-ism' with neo-fascism.[6] A series of activist groups such as Campaign Against Racism 'catered' for ONP, while Campaign Against Nazis functioned to harass more militant Right groups. If a pseudo-scholarly text, <u>Faces Of Hate: Hate Crime In Australia</u>[7] is any indication, the heir of Isi Leibler's Research Services spy network at <u>Australia–Israel Review</u> became a major player in determining the limits of research into the Extreme Right. Apparently, a 'network' of reliable commentators has emerged to stymie genuine inquiry.

The developing official theory of the Extreme Right has some central precepts.[8] These are that: Anti-semitism and/or neo-nazism is the secret coded message of the Right whether in its Holocaust and Historical Revisionist, conspiratological, or Skinhead violence modes; that the Right is a hodge-podge of hatreds and resentments of cultural, economic and racial change; and that the League Of Rights fathered the Extreme Right. In sum, this dangerous proto-nazi atavism mu st be controlled.

To dispute such logic is to invite denunciation by the closed shop. Given that the people who have played roles in criminalizing, harassing and vilifying the Right come forward as its ideological interpreters, we can understand a State/liberal-hegemonic process in train to ensure no Right force ever enters mainstream politics. Unsurprisingly, Right politics has remained a beast in the shadows with even the histories of its leaders and structures falsified to propaganda advantage.

A thesis upon a new subject could take various pathways. It could be an investigation into politically motivated violence (or <u>even</u> "hate crime") or racism and political mobilization, or what sort of Australian joined an Extreme Right organization, or whether it was economic restructuring in the 1980's which pushed the Extreme Right from the absolute margins and the end of the Cold War which advanced it towards minor political status. However, these hypothetical projects, each of which could establish useful detail (I do take these propositions into account), would be viable only if a framework for the appreciation of the contemporary Extreme Right existed. I cannot accept the discourse of the marginalization-of-the-Extreme-Right as definitive. A central defining question was required. Even the terminology 'Extreme Right' is uncertain.

<u>This Thesis has as its core question the inter-relationship between the Right and the Australian State</u>. It was because the scholarship of the contemporary Extreme Right is neither extensive nor integrated

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[6] Sam Wainwright, "Le Pen: Pauline Hanson's Big Brother", <u>Green Left Weekly</u>, June 4 1997, p. 15.
[7] Chris Cunneen, David Fraser, Stephen Tomsen (eds.), <u>Faces Of Hate: Hate Crime In Australia</u>, Annandale, 1997.
[8] ibid, pp. 2–3, 36–37, 44–73, 166, 173, 198–9, 210. This 'theory' also underlies innumerable publications. See: David Greason and Michael Kapel, "Divided Nation", <u>The Courier Mail</u>, June 11 1998, p. 17; Norm Dixon, "Neo-Nazi Thugs Offer Their Services To Hanson", <u>Green Left Weekly</u>, August 19 1998, p. 14; Stuart Rintoul, Megan Saunders, Jennifer Foreshaw, "Radical Fears Pauline's Clones", <u>The Weekend Australian</u>, June 20–21 1998, p. 7; Brett Martin, "Danger Lurks On The Fringes", <u>The Bulletin</u>, July 28 1998, pp. 26–27 – which reported ASIO's mixing of nationalists and neo-nazis and fears of "violence prone" groups.

that I sought out a theme which had received treatment, albeit for an earlier period – and advanced from there. This Thesis took as bedrock the scholarship of the Australian Right 1919–45. Chapter One, in criticizing and adapting this literature, conceives the then-Australian State as a conservative one with ideological-political characteristics born of the Imperial link. This scholarship described State-dependent and semi-independent paramilitarism directed against the communists and Labor populism. By applying new overseas scholarship on the generic nature of fascism, it was possible to sweep away the mist which obscures the inter-war Right. In determining that the inter-War para-military Right was not fascist, it became possible to define various forms of auxiliary relationship between the Right and the State power and ideology, and work with a more complex tripartite division of the Right: Conservative Right, Extreme Right, Fascist. Further, because fascism was understood as an anti-Establishment ideology with particular points of genesis, I reviewed the proto-fascist elements of Australian socialism, nationalism and cultural pessimism and their synthesis in the native-fascist movement around P.R. Stephensen.   These issues were relevant to an appreciation of the contemporary Extreme Right which, as I will show, is clearly partitioned between British and nativist interpretations of Australian identity.

With this foundation, the Thesis then approached the 1945–75 period, the prelude to the contemporary Extreme Right. I firstly relied upon that scholarship and opinion which argued that the Australian State moved into an American-client phase after 1945 'with a special kind of power at its core'.

Chapter Two proceeded to criticize and adapt the available literature concerning the Right. However, it was necessary to carry out original research in the crucial area of para-State connected 'Nazi' violence groups. Essentially, the scholarship of the Right in this period is also far from settled. My analysis applied the logic of Chapter One to identify a 'Satellite Right' dependent upon State anti-communist ideology and requirement. I emphasized content over rhetoric even in self-organized auxiliaries such as the League Of Rights, and laid the basis for argument that this organization was not the father of Extreme Right politics. Chapter Two also located an independent Extreme Right formed around opposition to the abandonment of the White Australia Policy in 1966. I was able to catalogue an array of significant persons and organizations, especially those which survived into the study-period. I organized Chapters One and Two as Part One of this Thesis.

This Thesis advances in Part Two a new typological division of the Extreme Right which augments the continued application of the tripartite paradigm. The Extreme Right is shown as partitioned into four categories: Radical-Nationalism, Neo-Nazism, Populist-Monarchism and Radical-Populism. The organizations placed within each ideal-category are described in a separate Chapter.

This categorization and the underpinning logic of the later Chapters is founded upon an appreciation of the transformation of the Australian State, since 1966 but openly after 1975, into a liberal-

internationalist formation. This permits the characterization of the Extreme Right as 'the other radicalism' as a result of its positioning as an internal enemy of the new State.

This Thesis argues that the State has been progressively recast after the 1975 'putsch', with integrated policies to achieve economic-internationalization, apply liberal-authoritarian methods against opposition and to develop a 'Transnational Capitalist Class'. The fall of Eastern European communism demonstrated the superiority of the emergent globalist system over old-marxism and unleashed a new aggression in the regime directed to intensify Australia's demographic-economic merger into the 'Pacific Rim Economic Order'. This new State has also carried out a profound twenty-year cultural and social revolution which built a new power core. It has placed the Extreme Right ideology, politics and organization beyond polite discussion.

This Thesis thus focuses upon an interpretation of the Extreme Right as an opposition not to 'modernity' but to internationalization. It therefore became analytically possible to explain the termination of the Satellite Right relationship and the mobilization of some Extreme Right forces from the ex-satellite reaction to this new State form. This Thesis argues that some of the structural weakness of Extreme Right politics can be located in the relationship of the new political fractions on the Right towards the symbolic forms of State power, particularly problems caused by the loyalism of the former satellites towards the British vision of Australian culture and politics. They restricted the acquisition of space by newer fractions of the Right.

The points of genesis of the specific faces of the Extreme Right vary. Research questions weave through Chapters Three to Eight, including:

(i) From which ideological traditions, political references and existent organizations did Extreme Right forces emerge?

(ii) Do Extreme Right categories reveal different social clienteles; do their memberships and support bases suggest that they have mobilized from different senses of disadvantage or political or cultural dispossession as a result of the State's liberal-internationalist programs?

(iii) Has Extreme Right activism focused a new energetic opposition to capitalist internationalism such that it, rather than the crisis-torn marxist Left, became the focus of a new radicalism?; and further, given the new liberal-internationalist character of State discourse, did the Left find itself co-opted in the 1980's and eventually in its turn, satellitized?

Part Three of this Thesis sets out to explain the Other Radicalism. Chapter Nine specifically addresses the relationship of the Extreme Right and the State. It asks how a process of mutual delegitimization

between State and Extreme Right functioned and how the different Extreme Right categories defined this process. The para-State and other activism aimed at the Extreme Right, gingerly examined by other commentators, receives treatment to demonstrate the character of the new State.

Chapter Ten then examines Extreme Right ideology, using the yardstick of a terminologically defined 'neo-fascism' and reasons that the assorted political programmes be weighed accordingly for their potential to inspire radical action on the Right. These programmes and other expressions of ideological struggle were understood as substantive statements of a sincere politics rather than floss to conceal a plan to reopen Auschwitz on Lake Eyre. While the Australian material is unique it can be usefully compared with the corpus of the international Right. In the case of neo-nazism, this Thesis contributed to a developing literature.

This Thesis of course is a study in <u>failure</u> to breach the fortress of capitalism and I have crafted my research appropriately to show why this was so. It was however equally obvious that the Right had become a persistent force, and that it would continue to enjoy a political impact.

<u>Methods and Sources</u>

This Thesis applied the ethnographic research method. The method employs personal observation combined with the use of various sources of information to create a broad-brush-stroke picture required to conceptualize organizational complexity and conduct.[9] Different periods and phases-within-periods demanded varying approaches. Some truths were unraveled by detective work since the story was never meant to be told − particularly where illegal or improper activities of security-agencies were involved.

The Australian Archives were useful. The author caused several released but unaccessed Files, to be formally opened. I also had released, and accessed, about fifty Files on persons and organizations, 1945–68. Most of these Files were Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) documents. Most were censored. For example, Files on the 'politically irrelevant' Nazi movement were plagued by 'exemptions' under the Archives Act. One representative File (for Arthur Charles Smith) saw 121 pages restricted out of 157. I was surprised at the paucity of information supposedly held on the 1940's Citizens' Rights Committees and the League Of Rights to 1967. Even so, taken in composite, the archival material cut off as it was by the '30-year access rule', served as a skeleton on which to argue that the Right in the post-war period was politically dependent upon the conservative State.

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[9] Paul Spoonley, <u>The Politics Of Nostalgia: Racism And The Extreme Right In New Zealand</u>, Palmerston North, 1987, pp. 281–289. This author applied the method in this work (originally a doctoral thesis).

I found the Left-wing press, <u>Tribune</u>, <u>Vanguard</u>, <u>Direct Action</u> and others, of considerable worth throughout. The Left press not only relayed data on Right activism but also expressed Left organizational attitudes about this militancy and its political context. Further, a critical use of Left newspapers assisted the development of the argument that in the 1980's the Left lost its political independence and suffered co-optation by the liberal anti-racist State.

To chart activities and the response of opponents to the Extreme Right, the mainstream media was consulted: newspapers, magazines, radio and television. Hundreds of citations appear. The media was certainly biased but that did not interfere with critical usage of this expansive source.

This Thesis benefited from an extensive access to the public and internal publications of the Extreme Right, to detailed information on conferences, meetings, correspondence, membership and finance, and to interviews with many of its officials and activists. The bibliography provides detail about regular publications and some biographical data on interviewees. The primary material was the ultimate arbiter of key questions. I have preferred it over the pre-judgements of other commentators who prefer to quote each other or mass media journalism.

Another untapped source was official documents: court papers, government reports and Electoral Commission Files on registered political parties. From these sources new information was found on membership of organizations, and on the para-State reaction to the Extreme Right. Such documentation was authoritative and integrated with the other sources obtained by the ethnographic method.

Regrettably, the NSW Police Special Branch files made accessible to Freedom of Information request on March 9 1999, could not be consulted without delaying the production of this Thesis; nonetheless, this rich vein of data can be tapped by future researchers.

A true scholarship of contemporary Australian Right politics is in its formative period. This Thesis is an encouragement for further, multi-directioned analysis. The author has no illusion that the present work is other than turning the earth to move the worms.

<u>NOTE ON STYLE</u>

(i)   This Thesis uses 'ize' rather than 'ise' for words not governed by convention. Quotations are always given as they appeared.

(ii)   This Thesis operates a tripartite Right model; capitalization shall be used for Conservative Right, Extreme Right, Radical-Nationalist. However, when discussing the 'four faces' of the Extreme Right, only Radical-Nationalist shall retain capitalization because it belongs to the former paradigm.

(iii)   This Thesis capitalizes 'State' when it refers to the Australian State; 'para-State' must be treated in the same manner.

(iv)   Generic terms like 'fascism', 'neo-nazism' etc. shall not be capitalized. Particular historical references to 'Italian Fascism', 'Nazism', require capitals.

(v)   The word 'Thesis' (this document) and 'Files' (as refer to official publications) shall also be capitalized.

(vi)   Because the author was an actor in particular events, the third person is occasionally used to maintain clarity.

PART I:
ORIGINS OF "THE OTHER RADICALISM"

CHAPTER ONE

A LONG VIEW: THE QUESTION OF FASCISM, THE EXTREME RIGHT AND THE CONSERVATIVE AUSTRALIAN STATE 1919 - 1945

Chapter One is not a history of the inter-war Right but essentially a treatment of theoretical issues arising from previous academic research.

First, it re-interprets the Australian Right through the prism of new scholarship on the nature of fascism, partitioning it typologically to create a new paradigm. The new interpretation dismisses the claim that the inter-war paramilitaries were fascist. It concentrates upon the relationship of these varied forces with the State and the dominant class.

Second, the Chapter argues that intrusive migrant-based fascist structures were irrelevant to the Australian Right.

Third, the Chapter examines the related issues of proto-fascism and native fascism to locate historical-political source-pools for fascist mobilization. However, native-fascism was abortive for reasons which are explored.

The long view focuses on the consolidation of the conservative State defusing various challenges and threats. It makes particular conclusions about the character of Right politics which provide some essential background to its evolution after 1945, including some images and ideas destined to survive into the contemporary period.

# 1.	A METHODOLOGICAL TOOL: THE GENERIC CONCEPT OF FASCISM

An effective definition of fascism is a methodological tool for analysis of the Australian Extreme Right. However, this Thesis will reject equating fascist ideology with random historical specifics of the 'fascist epoch' 1919–45.

The verdict on fascism easily became the victim of the plethora of theories advanced to explain it. Fascism has been seen as − moral crisis or breakdown of cultural optimism rendered explosive by the effects of the Great War; a derivative of peculiar individual national histories; a totalitarianism for the age of atomized masses; a psychosexual disorder; a new materialism which replaced the class-struggle with the conflict of nations and races; a developmental dictatorship; anti-modernism; the last resort of finance capitalism to forestall proletarian revolution; a revolt of the petty bourgeoisie; a species of marxism; a violent anti-marxism; a structural problem of particular societies; a new Bonapartism.[1]

Most theories limited fascism to the 1919–45 period and to particular European social–economic arrangements. Some definitions were inadequate, while others battled to establish the significance of fascist conduct or method[2]. Certainly, the search for generic fascism was obscured by the welter of theories. However, this 'quest' was advanced by the postulate that fascism resulted from a synthesis of nationalism and socialism.[3]

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[1] This 'collection' of theories of fascism is drawn from: Renzo De Felice, Interpretations Of Fascism, Cambridge, 1977; Stanley Payne, Fascism: Comparison And Definition, Madison, 1980; Stanley Payne, "The Concept Of Fascism", in S. Larsen, B. Hagtvet, J. Myklebust (eds.), Who Were The Fascists? Social Roots Of European Fascism, Oslo, 1980, pp. 14–25; G. Allardyce (ed.), The Place Of Fascism In European History, Englewood Cliffs, 1971; Some of the above theories are argued by: Ernst Nolte, The Three Faces Of Fascism, London, 1966; Leon Trotsky, The Struggle Against Fascism In Germany, Harmsworth, 1971; J. Ortega Y. Gasset, The Revolt Of The Masses, London, 1961.

[2] The middle class ("petty bourgeois") theory of fascism as a mass movement has some merit (Renzo De Felice, op.cit., pp. 97, 126–7) although it failed with the 'working class' Hungarian and 'peasant' Rumanian fascisms. The protagonists of this theory also underestimated the proletarian content of German and Italian fascism.

[3] Eugen Weber, Varieties Of Fascism, New York, 1964; S.J. Wolff (ed.), The Nature Of Fascism, London, 1968. Weber and Wolff argued the character of each fascism was associated with the manner by which this synthesis was achieved.

This Thesis will rely upon the work of several researchers who, while still clashing on some points, explored the contention that fascism's ideological 'mystery' can be unravelled by identification of core components. Roger Griffin has presented a revolutionary definition:

> Fascism is a genus of political ideology whose mythic core in its various permutations is a palingenetic form of populist ultra-nationalism.[4]

Roger Eatwell was supportive:

> Fascist ideology is therefore a form of thought which preaches the need for social rebirth in order to forge a holistic national radical Third Way. This is a formulation which clearly excludes many alleged examples of fascism.[5] (my emphasis)

Such interpretation allowed that fascism could appear in varied forms and implied a peculiar quality of the core: its power to 'combine' with compatible historical, philosophical and sociological theory (and in the singular case of Nazism – racist-theosophy or Ariosophy).[6] Fascism could be likened to a virus: its DNA 'finger-print' immutable, but its surface-coating was variable in quality or expression. The alternate search for a typological 'fascist minimum' expressed programmatically or stylistically – though useful – was superseded by the identification of a mythic core.

The crisp Griffin definition has three elements[7]:

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[4] Roger Griffin, <u>The Nature Of Fascism</u>, London, 1993, p. 26.

[5] Roger Eatwell, <u>Fascism: A History</u>, London, 1995, p. 11.

[6] Zeev Sternhell, <u>The Birth Of Fascist Ideology: From Cultural Rebellion To Political Revolution</u>, Princeton, 1994, pp. 4–5, declined to accept Nazism as a fascism because of 'racism'. Griffin held Fascism 'racist' in a <u>number of forms</u> (op.cit., p. 48); A. James Gregor, <u>The Ideology Of Fascism: The Rationale For Totalitarianism</u>, New York, 1969, pp. 241–281, proved the existence of a distinctive Italian Fascist 'racist-ethnocentric' ideology long before German influences operated. Hereafter, this Thesis accepts Nazism as generically fascist and ethnocentrism an aspect of fascism.

[7] Roger Griffin, op.cit., pp. 32–42. A typological but supportive formulation was: J.J. Linz, "Some Notes Toward A Comparative Study Of Fascism In Sociological-Historical Perspective", in W. Lacquer (ed.), <u>Fascism: A Readers Guide</u>, Harmondsworth, 1979, pp. 25–26: "We shall use a multidimensional typological definition of fascism ... which ... covers all the movements ... even where some dimensions

- Palingenesis: the 'rebirth' of the racial–national social organism, its awakening from lethargy, its revitalization in the struggle against decadence, the reaffirmation of the elan-vital in defence and propagation of the cultural legacy.

- Populism: a revolutionary social ethic, a solidarism of the producers against 'parasitism', an equality of the productive classes which protects private property and achievement; a mobilization of these classes (workers, middle-class, farmers ...) against the liberal–capitalist bourgeoisie; a new collectivist economy.

- Ultra-Nationalism: an integral not a liberal nationalism, a nationalism defined by blood and history which centres on the Nation as the natural unit of human organisation in the modern epoch;   it mobilizes the folk-community towards its palingenesis and thereby faces the 'struggle-for-existence'.

Historical-fascism was often labelled, as a result of its anti-rationalism, 'irrationalism', void of intellectual weight. However, as Sternhell observed, it did not require a Marx; yet it was as sophisticated a structure as socialism, as total a value-system as liberalism.[8] The exegesis of fascism's core ideas was carried out by a legion of philosophers, political theorists and sociologists as diverse as Roberto Michels, Oswald Spengler, Arthur Moeller van den Bruck, Ernst Junger, Giovanni Gentile and Pierre Drieu La Rochelle.[9] The fascists considered themselves the enemies of reactionary rightism, 19th century materialism and Western money-worship. As the arrestors of 'Decline', they would renew civilization.

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might be more central to one or to the other. We define fascism as a hypernationalist, often pan-nationalist, anti-parliamentary, anti-liberal, anti-communist, populist and therefore anti-proletarian, partly anti-capitalist and anti-bourgeois, anti-clerical or at least non-clerical movement with the aim of national social integration through a single party and corporative representation not always equally emphasized ... it relied on activist cadres ready for violent action combined with electoral participation to gain power ... The ideology ... appeals for the incorporation of a national cultural tradition selectively in the new synthesis in response to new social classes, new social and economic problems and with new organizational concepts of mobilization and participation differentiate them from conservative parties ..."

[8] Zeev Sternhell, op.cit., p. 28.

[9] Alastair Hamilton, The Appeal Of Fascism: A Study Of Fascism And The Intellectuals, London, 1971; Roger Griffin (ed.), Fascism, Oxford, 1995. The latter valuable anthology also differentiates the various 'schools' of fascism, important to discussing diverse intellectuals.

Spanning the classic-fascist period to contemporary times, the important 'neo-fascist', Maurice Bardeche,[10] wrote:

> We seek in vain the book of fascism: no such bible
> exists ... Fascism is not a doctrine ... [but] ... an
> obscure and remote longing written in our blood and
> in our souls.[11]

Bardeche prophesized it would return to confront extra-European challenges from superpowers, the Third World and marxist-liberal ideologies – but with a new name and externalia:

> ... with the face of an innocent child whom we
> would not recognize ... and the Spartan order will
> be born again.[12]

Bardeche's romantic and mystical position, supportive of fascism's virtue, received an academic reinterpretation from a critic. Eatwell described the fascist core as "spectral-syncretic".[13] The "longing" for transendence energizes fascism, and Eatwell's characterisation of the core suggests fascism, once mobilized, has an intense capacity for assimilation of anti-system, populist, ultra-nationalist opinion.[14]

Significant scholarship warns against analysing fascism by materialist or reductionist methods, and against confusing it with the authoritarian conservative or militant Right. Clearly, it shared some ideas and methods with the Right – as did Social Democracy with

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[10] Roger Eatwell, "How To Revise History (And Influence People?) Neo-Fascist Style", in L. Cheles, R. Ferguson and M. Vaughan (eds), The Far Right In Western And Eastern Europe (2nd edn), London, 1995, pp. 316–7, for Bardeche's importance to 'neo-fascism'.

[11] Maurice Bardeche, Qu'est ce que le fascisme?, Paris, 1970, pp. 88–89, 164.

[12] ibid. pp. 194–5. The question of 'neo-fascism' is discussed in Chapter Ten.

[13] Roger Eatwell, "Towards A New Model Of Generic Fascism", Journal Of Theoretical Politics, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1990, pp. 161–194, defined central themes similar to Griffin, different 'permutations' which attract varied forces/individuals.

[14] ibid, p. 189, strongly implies this idea; Roger Griffin, The Nature Of Fascism, pp. 197–8.

Bolshevism – and could <u>be</u> a form of extreme Rightism. However, its mythic synthetic core allows it to escape the gravity of the Left–Right dichotomy.[15] The call for a movement of blood, or the Nation, or of the entire civilization challenged by a Spenglerian crisis, is unique to fascism. Its relationship with the Right was therefore problematical, inclusive of rivalry, distrust and occasional courtship followed by violent struggle. This interpretation may now be applied.

2.   A REINTERPRETATION OF EVIDENCE: THE DEFICIENT STUDY OF 'AUSTRALIAN FASCISM'

The historiography of the Australian Right is extensive on post-Great War movements, and has debated whether an Australian fascism appeared during the Depression years. Although some researchers have affirmed that fascism made a nationally-specific appearance, this Thesis would argue a revisionist position: there was no organised Australian fascism in the period of the 1920's and through the Depression. Certainly, Australia witnessed an active paramilitary Right with potential for fascistization.   An intellectual house-cleaning which differentiates fascism from the Right will establish a framework for further assessment.

Payne has described three faces of authoritarian nationalism:

> During the early 20th Century, there emerged a
> cluster of new rightist and conservative authoritarian
> forces ... that rejected moderate 19th century
> conservatism and simple old fashioned reaction in
> favour of a more technically advanced and proficient
> authoritarian system ... These forces may in turn be

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[15] Zeev Sternhell, <u>Neither Left Nor Right: Fascist Ideology In France</u>, Berkeley, 1986, pp. xiv, 2–4. Sternhell's identification of fusionary revolutionary syndicalist and integral-nationalist ideology in pre-1914 proto-fascism and this ongoing 1920's/1930's trend is instructive. This contrasted sharply with the Right; Roger Eatwell, "Towards A New Model Of Generic Fascism", p. 190.

divided into elements of the radical right ... and the

more conservative right[16]

Blinkhorn confirmed the survival of Payne's typologies after the Great War; regrettably, he blurred fascism and the 'radical right':

... there existed in inter-war Europe at the very least a subjective distinction between the radical right as represented by in the main, fascism and national socialism, and the conservative right as represented by constitutional conservatism and the various strands of conservative authoritarianism closely linked to it.[17]

It would be inevitable some would confuse the various anti-liberal, anti-marxist, authoritarian movements as expressions of a single phenomenon. Clarity may be obtained by paradigm:

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[16] Stanley Payne, Fascism: Comparison And Definition, pp. 14–15.

[17] Martin Blinkhorn, "Introduction", in Martin Blinkhorn (ed.), Fascists And Conservatives: The Radical Right And The Establishment In 20th Century Europe, London, 1990, p. 1; Roger Griffin, The Nature Of Fascism, pp. 90–99, 120, 130, reached the same general conclusion but differentiated Fascism from the 'Radical Right'.

Table 1.1   Political–Ideological Paradigm[18]

Fascism	Extreme Right	Conservative Right
1. Vitalism, Nietzscheanism or militant Christianity – a New Man	1. Traditionalism tempered by modern science	1. Primacy of religion of a structured type
2. Modernization	2. Stabilization and gradualism	2. Order
3. Cross-class populist mobilization	3. Middle-class organization: rural and professional support	3. Military, police, bureaucratic, high-bourgeois, aristocratic
4. Assault upon class base of society	4. Reliance upon old elites with admixture of 'new-men'	4. Preservation of power and privilege of established elites
5. New State: collectivist	5. Corporatist order. Downgrading of Parliament	5. Preservation of Constitutional order or royal-military dictatorship
6. Partymilitia-cadres which downgrades military or politicizes it	6. Paramilitarization, esp. reliance upon ex-soldiers' organizations	6. Precedence of Army with occasional paramilitarization

In a conclusion apposite to this typology, Linz argued:

> ... the ideological ambiguities of fascism as an anti-movement and its incorporation of a variety of ideological strands into ... a new synthesis made it possible for ... competitors to include fascist ideas and organizational patterns into their own political appeal ... [19]

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[18] This paradigm relies on Payne's discussion, op.cit., pp. 14–21. For reasons of consistency elsewhere, I have altered 'Radical Right' to 'Extreme Right'.

Fascist movements and regimes also contributed through practice to subsequent academic confusion. Sternhell added:

> ... thrown to the right by their hatred of class politics which their organic nationalism rejected, the fascists found themselves as a logical result of the conflict with the Left, driven into opportunist alliances which distorted their image, diluted their radicalism and reinforced their anti-marxism to the detriment of their nationalist collectivism ... [their] ... revolutionary potential largely nullified by the left–right dichotomy in which they were trapped ... [20]

Nonetheless, fascism often broke these constraints. This Thesis would adopt therefore Payne's paradigm for many of the forces of the inter-war Right:[21]

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[19] J.J. Linz, "Political Space And Fascism As A Late-Comer: Conditions Conducive To The Success And Failure Of Fascism As A Mass Movement In Inter-War Europe", in S. Larsen, B. Hagtvet,   J. Myklebust, op.cit., p. 153.

[20] Z. Sternhell, "Fascist Ideology", in Walter Lacquer, op.cit., p. 383.

[21] Stanley Payne, op.cit., pp. 16–17; again substitute 'Extreme Right' for Payne's 'Radical Right'.

Table 1.2   Three Faces of Authoritarian Nationalism

Country	Fascists	Extreme Right	Conservative Right
Germany	NSDAP	Hugenburg, Papen, Stahlhelm	Hindenburg, Brüning, Schleicher, Wirtrschaftpartei, etc.
Italy	PNF	ANI	Sonnino, Salandra
Austria	NSDAP	Heimwehren	Christian Socials, Fatherland Front
Belgium	late Rex, late VNV, Légion Nationale	Verdinaso	early Rex, early VNV
Estonia		Veterans' League	Päts
Finland	Lapua/KL	Acad.Karelia Society	Mannerheim?
France	Faisceau; Francistes, PPF, RNP	AF, Jeunesses Pat., Solidarité Française	Croix de Feu; Vichy
Hungary	Arrow Cross, National Socialists	"Right Radicals"	Horthy, National Union Party
Japan	Nat'l Soc/some "Imperial Way"	"Japanists", some "Control"	Konoye/RAA
Latvia	Thunder Cross		Ulmanis
Lithuania	Iron Wolf	Tautininkai	Smetona
Mexico	Silver Shirts	Cristeros/Sinarquistas	PRI
Poland	Falanga, OZN	National Radicals	Pilsudski, BBWR
Portugal	Nat'l Syndicalists	Integralists	Salazar/UN
Romania	Iron Guard	National Christians	Carolists, Manoilescu
South Africa	Gray Shirts	Ossewa-Brandwag	National Union
Spain	Falange	Carlists, Renovación Espanola	CEDA

Yugoslavia	Ustasa, Zbor	Orjuna	Alexander, Stojadinovic

Upon Payne's logic, this Thesis imposes a paradigm upon the Australian Right:

Table 1.3   The Inter-War Australian Right

Fascist	Extreme Right	Conservative Right
<with strict qualification: potential more than actuality in some cases>	New Guard–Centre Party	Constitutional Association; British Empire Union; King and Empire Alliance; Essential Service Volunteers; Citizens' Defence Brigade; Queensland Vigilantes; X Force; White Army; Australian Fascists; Old Guard; League of National Security; Sane Democracy League; Who's For Australia League; All For Australia League; Emergency Committee of South Australia; Khaki Legion; Civic Patrol.
Individual ideological Fascists[22]	Citizens' League of South Australia	
Publicist magazine/Australia First Movement	Social Credit Movement	
Literary Radical Nationalists		
Lang Labor Party	Some members of the League of National Security/All For Australia League	

(Ethnic-based fascist organizations excluded.)

Surprisingly, Australian researchers have neither developed a paradigmatic classification of the inter-war Right nor updated analysis through the developing scholarship of fascism.

There is an overwhelming case that much of the inter-war Right was <u>derivative</u> not only of Australia's subservience to British-Imperial cultural–political norms and requirements, but because of direct implantation of methods to safeguard the Anglo–Australian connection

from bolshevistic destabilization. The strike-breaking, essential-services' protective groups and secret militias of the 1920's were directly inspired by organisations like the 'British Fascisti'. Thurlow wrote of these 'Fascisti':

> ... a supposed imitation of Mussolini's example ... in reality it was little more than 'conservatism with knobs on' ... Its immediate origins have to be seen as mainly an ultra-conservative response to the social consequences of the Great War ... it was almost exclusively ... supporters of the 'Die Hard Conservatives' ... The diehards were opposed to the rise of a socialist Labor Party and militant trades unionism which they saw as a revolutionary threat ... the British Fascisti proved ... a defence force and strike-breaking organization.[23]

The British Fascisti were creatures also of British security services which were keen to develop a national emergency reserve.[24] The Australian Fascists also formed under Fascisti inspiration.[25] The White Guard, X Force and Citizens' Defence Brigade had a similar purpose. Secret armed organizations were planned from 1917 and appeared immediately after the War, but the nervous imperial–capitalism of the 1920's preferred to operate through 'reserve' forces and munificently funded patriotic-Constitutional leagues and returned servicemen's organizations.

This changed in the Depression, because of de facto challenges to Empire from Jack Lang's Labor populism and the revolutionary Left. The Right responded through the Old Guard (The Country), the League of National Security (White Army) and the Emergency

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[22] Richard Glover, "The Millionaire Professor Who Lived In A $25 Room", Sydney Morning Herald, October 23 1989, pp. 1, 11 – an account of University of Newcastle Professor of French, Dr. Kelver Hartley who 'converted' to Fascism at the University of Paris. He played no role in any movement.
[23] Richard Thurlow, Fascism In Britain: A History 1918–1985, London, 1987, p. 24.
[24] John Hope, "Fascism And The State In Britain: The Case Of The British Fascisti 1923–31", Australian Journal Of Politics And History Vol. 39, No. 3, 1993, pp. 367–380.

Committee of South Australia. These were 'high bourgeois' forces ready to employ underhanded or violent tactics.

Andrew Moore detected certain "loyalist Anglo–Australians", the "descendants of the original colonial families" of New South Wales, became fearful of the "immoral" masses and organized the underground Old Guard, "a part of the armoury of state power", which was "difficult to disentangle from the Defence department."[26]

An incipient fascism was discerned:

> ... it existed wherever the ruling classes of embattled
> liberal democracies saw their economic and social
> order tumbling and socialist enthusiasms arising
> among the masses.[27]

Moore gave the Old Guard a fascist dimension contending their 'country-mindedness' derived of similar impulses to "Bismarckian notions of blood and soil", and reasoned Australian rural capitalists approximated those "East Elbian landowners" who helped Hitler to power. Unfortunately, this point overlooked Hitler's deceptive opportunism, the wartime political expropriation of the Junkers, and the actual theoretical origins of the Blood and Soil myth.[28]

A more careful analysis would have concluded that the Old Guard was a component of a state akin to a "limited authoritarian" regime (Horthy's Hungary, Pilsudski's Poland, and

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[25] Andrew Moore, "The 'Fascist' Cricket Tour", Sporting Traditions, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1991, pp. 164–174.

[26] Andrew Moore, "Send Lawyers, Guns And Money!: A Study Of Conservative Paramilitary Organizations In New South Wales 1930–32. Background And Sequel 1917–1952", PhD Thesis, La Trobe University, 1982, pp. 9, 10, 14, 296, 331.

[27] Andrew Moore, The Secret Army And The Premier: Conservative Paramilitary Organizations In New South Wales 1930–32, Kensington, 1989, p. 11.

[28] Andrew Moore, "The Old Guard And 'Countrymindedness' During The Great Depression", Journal Of Australian Studies, No. 27, 1990, p. 55; James Pool and Suzanne Pool, Who Financed Hitler? The Secret Funding Of Hitler's Rise To Power, London, 1978, pp. 415–491; Max Gallo, The Night Of Long Knives: Hitler's Purge Of Rohm And The SA Brownshirts, London, 1974, pp. 282–4, 293–4; Anna Bramwell, Blood And Soil: Richard Darre And Hitler's Green Party, Abbotsbrook, 1985, pp. 1–12, 201–208.

Latvia of the mid-1930's) or a "conservative or praetorian bureaucratic national regime" (Spain 1923–30 and Vargas's Brazil).[29]   Relevant to this assessment, Australian conservatives stabilized the crisis within parliamentary rule buttressed by paramilitaries and secret police. Effective parties like the Nationalist Party/United Australia Party (UAP) carried on a legitimizing electoral organization, while the Imperial Intelligence and military arrangements were other vital elements of the regime–portrait. Moreover, the ideological underpinnings of the system have received attention and here too the analysis points away from fascism:

> These belief systems did not draw any inspiration
> from Mussolini and Italian fascism but rather sprang
> from the dominant local ideology, Anglo–Australian
> conservatism.[30]

Whenever Fascism was considered worthy of emulation, it was viewed as militant conservatism. The conservative ascendency was bonded to ideological hegemony.

Cathcart argued that conservatism partitioned the political discourse into sacred/profane, constitutional/unconstitutional, educated and sane/ignorant and mad, loyal citizen/disloyal un-Australian, British/foreign-bolshevik. These values 'spoke' for the war dead and proclaimed the survivors living embodiments of patriotism.[31] This discourse was not dubbed 'fascism'. Rather, the argument appreciated conservatism's mastery of a number of key symbols which asserted Empire, patriarchy and old capital as essential characteristics of citizenship.[32]

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[29] Stanley Payne, A History Of Fascism 1914–1945, Madison, 1995, p. 408. These typologies imply – limited authoritarianis m: "preserved certain liberal and parliamentary forms", conservative–praetorian–bureaucratism: "semi-pluralist eshewing major new efforts of mobilisation".

[30] Roslyn Pesman Cooper, "'We Want A Mussolini': Views Of Fascist Italy In Australia", The Australian Journal Of Politics And History", Vol. 39, No. 3, 1993, p. 352.

[31] Michael Cathcart, Defending The National Tuckshop: Australia's Secret Army Intrigue Of 1931, Fitzroy, 1988, pp. 140–150.

[32] ibid., p. 77.

Such traditionalist ideology was hardly congruent with a palingenetic populist ultra-nationalism. Hitherto, researchers have not considered that such views are analogous to those of Payne's Conservative Right category. If the connection had been made, the dynamics of conservatism's relationship with other Depression paramilitaries of the Extreme Right would have become clearer.

The energetic resolve of conservatives such as Brudenell White and Thomas Blamey, who commanded the Victorian White Army, and the conspirators who planned a putsch against Lang, conditioned the political inter-relationship with Extreme Right forces. In South Australia also, "the extent of the over-reaction displayed", led to a commitment "to employ all the means ... legislation, the police and special constables and the weight of public opinion."[33] The Emergency Committee of South Australia (1931–2) oversaw measures to protect State supplies and public utilities against bolshevik subversion, constructing also "a coalition of rightist forces ... in the Australia-wide attack on Labor governments and the labour movement."[34]

The "high-bourgeoisie" desired order not mass mobilization and, if necessary, a constitutional putsch not revolution. They feared 'experiment' and surely recoiled at the German 'revolution of nihilism' which smashed into that country's class base in the late 1930's, overturning military elites, purging conservatives and intensifying a planned economy.[35] This unorganized Second Revolution[36] (and subsequent German Nazi and Italian Fascist practice) would have been perceived as bolshevism. Conservatives had always sought the preservation of a comprador Anglo–Australian capitalism and their resistance (as below) to late 1930's Social Credit and Australia First nationalist challenges may further imply a longstanding imperviousness to fascist or Extreme Right ideologies.

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[33] R.N. Wait, "Reactions To Demonstrations And Riots In Adelaide 1928–1932", MA. Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1973, pp. 212–213.

[34] John Lonie, "Conservatism And Class In South Australia During The Depression Years 1929–34", MA Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1973, p. 240.

[35] Hermann Rauschning, Revolution Of Nihilism: Warning To The West, New York, 1939. This aspect of Rauschning's work remains fully arguable. I do not neglect the fact some conservatives in Australia feared Russian Communism more than German National Socialism.

[36] David Schoenbaum, Hitler's Social Revolution: Class And Status In Nazi Germany, New York, 1967, pp. xx, 48, 193, 199, 245.

These men were repelled also by the Depression years' rabble-rousing adventurism of the New Guard, the Citizens' League of South Australia and fractious members of the All for Australia League and League of National Security. It is here some Australian academic opinion locates fascism, undoubtedly a more plausible proposition than hanging it on the Old Guard/White Army.

Such groups drew upon the pool of the discontented, those alienated by parliamentary weakness to deal with the Depression. Some All For Australia League (AFAL) activists questioned democracy and favoured government by commission[37] Although AFAL favoured electoral action through the Nationalist Party/UAP, its agitation in New South Wales lent lustre to the New Guard, the most studied supposed representation of Australian fascism. Moore observed the New Guard was:

> ... not part of a co-ordinated class mobilization nor
> did it constitute a fraction or power bloc within the
> ruling class ... it was merely unwanted and scorned
> ...[38]

Colonel Eric Campbell's New Guard, founded in February 1931, presented a picture of second-string leaders, middle and lower middle class urban membership, street violence and hysterical anti-socialist propaganda. Amos accepted that description, and after noting the New Guard's independence of the Old Guard and the State and its readiness to rebel for Constitutional liberty, totalled the sum to fascism.[39] Campbell's adoption of fascist rituals, his 1933 tour of Germany and Italy, and meeting with Sir Oswald Mosley, was grist to his mill.

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[37] John McCarthy, "'All For Australia': Some Right Wing Responses To The Depression In New South Wales 1929–32", <u>Journal Of The Royal Australian Historical Society</u>, Vol. 57, Pt. 2, January 1971, pp. 160–171.

[38] Andrew Moore, <u>The Secret Army</u>, p. 162; the same might be said of the AFAL/LNS members who advocated authoritarian government: Peter Loveday, "Anti Political Political Thought", in R. Cooksey (ed.), <u>The Great Depression In Australia</u>, Canberra, 1970, pp. 121–135.

Darlington agreed also, arguing the New Guard expressed the fascist minimum: a British racial definition of Australian Nationality; respect for authority, King and Empire; employed violence against the Left and the labour movement; recruited ex-soldiers; would rebel to protect the Constitution from socialism. Darlington concluded the Guard:

> ... did not even have to go through the period of
> bogus radicalism to win supporters from the Left ...
> the Right once aroused was sufficient to render such
> expediencies unnecessary[40]

Darlington added, that "this variety of world fascism"[41] favoured Nordicism, a Nazi shibboleth.[42] This marxian interpretation had fascism as an <u>agent</u> of repression <u>not</u> to be promoted into a regime, and disposable with the passing of crisis.

Moore's attribution of ruling class <u>scorn</u> can fit this model, although he was more cautious, ascribing fascism to Campbell's New Guard only in its <u>later</u> period[43] after the dismissal of Lang's government, when embittered by the callous disregard shown to it by the new UAP government and Old Guard, Campbell freely 'adopted' fascism. Some researchers observed that this 'turn' towards "fascist theatrics" did not appeal to all members, many of whom felt the Guard's purpose had been achieved with the crushing of "communist" Lang − and they returned to the conservative fold. The failure of Campbell's Centre Party in the 1935 NSW elections, represented fascism's inability to establish support.[44]

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[39] Keith Amos, <u>The New Guard Movement 1931−35</u>, Melbourne, 1976, pp. 100−114.

[40] R. Darlington, "The Social Position And Ideology Of The New Guard", BA(Hons) Thesis, Macquarie University, 1975, p. 6.

[41] ibid., p. 4.

[42] R. Darlington, <u>Eric Campbell And The New Guard</u>, Kenthurst, 1983, p. 31 (This reference could have been drawn from Lothrop Stoddart's work. See Section 4).

[43] Andrew Moore, <u>The Right Road?: A History Of Right-Wing Politics In Australia</u>, Melbourne, 1995, p. 45.

[44] S. Reid, "The New Guard In Decline: Eric Campbell And The Centre Party", BA(Hons) Thesis, Macquarie University, 1980, pp. 20, 34−5, 38, 44, 51−62. Also: Keith Richmond, "The New Road To Salvation: Eric Campbell And The Centre Party", <u>Journal Of The Royal Australian Historical Society</u>, Vol. 66, Pt. 3, December 1980, pp. 184−195.

The cautioning research of Payne, Linz and Blinkhorn when applied to Australia would counsel for the New Guard's placement in the Extreme Right category.

Although possessed of some independence of the ruling class it would still be connected by an umbilical chord of sentiments and purposes. Indeed, during the New Guard's heyday (February 1931–June 1932) it never concerned itself with cultivating a cross-class membership; its name suggested a development from the Old Guard; its declaration of principles was similar to the Old Guard. In his The Rallying Point: My Story Of The New Guard, Campbell painted a convincing picture of upright loyalists fighting the socialist tiger. Campbell was defending Old Guard territory with vociferous passion.[45]

His 1934 manifesto The New Road was a programme for the protection of the imperial outpost. With an imported prince as governor-general, it would have a modern government of experts within a corporate state. The document, with its assertion of the virtue and leadership abilities of the 'best families' in NSW, reeked of contempt for the working class[46], revealing Campbell as no demagogic Hitler or Mussolini.

Parallel foreign examples favour this revision. First, the Austrian Heimwehr of Prince Starhemberg was a patriotic paramilitarized organization with middle–lower middle class cadres. During the Depression it employed violence against the Left. Mistrusted by the "Christian–Social" conservatives it was absorbed (1934) into the "Fatherland Party" of the "Christian Corporate State".[47] Second, Colonel O'Duffy's Irish Blue Shirts arose in response to a specific crisis in Irish agricultural trade (1932–3). A substantial farmers'/ex-soldiers' movement was constructed which clashed violently with the Left. With the crisis overcome, conservatives sought the reintegration of the Blue Shirts into the Fianna Fail

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[45] Eric Campbell, The Rallying Point: My Story Of The New Guard, Melbourne, 1965, passim. Campbell also mentioned the joking adoption of fascist ritual 1931–2 (op.cit., pp. 137–8) While an 'afterthought' Campbell also considered he was conservative rather than fascist, op.cit., p. 129. Also: Phyllis Mitchell, "Australian Patriots: A Study Of The New Guard", Australian Economic History Review, Vol. 9, No. 2, September 1969, pp. 156–179, asserted the Guard was throughout a creature of Anglo–Australian conservatism.
[46] Eric Campbell, The New Road, Sydney, 1934.
[47] Jill Lewis, "Conservatives And Fascists In Austria", in Martin Blinkhorn (ed.), op.cit., pp. 98–117. The heavily working class NSDAP opposed both Heimwehr and State.

party. O'Duffy carried on with a 'Corporate State Party' which collapsed in 1935.[48] In both cases the 'independence' of the Extreme Right was curtailed by conservatives who stood close to the levers of state power. With firmness and expressed common beliefs, the Extreme Right could be demobilized. The Australian cases implied a similar dynamic. Certainly, Campbell's progressive appropriations of fascist externalia (and title) caused concern to the conservative class wary of any demagogic assault. Significantly, the Emergency Committee had previously dealt with E.D.A. Bagot's Citizens' League, one member quipping: "We started the Emergency Committee to control Bagot."[49] His policy for the superseding of Parliament with government-by-commission sounded dangerous, and his 20,000 middle/lower-middle class followers made loud noises for their place in the imperial sun. When the Emergency Committee disbanded in 1932 (along with the White Army and Old Guard) it had marginalized the bumptious Bagot.[50] His movement disintegrated in 1934. Campbell also found ruling class doors closed (if indeed they were ever open) after 1932. His movement was marginalized and possessed no mass-mobilizing strategy. Regardless of Campbell's 'independence', he was revealed as an expendable fireman for capitalism.

A final defence of 'New Guard fascism' lies in substitutionism. Alder concluded it "did fulfil all the requirements of the fascism minimum"[51] and considered it qualitatively different to Old Guard conservatism, but reasoned it idiosyncratic throughout its life:

> ... it differed from the essential European model in
> one important respect; whereas most European
> fascisms had very definite origins in a form of anti-
> Marxist socialism − national socialism − the New
> Guard developed out of a tradition of purely

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[48] Maurice Manning, "The Irish Experience: The Blue Shirts", in S. Larsen, B. Hagtvet, J. Myklebust (eds.), op.cit., pp. 557−567; Mike Cronin, "The Blue Shirt Movement 1932−5: Ireland's Fascists?", Journal of Contemporary History, Vol. 30, No. 2, April 1995, pp. 317, 320, 329−30.

[49] John Lonie, op.cit., p. 248.

[50] Stephen James, "The Big Hand Of Service: The Citizens' League Of South Australia 1930−34", BA(Hons) Thesis, University of Melbourne, 1982, pp. 75−78.

[51] Baron Alder, "More Dangerous Than All The Communists In Australia: A Study Of The Ideology Of The New Guard Movement", BA(Hons) Thesis, University of Sydney, 1991, pp. 61−62.

conservative pro-capitalist paramilitarism ... the
fascism of the New Guard by-passed the left−fascist
stage ... [of] European fascisms ... [52]

Australian exceptionalism would be remarkable since fascism was a radical mobilization against the ruling classes of countries where it appeared, and the processes of populist agitation were mandatory. Further: fascism cannot be reduced to paramilitarism either. In any case, Australian paramilitaries did not reflect the nihilist violence either of the 'heralds of the SA', the Freikorps[53] − or the Italian Squadristi. Alder's position was also undermined by an insight into Labor's populist−nationalism as:

... a potential basis for the development of an
Australian fascism from orthodox ... national
socialist−origins. New Guard imperial nationalism is
significant ... [because] ... it failed to consider, or at
least considered unfavourably, a peculiarly
Australian fascist ideological heritage.[54]

Such a native-fascist discourse was never an option. The New Guard had fought Labor populism. To assault finance and monopoly capitalism would have meant a break from Empire, rejection of a 'service' role, rejection of the formula, 'proletarian−nationalism−equals−bolshevism' and a struggle against the very system it defended. It would have been as decisive a metamorphosis as Hitler's break from anti-Entente generals, secret Reichwehrs and Bavarian conservatives in 1923−4. The monarchist New Guard with its 'loyal' support for deflation, sane finance, 'National Debt non-repudiation' and the virtues of British constitutionalism was essentially too bourgeois for fascism.

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[52] ibid. pp. 2−3, 35.
[53] Robert C. Waite, Vanguard Of Nazism: The Freikorps Movement In Post-War Germany, 1918−23, New York, 1969, pp. 22−30, 40−57, for the philosophy of this movement. Keith Amos, op.cit., p. 110, considered New Guard paramilitarism and the Freikorps political soldiers similar phenomena, which was a source of error.
[54] Baron Alder, op.cit., p. 56.

Moore's ultimate attempt at substitutionism:

> ... imperial patriotism was in large measure the
> Australian equivalent to the ultra–nationalism that
> fired the fascist experience in Europe in the 1930's[55]
> –

requires that we accept that a philosophy of submission, centred on loyalty to an entity with counter-interests to Australian independence may be equated with the ideology of palingenesis. While Souter has argued that Australians developed before 1914, a dualistic concept of nationality[56], and defended this syncretism aggressively, it is clear that inter-War imperial-patriotism posed a block to fascist mobilization. It provided the image of strength in Australia that was not congruent with the situation, for example, in Germany, where a Treaty of Versailles dictated weakness had invited 'National Revolution' from the Right.

Imperial-patriotism offered a 'counter-myth' to ultra-nationalism, the illusion of participation in an Anglo–Saxon commonwealth. It articulated fear, the bourgeois desire to cling to conformist principle, to possess what was already held, against bolshevist robbery. It promised good citizenship not a New Man. Whether in its White Army, Old Guard, New Guard or Citizens' League guises, imperial patriotism cannot be understood as substituting for the essential fascist minimum.

Moore has labelled the 'country-minded' Old Guard "proto-fascist"[57] and with his division between 'early' and 'late' New Guard, located his "mature form of Australian fascism"[58] accordingly. Both the early New Guard and the Old Guard signified mature imperial-patriotism, each proto-fascist by that definition, whatever their differences. Upon Moore's

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[55] Andrew Moore, <u>The Right Road?</u>, p. 18.
[56] Gavin Souter, <u>Lion And Kangaroo 1901–1919: The Rise Of A Nation</u>, Sydney, 1978, pp. 109–134, 155–167, 307–8.
[57] Andrew Moore, "The 'Fascist' Cricket Tour", p. 171.

marxian position there was no reason for a fascist experiment after 1932 as the political crisis of capitalism had passed. Further theoretical agonizing over the relationship of the ruling class, imperial ideology, and fascist organization, can be resolved if the New Guard is fitted into the Extreme Right category. Finally, therefore, the various cases for the existence of Australian fascism, can be dismissed.

The period 1919–1935 matured the Anglo-Australian comprador class, its 'bunyip' sobriquet removed and its modernization achieved. Its 1920's reserve-forces were augmented and streamlined into sizeable, clandestine forces generally concealed from public view.

Conservatives had set the agenda of Australian politics and imposed an imperial-myth as ideological-hegemonic justification. In defusing Left and Labor populist challenges, conservatives revealed flexibility. They worked behind Constitutionalist educational-propaganda groups, such as the Sane Democracy League which preached industrial peace and union democracy;[59] they allowed the Extreme Right to organize an aggressive array of 'reformers' and paramilitaries, but successfully demobilized them into the UAP regime. The conservatives developed the military–naval intelligence apparatus (which lurked behind the secret armies of the 1920's[60] and 1930's) and the Commonwealth Investigation Branch until it was a power capable of extensive internal surveillance[61], linked through to British security services, a major modernizing achievement pregnant with future dealings between the State and the Right. The inter-war ruling class may have trembled at the prospect of a 'communist revolution' but it did not court fascism. Judging from its firmness towards the Extreme Right, we may safely conclude it would have crushed or truncated organized

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[58] ibid., p. 164. Moore also wrote: " ... (it) ... failed to develop a thoroughgoing anti-capitalist critique. It was thus never a Nationalist Socialist formation ... " (The Right Road?, p. 45), showing he also differentiated 'Fascism' and 'National Socialism', upon the erroneous basis of 'anti-capitalism'.

[59] Chris Priday, "Sane Democracy In New South Wales 1920–1940", BA(Hons) Thesis, Macquarie University, 1975, pp. 5, 12, 15, 22.

[60] Andrew Moore, "Guns Across The Yarra: Secret Armies And The 1923 Melbourne Police Strike", in Australian Society For The Study Of Labour History, What Rough Beast And Social Order In Australian History, Sydney, 1982, pp. 220–233, for links between 'prominent citizens', Intelligence, secret reserve forces.

[61] Frank Cain, The Origins Of Political Surveillance In Australia, Melbourne, 1983, pp. 89–91, 188–227.

fascism just as Romanian conservatives did to the Iron Guard. It became by increments, a class possessed of confidence and power.

3.   THE IRRELEVANCE OF 'INTRUSIVE FASCISM' TO THE AUSTRALIAN RIGHT

Australia hosted the activities of foreign fascists. From 1920, there was an increase in Italian immigration. After 1922, Consular officials established branches of the Fascist Party. One senior Fascist described the purpose of Fascist organization:

> ... [Italians] ... should become models of industriousness and patriotism to the eyes of foreigners ... not by renouncing Italian citizenship and by becoming assimilated into the Australian environment which was a shameful decision, but by conserving their national heritage.[62]

Given public preoccupations with subversion and preservation of British identity, separatism appeared stereotypically Southern-European. Migrant clubs and fascist education facilities incited frictions.[63] No substantial contacts eventuated between Italian Fascists and the Australian Right, and the odd overlap (such as the career of Sir Raphael Cilento)[64] suggests little cross-fertilization.

British Fascism also appeared, with sections of both the 'British Fascists' and Mosley's British Union of Fascists being founded. Such groups achieved nothing and contributed little to the native scene.[65]

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[62] Gianfranco Cresciani, Fascism, Anti-Fascism And Italians In Australia, Canberra, 1980, p. 26.
[63] Ross Laurie, "'Not A Matter Of Taste But A Sound Racial Instinct': Race Relations In Australia In The 1920s. Racial Ideology And The Popular Press", MA Thesis, Griffith University, 1989, pp. 63–70.
[64] AA CRS A6119/2 Item 229 (Sir Raphael Cilento).

German Nazis excited more interest through the energetic labours of German Consul, Dr Rudolf Asmis. A few hundred 'Reichsdeutsch' enjoyed membership of the NSDAP and sub-organizations[66] but the exclusivity of Nazi 'racial ideology' and a narrowly focussed ethnic separatism made contact with the Australian Right difficult and probably encouraged a local suspicion.[67] The size of the Australian–German population precluded a structure like the 'German–American Bund', which despite its separatism did operate a cynical policy towards the American Right.[68] Yet no effort at inculcating Anglophobia amongst Australians was made either.

The German Nazi view of Australia was essentially imperial and colonial; expressed with asperity, it would have shocked the neo-nazis described in later chapters.[69] Australia was seen as a "graveyard' of German blood, the assimilationist pull of the "Anglo–Saxons" too strong. The intention was to preserve German enclaves.[70] During wartime, the German government was advised to attempt rescue of German stock from a Japanese occupation, either by Tasmanian resettlement or transfer to the Russian Eastern Territories.[71] Other Australians would be left to the mercy of Occupation. In the final days of his Reich, Hitler expressed his contempt for Australia.[72]

[65] AA CRS D1915 Item SA 19070 (British Union Of Fascists And Australian Fascist Movement).

[66] John Perkins, "The Swastika Down Under: Nazi Activities In Australia 1933–39", Journal Of Contemporary History, Vol. 26, 1991, p. 112; G. Kinne, "Nazi Strategems And Their Effects On Germans In Australia Up To 1945", Journal Of The Royal Australian Historical Society, Vol. 66, Pt. 1, June 1980, p. 6.

[67] Jurgen Tampke and Colin Doxford, Australia Willkommen, Kensington, 1990, pp. 228–230 records Asmis's minor dealings with Colonel Campbell, some 'Australia Firsters' and others. Also: John Perkins, loc.cit., pp. 114–5.

[68] Sander A. Diamond, The Nazi Movement In The United States 1924–42, Ithaca, 1974, pp. 165–76, 193–7, 315–323.

[69] Neo-nazis have denied the facts of German Nazi policy towards Australia. See: Peter Coleman, letter, undated. The author refers to conversation with neo-nazis in Chapters Six and Ten. John Perkins, "An Old Style Imperialist As National Socialist: Consul-General Dr. Rudolf Asmis (1879–1945?)", in John Milfull (ed.), The Attractions Of Fascism: Social Psychology And Aesthetics Of The 'Triumph Of The Right', New York, 1990, pp. 293, 297, 300.

[70] Tim Burmeister, "National Socialism In Australia 1933–39", BA(Hons) Thesis, Melbourne University, 1981, pp. 34, 36–37.

[71] John Perkins, "Dr Rudolf Asmis And The 'Rescue Of Deutschtum' In Australia In the 1930s", Journal Of The Royal Australian Historical Society, Vol. 73, Pt. 4, April 1988, pp. 307–309.

[72] Francois Genoud (ed.), The Testament Of Adolf Hitler: The Hitler–Bormann Documents February–April 1945 (2nd edition), London, 1962, p. 55.

Some other fascistic groups achieved implantation − such as Russian groups connected to the emigre diaspora − but their ethnic power base was weaker than German or Italian efforts.[73]

The internationally-connected fascist groups were considered as national security dangers from the late 1930's, and surveillance was imposed, pending mass war-time internments.[74] Howsoever sections of the native Right perceived the fascist phenomenon, local offshoots provided scarce inspiration. The Right followed its own courses mapped by Australian considerations. The environment after 1945 would contrast sharply with this isolationism, with foreign anti-communists big players in the Right.

4.   PROTO-FASCISM AND NATIVE FASCISM 1890−1942

Proto-fascism has two meanings: movements or ideologies extant prior to 1914 which were progenitors of fascism, and intellectual currents or Extreme Right forces capable of radicalization into fascism. Griffin argued:

> Fascist political myth is unable to become a nucleus
> of extra-systemic political energies ... unless the
> forces of secularism and pluralism have already
> taken root there and given rise to either (i) currents
> of non-fascist ultra-nationalism which palingenetic
> mythopoeia can turn into components of
> revolutionary ideology or (ii) indigenous or foreign
> examples of fascism to draw on.[75]

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[73] Professor John Perkins, University of New South Wales, discussion with author partly concerning Russian fascism, February 1996. Further inquiry for this Thesis was not warranted.
[74] Frank Cain, op.cit., pp. 258−266.
[75] Roger Griffin, The Nature Of Fascism, p. 208; also confirmed by Stanley Payne, A History Of Fascism 1914−1945, pp. 487−490, who refers to 'national' socialist and ultra-nationalist outbreaks prior to fascist organization.

While a substantial literature has examined Anglo-conservative paramilitarism and the activities of foreign fascists, there has been less discussion of the trends conducive to the weaker phenomenon – native fascism.[76]

Although Australia should not be considered so exceptional that pre-1914 proto-fascism cannot be identified, caution and qualification are warranted. Australia was a colonial, derivative society developing a native-identity amidst the imperial overlay. It was 'younger' than Europe with the optimism of colonial societies which restricts the despairing self-criticism the palingenetic myth may pretend to cure. Nonetheless, various trends of cultural pessimism, racial and radical nationalism and 'national' socialism were features of Australian politics prior to 1914 which continued to fester thereafter.

One aspect of colonial optimism lends itself to 'palingenetic mythopoeia'. Eatwell divided palingenetic mythology into two positions: national-rebirth through reference to an idealized past or the break from the present towards a new form of Nation, which renews a 'race', a 'civilization' on a 'higher' plane.[77] This Thesis shall identify statements of this position which could have drawn upon particular 'optimistic' nationalists of the 1890–1914 period.

While some fascists will be identified for the late 1930's, Australian fascism was abortive. Caution will be exercised in affixing labels to 1930's political phenomena. Generally, proto-fascism is being discussed, not the delivered article. This Thesis observes the weakness of fascism flowed from the problem inherent in its mobilization: the 'fight for space' within a conservative order with defined opposition.

(a)   Cultural Pessimism

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[76] Baron Alder, op.cit., pp. 2, 3, 35, 56; Humphrey McQueen, A New Britannia: An Argument Concerning The Social Origins Of Australian Radicalism And Nationalism, Ringwood, 1970, pp. 101–116; Andrew Moore, The Right Road?, p. 4 on racist Australian Socialism, p. 11 redirects his attention to British-derived conservatism; the analysis of Percy Stephensen's fascism is defective or incomplete (as below).

[77] Roger Eatwell, "Towards A New Model Of Generic Fascism", pp. 172–3.

German pessimism was described by Stern as a retaliation <u>against</u> modernity from older social groups stressed by the effects of industrialization, proletarianization, materialism and positivism. With Moeller van den Bruck came the call for a youth revolution to revise bourgeois values.[78] However, Moeller van den Bruck represented subsequently a 1920's school of German fascism noted for its cult of technological modernity and hatred of the reactionary past.[79] Sternhell observed a 'fin de siecle' cultural malaise that spawned vitalist philosophy, 'Nietzscheanism', and then, revolutionary syndicalism and integral-nationalism. A chance at 'renewal' might follow the apocalypse of the European bourgeois order.[80] The 'pessimist' Oswald Spengler opined:

> Men are tired to disgust of money economy. They
> hope for salvation from somewhere ... for some real
> thing of honour and chivalry ... [81]

Spengler's Nietzschean despair of bourgeois nihilism foretold a re-invigoration of European power by Caesarist politics, the overflow of Money by Blood.[82]

Nietzsche had his influential Australian devotees. Spanning the period 1900–1940 were Norman Lindsay and William Baylebridge. Lindsay's Nietzscheanism led to the Olympian-aristocratic disdain of the artist for activist politics; Baylebridge's poetic Nietzscheanism demanded political fulfilment and finally found a home in Percy Stephensen's nationalist movement.

Lindsay considered himself part of a constellation of Australian patriots. He drew for Frank Anstey's labour paper, <u>Tocsin</u>,[83] and for <u>Lone Hand</u>, an ultra-nationalist offshoot of <u>The Bulletin</u>, edited by (Sir) Frank Fox. Lindsay painted 'My Army, Oh My Army'

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[78] Fritz Stern, <u>The Politics Of Cultural Despair: The Rise Of The German Ideology</u>, Berkeley, 1961, pp. xvi, 31, 61, 118, 178, 194, 224–6.
[79] Roger Griffin (ed.), <u>Fascism</u>, pp. 105–6.
[80] Zeen Sternhell, "The Ideology Of Fascism", in Walter Lacquer (ed.), op.cit., pp. 325–406.
[81] Oswald Spengler, <u>The Decline Of The West Vol. 2</u>, New York, 1939, p. 464.
[82] ibid., pp. 450–508.
[83] Brian Nugent, "Frank Anstey In Victorian Politics", MA(Hons) Thesis, University of New England, 1973, pp. 107–8. <u>Tocsin</u> also published Henry Lawson and Bernand O'Dowd.

(1915), a revolutionary storming-of-the-barricades featuring the faces of Henry Lawson, Rod Quinn, Henry Boote (editor of The Worker) and A.G. Stephens of The Bulletin's "Red Page".[84] Lindsay did not look backwards but optimistically forwards, reasoning Australia "could become the centre of a great renaissance which would rejuvenate western culture."[85]

The Great War's imperialist savagry shook the destiny of the fragile nation. When chaos produced Bolshevism, Lindsay perceived the "savage" in revolt against civilization,[86] his terms similar to Lothrop Stoddard's The Revolt Against Civilization, a work which exercised influence over the 1920's racial concerns of The Bulletin, The Worker and the RSL.[87] Lindsay decried "the abnormal activity of the savage as expressed in the spirit of commercialism", and he warned indifferent Australia of the challenge of the "Eastern" races.[88] Spengler's The Hour Of Decision also addressed these themes.[89] Lindsay retained these ideas in later life. When he predicted his Australian pagan "heroic man" would be pitted in the "eternal conflict principle of the white western peoples and the yellow Asiatics"[90], he showed his lifetime seduction by Spenglerian myth. In the 1920's and 1930's, Lindsay directly, and through his son Jack, cultivated another Nietzschean – Stephensen – and encouraged his publishing ventures.

Stephensen managed to sum up Baylebridge's long career:

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[84] Jane Bloomfield, conversation with author, 1997. An expert on Lindsay, she described this illustration as a cover for a Lawson volume. The 'connection' would have implied some sort of political–cultural vanguardism.
[85] John Hetherington, Norman Lindsay: The Embattled Olympian, Melbourne, 1973, p. 106.
[86] Norman Lindsay, Creative Effort: An Essay In Affirmation, London, 1924, pp. 71, 45–47; Norman Lindsay, The Inevitable Future, University of Sydney RB, pp. 22, 25.
[87] Lothrop Stoddard, The Revolt Against Civilization, London, 1922, had patrician disdain (i.e. non-fascist) of the lower classes but his racial anti-bolshevik views had influence. Ross Laurie, op.cit., pp. 45, 66–70.
[88] Norman Lindsay, The Inevitable Future, pp. 22, 37.
[89] Oswald Spengler, The Hour Of Decision: Part One German And World Historical Revolution, London, 1961, pp. 3, 60–64, 81, 170, 176, 202–204, 230.
[90] Norman Lindsay, The Scribblings Of An Idle Mind, MSS, Springwood, 1964, pp. 93, 162–4.

> For thirty years the poems of William Baylebridge
>
> have been eagerly sought by devotees of literary
>
> culture[91]

This Queensland philosophe drew upon 'eternal recurrence' to hypothesize the revitalization of Australia by a 'New Man':

> Weary not, O 'Ye living, that the deathless in you
>
> bring the seed of life to its richest flower. Who
>
> sleeps till his resurrection has none. Sacrifice O 'Ye
>
> living to the resurrection![92]

Baylebridge's dissatisfaction with the ante-bellum world appeared in "The Forward Vision". This poem shared with The Futurist Manifesto the commitments to technology, redemptive violence, contempt for the feminine and restless dynamism, all suggestive of proto-fascism.

In 1932, Baylebridge's poetry won Stephensen's interest and his transition to native fascism was soon complete. Baylebridge grasped the fascist myth:

> It is not because a people comes to believe that it falls
>
> into decadence; it is because it is in decay that having
>
> foresaken the once-fertile dream of its ancestors, it
>
> has not replaced this by a new dream, equally or
>
> more creatively of energy ... By exacting energy, we
>
> would exclude decadence ... [93]

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[91] P.R. Stephensen "This Vital Flesh", The Publicist, No. 44, February 1 1940, p. 4.
[92] William Baylebridge, "Life's Testament vii", in This Vital Flesh: Memorial Edition, Sydney, 1961, p. 56.
[93] William Baylebridge, "New Nationalism", ibid., p. 148.

Baylebridge addressed declining birth rates, national eugenics policy and war with Asian nations, themes popular on the international Right.[94] He visualized the ANZAC fighting man the standard bearer of a State which could refine the Nation.[95] Here, Noel Macainsh suggested the 'ideals' of warrior-nationality and statecraft were principles similar to German 'Conservative Revolution'.[96] Baylebridge's reworking of Shaw's Nietzschean Man and Superman for a critique of 'liberal man' was also portentious, as Shaw was a direct inspiration for Mosley's fascism.[97]

The discursive interlinkage of Australia's prophets of 'anti-decadence' addressed the fear that 'young-Australia' was prone to cultural lethargy and smugness, ideas which appeared in Henry Lawson.[98] The 'problems' of native-identity required intellectual articulation. It would be Stephensen who drew together the strands.

(b)   Racial And Radical Nationalism

Nineteenth century Australian racism, inclusive of the Anti-Chinese League, miners' riots and strike actions, has been exhaustively studied.[99] Fused with a national-ideal, it "supplied an identity and ... future ... similar in form to socialism but far more palatable ...".[100] Australian Nationalism contained a:

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[94] Oswald Spengler, The Hour Of Decision, pp. 222–4; Robert O. Paxton, Vichy France: Old Guard New Order 1940–44, London, 1972, pp. 165–8, for the birth rates obsession.

[95] William Baylebridge, An ANZAC Muster, Sydney, 1922, passim.

[96] Noel Macainsh, Nietzsche In Australia: A Literary Inquiry Into A Nationalistic Ideology, Munich, 1975, pp. 107–110, 133–4.

[97] ibid., pp. 111–114; Richard Thurlow, op.cit., pp. 18–19, 43, 156, for Mosley's debt to Shaw. For Nietzsche's influence on various 'schools' of German fascism, see: Steven E. Ascheim, The Nietzsche Legacy In Germany 1890–1990, Berkeley, 1992, pp. 192–200. Nietzsche has a continuing influence on European 'neo-fascism': "La Religion De L'Europe", Elements, No. 36, Autumn 1980, pp. 5–20; "Nietzsche Ou Socrates?" Elements, No. 45, Spring 1983, pp. 15–20. Elements was the influential journal of the 'Nouvelle Droit'.

[98] Henry Lawson, "Australian Peril", A Fantasy Of Man: Henry Lawson Complete Works 1901–1922, Sydney, 1984, pp. 245–6.

[99] For negative criticism of Australian racial activism: Raymond Evans, Kay Saunders, Kathryn Cronin, Race Relations In Colonial Queensland: A History Of Exclusion, Exploitation And Extermination, Brisbane 1988; Andrew Markus, Fear And Hatred: Purifying Australia And California 1850–1901, Sydney, 1979.

[100] David Lovell, "Australian Socialism To 1917; A Study Of The Relations Between Socialism And Nationalism", Australian Journal Of Politics And History, Vol. 40, Special Issue 1994, p. 152.

... reaction against imperialism and the belief in the

possibility of creating the good society ... [101]

Rightist visions of the Australian future appeared in tripartite division amongst: "the radicals, the middle class nativist moderates and the Anglo−Australian loyalists..."[102] The former category with its republicanism, bush-socialist references and militancy was epitomized by Lawson. His close personal relationship with The Bulletin's nationalist−cultural propagandizing proclaimed his centrality.[103] The Bulletin's failure to make republicans out of the moderate Australian Natives' Association (ANA) and the radicals' pre-Federation defeats did not mean the 1890's would not become 'Legend'. Lawson's conscious mythmaking (and ultimate personal collapse) also had the substance of later palingenetic use. Failure (like the 'failures' of Irish Republicanism), may inspire action.

Lawson's programme, "one of the many varieties of fascism", [104] was redolent of the logic of populist ultra-nationalism.

Lawson believed the nation was under Asian threat: "All unprovided and unprepared the Outpost of the White",[105] "While not five thousand miles away, the yellow millions pant for breath".[106] It was a new nation not a transplantation: "They think we are a careless race − a childish race and weak; They'll know us yet in England, when the bush begins to speak":[107] in a land of freedom: "The world shall yet be a wider world ... East and North shall the wrongs be hurled that followed us South and West."[108] The British Empire would lose Australia, the gains of progress taken by an independent republic:

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[101] Robin Gollan, Radical And Working-Class Politics: A Study Of Eastern Australia, Melbourne,   p. 112.

[102] C.S. Blackton, "Australian Nationality And Nationalism 1850−1900", Historical Studies Australia And New Zealand, No. 36, May 1961, p. 352.

[103] Alisa G. Zainudin, "The Bulletin And Australian Nationalism", MA Thesis, Canberra University College, 1953.

[104] Humphrey McQueen, op.cit., p. 104.

[105] Henry Lawson, "For Australia", op.cit., pp. 244−5.

[106] Henry Lawson, "To Be Amused", op.cit., pp. 269−270.

[107] Henry Lawson, "When The Bush Begins To Speak", A Campfire Yarn: Henry Lawson Collected Works 1885−1900, Sydney, 1984, p. 215.

[108] Henry Lawson, "In The Days When The World Was Wide", ibid., pp. 388−9.

> Sons of the South Arise!
>
> Sons of the South, and do
>
> Banish from under your bonny skies
>
> Those old world errors and wrongs and lies
>
> Making a hell in a Paradise
>
> That belongs to your sons and you[109]

A socialist order fuelled by "kindled eyes all blazing bright with revolution's heat"[110] would overcome "a base intrigue" of the Anglo "patriotic".[111] Lawson's nation might call upon a 'King Of Our Republic'; "a tyrant shall uplift the Nation yet", protecting it from enemies foreign and internal.[112] His New Man would have the "dreamy eyes" of the technocrat.[113]

C.H. Kirmess (Frank Fox) polemicized Lawson's perils and visions in The Australian Crisis, predicting a Japanese 'refugee invasion' of the Northern Territory, civil disorder, the Imperial stab-in-the-back and the loss of part of the Continent to Japan. A White Guard would fight:

> ... hardy pioneers who wrestled nature in the arid
>
> heat ... selectors, stockmen, miners, drovers,
>
> carriers and other bushworkers who loved the
>
> uncrowded life on the borderline of civilization.[114]

It was "Aryans" versus "Turanians" in racial struggle. Kirmess described Australia:

> under these congenial blue skies, a new Greece ... a
>
> more perfect Athens scorning slavery and conferring

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[109] Henry Lawson, "A Song Of Our Republic", ibid., p. 39.
[110] Henry Lawson, "Faces In The Street", ibid., pp. 48–50.
[111] Henry Lawson, The Patriotic League", ibid., pp. 150–1.
[112] Henry Lawson, "The King Of Our Republic", A Fantasy Of Man, p. 490.
[113] Henry Lawson, "Australian Engineers", ibid., p. 228.
[114] C.H. Kirmess, The Australian Crisis, Sydney, 1909, p. 149.

citizenship on its entire manhood and womanhood ...

a precious buckle in the white girdle of progress ...

[115]

His nationalism was morally-absolute, socially inclusive, and racial which implied some affinity with integral–nationalism.[116] However, it would 'rebirth' Indo–European civilization as young Australia's destiny.

The moderate Australian Natives' Association, founded in 1871, also favoured racial-patriotism, recruiting the likes of Higgins, Deakin, Barton and Isaacs.[117] Its civic patriotism, conditional Imperialism and broad organization gave it a place in the compromise of principles at Federation. The Association's commitment to industrial protection, immigration restriction and labour legislation helped defuse the radicals. It preached Australian Pacific intervention, naval-construction and military service.[118] The middle class structure and mass campaigning suggested loose similarities with the 'radical rightist' Italian Nationalist Association whose expansionist proto-fascist rhetoric forged a strong current in pre-war Italian politics.[119]

The various themes of Australian nationalism offered visions capable of intellectualization outside of the imperial ethos, a soup from which 'palingenetic mythopoeia' could draw inspiration and legitimization.

(c)   Non-Marxist 'National Socialism'

[115] ibid., pp. 180, 313, 335.

[116] Peter Alter, Nationalism (2nd Edition), London, 1994, pp. 26–29, for definition of Integral–Nationalism.

[117] Carlotta Ellis, "Why Does The ALP Support The White Australia Policy?" MA Thesis, University of Melbourne, 1950, pp. 35–6.

[118] Charles S. Blackton, "Australian Nationality And Nativism: The Australian Natives' Association", The Journal Of Modern History, Vol. XXX, No. 1, March 1958, pp. 37–46; C.W.K. Hammer, "The Australian Natives' Association's Part In Australian Nationalism 1871–1901", Australian National University Historical Journal, No. 4, October 1967, pp. 38–44.

Marxists have criticized the labour movement for its nationalism, false-consciousness, leader-deceivers and failure to develop a socialist outlook.[120] Contemporary Left historical criticism overlooks the viability of traditional, culturally-specific models of anti-capitalism[121] and ignores or diabolizes nationalism as a medium for change.

The Labor party was inspired by American Populism. Labor would represent the productive classes not just the proletariat, and free the nation from oppressive local and international banking capital.[122] This heritage lingered long in Labor thinking. Frank Anstey declaimed:

> Human bloodsuckers who risk neither life nor limb
> nor penny wax fat on Armageddon. They constitute
> the Money Power that bestrides all countries and
> makes all nations its slaves ... The Money Power is
> something more than Capitalism. It is its product
> but yet its master.[123]

Anstey agitated to empower the Commonwealth Bank to regulate the money supply against production.[124] A strong labour movement and party would realize a people's state. The Commonwealth would be co-operative, repudiating the old-world error of class war practised by Australia's capitalists.

Whether the populists' understanding of class, their concentration on financial reform rather than industrial re-ordering, and their abhorence of monopolist concentration and 'parasitism' implied an inferior and unscientific perspective compared to Marxism, perhaps

[119] A.J. De Grand, <u>The Italian Nationalist Association And The Rise Of Fascism</u>, Lincoln, 1978, pp. 2, 5, 13, 18, 51.

[120] Verity Burgmann, "Reactionaries And Racists: Australian Socialists And The Problem Of Racism 1887–1917", PhD Thesis, Australian National University, 1980, pp. 6, 7, 20, 38, 92.

[121] David Howell, <u>A Lost Left: Three Studies In Socialism And Nationalism</u>, Manchester 1986; particularly Connolly's Irish strategy, pp. 11, 31–38, McLean's appreciation of unique Scottish social forms, p. 216.

[122] Peter Love, "Labor And The Money Power 1890–1950: A Study Of Australian Labor Populism", MA Thesis, LaTrobe University, 1980, pp. 3–6, 10–11, 263.

[123] Frank Anstey, <u>The Kingdom Of Shylock</u>, Melbourne, 1917, p. 2.

more adaptive to pre-imperialist capitalism[125] – is <u>not</u> the point here. Rather, this ideology existed as a pervasive labour sentiment.

That populism was a component of fascism is demonstrable at a theoretical and historical level. American Populism had an organic descendent in 1930's American fascism which shared opposition to dominant elites, speculation and monopoly. Both supported the democratization of wealth and power, arguing that sovereignty, wisdom and virtue should and do, reside in the <u>People</u>.[126] American Populism was defeated in the 1890's, but Australian 'populism' had concrete legislative achievements as part of the 'National Settlement' of 1901.[127] Although revamped in the 1930's, it had to mobilize against its own party.

Labour had faith in State-directed change. Charles Pearson prophesized the State, conquered by the people, could organize the community, to guard 'White Australia' for the "Aryan".[128] Labour programmes proclaimed an enlightened nation, with its "racial purity" intact would extend the function of "State" and "Municipality" into economic management. The legendary William Spence who could not conceive of "true patriotism" as less than "racial", and the Australian as the instinctive socialist regardless of class, advocated the extension of State control.[129]

Australian labourists stayed outside of the Second International and they were not alone. 'National Socialist' parties emerged in Austria−Bohemia (1900−1914). Like Labor, their

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[124] Frank Anstey, <u>Facts And Theories Of Finance</u>, Melbourne, 1930.

[125] V.I. Lenin, <u>Imperialism The Highest Stage Of Capitalism</u>, Peking, 1969, pp. 31−72, stated the importance of finance capital to capitalist organization. Oddly this area has been ignored as a focus of analysis and propaganda by the Left − leaving theories of finance capital to the Right.

[126] Victor Ferkiss, "Populist Influences On American Fascism", <u>Western Political Quarterly</u>, June 1957, pp. 350−70; Victor Ferkiss, "Ezra Pound And American Fascism", <u>Journal Of Politics</u>, Vol. 17, May 1956, pp. 174−95; Morris Schonbach, "Native Fascism During The 1930's And 1940's; A Study Of Its Roots, Its Growth, Its Decline", PhD Thesis, University of California, 1958.

[127] Ray Markey, "Populist Politics", in Ann Curthoys and Andrew Markus (eds.), <u>Who Are Our Enemies? Racism And The Working Class In Australia</u>, Neutral Bay, 1978, p. 78.

[128] Charles Pearson, <u>National Life And Character: A Forecast</u>, London, 1894, pp. 29, 31−47, 91−2, 191.

[129] William G. Spence, <u>Australia's Awakening: Thirty Years In The Life Of An Australian Agitator</u>, Sydney, 1907, pp. 587−596. For Spence's political career: Carol Lansbury, "William Guthrie Spence", <u>Labour History</u>, No. 13. November 1967, pp. 3−10.

programmes called for class collaborationist socialism and espoused nationalism.[130] They criticized Jewish finance. Similarly, the French 'Yellows' berated finance capital, favouring the extension of property ownership, patriotism, profit-sharing and plebiscitary democracy.[131] These alternatives to Marxism were complemented by an affiliate of the International – the Victorian Socialist Party (VSP) – which wavered on internationalism and eventually developed a pro-White Australia perspective.[132] VSP official, mystic poet Bernard O'Dowd, romanticized nationalism and in the World War the VSP asserted an Asian danger.[133] Other socialist fractions wavered in a similar manner. The weakness of Marxism in the socialist groups, their attachment to alternate schools of socialism and the strong populist–nationalist atmosphere sustained by the ALP and unions suggested pre-fascist factors.

Australian socialism also possessed a latent palingenetic element, expressed most expansively by William Lane. His optimistic doctrine argued that socialism would restore "civilization", rekindle the aesthetic beauty in man, establish a new order of moral feeling.[134] A new European racial type forged of the melting of "Latin", "Teuton" and "Slav" would overturn colour blind capitalism. It would be done in revolutionary racial struggle against a traitor class.[135] Lane waited for a populist leader:

> the incarnation of the spirit of his time ... from the
> burning throbbing heart of a people ... the child of
> the centuries, the climax of all that has gone before
> ... from the people and for them ... He moulds men
> into the shape they seek.[136]

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[130] Andrew Gladding Whiteside, Austrian National Socialism Before 1918, The Hague, 1962, pp. 88–89, 100–101, 106–7.

[131] George L. Mosse, Masses And Man: Nationalist And Fascist Perceptions Of Reality, New York, 1980, pp. 119–136. The term 'National Socialist' first appeared in France. Weber, op.cit., pp. 12–13.

[132] Geoffrey C. Hewitt, "A History Of The Victorian Socialist Party 1906–1932", MA Thesis, LaTrobe University, 1974, pp. 66, 220.

[133] Graeme Osborne, "A Socialist Dilemma", in Anne Curthoys and Andrew Markus (eds), op.cit., pp. 121–6; Verity Burgmann, op.cit., pp. 166–71.

[134] William Lane, The Working Man's Paradise, Sydney, 1980, pp. 114–117; William Lane, "The Creed Of Humanity", The Worker, No. 2, April 1890, p. 2.

[135] William Lane, White Or Yellow? A Story Of Race War 1908, Brisbane, 1985.

[136] William Lane, "The Editorial Mill", The Worker, Vol. 1, No. 3, May 1890, p. 1.

Lane's Australia-centric utopianism showed in his desire to create an all-class state which organized production while reforming the character of man.[137] Lane's legacy to the labour movement was organizational, ideological – and partly legend.

Post 1918 Australian labourism did not engender a fascist variant, and found only one leader who could have moved from nationalist labourism to national socialism – Jack Lang. However, Stephensen's contemporaneous fascist judgement argued Lang was wedded to Labor's compromised parliamentary strategy.[138] Driven from office by conservative intrigue, Lang temporized with radicalism. His 1934 manifesto assailed the "financial anarchists" and Australia's dependence upon the imperial trade system while calling for "planning", National Credit and "the rehabilitation of this land we love with the spirit of a religious faith".[139]

Other Labour leaders, such as Mosley and 'Neo-Socialist' Marcel Deat, broke with their parties (1930–4) upon similar rationales. Henri De Man led the Belgian Labour movement into a technocratic vision – the 'Plan' – finally subsuming his party into fascism in 1940.[140] However, Lang for all his bluster, de facto alliances with the Social Credit party and independency, did not mount a revolutionary challenge.[141] Lang Labor in and out of government, was constrained by the State-conservative forces and Federal Labor reformist competition.

Lang's populism lacked the shock-forces paramilitarized by his enemies. The imperial-myth lured the ex-soldiers to accept the conservative appreciation of patriotism, leaving Lang's populist–nationalism devoid of any capacity for 'militarization'. Further, whilst Lang

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[137] William Lane, "Labour In Politics", The Worker, September 1890, p. 2.
[138] P.R. Stephensen, "Towards The Formation Of An Australia First Party: A Twelve Point Policy", The Publicist, No. 29, November 1938, p. 7; P.R. Stephensen, "Queen Victoria Is Dead", The Publicist, No. 8, February 1937, p. 6.
[139] Jack Lang, Why I Fight, Sydney, 1934, pp. Preface, 219, 235–238, 278, 351.
[140] Alain de Benoist, "L'Autre Visage Du Socialisme", Elements, No. 42, June–July 1982, pp. 44–5.
[141] For an overview of confluence of Money Power – National Credit And Social Credit see, Baiba Berzins, "Douglas Credit And The ALP", Labour History, No. 17, 1977, pp. 148–160; M.F. Watts, "The Labour Party Cannot Rule", The Publicist, October 1940, pp. 8–13 for Lang: "might have been Australia's heaven sent leader" broken by 'Labor's ossification' 1914–1940.

invoked labour traditions, he neither tried to revise the compromise of 1901, Labor's concession to the State, exchanged for progressive enactments, nor offered a critique of Labor's acquiescence in the rise of the conservative State and ideology.

By 1936, when Stephensen and persistent anti-British 'Rationalist' businessman W.J. Miles, founded   The Publicist, official Labor was sliding towards social democracy, although various fractious persons and the Langites, groped for an 'Australia First' position.

5.   STEPHENSEN'S FASCISM: 'AUSTRALIA FIRST' NATIONALISM

In mid–1935, just as Campbell's Centre Party was dissolving, Stephensen was writing his influential The Foundations of Culture in Australia. Stephensen's acid ate into 'Australian Fascism':

> When the Hitler minded in Australia develop a little
> more self-confidence ... to seize power, the press
> which now tacitly encourages them ... will feel the
> weight of the rubber truncheon ... for Fascism is a
> schoolbully armed. It has no intellectual pretensions,
> aims at discipline from above ... The tradition of the
> AIF will ... defend us ... should the nasty little
> plotters ever screw up the courage to the point of
> putting matters to the test.   The 'Heil Hitler'
> buncombe which goes with Fascism will be treated
> with all the contempt such preposterous saluting and
> goosestepping deserves ... [142]

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[142] P.R. Stephensen, The Foundations Of Culture In Australia : An Essay Towards National Self-Respect, Gordon, 1936, pp. 127, 132.

As a 1920's confidante of D.H. Lawrence, whose experiences of the secret army were personal, Stephensen probably possessed direct reports. His tirade against their armed bourgeois authoritarianism was certainly genuine.

Significantly, Munro understood Stephensen's ideology within the "nationalist", "isolationist", "Jack Lang" mould but argued he had a "distaste" for fascism and implied his interest grew through Miles's fascistophile influence over The Publicist and quirky, personal "Germanophilia".[143]   Another historical opinion held fascism was implicit in The Foundations, and the hypothesized 'liberal humanistic', first and second sections (which argued for Australian cultural freedom and achievement outside British influence) were not in contradistinction to the rancorously nationalist third part, composed after Stephensen met Miles.[144]

These jarring views with their uncertain defintions of fascism can be synthesized if it is argued that Stephensen was a fascist who loathed Anglo-conservatism and who found virtue and fault with the fascist regimes. His fascism was idiosyncratically Australian whatever his philosophic references and placement within international fascism.

A comparison with British fascist, A.K. Chesterton, is instructive. Chesterton pilloried the authoritarianism of old elites. He was like Stephensen – a gregarious, urbane 'rebel', hardly possessed of the stereo-typical fascist 'authoritarian personality' and notably also, he articulated an intense apprehension of ruling class, and national-cultural, decay.[145] Stephensen meantime criticized the illiberal and aggressive 'British Garrison'[146] which denigrated Australian cultural independence and opened Australia to decadence derived from internationalization.[147]

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[143] Craig Munro, Inky Stephensen: Wild Man Of Letters, St. Lucia, 1992 , pp.116–7, 187–9.

[144] Brenton Doecke, "P.R. Stephensen, Fascism", Westerly, No. 2, Winter 1993, p. 20.
[145] David Baker, Ideology Of Obsession: A.K. Chesterton And British Fascism, London, 1995, pp. 10–11, 76, 91, 140–1.
[146] P.R. Stephensen, "Wanted: An Australian Debunker", The Publicist, No. 18, December 1 1937, pp. 3–11.
[147] P.R. Stephensen, "Colonial Culture: Symptoms, Causes, Prevention, Cure", The Publicist, No. 39, September 1 1939, pp. 10–13. This included 'Hollwood Americanization: P.R. Stephensen, "Experiments In Australianity", The Publicist, No. 2, August 1 1936, pp. 3–8.

Munro's assessment that –

> Stephensen was a primitive nationalist harking back
> to the bush ethos but he was also a sophisticated
> Nietzschean-Bakuninite[148]

– permits a comparison with Robert Brasillach who epitomised the French fascist intellectuals. This "anarcho-fascist" rebelled against the decadent bourgeoisie and Americanization, but retained his Gallic irrationalism.[149] A Nietzschean vanguard was anticipated in the renewal of cultural life.

These three fascist intellectuals were of the literary world. Chesterton was a 'culture-critic' and the others authored cultural history. Stephensen was also prolific, writing short stories and other pieces.[150] They were part of the literary–fascist array (Junger, Drieu, Celine, Pound and others) who explored to greater or lesser philosophic depth the alienated man in bourgeois society. They sought deliverance in superpersonal cathartic rebirth and argued cultural struggle was an adjunct of political action against liberalo–marxism – and 'semitism'.

Stephensen slotted into Griffin's category of defensive, anti-militarist, anti-imperialist fascism.[151] Stephensen's attack upon European war-mongers,[152] the wastage of Australian lives and "Nationality" in the Great War[153] and his belief that 'White Australia' required no

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[148] Craig Munro, op.cit., p. 186. For a biased account but rewarding exposition of Stephensen's political–intellectual achievement: Eric Stephensen, P.R. (Inky) Stephensen: Brief Biographical Memorandum, Eltham, 1981.

[149] William R. Tucker, The Fascist Ego: A Political Biography Of Robert Brasillach, Berkeley, 1975, pp. 5, 31, 148, 159–160.

[150] Eric Stephensen, P.R. Stephensen Bibliography, Eltham, 1981.

[151] Roger Griffin, The Nature Of Fascism, pp. 48–9.

[152] P.R. Stephensen, "Experiments In Australianity III", The Publicist, No. 3, September 1 1936, pp. 3–8.

[153] P.R. Stephensen, "The Great War On The Australian Front", The Publicist, No. 11, May 1 1937, pp. 11–17.

jingoistic justification,[154] fleshed out a category Griffin scarcely elaborated upon. Muirden, the first historian of "Australia First", reasoned Stephensen's system was a "Puzzled Patriotism" unsure of how far to pursue its nationalism (the wartime programme was not anti-British) and how to relate Australia to fascism's war.[155] However, Stephensen's strategy predated the wartime censorship which highlighted tactical considerations.

Essentially, Stephensen sought to profit from the clash of fascism and British imperialism with a native-fascist response to the questions of acquiring Australian independence and defending 'White Australia'. Stephensen's Communist Party training probably suggested a revolutionary defeatism; he anticipated British military defeat would usher in Australia First nationalism by default.[156] Stephensen's strategy was based upon the 'inevitability' of the clash of arms.[157] The problem lay in the construction of a new movement sure to be constrained by a lack of political space.

The substantial radical–nationalist–socialist tradition was available and references to its myths appeared in Stephensen's propaganda.[158] However, as observed, the 1920's imperial–patriotism had blocked any hypothetical national socialism at that time, and generated a paramilitary underground, while those ex-soldiers corralled by the sectional Country Party were opposed in the 1930's to the spectre of Lang-nationalism. Stephensen's lament:

> The AIF contained a very large proportion of
> socialists, rebels, radicals, republicans, anti-
> imperialists, Australia Firsters and tough lads

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[154] P.R. Stephensen, "Spirit Of The Land: The Basis Of Australia's Resurgence", The Publicist, No. 25, July 1 1938, pp. 3–8; P.R. Stephensen, The Foundations, pp. 161–3, 190.

[155] Bruce Muirden, The Puzzled Patriots: The Story Of The Australia First Movement, Melbourne, 1968, pp. 35–38.

[156] P.R. Stephensen, "Quo Vadis? The Basic Australian Concept", The Publicist, No. 22, April 1 1938, pp. 3–8.

[157] P.R. Stephensen, The Foundations, pp. 155–7.

[158] P.R. Stephensen, "Our Story In 15 Decades: A Brief Survey Of Australian History", The Publicist, No. 19, January 1 1938, pp. 16–19; P.R. Stephensen, The Foundations, p. 183: Stephensen laments the loss of Labor ideals. He criticised Labor's lack of doctrinal elaboration: P.R. Stephensen, "Evatt On Holman: The Permutations Of An Australian Labour Leader", The Publicist, No. 52, October 1 1940, pp. 3–7.

generally. It was definitely not an Empire flag-
waving army.[159]

– could hardly revive spirit in the aging veterans. Most would have considered the conservative order palatable and nationalism as much "disloyalty" as communism. Stephensen feared this reaction.[160] By the mid-1930's, the paramilitaries had dispersed, coming to terms with the 'United Australia' government. Few cadre could come from such quarters.

The Publicist did condemn all sectionalism, but Labor was praised for "isolationalism"[161] and Lang Labor for residual nationalism. Lang's The Century published some anti-war, anti-semitic and ultra-nationalist material. However, these Labor fractions were not penetrated. The few thousand issues of the monthly Publicist and radio broadcasting were limited offerings to forces who already had specific ideological-political interests.

The Social Credit movement – "birdlime for morons"[162] – had peaked in 1934, and though it continued to command activist farmers and small businessmen was, because of its inherent Anglophilic constitutionalist heritage and increasing sectarianism, unsuitable as an ultra-nationalist vehicle.

Stephensen appreciated the importance of nationalist literature in challenging imperial control at the ideological level. His influence over the Jindyworobak poets was profound as Rex Ingamell's Conditional Culture revealed. Here, cultural localism was espoused.[163] In his search for a mobilizing-mythos, Stephensen asserted the virtue of Aboriginality. He edited Xavier Herbert's Capricornia and sought the preservation of traditional Aboriginal culture to affirm the timelessness of the seventh continent.[164] He favoured the

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[159] P.R. Stephensen, "Experiments In Australianity VI", The Publicist, No. 7, January 1 1937, p. 4.
[160] P.R. Stephensen, The Foundations, pp. 145–8, 180–1, 184.
[161] P.R. Stephensen, "The Polskis", The Publicist, No. 27, September 1 1938, pp. 8–9.
[162] P.R. Stephensen, "Towards The Formation Of An Australia First Party", The Publicist, No. 43, January 1 1940, p. 7.
[163] Rex Ingamells and Ian Tilbrook, Conditional Culture, Adelaide, 1938, passim.
[164] "Capricornia: The Aboriginal Question", The Publicist, No. 17, November 1 1937, p. 5; "Citizens' Rights For Aborigines", The Publicist, No. 19, January 1 1938, pp. 5–7.

Jindyworobaks[165] who adopted Aboriginal motif and belief in alcheringa – spirit of the place. The utilization of indigenous symbolism was not unknown to international fascism. The 'European' fascists of South America adopted Indianist motifs to proclaim their nativism.[166] Stephensen went further – and co-founded an Aborigines' Progressive Association. The New Nationalism would have the old-continent rebirth the white race.[167]

Poet Ian Mudie who joined Australia First, authored palingenetic-nationalist material. He asserted the war's rekindling of Eureka's fires,[168] and saw the Japanese Darwin bombing as "our birth" in "blood's cement".[169] "Federation's cold confusions"[170] (both Lawson and Stephensen spoke of the absurdity of seven parliaments replacing six) would be overcome by nationalism. Life and death in recurrence,[171] all classes united "past the hour when the war shall stop"[172] to drink the "Glory of the Sun" – Australian alcheringa.[173]

Neither in peace nor war could Stephensen find a cadre. He interested hundreds and unfortunately some cranks,[174] but was cut off by security fears. Stephensen's hard Realpolitik told against him:

> ... the Democratic imperial nations of the
> Paris–London–New York axis – and these are
> Australia's real enemies ... [but] ... I do not support

[165] P.R. Stephensen, "The Jindyworobaks", The Publicist, No. 63, September 1 1941, pp. 12–13; Rex Ingamells, "National Unity", The Publicist, No. 64, October 1 1941, pp. 11–12.

[166] Alistair Hennessy, "Fascism And Populism In Latin America", in Walter Lacquer (ed.), op.cit., pp. 298–9; Mario Sznajder, "A Case Of Non-European Fascism: Chilean National Socialism In The 1930s", Journal of Contemporary History, Vol. 28, No. 2, April 1993, pp. 281–2.

[167] William Baylebridge, "New Nationalism", op.cit., p. 156; P.R. Stephensen, The Foundations, p. 90.

[168] Ian Mudie, "Cause For Song", This Is Australia, Adelaide, 1942, p. 100.

[169] Ian Mudie, "Awakeners", ibid., p. 85.

[170] Ian Mudie, "Pioneers", ibid., p. 89.

[171] Ian Mudie, "Sons", ibid., p. 94.

[172] Ian Mudie, "The Rolling Of The Drums", ibid., p. 60.

[173] Ian Mudie, "Glory Of The Sun", ibid., p. 80.

[174] See Alexander Rud Mills, "Religion And Politics", The Publicist, No. 43, January 1 1940, pp. 8–9; Mills' writings pioneered 'Odinism', a 1960's–1980's U.S. neo-nazi sect; Thomas Leslie Graham was an anti-semite and later a neo-nazi activist in various Australian groups 1960–1988. The author met Graham at the Sydney Domain (1986).

> Hitler, Mussolini or the Mikado who support
>
> themselves and have never asked for my aid ... "[175]

But he had shown deference to Hitler[176] and Japan[177] sufficient to appear treasonable – particularly when a separate peace was discussed during wartime.[178]

The State dealt harshly with the Australia First Movement (AFM) which formed in October 1941. Munro suggested that a Sydney Military Intelligence plot, which involved Perth Special Branch, caused fringe <u>Publicist</u> subscribers manipulated by an informer, to hatch a "pro-Japanese" cabal.[179] Cottle has taken the argument further with fair speculation of a conspiracy to scapegoat AFM for <u>actual Japanese collaborationist plots</u> by comprador bourgeois members of the 'Japan–Australia Society'.[180] The internment of Stephensen and other AFM members, in March 1942, terminated the organization. Stephensen was not a traitor but his concession to Nazism's 'spiritual' nature:

> Regeneration!: ye must be born again. Hitler's party
>
> gives this an earthly, not a heavenly meaning.[181]

– served to condemn him. The price of the New Man could only be met in the revolution of nihilism.

<u>CONCLUSION</u>

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[175] P.R. Stephensen, "Could Australia Be Neutral In A World War: A Light Spar With C. Hartley Gratten: What's The Matter With Him?, <u>The Publicist</u>, No. 23, May 1 1938, p. 5.

[176] "Hitler's Speech: 30 January 1939", <u>The Publicist</u>, No. 37, July 1 1939, pp. 15–16, was tacit support for German perspectives on 'peace'; P.R. Stephensen, "War! What For?" <u>The Publicist</u>, No. 36, June 1 1939, pp. 6–10.

[177] P.R. Stephensen, "Australia's Japanic Panic", <u>The Publicist</u>, No. 34, April 1 1939, pp. 3–7.

[178] Andrew Cottle, "The Brisbane Line: A Reappraisal", PhD Thesis, Macquarie University, 1991, pp. 87, 331–2; Cottle also dubbed Stephensen a "Japanophile", p. 336, which was excessive.

[179] Craig Munro, op.cit., pp. 217–8, 233–6.

[180] Andrew Cottle, op.cit., pp. 148–9, 181.

[181] P.R. Stephensen, "Spirit Of The Land", loc.cit., p. 8.

This Thesis has revised previous interpretations of the inter-War Australian Right particularly through its imposition of Payne's tripartite typology for Fascism, the Extreme Right and Conservative Right. A review of the literature consequently revealed faulted conceptions of 'Australian fascism' and related misconceptualizations of the nature of the Conservative State's ideology and politics. Further, through the application of new scholarship on generic fascism (Griffin, Eatwell) an alternate assessment of the pre-fascist factors inherent in Australian nationalism-labourism-populism was advanced. These pools of ultra-nationalist, racial-nationalist, cultural pessimist, non-marxist socialism and populist activism were available for Stephensen's native-fascist experiment as myth and ideological reference. While specific reasons for the abortive character of Australia First fascism were given, the historical problems engendered by both Australia's confused identity-relationship with the Empire and the '1901 compromise' (which constrained labour) militated against Stephensen's effort and left residual ideological and strategic confusion on the Right thereafter. The alternate nationalist tradition had challenged the State's historical legitimacy.

The State feared any sort of independent political group or popular challenge to its values, social structure and economic underpinnings. Communist and maximalist socialism, Labour reform, Langite nationalism, New Guard 'Extreme Right independency', Social Credit and Australia First fascism were occasional threats and to varying degrees, and each received a response. D.H. Lawrence's chilling words grasped a truth about the conservative State:

> Out of the silver paradisical freedom untamed evil
> winds could come, cold like a stone hatchet
> murdering you. The freedom, like everything else
> has two sides to it. Something like a heavy reptilian
> hostility came off the sombre land ... It was as if the
> silvery freedom suddenly turned and showed the
> scaly back of the reptile − and the horrible jaws ...
> [182]

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[182] D.H. Lawrence, Kangaroo, Harmondsworth, 1986, p. 385.

Ruthlessness was part of the State arsenal as much as ideological 'countrymindedness'-cum-imperial-patriotism. However, with its modernization and restabilization from the mid-1930's, some normalisation could follow, and the congealed violence of State power could be transferred gradually to the para-State organs. But the lessons of auxiliary organization remained.

The advent of war limited further challenges and security-services' conspiracy destroyed 'Australia First'. The war crushed foreign fascism and its odour would surround Extreme Right activism thereafter. Australian nativist–nationalism was broken with Stephensen and disappeared from the post-war Right as any significant trend. A remodelled ultra–British, constitutionalist and anti-Labor Social Credit movement, survived the war.[183] With the war reinvigorating communism, Australian conservatives had a new problem.

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[183] James Guthrie, Our Sham Democracy: Or The Majority Vote Racket, Hobart, 1946, passim, for an expression of the 'tamed' Social Credit philosophy. Guthrie became prominent in the League Of Rights. See also, Eric D. Butler, The Truth About Social Credit, Melbourne, 1945, for an attack on financial dictatorship, the "work-State" and Labor nationalization.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PRELUDE: FROM A SATELLITE RIGHT TO AN INDEPENDENT EXTREME RIGHT 1945- 1975

This Chapter has several purposes. First, it provides an interpretative narrative of the Conservative Right to 1975, and the Extreme Right as it was to emerge after 1966. It covers groups, personalities and activities.

Second, this Chapter builds upon the paradigm established in Chapter One to explain the relationship of the Conservative Right to the State in the new ideological environment of East–West confrontation and internal contention after 1945. Some historical questions arise:

- Did the Conservative Right develop characteristics different to those of the Right in the 1930's?
- What role did it play in winning and protecting the new conservative State?
- Did the Extreme Right emerge from this ideological–political terrain?
- Why did an Extreme Right emerge?

Third, this Chapter concentrates upon political police involvement in maintaining the conservative State through a satellite Conservative Right and the development of auxiliary structures for the shadow-war against a revitalized Left from the mid-1960's.

Fourth, the Chapter considers issues arising from the definition of Extreme Right provided in the paradigm. Where did it diverge from conservatism ideologically politically and organizationally? How independent of conservatism was it? The anvil for determining its nature shall remain the Australian State as it transformed itself into the contemporary liberal State from the 1960's.

1.   THE SATELLITE RIGHT: THE CONSERVATIVE AUXILIARIES
       1945–75

The post-1945 Australian Right issued from inter-related factors: an external contest
between the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. and an internal struggle between capital and the Left.
However, this truism covers a vast territory of ideological contest, class re-alignments and
political contention. The conservative reaction to international communism was officially
expressed by Robert Menzies's Liberal Party which took government in 1949. Connell
and Irving described the Liberal "mobilization" (1944–9), "which extended far beyond the
Liberal Party", continuing after 1949 until "a new conservative regime had been built."[1]

It was a nervous Australia with nervous allies. Deputy Director of the Commonwealth
Investigation Service, R.F.B. Wake, observed the increase in locally distributed United
States anti-communist propaganda commencing in 1944.[2] In the 1950's, as Archival
references show, the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) took an interest
in public education campaigns to counter communism.[3] Communism was perceived as an
organized subversive threat and, as Moore explained, the paramilitary structures of the
1930's were temporarily revived.[4] Field Marshal Blamey and other generals directed "The
Association", a body of tens of thousands of ex-soldiers[5] with Returned Services' League
(RSL) overlap which, when wound-up around 1952, probably provided the expanding
ASIO with cadre.[6] With a regularized political police, strong armed forces, a Liberal
government and powerful allies, the stability of the conservative State was assured. Its
'form' had developed since the 1930's and rested upon additional props.

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[1] R.W. Connell and T.H. Irving, Class Structure In Australian History: Documents, Narrative,
Argument, Melbourne, 1980, p. 291.
[2] R.F.B. Wake, Deputy Director CIS, Letter To Director Commonwealth Investigation Service, May 10
1948, in AA CRS A6122/40 Item 147 (American Anti-Communist Activities in Australia).
[3] AA CRS A6122/XRI, Item 158 (Anti-Communist Activities Within Australia, Vol. 2, 1950–64).
[4] Andrew Moore, "Send Lawyers, Guns And Money", pp. 426–462.
[5] John Hetherington, Blamey: Controversial Soldier: A Biography Of Field Marshall Sir Thomas
Blamey OBE KCB CMG DSO ED, Canberra, 1973, pp. 389–392.
[6] Andrew Moore, "Fascism Revived? The Association Stands Guard 1947–52", Labour History, No.
74, May 1998, pp. 113, 117–118; L.J. Louis, "The R.S.L. And The Cold War 1946–50", loc. cit., pp.
100–101.

First, the conservative State profitably and progressively integrated the bitterly anti-marxist Catholic bloc with its working class element into the Anglo-Protestant system.[7] After 1955, Lord Casey did much to cement Liberal Party/Country Party alliances with the Catholic Democratic Labor Party (DLP), the political manifestation of the ASIO-connected 'Movement' and the National Civic Council (NCC).[8] Second, underlying the viability of the system was fortuitous and state-directed prosperity. It sustained a consumer-suburban ethos, which as radical critics argue, desensitizes ordinary citizens from critical politics.[9] Third, the political police network of ASIO/Special Branches was extended in several ways by Royal Commissions into Communism and Espionage fused with the practice of eliciting information from, and coordinating, anti-communist groups such as the RSL, National Civic Council and Australian Association For Cultural Freedom (with its CIA connection).[10] Fourth, the years of mass migration also provided a new bloc of Liberal support. Refugees from communism, including collaborators with Nazism–Fascism, made Australia home. Liberal government complicity in granting asylum to ex-fascists[11] was an open secret. Internationally, the available human resources for the East–West conflict included ex-Nazis/Fascists, and the Archival record indicated Australian agencies were well aware that both Americans and Soviets employed their former foes.[12]

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[7] Paul Ormond, <u>The Movement</u>, Melbourne, 1972, pp. 27, 69, 154, 159–60.

[8] W.J. Hudson, <u>Casey</u>, Melbourne, 1986, pp. 257–8; AA CRS A6122/38 Item 1222 (Catholic Action Pt. 2).

[9] Herbert Marcuse, <u>One Dimensional Man</u>, London, 1964, pp. (ix), 2, 57;
Martin Pawley, <u>The Private Future</u>, London, 1975, pp. 11–12, 27, 134;
Donald Horne, <u>The Lucky Country</u>, Sydney, 1964, for "new class" criticism of suburban life.

[10] Humphrey McQueen, "The CIA's Operation Culture", <u>Nation Review</u>, May 5–11 1977, pp. 696–7;
For a sympathetic account of the anti-communist order, see: Robert Manne, <u>The Shadow Of 1917: Cold War Conflict In Australia</u>, Melbourne, 1994, pp. 93–167.

[11] Mark Aarons, <u>Sanctuary: Nazi Fugitives In Australia</u>, Melbourne, 1989; pp. (i)–(xxiii). While Aarons named some odious individuals, the general thrust of his allegation had been suspected on the Left. A case could be also made that the Australian State, in granting refuge to these "war criminals", and with their subsequent political utilization, had granted effective <u>amnesty</u>.

[12] "Minute Of P.R. Heydon, Secretary Of The Immigration Department, July 21 1959", in AA CRS A 1838/1 Item 83/2/6 (Eastern Europe, Former Nazis And Fascists). The remainder of this File connotes detailed information available to the Australian Government on this subject (emphasis on Germany).

A Liberal Party Migrant Advisory Council was formed. In 1957 a Latvian delegate described the Liberal Party as "the only fighting force against communism".[13] Lord Casey's voluminous correspondence with the External Affairs Department and this Council, underscored that anti-communist migrant groups were regarded favourably by the State and their loyalty always encouraged.[14]

Loyalty was forthcoming. In 1957 Jaroslav Stetsko, President of the international emigré Anti-Bolshevik Bloc Of Nations (ABN), visited Australia. He was "not of security interest" to ASIO[15] and permitted by its Director-General, Brigadier Spry, to travel on a false passport.[16] Stetsko's collaboration with Germany as 'President of Ukraine' was overlooked, perhaps because: "it is rumoured U.S. Intelligence and also the British Secret Service are still getting recruits for special assignments ... from ... ABN ..."[17]. Stetsko, though dubbed "unscrupulous",[18] was treated as a Head of State and received by Sir Henry Bolte, DLP Senator McMannus and senior Liberals.[19] His ABN helped organize the DLP/NCC's migrant support.[20] Further, as Aarons revealed, ASIO made use of these anti-communist networks for gathering information; Lovokovic of the Ustasha informed on 'suspect' Yugoslavs.[21]

The Ustasha were politically encouraged by senior Liberals, William McMahon and Billy Wentworth.[22] A faction of Serbian collaborators around Lukic and Rajkovic was

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[13] "Latvian Group Question, Liberal Party Migrant Advisory Council Meeting", in AA CRS A1838/11 Item 581/5 (Liberal Party Migrant Advisory Council And The Immigration Reform Group).

[14] Miscellaneous items, in AA CRS A1838/11 Item 581/5.

[15] Brigadier C.C.F. Spry, Director-General of ASIO, Letter To The Secretary Of The Department Of Immigration, January 1965, in AA CRS A6119/82 Item 2157 (Jaroslav Stetsko).

[16] "C.C.F. Spry, Memorandum For The Secretary Of The Immigration Department, 4 July 1956", in AA CRS A6980 T1 Item 250215 (Anti-Bolshevik Bloc Of Nations).

[17] "Anti-Bolshevik Bloc Of Nations And National Guard: Report Of The Australian Security Intelligence Organization, August 30, 1955", in AA CRS A6122/46 Item 1725 (Anti-Bolshevik Bloc Of Nations).

[18] "Memorandum For Regional Director ASIO, Australian Capital Territory, 8 May 1957", in AA6122/46 Item 1725.

[19] Mark Aarons, op.cit., p. 79.

[20] ASIO Secret Report No. 1077, 2 July 1957", and "Anti-Bolshevik Bloc Of Nations (International) In Western Australia" (Form Letter)", in AA6122/46 Item 1725.

[21] Mark Aarons, op.cit., pp. 235–6.

[22] I rely on full accounts of Ustasha/Liberal links described by the CPA's Tribune: "Fear And Violence From Ustasha Extortion Campaign", January 15 1969, p. 2; "NSW Premier Backs Croat Nazi Outfit",

tolerated, as it enforced migrant 'discipline' and conducted anti-communist propaganda in tandem with ASIO – which also tolerated its rival – 'Zbor'.[23]

In summation, the conservative ascendancy forged a machine for control over new population groups and for repelling domestic labour and Left challenges, while integrating new strata into the evolving system.

This system was not static. The ABN had branched into Asia, linking up with the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) founded by the South Korean and Taiwanese regimes.[24] A generally-ignored aspect of Australian conservatism was revealed. Although the Menzies government retained a restrictive immigration policy, some non-Europeans were accepted, while the thrust of the anti-communist foreign policy brought conservative Australia into alliances with Asian governments. The APACL had Senator John Gorton as its Australian contact.[25] At 'Freedom Rallies' (1959–62) across Australia, Liberal politicians, APACL representatives, local Asian communities and ABN activists would assemble.[26]

The conservative State's British civic culture and American anti-communist alliance did not necessarily mesh with 'White Australia' ideology. Neither the literature of ABN nor the Australian 'Captive Nations Committee' it spawned in 1964, revealed any interest in the politics of race.[27] The DLP/NCC always favoured scrapping 'White Australia'.[28] The

May 7 1969, p. 3; "Croat Fascists Hail Lib. Minister As Ustasha 'Friend'", February 25 1970, p. 4; "Ustasha Lib Links Denounced", March 27 1973, p. 5.

[23] Brigadier C.C.F. Spry, Letter To Secretary Department Of Immigration, July 11 1951, in AA CRS A1838 Item 1550/20 (War Crimes – Alleged Yugoslav War Criminals - Lukic and Rajkovic). Zbor's anti-semitic/anti-marxist views were known to ASIO. See AA CRS A6122/XR1 Item 167 (Zbor – Yugoslav Fascist Organization).

[24] C. O'Maolain, The Radical Right: A World Directory, Harlow, 1987, p. 182.

[25] "Record Of Conversation, Mr Bruce Wright M.P. And Others, Department Of External Affairs", in AA CRS A1938/1 Item 563/12/1 (Communism, Anti-Communist Groups And Organizations).

[26] "Don't Forget Red Oppression! – Menzies At Freedom Rally", News Weekly, November 9 1960, p. 2; "The Sixth Australian Freedom Rally, Rockhampton", in AA CRS A1938/1 Item 563/12 (Information Branch Anti-Communist Organizations. General 1959 →)

[27] AA CRS A1838/1 Item 83/1/3/4 Part 3 (Eastern Europe – Assembly Of Captive European Nations); from a reading of News Digest International, edited by Lithuanian anti-communist J.P. Kedys (Sydney) 1963–76. Thereafter, there was some concern with avoiding communal strife.

[28] B.A. Santamaria, telephone conversation, August 29 1997. Santamaria referred to the National Conference Of Catholic And Rural Movement, Albury, 1952, where this statement was first made.

subsequent amalgamation of ABN and APACL in 1967 into the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), with its Taiwanese, South Korean and Saudi Arabian government sponsorship,[29] provided essential background for any assessment of the character of the Australian Right in the 1960's and early 1970's. It showed its commitment to the U.S. alliance and anti-communism rather than race or nationalism as the crucible for policy and action.

The WACL became an almost 'stranger-than-fiction' organization. As an anti-communist International, it was connected to South American death squads, CIA drug-running operations and the dirty tricks schemes of the sponsoring governments.[30] It attempted to affiliate and manipulate neo-fascist organizations and enjoyed a relationship with the 'Moonie' Unification Church. Eventually, WACL representatives were significant enough to dine with President Reagan at the White House. It seems that the WACL was an Intelligence-controlled weapon of the Western Alliance, not an Extreme Right force, but one dependent upon State power for resources and 'targets' for confrontation and violence.

In 1972, WACL acquired its Australian affiliate – the League Of Rights[31] – although as shall be discussed, the League was simultaneously being driven out of the government parties. In 1972, as the Ustasha bombed Australian targets, its existence in the country was denied by the Attorney General,[32] but that year too Ustasha delegates from Australia attended a WACL conference in Mexico City.[33] Long before in December 1964, Lovokovic, League national director Eric Butler, and ABN's Australian president Dr Untaru, had met at the Croatian Hall in Sydney to re-welcome Stetsko to Australia.[34] The

[29] "A Great Victory For Freedom", News Digest International, No. 1, 1968, pp. 4–9, for Sept. 1967 WACL Foundation Congress of 230 delegates in Taipei. Chiang Kai Shek received Saudi and South Vietnamese ambassadors and Pope Paul VI's message of support.

[30] Hendrik Kruger, The Great Heroin Coup: Drugs, Intelligence And International Fascism, Montreal, 1980, pp. 121–136, 159–169, 181–196.

[31] Special Letter From Jeremy Lee, November 2 1973, p. 2, for LOR participation in WACL conferences, connections with General Sir Walter Walker of NATO.

[32] Denis Freney, "Lib–ASIO Guilt On Ustasha", Tribune, April 10 1973, p. 8, for a full review of the 1972 Ivor Greenwood/Lionel Murphy wrangles on the subject.

[33] M. Jurgevic, Ustasha Under The Southern Cross, the author, 1972, pp. 30–31.

[34] John Playford, The Truth Behind Captive Nations Week And The Extremist Emigres – ABN (Anti-Bolshevik Bloc Of Nations), Sydney, 1968, p. 23.

circular linkages implied State complicity in most aspects of anti-communist organization. Through 'Captive Nations Weeks' in the period 1965–75, Liberal politicians such as Wentworth, Fairbairn, McMahon and Forbes, along with DLP stalwarts Senators Kane and McMannus, kept effective control of official anti-communism.[35]

Jewish conservative intellectual Frank Knopfelmacher contributed to Captive Nations activities, indicating the allegations of emigré anti-semitism and fascism were overdrawn.[36] In the new country, with the pressures imposed upon the anti-communist groups to conform to Liberal requirements, ideological quirks and previous baggage could be discarded or muted. Although some emigres had been fascists, most were native anti-communists, whose relationship with German–Italian fascism was opportunistic; changing countries and patrons involved no great leap in faith. Commitment to authoritarian government and anti-Sovietism could be accommodated in Cold War Australia. The involvement of conservative Jews in the united front meant that they understood the utility of anti-communist unity. By the mid-1960's, the dynamics of Jewish community politics produced a split on the issue of the emigres (and the League), the dissenting group acquiring dominance;[37] but for the moment, the State ignored their concerns.

Significant to this study, the conservative State also utilized fervent groups of 'auxiliaries' outside of the core forces and institutions so far described, creating a network of satellites around the power-core.

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[35] J.T. Kane, "We Shall Fight Communism To The Death", <u>News Digest International</u>, No. 2, 1964, pp. 7–10; "Self Determination For All Nations", <u>News Digest International</u>, No. 3, 1965, pp. 44–46, for an ABN rally addressed by McMannus, G.B. Mencinsky; "Captive Nations Week", <u>News Digest International</u>, No. 4, 1965, pp. 38–41, for involvements of Douglas and Michael Darby, McMahon, RSL and NSW State Liberal politicians; "Captive Nations Week In Adelaide", and "Opening Meeting In Sydney", <u>News Digest International</u>, No. 3, 1966, pp. 39–41, records Dr Forbes, McMannus, McMahon and Malcolm Fraser in unison.

[36] "Authoritative Opinions Expressed At Public Meeting", <u>News Digest International</u>, No. 3, 1966, pp. 44–8. Knopfelmacher spoke alongside Kane.

[37] B. Rubinstein, "The Left, The Right And The Jews", <u>Quadrant</u>, September 1979, pp. 20–29, suggested my conclusion from the intensity of intra-community debate; the emergence of the <u>Dissent</u> group which published an attack on the LOR (see below) was important here.

In the anti Bank Nationalization campaign (1947–9), it became obvious to Liberal strategists that the "forgotten people", especially lower middle class white collar workers, would identify with the party of capital.[38] The anti-nationalization groups were certainly coordinated with the conservative offensive but were self-motivated and organized. The Commonwealth Investigation Service identified a Wollongong Citizens' Rights Committee, a United Women's Movement Against Socialism (this Wagga Wagga group was actually the Australian Women's Movement Against socialisation), and a Democratic Freedom Union (Riverina), which were linked to a network across New South Wales and in Brisbane.[39] Communists disrupted these groups, and suspected their linkage with The Association. Partly financed by the banks, the Rights committees argued that constitutional democratic liberty was threatened by Labor's march to 'totalitarianism'. The Citizens' Rights Association (CRA) of Western Australia proposed a set of objectives which became common: defence of constitutional rights, individual freedom, the free enterprise principle, opposition to communism and socialization, and praise of the Atlantic Charter.[40] The League Of Rights, founded in South Australia in 1946, drew directly upon these CRA principles,[41] and carried on the CRA philosophy after those groups successively dissolved after 1949. Indeed, League leader Eric Butler's Constitutional Barriers To Serfdom (1947), argued the CRA line on bank nationalization.[42]

This 1930's Social Crediter, who had no brief for the "private creation of money", made a choice between 'Constitution' and financial reform. Butler had condemned Menzies in 1941 for his regulatory economics,[43] but now they shared anti-socialism. The League certainly and cynically received the banks' largesse, specifically funding from the

[38] A.L. May, The Battle For The Banks, Sydney, 1968, pp. 20–21, 22, 29, 162–3.

[39] "CIS Report, Freedom Leagues: Citizens' Rights Committees: Democratic Freedom Union, December 10, 1947", in AA CRS A6122/45 Item 1631 (Citizens' Rights Council Vol. 1); "Freedom League – Address By T.C. McGillick, Brisbane", in AA CRS A6119/84 Item 1812 (McGillick, Thomas Claudius Steele 1930–63).

[40] "The Citizens' Rights Association Of W.A. Draft Constitution", in AA CRS A6122/45 Item 1632 (Citizens Rights Council Vol. 2).

[41] "ASIO Paper, The Australian League Of Rights", , in AA CRS A6122/45 Item 1628 (Australian League Of Rights Vol. 3), for League objectives.

[42] Eric D. Butler, Constitutional Barriers To Serfdom, Melbourne, 1947, pp. 2, 7, 9, 13. Butler had opposed the 1944 Referenda on Federal powers.

[43] Eric D. Butler, The Enemy Within The Empire, Melbourne, 1941, pp. 32–3. Menzies was portrayed as a "socialist".

Associated Banks in Victoria.[44]   The subordination of Social Credit goals − which admittedly were only partly congruent with Labor's initiative − to circumstance, opportunity and central anti-communist principle haunted Butler later in his career.[45]   It was the League's first compromise with State conservatism.

The League had particular Social Credit and popular democratic goals but found itself immersed in the Cold War environment where a Soviet revolutionary conspiracy threatened its primary loyalty − the British Empire.[46]   Butler, a competent platform orator, could join with ex-communist Tony McGillick[47] and travel the country warning of the "danger". Together, they played small roles in the Victorian Royal Commission On Communism (1949−50).[48]   Butler's anti-communist 'schools' of the 1950's and early 1960's were unremarkable and even employed an ex-ASIO agent.[49]   Butler's anti-communism divided the world into 'free' and 'unfree' and made little public mention of his anti-semitic conspiracy ideology in which the Cold War was an intricate fraud.[50]

The LOR's close ally, and McGillick's choice, the New South Wales People's Union (PU), organized hundreds of well-meaning "anti-socialists", held factory meetings and had radio programs warning against communism.[51]   It took the money of business, and its leader Arthur Hebblewhite played the informer role with the Commonwealth Police.[52]   The

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[44] "The Secret Life Of Eric Butler: And Killen The Comm", Nation, September 26 1959, pp. 10−12.
[45] Eric D. Butler The Truth About The Australian League Of Rights: A. Philip Adams Invitation Accepted, Melbourne, 1985, pp. 70−71.
[46] "Attorney Generals Department Minute Paper. The Victorian League Of Rights, November 5, 1948", in AA CRS A6122/45 Item 1626 (The Australian League Of Rights Vol. 1).
[47] "Memorandum To The Acting Director CIS: League Of Rights − Visit Of T.C. McGillick And E.D. Butler, May 22 1948", in AA CRS A6119/84 Item 1812.
[48] Vicky Rastrick, "The Victorian Royal Commission On Communism 1949−50: A Study Of Anti-Communism In Australia", MA Thesis, Australian National University, 1972, pp. 10−11, 151−2.
[49] The Challenge Of The Australian League Of Rights, leaflet, 1968. The ex-agent was Anne Neill who worked for ASIO in the CPA.
[50] E.D. Butler, "The Seriousness Of The Communist Threat", News Digest International, No. 1, 1965, pp. 22−27. For the other 'conspiracy' interpretation: the LOR distributed A.K. Chesterton's Candour magazine and his 1965 The New Unhappy Lords; Cleon Simpson's The Naked Communist and The Naked Capitalist.
[51] Keith Richmond, "Response To The Threat Of Communism: The Sane Democracy League And The People's Union Of New South Wales", Journal Of Australian Studies, 1 June 1977, pp. 70−73; "The People's Union Research Publicity", in AA CRS SP1714/1 Item N38611 (Arthur George Hebblewhite).

[52] "Deputy Director CIS Secret Report, May 3 1950", in AA CRS SP1714/1 Item N53578 (Arthur Muggeridge, George Hebblewhite).

PU assailed undemocratic unionism and recommended support for the Liberal–Country coalition – just as Butler did. Although it did not share Social Credit ideas, the Union occupied similar ground. The withering of the PU around 1960 assisted the League to develop a real Sydney presence and a national structure was proclaimed in 1960 with a thousand supporters.[53]

An assessment of the social and political characteristics of the LOR has value in defining the conservatism of the auxiliaries. After noting that the South Australian League was challenging the CPA for worker support, the Commonwealth Investigation Service reported:

> ... leading members of the State parliament have urged the League officials to do their utmost to carry on and build up a strong following ... other Liberal Country League leaders are reluctant to give their support ... because they consider it may develop in the same manner as the pre-War Citizens' League which became so strong it was capable of carrying an Election. To combat the Citizens' League, the Liberal–Country League spent £20,000 in secret ... [and selected] five Citizens' League leaders as parliamentary candidates.[54]

The LOR was noisy and less bourgeois than the Liberal–Country parties, but faithful to conservative principles. It was capable of self-organization and hence the fear it could acquire independency.

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[53] Jeremy Lee, telephone conversation with author, May 1997. Frank S. Salter, Interview, 1997. Lee was LOR Deputy Director and Salter a NSW Branch official of the period 1950's – 1980's.

Spoonley has defined the similar New Zealand League Of Rights as old petty bourgeoisie.[55] While firm membership data is lacking for Australia, impressionistic data,[56] and some academic work,[57] has pointed to both long term and periodic commitments from farmers, shopkeepers, lower-rank civil servants, rural workers, ex-soldiers and white collar employees. Jessop described how modern capitalist government requires its "alliances extending beyond the power bloc", and notes "the role of the support from subordinate classes based upon ideological illusions ..."[58] Certainly the LOR demonstrated until the 1980's, a subordinate loyalty to one or both Coalition parties. While petty bourgeois groups may acquire independence of the capitalist bloc, as French Poujadism did, the LOR's potential (1946–1980's) was unrealized. But was it self-limited by very special ideological illusions?

The LOR is an under-researched phenomenon despite its longevity, membership strength and campaigning. It was crudely dismissed in a 1965 pamphlet,[59] and later described somewhat overzealously, as a populist extremist, almost-cadre structured exercise in anti-Establishment politics.[60] Others have merely described its programme (sometimes vitriolically) and discussed its structure and more foolish campaigns.[61] Defining the League correctly would explain its place amongst the auxiliaries of the conservative State, its

[54] "Memorandum To The Deputy Director C.I.S. 14 July 1947, The League Of Rights", in AA CRS A6122/45 Item 1626. The motto of the Citizens' League – "Service" – became the description of the purpose of the LOR.
[55] Paul Spoonley, The Politics Of Nostalgia: Racism And The Extreme Right In New Zealand, Palmerston North, 1987, pp. 14–15, 68–74.
[56] "ASIO Report, New Times Limited, 20 May 1964", in AA CRS A6122/45 Item 1628, for occupations of League leaders; Eric Butler, The Truth, pp. 108–109; Nigel Jackson, Interview, 1997. Jackson has been a prominent LOR writer and Butler confidant.
[57] Keith Graeme Richmond, "The Australian League Of Rights: An Empirical Study Of The League In Northern New South Wales and Southern Queensland, 1973–4", MA(Hons) Thesis, University of New England, 1975, pp. 82, 131, 152–3, 156, 242.
[58] Bob Jessop, The Capitalist State: Marxist Theories And Methods, Oxford, 1982, p. 165.
[59] Kenneth C. Gott, Voices Of Hate: A Study Of The Australian League Of Rights And Its Director, Eric D. Butler, Melbourne, 1965.
[60] Andrew A. Campbell, The Australian League Of Rights: A Study In Political Extremism And Subversion, Collingwood, 1978, pp. 30, 48, 56–7, 59–62, 69–74. Campbell seemed also to equate Left–Right 'extremism'/anti-Zionism and anti-semitism.
[61] Isi Leibler, The League Of Rights: An Evaluation Of Australia's Foremost Organisation Promoting Racial And Religious Hatred, Melbourne, 1985. This pamphlet also reflected anti-anti-semitism (as below); Peter Samuel, "The Australian League Of Rights", Current Affairs Bulletin, January 1 1972, pp. 244–256.

hesitancy in public mobilization and its antipathy towards Extreme Right groups. Keith Richmond argued that the –

> synthesis achieved was remarkable ... a core of left wing thinking ... [of] the goodness of man (and) conservative thinking ... from ... [the] New Testament ... [62]

Richmond observed a dependency on "Manichaean" perspective and thought the LOR "social–political religious"; the LOR was "isolated" in a world of "apathy" and "evil" and its "knowledge" of the political order a weapon in salvational struggle.[63] Richard Brockett described a veritable "ghost in the machine" which kept the LOR outside of genuine political action.[64] This Thesis would develop these views to a sharper position: League conservatism has as its ideological core a type of gnostic-anglican Christianity with a manichaean-post-millenarian component. The doctrine is addressed to Anglo-Saxon Australians because of their supposed mystical-racial link to a divine monarchy. The struggle of philosophic 'light' against 'dark' is timeless. With such a core, political action must be postponed until an eschatological moment arises with the reward for success – the chiliastic New (Social) Jerusalem.[65]

Despite often frenetic rounds of private meetings, letter-writing and leafletting, the League has been non-confrontationist and, even at its apogee (1969–72) totally non-violent. This Thesis cannot record one case of arrests of Leaguers for violence or other offences arising from demonstrations or other open-campaigning. The LOR failed to field election

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[62] Keith Richmond, "The Australian League Of Rights", p. 3

[63] ibid., pp. 5, 67, 69; Andrew Campbell, op.cit., pp. 28–30, 40–1, 58–62, concurred.

[64] Richard Brockett, telephone conversations, 1996–7. Brockett's PhD was in preparation – "The Australian Social Credit Movement, 1930–75". Unfortunately, this Thesis was discontinued due to Brockett's illness. For comment on Butler's adoption/alterations in Social Credit doctrine see below in Chapter Ten.

[65] I rely upon an interpretation of: Eric D. Butler, Releasing Reality: Social Credit And The Kingdom Of God, Melbourne, 1990; Eric D. Butler, The Essential Christian Heritage, Melbourne, undated; Eric D. Butler, Centralization– The Policy Of Satanism, Melbourne, 1972; Eric D. Butler, Has Christianity Failed?, Melbourne, 1993; British–Israel literature as sold at League meetings; a conversation with Asst. National Director of the League, Jeremy Lee, in 1977 on 'the return of Jesus' and political action; Keep Our Flag Flying, leaflet, 1977, and an impression arising from various Heritage Society material.

candidates. It has described itself as a service organization, educating the public to unpalatable 'facts'.[66] These self-denying ordinances meant it could not become a 'power movement' and with its ideological core as above, would necessarily find the 'world of flesh' as corrupting as absolute power.[67] Power was left to imperfect conservative Caesars, and confrontation with the Left stayed a matter for police.

The LOR enjoyed support from various luminaries in the 1950's and 1960's, including Sir Edmund Herring,[68] (Sir) Billy Snedden,[69] Sir Reginald Scholl, Sir Raphael Cilento, (Sir) James Killen[70] and Sir Arthur Fadden.[71] Its peculiarities were explained away by Brigadier Spry:

> ... the Australian League Of Rights which is an organization of the Right-Wing ... includes in its membership believers in Douglas Credit. It is also labelled by the Jewish Fraternity as being anti-Semitic. Whilst this is to some extent true it, to date, has not been objectionable or obnoxious to any great extent and in any event ... [it] ... does not command a large following ... I have no reason to believe ... [ALOR] ... is a disloyal body.[72]

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[66] League Of Rights Book Service, leaflet, 1962.

[67] Edward Rock, Letter To James Saleam, May 6 1997. Mr Rock was a founder of the LOR and provided an account of its underlying Christian–Social Credit world view.

[68] Eric Butler, The Truth, p. 85. Herring, Lieutenant Governor of Victoria and Chief Justice was exposed by Andrew Moore, "Send Lawyers Guns And Money", pp. 442–5, as a supporter of The Association and director of A Call To The People Of Australia, an anti-marxist organization for democratic renewal.

[69] For Snedden's 1965 letter of support see: "Behind The Nation-Wide Smear Of The League Of Rights", Intelligence Survey, Vol. XX, No. 12, November 1971, p. 4.

[70] D.J. Killen, In The Commonwealth Cause, Melbourne, 1961. For Killen's repudiation of Leibler's public criticism: D.J. Killen, "Lunch Without Prejudice", The Bulletin, October 10 1964.

[71] "The Australian League Of Rights Queensland Council – Incl. Northern NSW", in AA CRS A6122/48 Item 1926 (Australian League Of Rights Volume 4) – a report for October 13/14 1967.

[72] C.C.F. Spry, Letter To Hon. B.M. Snedden, 30 October 1964, in AA CRS A432/15 Item 64/2595 (Australian League Of Rights).

Spry argued also that the allegation of anti-semitism was misplaced or marxist inspired,[73] and the LOR was "basically an anti-communist organisation".[74] These dispensations indicate the League was a satellite of the core conservative bloc, as were its close allies the People's Union and Dr. Fred Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade.[75]

Satellite status meant no field for manoeuvre, electoral loyalty to the Coalition, anti-communist activism and, dependence on and devotion to, the symbols and legal arrangements of the State. Satellites represented the privatized defence of the conservative core; as outer defence guards (auxiliaries) they served to harass the Left politically and sustain conservative ideological hegemony. Hence, the League's folksy, rural, Christian and popular flavour would attract a special bevy of conservative activists not strictly bound by party rules.

As the 1960's wore on, a cluster of new Right groupings emerged which raised the question: was an Australian Extreme Right under construction?[76]

The ABN/Captive Nations migrant Right was a focus for new Australian groups to cooperate and act together throughout the 1960's and early 1970's. The groups which became prominent included the Defend Australia League (DAL), founded in 1962 under the auspices of Sir Wilfred Kent Hughes.[77] This "fascist without a shirt" of the 1930's and an organizer for The Association, was an associate of Butler and a Liberal politician. His DAL held Sydney meetings in 1962–5 calling for increased defence spending and preparedness.[78] Support was gained from professional, DLP and army circles.[79] A

[73] C.C.F. Spry, Letter To The Secretary Department Of External Affairs, 16 September 1960, in   AA CRS 6122/45 Item 1627 (Australian League Of Rights Vol. 2).

[74] C.C.F. Spry, Letter To Unnamed Person, June 20 1966, in AA CRS A6122/48 Item 1926.

[75] Fred Schwarz, You Can Trust The Communists To Be Communists, Long Beach, 1964. Schwarz was a Brisbane Jewish doctor who became a professional U.S. anti-communist 1952–70. CACC had various Australian branches.

[76] R.W. Connell, The Extreme Right In Australia Today, Unpublished Paper, Politics Of Extremism Seminar, University of Sydney, 1966; John Playford, "The Radical Right And The Rhodesia Lobby", Outlook, No. 4, August 1966, pp. 15–18.

[77] Robin Acton, "The Defend Australia League", Outlook, No. 2, 1966, p. 8.

[78] AA CRS A6122/46 Item 1783 (Associations Individual – Defend Australia League).

[79] E.W. Titterton, "Nuclear Weapons For All", Australian International News Review, Vol. 1, No. 1, April 30 1965 pp. 5–7 – Titterton was recruited by DAL; "Do You Care About The Defence of Australia?", Australian International News Review, Vol. 1, No. 11, September 25 1965, p. 3 – Hughes,

contrast – which excited some interest on the Left – were Friends of Freedom, led by Owen Warrington, a young airport employee,[80] and the Australian Action Coordinating Committee directed by Michael Darby, son of NSW conservative politician, Douglas Darby. These groups supported by the RSL, Wentworth and Hughes, attracted younger Liberals, DLP and migrant Right activists. Anti-war meetings and Labor politicians were targets for disruptive demonstrations.[81]

In 1966, Harold Wright DSO founded in Brisbane the Citizens For Freedom (CFF), with Captive Nations and LOR support.[82] Over 1000 supporters were enrolled and Wright went on to support the Vietnam War with extensive public propaganda.[83] A Young Australians For Freedom emerged in Victoria (1968–9) with transient student membership to defend Christianity, and Crown,[84] to support the Vietnam war,[85] and criticize "Communist and Fabian penetration of our educational system".[86] As a faithful conservative auxiliary, it provided recruits for the LOR.

These groups desired that the Liberal government should live true to its anti-communist principles, deal harshly with the domestic Left and prosecute the Vietnam War. They were similar to earlier migrant rightists who urged 'toughness' upon the State.[87] When in 1966 an independent Liberal was fielded in 'Warringah' against Edward St. John, and supported

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DLP Senator McMannus to address meeting of DAL. James Falconer, Interview, 1997 – who attended and reported a number of servicemen in uniform demanding universal conscription.

[80] Robin Acton, "Messrs Darby And Warrington", Outlook, No. 4, August 1966, p. 12.

[81] H.Q., "The Pattern Of The Ultra Right", Outlook No. 2, April 1966, p. 8; "ASIO Contact Report, Australian Action Coordinating Centre, March 14 1966", in AA CRS A6119/89 Item 2331 (Owen Roy Warrington).

[82] "Memorandum To Brisbane Supporters, League Of Rights Members' Letter, 17 March 1966", in AA CRS A6122/45 Item 1628 (Australian League Of Rights, Vol. 3); Harold Wright, "Captive Nations Week 1968: Celebrations In Brisbane", News Digest International, No. 3, September 1968, pp. 48–50.

[83] The Moratorium Road To Anarchy, CFF leaflet, 1970; The September 'Moratorium': A Viet Cong Weapon, CFF leaflet, 1970; No Sell Out For Vietnam, CFF leaflet, 1970; Harry Wright, Miracle In Vietnam, CFF members' letter, January 1971 – which called on supporters to vote DLP.

[84] Young Australians For Freedom: Objectives, leaflet, 1968.

[85] David And Goliath (Official Newsletter Of The Young Australians For Freedom), Vol. 2, No. 2, February 1969, p. 1.

[86] David And Goliath, No. 1, September 1968, p. 1.

[87] "Letter Of The Joint Baltic Committee Of Victoria To Harold Holt, 16 June 1962", and "Letter Of The Assembly Of Captive European Nations Delegation In Australia to Sir Garfield Barwick, 29 March 1963", in AA CRS A1838/1 Item 83/1/3/4 Part 3 (Eastern Europe – Assembly Of Captive European Nations).

by various conservative fractions, the debate on the putative existence of an Extreme Right became an academic question. Connell and Gould attempted to establish a framework:

> When we speak of the Extreme Right we do not refer to ... people whose ideas and actions are wholly alien to the political beliefs of most Australians. We mean rather ... political opinions on certain topics are at the extreme of a spectrum: that they share much of their outlook with more moderate conservatives, but hold certain tenets − particularly opposition to communism − with an unusual intensity and have formed special groups outside the major parties to express them. We do not mean that they reject the dominant structure of Australian society or contemplate violence against it ...[88]

This definition apparently predicated the notion of an Extreme Right upon intense opinions expressed loudly through ginger groups.

This was inadequate. After noting the changed global scene in which the Australian Right was functioning (the decline of Britain and a crisis of American power), they conceded:

> What we have called Extreme Right is not a new ideological system but a restructuring of old conservative ideas to make the new situation comprehensible ... [89]

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[88] R.W. Connell and Florence Gould, <u>Politics Of The Extreme Right: Warringah 1966</u>, Sydney, 1967, p. 37.

[89] ibid, p. 96; Malcolm Carter, "The Lesson Of Warringah", <u>Australian International News Review</u>, Vol. 2, No. 13, January 11 1967, put the conservative case in very similar terms.

Given the reference to the possibility some rightists "may develop a radical critique of Australian institutions and split decisively from official conservatism",[90] it might be asked why the term 'Extreme Right' was used. Connell was influenced by an extensive American literature which defined the most vociferous status-threatened anti-communists as Extreme Right. However, this literature persistently equated noise with radicalism and confused conservatism with fascism. It did not differentiate the Right typologically.[91]

Certainly, liberals on 'race' such as St. John, could apply the Extreme Right label propagandistically.[92] Liberal Jewish opinion predictably located an "extreme" new rightism laced with anti-semitism. Isi Leibler assailed the 1965−67 publication Australian International News Review (AINR) which attempted to coordinate the new native ginger groups.[93] The AINR editor, Henri Fischer (the shadowy operator behind the 'Iraqi Loans Affair' during the Whitlam government), was disliked by Zionists with an intensity still alive thirty years later.[94] The AINR which rallied Leaguers like Cilento, pro-Rhodesia militants, Warrington, Captive Nations activists, and Liberal politicians like Hughes, was a major effort to counter the Left. Fischer's role seemed one where all shades of rightist thought, including bigotry, were to be mobilized as a force against new social forces which were coming into vogue.[95] 'Rebellion', youth culture, hippies, drugs and avoidance of

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[90] R.W. Connell and Florence Gould, op.cit., p. 97.

[91] R.W. Connell, The Extreme Right In Australia Today, pp. 6−7; The U.S. literature was a literature of liberals. See: J. Allan Broyles, The John Birch Society: Anatomy Of A Protest, Boston, 1964; Arnold Forster and Ben Epstein, Danger On The Right, New York, 1962; Daniel Bell (ed.), The Radical Right: The New American Right, Salem, 1963; Donald Janson and Ben Epstein, The Far Right, New York, 1963. I have discussed the logic of this material in Jim Saleam, "American Nazism In The Context Of The American Extreme Right", M.A. (Hons) Thesis, University of Sydney, 1985, pp. 1−2, 47−49, 91−100, 225.

[92] Edward St. John, Q.C. M.P., "The Warringah Campaign", Quadrant, January−February 1968, pp. 41−51.

[93] Isi Leibler, "Australia's Radical Right", Quadrant, January−February 1966, pp. 15−19.

[94] David Greason, "Whatever Happened To Henri Fischer's Stolen ALP Funds?", Australia−Israel Review, June 15−28 1994, pp. 9−10.

[95] Dr Malcolm Mackay, "A Time For More Martyrs", Australian International News Review, Vol. 1, No. 6, July 17 1965 − for Christians support; "Fred Schwarz M.D. On The Pathology Of Communism", Australian International News Review, Vol. 1, No. 7, July 13 1965, pp. 3, 11−13, 14 − for CACC support; advertisements for Tidal Publications (Social Credit), Australian International News Review, Vol. 1, No. 20, February 7 1966; "Vietnam Support: Mr Holt Is Not Alone In Backing Conscription", Australian International News Review, Vol. 2, No. 3, May 11 1966, pp. 10−12 − for support of Darby's "AACC"; advertisements for pro-Rhodesia committees − Australia International News Review, Vol. 2, No. 4, May 25 1966, p. 24; Sir Wilfred Kent Hughes, "Tactics In The Psy War", Australian International News Review, Vol. 2, No. 10, August 17 1966 − a reply to Isi Leibler's Quadrant attack and finally in

conscription were shocks to the conservative ethos and 'dangerous' if utilized by the Left.[96] Fischer may well have been an intelligence-operative[97] – which could mean that AINR was a 'black operation'.

Fischer's project however, misfired. By August 1967, AINR was broke and the Darby–Warrington groups faltered through 'happenstance'. (Darby joined the army and Warrington moved from Sydney.) A wave of action had crashed. Nonetheless, from the wreckage, Sydney conservatives such as Lyenko Urbanchich, Geoff Holt and David Clarke, grouped in the Fifty Club, began their long campaign to control the Liberal Party. Club newsletters would proclaim it to be like the British Conservative 'Right Club',[98] in the tradition of Edmund Burke,[99] and while "different, non-conformist and dissenting", by no means "extreme".[100]

This was a sort of transitional period. The State was challenged not only by social change but by activist marxism and parts of the labour movement struggling against the capitalist core order.[101] Yet moves were underway towards a more international capitalism (with a liberal perspective on 'Asian immigration') and the construction of new international institutions apposite to this order. The 'challenge' had to be defused before the liberal State could swallow the ancien regime.

From 1967, the League Of Rights began to grow, reaching perhaps 10,000 supporters (1971), organized through its various divisions and 'Voter Policy Associations'.[102] With the onset of rural crisis 1968–70, the LOR's manifesto They Want Your Land became a

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Australian International News Review, Vol. 2, No. 12, October 1966 – various letters from Social Crediters and a loaded anti-Zionist attack, "Anti-Semitism: A Letter From Beirut", pp. 26–27.

[96] David Story, "So It Can't Happen Here", Australian International News Review, Vol. 1, No. 5, June 25 1965, p. 11; Jack R. Gage, "An American Looks Back", Australian International News Review, Vol. 1, No. 11, September 25 1965, pp. 25–26; "Comment", Australian International News Review, Vol. 1, No. 13, October 23 1966, p. 6; "The Fifth Column Demonstrating For Whom?", Australian International News Review, Vol. 1, No. 16, December 7 1965, p. 10.

[97] David Greason, op. cit., reported various comments by Gough Whitlam on Fischer's status.

[98] 50 Club Newsletter, November 1967, p. 5.

[99] 50 Club Newsletter, December 1967, p. 3.

[100] Lyenko Urbanchich, "Who Is Shuffling The Cards?", 50 Club Newsletter, February 1968, p. 4.

[101] Verity Burgmann, Power And Protest: Movements For Change In Australian Society, Sydney, 1993, pp. 80–82, 189–197.

[102] Mike Richards, "The Farther Shores Of Australian Politics", The Age, February 26 1972, p. 8.

cry of the fretful.[103] The 'traditional' view has the League infiltrating the Country Party (chiefly) and the Liberals, being received by Ministers, and dictating policy.[104] Eric Butler, "the evil genius of Australia's indigenous Extreme Right", "prophet priest and king" of his "wolf dressed in mild sheep's clothing" organization was held to be a threat to mainstream conservatism – until 'disciplined' by a multi-party attack in mid-1971 – 1972[105]. As LOR official Jeremy Lee explained, the League met regularly with Country Party (CP) hierarchs and advised on rural policy.[106] It electioneered for the party and in the cities organized letter-writing campaigns and radio talk-back responses to Left threats to public order. With the schism, some Coalition leaders attacked the League as extreme, subversive and anti-semitic, while others accepted it as an adjunct to conservative politics in unstable times.[107]

The debate between Brockett and Greason reviewed the inter-relationship. Brockett argued that the LOR and Country Party shared policy-ideas – decentralization, cheap credit and anti-socialism.[108] Between 1968–71 many CP members reasoned the Coalition was presiding over the destruction of the farming sector. The LOR's Can We Save The Country Party? urged a counter thrust, drawing instead a savage response from the leadership.[109] Greason meanwhile, noted the LOR's cranky pedigree and the partners' different ideological assumptions; he conceded the Coalition used the LOR, but saw the break based on the "harsh" realities of capitalist agriculture and a rejection of LOR "lunar" ideology.[110]

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[103] Anon, They Want Your Land, Melbourne, 1969.

[104] Mike Richards, "Coalition Finds Itself Infiltrated", The Age, February 29 1972, p. 8; Mike Richards, "Liberal Party Looks Over Its Shoulder", The Age, March 1 1972, p. 8.

[105] Edward St. John, The Australian League Of Rights, Kensington, 1972, pp. 1, 3, 6; "Behind The Nationwide Smear Of The League Of Rights: Who Lured The Country Party Into A Booby Trap?", Intelligence Survey, Vol. XX, No. 12, November 1971, testified to LOR influence.

[106] Jeremy Lee, Australia's Looming Farming Disaster: 'They Want Your Land' Revisited, Ravensbourne, 1985, pp. 1–7.

[107] "Extremists Threaten CP – says Anthony", The Age, August 7 1971, p. 1.

[108] Richard Brockett, "The Australian Country Party, The Australian League Of Rights And The Rural Crisis of 1968–1972", Electronic Journal Of Australian And New Zealand History, Internet, 1996, http://www.jcu.edu.au/aff/history/articles_index.htm/, p. 8.

[109] ibid, pp. 7, 9.

[110] David Greason, "The League Of Rights: A Reply To Brockett", Electronic Journal Of Australian And New Zealand History, Internet, 1996, http://www.jcu.edu.au/aff/history/articles_index.htm/, pp. 2, 8, 10–11, 12.

Clearly, Coalition leaders caused the 'split'. However, while both positions contain truth, the complex interaction of State party and auxiliary organization was not examined. If a new capitalism was under construction the auxiliary would be inconvenient, but the inconsistent reaction in Coalition ranks would demonstrate the problem of 'liberalization' during a period of Left challenge. Neither Brockett nor Greason commented on the new Country Party messiah – Bjelke-Petersen – waiting in the wings, to whom the LOR would sell any pretension to independency. Thereafter the LOR's economic hokum and firecracker anger displays were a convenient deception to channel support to Bjelke-Petersen. This auxiliary organization never wanted independence.

The strategies of the traditional auxiliaries however, could not forestall Left 'revolution'. The successful strategy would involve para-State connected 'Nazis' with a program of violence, demonstrating again the satellite nature of the Right.

2. SPECIAL BRANCH NAZISM 1963–75

(a) Some Preliminary Considerations On Nazi/Para-State Violence

Australian Nazism presents significant features which dwarf considerations of curious playacting and individual case pathology. Superficially, there appeared an attempt to construct an Australian fascist movement (despite Nazism's alien flavour), but in practice, it only represented a specialized strong-arm force of the para-State.

Given just under 1000 persons passed through Nazi ranks and the mayhem surrounding it, Australian Nazism received only Harcourt's reliable, but journalistic study, of its surface history.[111] Aside from one propagandistic exposé (1985), its secret-history has not

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[111] David Harcourt, Everyone Wants To Be Fuehrer: A History Of National Socialism In Australia And New Zealand, Cremorne, 1972. This work did not cover what follows here for 1973–5.

become manifest.[112]   Andrew Moore considered Harcourt's labour an "unsympathetic but unnecessarily detailed look at the Australian Nazis".[113]   Despite Moore's researches in auxiliary activism, [114] he missed an opportunity to unmask a similar phenomenon.

Australian Nazism was accused by contemporaries of political police connections. The Communist Party's Denis Freney, reminisced:

> I was convinced that the cops and particularly the
> notorious Special Branch − Askin's political police
> − either controlled the Nazis directly, or held them
> on a leash, allowing them to carry out a certain level
> of attack and intimidation but calling them in when
> they went beyond set limits ... [115]

Ted Hill, Chairman of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), stated:

> The secret police protect and organize Australia's
> Nazis or other fascists. Organizations of terrorists
> also receive their protection.[116]

Naturally, ASIO argued a different case. Through The Bulletin it allowed publication of a 1972 Report on the Nazis, which contended that "personality clashes and police counter measures" restrained Sydney Nazis in the 1960's. After reviewing the internal histories of the "National Socialist Party of Australia" and "Australian National Socialist Party", ASIO concluded:

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[112] Jim Saleam, Never In Nazi Uniform, Sydney, 1985. This pamphlet was not an academic exercise and contained factual errors; it did centralize some available testimony.

[113] Andrew Moore, "Send Lawyers, Guns And Money!", p. 454.

[114] Andrew Moore, "The Historian As Detective: Pursuing The Darroch Thesis And D.H. Lawrence's Secret Army", Overland, No. 113, December 1988, pp. 39–44, where detective work showed value.

[115] Denis Freney, A Map Of Days: Life On The Left, Port Melbourne, 1991, p. 288.

[116] E.F. Hill, Revolution And The Australian State: A Socialist Analysis, Melbourne, 1974, p. 44.

> The NSPA both old and new versions are
> avowedly extreme Right organizations afflicted by
> small and fluctuating membership, constant faction
> fighting around leadership positions, poor finances,
> weak and uninspiring leadership and depending on
> the flamboyant publicity statements for any public
> awareness of their existence ... [117]

This description was indisputable, but there was no mention of Nazi violence. In 1976, an ASIO agent came forward to The Bulletin "to set the record straight" on the Nazis and other subjects. His tale was wild:

> Under the ALP, surveillance of right-wing extremist
> groups was intensified ... Spoiling operations against
> the Nazis have occurred and ... MOSSAD was
> involved in this, using local sub-contractors. Some
> ASIO men disapproved of ... excessive zeal against
> the Nazis including an incident in which a house was
> burnt. For a considerable period upwards of 100
> ASIO agents were involved ... on orders of the
> Whitlam government ... the Nazi party consisted of
> no more than 20 members many of whom were
> either in jail or mental institutions much of the time
> ... [118]

The use of The Bulletin to release disinformation was known to the Left and Prime Minister Whitlam – who exposed this detail in Federal Parliament.[119] The shrill 1976 article asserted that ASIO countered the Nazis, but it contained two obvious falsities: the only

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[117] "Secret Report: The Impotent Nazis – By ASIO", The Bulletin, November 16 1974, pp. 18–19.
[118] "The CIA, Labor And ASIO", The Bulletin, June 5 1976, pp. 14–16.
[119] "ASIO, Right Extremists Tolerated", Tribune, July 9 1974, p. 2.

"burnt" house was one damaged during an anti-Nazi riot in 1972; there were more than twenty Nazis, whether in jail, asylums or otherwise.

The mention of MOSSAD was either foolish or incredible. The report was factually flawed. Was disinformation masking an unsavoury truth?

There are four background issues relevant to para-State connivance with neo-nazis.

First: Australia retained a Cold War ASIO/State Special Branches network. As the 1960's unfolded and the Vietnam War escalated, this entity dismayed at the emergence of a New Left, the Maoist CPA(M-L) and after 1970, the fractions of Australian Trotskyism.[120] The radical Left intersected with youth and student movements, thereby moving out of Cold War isolation. ASIO Director, Harvey Barnett, argued:

> ... ASIO devoted a considerable proportion of its
> resources to tracking the political activity of the
> CPA, later the CPA(M-L) and the SPA.[121]

David McKnight explained the late-1960's Intelligence attitude demanded:

> ... the transformation of ASIO into an organization
> which launched spoiling operations designed to
> discredit Left-wing ideas and people.[122]

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[120] "ASIO's Lawless Years", Nation Review, December 2–8 1976, pp. 145, 147–9; Jim McIlroy, "An Interview With Lisa Walter: How I Joined ASIO And Why I Became A Socialist", Direct Action, May 27 1976, pp. 6–7; Jim McIlroy, "Ex-Agent Exposes ASIO", Direct Action, May 27 1976, pp. 4–5; "ASIO Targets Spartacist", Special Supplement: Australasian Spartacist, No. 44, June 1977; Tribune reported at length on ASIO's fear of the student movement. Credible pieces include: "Protest And Student Power", March 12 1969, p. 1; "The Student Challenge, "March 5 1969, p. 1; "New Swing To Police Violence In NSW, SA", April 16 1969, pp. 1, 12; "Police Thugs And Rightist Vigilante Squads To Attack Student Protests", May 14 1969, p. 3; "The Anti Student Campaign", August 6 1969, p. 2. The articles asserted ASIO connections to NCC "Democratic Clubs", university violence, Special Branch harassments and 'inquiry-calls' from Askin/Bjelke-Petersen as a pattern of State response.
[121] Harvey Barnett, Tale Of The Scorpion, Sydney, 1989, p. 81. 'SPA': Socialist Party of Australia. Hereafter: 'SPA'.
[122] David McKnight, Australian Spies and Their Secrets, Sydney, 1994, p. 182.

A Special Projects Section carried out individually crafted operations to enervate the Left, with 'Operation Whip' targeting the anti-war movement (1969−72) to ensure it did not foment urban-guerilla warfare. The CPA(M-L) was a prime target.[123]

Second, the political-police considered the domestic Left as the ally of international communism and its civil methods the soft preparation for violence. The methods of counter-insurgency warfare could be applied to a civil situation. Since the New Left and the CPA(M-L) were conceived of as organizing political guerilla destabilization campaigns against university institutions, police, unions, cultural structures and other social units, under the auspices of secret committees with anonymous militants, the counter-response would involve irregular groups capable of answering the Left measure for measure.[124] That the Nazis took this aggressive role was indicative of the 'politics of the twilight'.

Third, former members and associates of the ANSP/NSPA confirmed that most Nazis argued a bizarre strategic construction of their place in Australian politics. The author conceptualized this formula to interviewees, each agreeing it had been articulated by leaders and followers:

> Germany was in chaos, threatened by communist
> revolution. Conservative patriots had lost contact
> with the People. The NSDAP stepped forward to
> do what conservatism ignored: winning ordinary
> people. Business groups began to support the
> NSDAP and helped it to power. 'Today' Australia
> is in chaos threatened by communist revolution.

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[123] ibid, pp. 191, 195−6, 216−7, 228. McKnight designated Hill and the CPA(M−L) as a central 'fear'. The author wrote of the Maoists in Jim Saleam, op.cit., p. 10: "they struck at the heart of the Australian State: its U.S. connection."

[124] Paul Hennisart, <u>Wolves In The City</u>, London, 1972, explained that the inability of the Gaullist state to deal with OAS terrorism occasioned the use of criminals and sadists − "barbouzes" − who could operate outside the law 1961−4. This apparatus became a pet hate of the French Extreme Right − the Service D'Action Civique. The SAC also trained anti-communist thugs 1967−72. The Latin American death squads reflected a similar mentality. See Hendrik Kruger, op.cit., pp. 1−26, 45−50.

Society is degenerate. The conservative groups
and the big parties are helpless but not the National
Socialists. Sooner or later, after we have proved
ourselves, they will call us in.[125]

While Harcourt's interviews found Nazis 'pro-American', opposed to the Vietnam Moratorium and supportive of the Liberal Party,[126] some fantasised a Nazi/Liberal government would be formed.[127] Clearly, even if the Nazis affected any 'independence', they considered themselves, as the primary anti-communist force, allies of the State's anti-communist political police and were thus simply 'available' for manipulation.

Fourth, Nazi membership had particular features. Professor J.J. Ray uncovered the 1967–8 Sydney Nazi milieu. He noted "brutally minded young men of limited intelligence", tricksters, amoralism, and persons who listened to Hitler's speeches while not understanding German. "They have no programme of action or ... immediate goals ... They ... calculated to scandalize the Left ..."[128]

This Thesis opted for the high estimate of Nazi membership because it was not formal membership. Nazi groups attracted 'members' for days or a few weeks or months, impulse-members who joined to 'stir the reds'. An attraction for anti-communist youth was observed by ASIO at the birth of Australian Nazism.[129] Transient membership would have been a boon to the politics of violence: it granted anonymity. Activist Nazis were also recorded as young males drawn from labouring or semi-skilled occupations.[130] Some

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[125] Arthur Smith, Interview, 1979, 1996; Edward Cawthron, Interview, 1979, 1988; Ray Gillespie, Interview, 1995; Claud Woods, Interview, 1995; F.S. (Cass) Young, Interview, 1981, 1982; Robin Sparrow, Interview, 1979; Ross May, Interview, 1995; Claude Tomba, Interview, 1984; Neil Garland, Interview, 1995. The significance of these persons: below.
[126] David Harcourt, op.cit., pp. 86–91.
[127] Bryan Jamieson, "Nazi Plan To Merge With Libs", Truth, September 25 1971, p. 3.
[128] John J. Ray, "Anti Semitic Types In Australia", Patterns Of Prejudice, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1973, pp. 6–16; J.J. Ray, "Is Anti Semitism A Cognitive Simplification? Some Observations On Australian Neo-Nazis", Jewish Journal Of Sociology, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1972, pp. 207–213.
[129] "Attorney General's Department Letter To ASIO, 17 October 1962", in AA CRS A6112/45 Item 1630 (Australian National Socialist Party); also newcuttings from Adelaide press contained in this file; "Nazi Style Meetings In Adelaide", The Australian, July 29 1964 – the trend continued.
[130] "The National Socialist Party of Australia: Report Of The Australian Security Intelligence Organization, 20 July 1964", in AA CRS A432/15 Item 63/2409 Pt. 1 (Australian Nationalist Movement).

European 'fascist' migrants, former conservatives exasperated with inactivity and some intellectual fascists, were attracted.[131] This pot pourri membership remained the norm which assisted the incitement or manipulation of violence. The leadership, with the exceptions of Ted Cawthron, who gained a doctorate in nuclear physics in 1970,[132] and Arthur Smith whose intelligence was noted by ASIO,[133] was politically unsophisticated. Subalterns such as F. S. ('Cass') Young, were untutored and resentful of any intellectual guidance[134] and easily yielded to the noisy violent activists in the pursuit of a Nazi−Conservative Right- Liberal Party alliance. Certainly, motive, means and opportunity existed for the utilization of the Nazis as para-State auxiliaries.

(b)   Sydney Nazism 1963-72

The Nazi movement was formed by men frustrated by years of political isolation. Founders Smith, Graeme Royce and Brian Raven, had joined the Australian Party in 1955. Its leader was Frank Browne, maverick journalist and editor of the 1940's/1950's gossip sheet, Things I Hear.[135] Expelled by the Liberals for factionalism (1945), Browne meandered through Sydney's political life.[136] Jailed for contempt of Parliament in 1954, he then formed a party to express virulent anti-communism. Smith, as an organizer, recruited hundreds of fearful anti-Communists and believed the anti-British, anti-big-party man, might develop a new Nationalism.[137] Browne had been feared by ASIO:

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[131] C.C.F. Spry, Letter To The Commonwealth Attorney General, 15 September 1964, op.cit. Spry differentiated between low 'new' Australian as opposed to 'Commonwealth' membership; Arthur Smith was probably right to say the reverse was the case and inclusive of former Nazis and Fascists.
[132] ASIO had considerable concern with Cawthron's scientific appointments in, AA CRS A6119/89 Item 2246 (Edward Robert Cawthron).
[133] "ASIO Report. National Socialist Party of Australia, 1798/64, 20 May 1964", in AA CRS A6119/89 Item 2244 (Arthur Charles Smith).

[134] Edward Cawthron; Arthur Smith, Witness A−1; Robin Sparrow; material on this major Nazi was partisan and florid but given subsection (d) I consider him grossly flawed.
[135] Various examples of Brown's journalism and Things I Hear, in AA CRS A6119/1 Item 83 (Francis Courtney Browne).
[136] "ASIO Report Francis Courtney Browne/Frank Browne, undated", op.cit.
[137] Arthur Smith: "Australian Party Wants Power", Honi Soit, undated", in AA CRS A6122/45 Item 1629 (Australian Party, Sydney).

> Although ... [he] ... has not been looked on as a
> security interest, so far his methods and his obvious
> interest in security matters mean that he has to be
> regarded as ... [dangerous] ... [138]

He had expressed intense anti-Establishment interests,[139] but in 1956 whimsically dissolved the party, leaving a discontented rump[140] which passed through various crypto-fascist groups with colourful names: Workers' Nationalist Party, National Unity Party, Australian Nationalist Workers' Party (ANWP) between 1957 and 1962.[141]

There was little substance. Royce was a greasy shyster often imprisoned for fraud in the 1960's;[142] he had suffered "hallucinations".[143] Raven, an ex-CPA member, was a street brawler and pornographer.[144] Smith had abilities. A dynamic platform speaker, he had sought out Colonel Campbell for advice ("join the People's Union" − which he rejected) and Percy Stephensen ("the father of my beliefs") who corresponded with the ANWP.[145] Smith rejected the anglophilic League Of Rights but could visualize no base for radicalism.

Australia's fascist-fringe had corresponded with the nordicist British National Party and George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party.[146] American Nazi stickers had been imported[147] − and placed upon Jewish property.[148] Rockwell had a gimmick: as a 'Nazi', he would break the media silence about the Extreme Right, modernize it and construct an

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[138] "Regional Director ASIO (NSW) Memorandum, 22 July 1952", in AA CRS A6119/1 Item 83.

[139] "ASIO Report Francis Courtney Browne/Frank Browne, undated", op.cit.: "I have no worries about working for either Liberals or Labor. I want to destroy them both."

[140] Arthur Smith, said Browne had been "bought off" by a radio position. Frank Browne, conversations 1979, told the author he was "tired". Others were not as charitable.

[141] Arthur Smith, Folio Of Unpaginated Newspaper Clippings: "Australian Nazi Body Sends Hate Circulars", Sydney Mirror, November 6, 1960; "Party Spreads Nazism In NSW", Sydney Telegraph, January 29, 1960.

[142] See various newscuttings in AA CRS A6119/89 Item 2306 (Graeme Theo Royce a.k.a. von Ribbentrop).

[143] "C.C.F. Spry, Memorandum, 2 June 1954", op.cit.

[144] Various ASIO letters−filenotes, in AA CRS A6119/89 Item 2245 (Brian Henry Raven).

[145] Arthur Smith.

[146] David Harcourt, op.cit., pp. 6−10; "ASIO Report, Australian Workers' Nationalist Party Or Workers' Nationalist Party, 18 May 1960", in AA CRS A6119/89 Item 2206.

[147] AA CRS 1963/3614 (Suspected Importation Through Parcels Post Of Prohibited Literature − Fascist Stickers).

'International' called the World Union of National Socialists (WUNS). For Rockwell, brown uniforms and swastikas were 'tactics', but for others Nazism was good coin and he was proclaimed the fountainhead of neo-nazism.[149] Smith recognized an opportunity and although he told Special Branch 'Nazism' was a "gimmick", they disbelieved him.[150]

Tactical 'Nazism' was a pandora's box. Thereafter, Smith's nationalist–fascist programme was overshadowed by alien forms which violent youth and pathological persons found appealing. Nevertheless, Smith was more astute than council worker and ardent nordicist Don Lindsay, Cawthron and others, with whom he founded the NSPA in January 1964.[151] He recognized there was a threat to the 'White Australia Policy' and a market in anti-Americanism as well as anti-marxism.

Other Nazi groups had emerged. Royce formed a schoolboy Nazi 'party' in Adelaide in 1962–3, but it folded.[152] An "ANSP" operated in Brisbane under Olympic fencer Chris Drake, Errol Niemeyer and Leslie Leisemann, an unstable, elderly, former Social Crediter. Leisemann, their 'godfather', was described by ASIO as a monomaniacal anti-semite who feared communist takeover – "pathetic".[153] They were allied to D. Wykham de Louth, a lone elderly anti-semitic publicist, who had crusaded since the 1940's; de Louth published avidly and maintained lengthy anti-semitic booklists.[154] A 'National Renaissance Party' formed in Melbourne. Smith managed to amalgamate these groups.

Jewish organizations, the ALP, the RSL and Premier Sir Robert Askin objected to the new Nazism. A police raid for explosives at the NSPA headquarters led to Smith's temporary

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[148] Isi Leibler, "Christians, Swastikas And Jews", The Bulletin, October 26 1963, p. 33.
[149] Jim Saleam, "American Nazism In The Context Of The American Extreme Right". This Thesis argued that while Rockwell did sympathize with aspects of Nazism, he was primarily an American nativist fascist with a dramatic publicity angle.
[150] "The National Socialist Party Of Australia: Report Of The Australian Security Intelligence Organization, 20 July 1964", op.cit.
[151] "ASIO Report, Donald Alexander Lindsay, 20 May 1964", "David Pope Letter To Don Lindsay, 30 October 1964", and Odinist documents in AA CRS A6119/89 Item 2308 (Donald Alexander Lindsay).
[152] C.C.F. Spry, Letter To South Australian Regional Director of ASIO, 18 September 1962, in AA CRS A6119/45 Item 1630.

[153] ."Regional Director ASIO Queensland, Report National Socialist Party of Australia – Leslie Leisemann, 27 May 1965", AA CRS A6119/89 Item 2305 (Leslie Leisemann – Vol. 2).
[154] AA CRS A6126/26 Item 1060 (D. Wykham de Louth).

imprisonment and other prosecutions, shattering the organization.[155] However, on June 29 1964, just three days after the raid, the Nazi office was visited by an unlikely recruit – Ernest de Carleton. A branch secretary of the Liberal Party, a Mason, a teacher of English to Chinese immigrants, an applicant to join ASIO and a soldier in Citizens' Military Forces Intelligence, he quickly acquired influence.[156] Probably de Carleton was working for ASIO when in January 1965, he founded the 'National Australia Party' to replace the NSPA. It would bloc with the Captive Nations Right. Its committee meetings were informed on and 'bugged' by ASIO.[157] The NAP recruited Howard Williams, a widely travelled American with ample finances, who inter-linked Smith and Fischer of AINR. These meetings were also 'bugged' by ASIO.[158] The Archival record hints Smith's subsequent revamping of the NSPA in early 1966 was steered into a specific anti-marxist direction.[159] De Carleton, his recasting job done, faded into obscurity.

Thereafter, the NSPA was linked to conservative groups and 'rightist' Liberals who provided $7000 (1966–7).[160] Smith could not acquire 'independence'. Trapped by the "gimmick" and anti-communist activism, he could neither organize independent funding nor recruit intelligent cadres – although he achieved openings to emigre Croatian, Hungarian and Russian groups. Sydney's Italian Social Movement (MSI) branch sent Claude Tomba, for "liaison" purposes, in 1967.[161] Smith's organization was unstable and collapsed twice

[155] Arthur Smith, Folio Of Unpaginated Newspaper Clippings: "ALP Action On Nazis Proposed", Sydney Morning Herald, June 15, 1964; "Jewish Group Seeks Action On New Party", Sydney Morning Herald, June 16 1964; "National Socialist Meeting Raided By Detectives", Sydney Morning Herald, June 27 1964.
[156] AA CRS A6119/89 (Ernest Walter Michael de Carleton).
[157] "ASIO Report No. 5664/65 – National Australia Party", in AA CRS A6119/89 Item 2244; AA CRS A6122/48 Item 1927 (Howard Wesley Williams Miscellaneous Papers).
[158] "ASIO Report No. 5512/65 National Socialist Party of Australia, 6 November 1965", and "ASIO Report 5570/65, 11 November 1965", op.cit; AA CRS A6122/90 Item 2457 (Arthur Charles Smith Miscellaneous Files).
[159] ibid. A conclusion drawn from the ASIO documents cited in Note 158; Arthur Smith and Ross May maintained Williams was a CIA operative with a multifaceted role to 'coordinate' local anti-communists. Williams's available ASIO File – AA CRS A6119/90 Item 2430 (Howard Wesley Williams) is suggestive. Nearly half of it was 'exempted' under the Archives Act.
[160] Arthur Smith, "The Swastika and I In Australia Pt. 1", Sunday Truth, March 9 1969, p. 3; Arthur Smith, "The Swastika And I In Australia Pt. 2", Sunday Truth, March 16 1969, p. 41; at this point Smith wished to abandon politics; "ASIO Report, Australian International News Review, 10 January 1966", in AA CRS A6119/89 Item 2329 (Henry Louis Fischer), reported funding of Nazis by James Kidman, a prime mover of AINR.
[161] Claude Tomba, Interview, 1984.

in the years 1966–68. Its achievements, a number of quasi-legal and illegal actions directed at the Left, testified to manipulation.

A new 'respectable' NSPA led by Cawthron in Canberra, and an ephemeral 'National Democratic Party', which contested the New South Wales electorate of King for 628 votes in 1968,[162] signalled Smith's eclipse and the appearance of other shadow forces.

Isi Leibler's 'Research Services' spied on neo-nazis in 1969, aware of the Liberals' links with Ustasha, the LOR and Nazis.[163] The Jewish community was uneasy. New South Wales politician, Sidney Einfeld, had already called for the suppression of racist publications and emigre Right journals.[164] However, as Left activism increased, such demands were ignored.

Reverend Jerry Hardy of the Church of God organized a rough-neck group in 1969 to counter 'marxist demonstrations'.[165] In 1970, it became the National Party "dedicated to a national rebirth"[166] and announced of other right-wingers:

> The uselessness of these right wing tea parties is
> amply demonstrated by the never-slackening
> Communist hold over the world ... Communism
> cannot be stopped by the publishing of magazines
> ... by 'informing the public' ... [We] are prepared to
> go out on the streets in demonstrations ... to meet
> the Communists face to face.[167]

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162 "How The NDP Fares In Sydney", Sydney Morning Herald, March 8 1968, p. 6.
163 Chanan Reich, "Ethnic Identity And Political Participation: The Jewish And Greek Communities In Melbourne", PhD Thesis, Monash University, 1981, pp. 485–7.
164 "MLA Hits At 'Race Hatred Papers'", Daily Telegraph, October 4 1967, p. 26.
165 Claude Tomba; Ross May; both attended the "bashings"of Left newspaper sellers, demonstrators; Hardy migrated to Ulster and joined Rev. Paisley.
166 "The Raison D'Etre Of The National Party", National News, No. 6, July 15 1970, p. 3.
167 "The Uselessness Of Patriotic Organizations And Right-Wing Groups", loc.cit., p. 9.

The National Party worked with Freedom Vigilantes (an NSPA front) and Captive Nations[168] against Left activism and the new 'Moratorium' movement.

Hardy's militants subsequently defected to a revivified Smith who re-appeared upon a "patriotic impulse" to utilize the anti-war demonstrations as a "means to reassemble the activists". Taking advantage of crisis in the Cawthron organization, Smith relaunched Sydney Nazism in late 1970.[169] Tribune commented:

> ... others rejected the electoral tactics of Cawthron
> ... the big majority ... had always practised the
> methods of the violent window smashing and
> physical attack ... [170]

The notorious Ross 'The Skull' May, who had begun his career in Domain red-baiting,[171] became a scourge of Left-demonstrators.[172] Nazis bashed 'anti-Springbok Tour' demonstrators in mid-1971 and targeted Freney's Liberation Bookstore.[173] Tomba recalled:

> I took a couple of Smith's supporters there but I
> was seen. Special Branch detectives interviewed
> me but I denied it. Smith said Longbottom had said
> to him 'Tomba used half a brick ... Very inefficient
> ... Next time he should use a full brick.'[174]

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[168] "Nazi Leaflet Was Part Of Anti Moratorium Chorus", Tribune, September 30 1970, p. 3.

[169] Arthur Smith.

[170] "Nazi Violence Against Anti-Apartheid Groups", Tribune, March 31 1971, p. 3.

[171] "Deputy Director General, Australian Security Intelligence Organization Memorandum 28 August 1964", in AA CRS A6119/89 Item 2307 (Ross Leslie May).

[172] "The Skull's Story", in David Harcourt, op.cit., pp. 68–73; Ross May claims to have assaulted "a couple of hundred" assorted demonstrators 1967–72.

[173] "New Nazi Violence Calls For Action", Tribune, March 24 1971, p. 3.

[174] Jim Saleam, Never In Nazi Uniform, p. 4.

Fred Longbottom, chief of Special Branch, had long tolerated the Nazis[175] and now tilted towards ANSP violence. Smith avers he ignored minor criminality but threatened arrests for serious transgressions.[176]

The ANSP, which recruited 100 persons in 1971, maintained some organizational structure with offices, enthusiastic meetings and on-going thuggery.[177] It seemed to the Left part of a pattern of intimidatory Right conduct.[178] For Smith it was frustration. Aside from the violent, the ANSP recruited a layer of petty criminals and near-psychotics,[179] persons with no interest in, or capability of, developing strategy or programme. His attempt to junk the Germanisms and constitute a nationalist anti-immigration organization[180] − failed. Smith forced the ANSP's dissolution in March 1972. He strongly suspected Special Branch provocateur-informers manipulated its base level conduct so it remained an anti-communist street gang.

(c)   The Cawthron Interlude: An Attempt At Neo-Fascist Organization 1967-70

In 1967, a new 'NSPA' was founded in Canberra with Cawthron as National Secretary. It rejected "fly-by-night" operations", designed at extracting funds "from the gullible",[181] and espoused "professionalism".[182]

Cawthron's political externalia seemed like Smith's with the propagandistic use of swastikas, anti-semitic references, the historical 'loyalty' to Hitler and alignments with

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[175] David Harcourt, op.cit. pp. 31, 33, 34; Arthur Smith on other Special Branch officers; "Joke Department", National Socialist Newsletter, Vol. 1, No. 5, p. 3.
[176] Arthur Smith.
[177] "Now We Move", National Socialist Newsletter, No. 1, February 1971, pp. 1−2; Neil Garland; Claude Tomba.
[178] "Nazis Raise Their Heads", Tribune, February 3 1971, p. 12.
[179] David Harcourt, op.cit., pp. 28−31, 34, 39, 44; Ross May on various persons described by Harcourt; Claude Tomba.
[180] Roger Jelling, "Der Fuehrer's Boys Mit Ein New Look", Pix, February 19 1972.
[181] Edward Cawthron, "Our First Twelve Months", Australian National Socialist Journal, No. 4, 1968, p. 1.
[182] Building Fund Appeal, members' letters, 1969.

Rockwell and the WUNS.[183]   He shared with Smith the secret commitment to an ultra−nationalist programme.   However, in the usage of 'the gimmick', he would affect some alterations − and articulate the Nationalist message.   Cawthron wrote:

> ... we must not allow our National Socialism to become merely an imitation or admiration of Hitler ... [do] not confuse us with certain individuals or groups who parade around in German style uniforms.[184]

He admonished:

> The party must be unquestionably Australian ... If we ... seek to be the very embodiment of the new Australian Nationalism ... [but] adopt the characteristics of another country and people we will not only negate our own ideology but alienate the ... people. In time Australian National Socialism will develop its own characteristics ... [185]

Whereas Smith had prevaricated, Cawthron challenged the conspiracy dogmas of the LOR,[186] adopted the Henry Lawson − Eureka mythos, took up the Eureka Flag[187] and proclaimed Francis Parker Yockey's Imperium, a 'classic' of neo-fascism first published in

[183] Peter Henderson, Folio Of Letters E.R. Cawthron, 1964−8; Why I Am A National Socialist, NSPA leaflet, 1968; JOIN US: National Socialist Party of Australia, poster, 1969; E.R. Cawthron, The Aryan Imperium: Our Choice, NSPA leaflet, 1968. This piece also 'revised' Nazism. Cawthron espoused 'Co-Nationalism' (co-operative nationalism) a WUNS heresy.

[184] Edward R. Cawthron, "Editorial", Australian National Socialist Journal, No. 1, Spring 1967, pp. 1−3.
[185] Edward Cawthron, "Our First Twelve Months", p. 2.
[186] Edward Cawthron, "Secretary's Remarks", Minutes Of Sydney Conference, September 1970.
[187] E.R. Wenberg, "Our National Socialist Folk Heritage: Henry Lawson", Australian National Socialist Journal, Vol. 2, No. 1, Winter 1969, pp. 3−6; E.R. Wenberg, "Our National Socialist Folk Heritage: The Revolt At Eureka", Australian National Socialist Journal, Vol. 2, pp. 4−6; Humphrey McQueen, op.cit., p. 104.

1948, as the NSPA's philosophical guide.[188] Imperium's critique of German Nazi racial ideology (as a reductionist, anti-European chauvinism)[189] and Yockey's 1950's tilt towards Stalinism's anti-Zionism and supposed racial-nationalist politics, alienated the international neo-nazi milieu.[190]

Cawthron's strategic plan was to phase out Nazism altogether, after centralizing those resources which were available from this peculiar experiment.[191] After 1968, he viewed favourably new anti-immigration groups and the importance of the immigration question to resource mobilization.[192]

Cawthron was "fairly aware" of particular "subtle and obvious" police attempts to direct the Nazis against the Left.[193] He eschewed violence but kept up with some anti-marxist action.[194]

In May 1970, in the A.C.T. by-election, Cawthron won 183 votes. In the 1970 Senate poll, the NSPA candidates did surprisingly well:

Table 2.1   Nazi Election Results 1970[195]

Queensland	New South Wales	Victoria
Kenneth J. Gibbett 11299	John Stewart 6376	F.S. (Cass) Young 1587
Keven J. Thompson 1658	Michael McCormack 2727	Katrina Young 370

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[188] E.R. Cawthron, "The Culture As Organism: Cultural Vitalism As A New Concept Pt. 1", Australian National Socialist Journal, No. 4, Winter 1968, pp. 4–5.

[189] Francis Parker Yockey, Imperium: The Philosophy Of History And Politics, Sausalito, May 1969, pp. 274, 302; Maurizio Carbona, "Francis Parker Yockey", Perseverance, August 15 1975, pp. 15–17, for Yockey's 'neo-fascist' rather than neo-nazi pedigree on this and other subjects.

[190] George Thayer, The Farther Shores Of Politics: The American Political Fringe Today, New York, 1968, p. 29; Robin Sparrow and Edward Cawthron affirmed WUNS' aversion to Imperium; Martin Lee, The Beast Reawakens, London, 1997, pp. 91–109 sets out Yockey's history and confirms indirectly Cawthron and Sparrow by setting out the parameters of the division with 1960's neo-nazi ideologues.

[191] Edward Cawthron.

[192] Witness A–2, a member of Immigration Central Association, who recalled the contacts.

[193] Edward Cawthron.

[194] "National Socialists v Peace Creeps", National Socialist Bulletin, No. 11, February–March 1970, pp. 1–2.

[195] Australian Electoral Commission, First Statistics For 1970 Senate Election (no other details).

Even if all Gibbett's 'top of the ticket' votes were 'donkey votes', there was a minimum of 12718 Nazi votes.

Tribune exposed in close detail Cawthron's arrangements with German, Croatian and Hungarian fascist emigres, who organized voters in their communities.[196] Cawthron believed electoral politics could deliver more than confrontation, namely 'independence' of the political police and sufficient credibility to create a new type of organization. He would use old Right clientele and NSPA activists for a new purpose.[197] Cawthron had reacted to the satellite status of the Right.

"Nervous exhaustion" and a rebellion of sections of his group in the direction of confrontationalism, removed Cawthron from command in December 1970. This conveniently coincided with the requirements of ASIO's Operation Whip directed at the Left. A violent course began as the Nazis trashed Cawthron's strategy.

(d)   Melbourne Nazism 1970-73

Melbourne Nazism had never amounted to much with failed efforts from Smith and the activities of fantasiser "Juris von Rand".[198] In mid 1970, the NSPA found an organizer in street thug, Cass Young. Young organized noisy city square and Yarra Bank rallies and opened a Carlton shop front[199] as lead-ups to his Senate candidacy.

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[196] "Australian Nazis Exposed", Tribune, September 23 1970, p. 8. "Hungarian Nazis Active In Australia", Tribune, November 4, 1970, p. 4. Edward Cawthron confirmed these reports.

[197] James Saleam, conversations with Hungarian 'National Socialists', Sydney, 1987. This group published Ut Es Cel and Perseverance (from Western Australia). The latter publication reflected wide international contacts. The Hungarians advised against a "Nazi" party to which Cawthron "agreed".

[198] Arthur Smith, Folio Of Unpaginated Newspaper Cuttings, "They Met In His Room", Daily Telegraph, February 11 1968; "Landlord Kicks Nazis Out", Sun Herald, February 11 1968; "Jew Receives Threat After Nazis Ejected", Sydney Morning Herald, February 12 1968. For von Rand: "Nazis on Yarra Bank 'Weak Exhibitionists'", Canberra Times, May 11 1966.

[199] David Harcourt, op.cit., pp. 36–41.

Meantime, Melbourne's radical Left strengthened. In 1970, the CPA(M-L) sponsored the 'broad front' Worker-Student Alliance (WSA). The mood in local universities moved to the Left. In September, an "Anti-Imperialist Week" witnessed clashes between students and police, including Special Branch.[200] 'Maoists' "contested" university authority and police power. A pamphlet, Meet Fascism's Challenge, argued counter-violence should answer police violence.[201]

On January 31 1971, thousands of young Jews, 'Jewish Ex-Servicemen's Association' members, young leftists and the WSA occupied the Yarra Bank to prevent a NSPA rally. When the Nazis absented themselves, WSA impressario Albert Langer, incited the crowd to ignore Zionist 'Ex-Serviceman' Abraham Cykiert, and march on the Nazi headquarters. In the ensuing riot, the office was ransacked.[202]

This event triggered a subterranean war between Maoists and Zionists for influence over Jewish youth. Leibler, then of the Jewish Board of Deputies, warned:

> the community not to act independently or be influenced by Jewish splinter groups whose activities frequently ran counter to ... [our] ... interests ... and undermine the Board's Defence activity.[203]

[200] Barry York, Student Revolt At La Trobe University 1967–73, Campbell, 1989, pp. 95–97, 137–138; Peter Cotton, "The Party's Over", The Good Weekend, November 4 1995, p. 59, for students preparing for violence.
[201] Meet Fascism's Challenge, CPA(M-L) pamphlet, 1970; "Police Violence Will Be Met With Violence", Vanguard, February 26 1970, p. 4; "Builders' Labourers' Fight Rich With Lessons", Vanguard, June 11 1970, pp. 1, 4.

[202] David Harcourt, op.cit., pp. 42–3, 47–48; "Fascism Part Of Our Terminology", Vanguard, April 1 1971, pp. 8, 11, for justification and description of the riot.
[203] "Government To Act Over Nazis?" Australian Jewish Times, February 4 1971, p. 1.

Leibler was reportedly worried by Jewish involvement in the <u>American</u> New Left – and Jewish 'anti-Zionism'.[204] Suddenly, Australian Jews were enmeshed in Left street violence.

The clandestine CPA(M-L) lapsed into a four-week silence, probably to review its increase in public influence. It then condemned the cautious Zionist leaders.[205]

As 1971 unfolded, Ted Hill became the May Day key-note speaker, a 'class struggle' group of Victorian trades unions emerged and the dynamic anti-war movement surged. The WSA grew also, to encompass a thousand supporters by 1973.

The Victorian Special Branch, a tough, ruthless organization, operated from its Fitzroy Town Hall headquarters an extensive surveillance capability.[206] In August, Maoists complained Young was "under the control of Inspector Larkins", the two in open conference at the trial of a Nazi charged with assault.[207] Key NSPA official Claude Woods, said Young met throughout 1971–3 with Detectives "Shuert" and "Luks". Woods said Young accepted "guidance" but stayed "vague" about the precise discussions.[208] Photographs, car registrations and names and addresses of Maoists were provided through another source.[209] Property damage followed.

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[204] "Jews Problem With The Communists", <u>News Digest International</u>, No. 3, 1970, pp. 26–27. (Though partisan, <u>NDI's</u> reports of Leibler's concerns were not inconsistent with his public utterances, before or since.)

[205] "Nazis Smashed In Melbourne", <u>Vanguard</u>, March 4 1971, pp. 4, 8. This was followed by: <u>Only Mass Action Can Defeat Nazi Thugs</u>, WSA leaflet, 1971.

[206] Anne Summers, Andrew Clark, David Hickie, Robert Milliken and Adrian McGregor, "The Political Police: The Extraordinary And Disturbing Behaviour Of Our Special Branch Police", <u>The National Times</u>, January 23–28 1978, pp. 4–5.

[207] "Uniformed Nazi Thugs Controlled By Special Branch Police", <u>Vanguard</u>, August 12 1971, p. 4.

[208] <u>Claude M. Woods</u>, Interview, 1995; <u>Struggle</u>, No. 30, February 1973, p. 3, for list of violent attacks on Left shops, meeting halls and arson at 'Radical Action Movement' offices. It begs the question: did the Branch provide details?

[209] Ravensbruck, "WSA Exposé Pt 1", <u>Stormtrooper</u>, No. 4, undated 1972, pp. 10–11; Ravensbruck, "WSA Exposé Pt 2", <u>Stormtrooper</u>, No. 5, undated 1972, pp. 10–11. Ravensbruck was the pen-name of Michael J. Hodgson, reasonably suspected (<u>Claude Woods</u>; <u>Edward Cawthron</u>) of working for ASIO. David McKnight, op.cit., p. 251, says ASIO did run an agent in the NSPA. <u>Stormtrooper</u> published professional shots of Maoist organizers.

From late 1971 until 1973, Young met secretly with Cykiert in city coffee shops and restaurants.[210] It is unlikely that Cykiert met Young without the knowledge of Special Branch and the Jewish leadership. Young did not specify the discussions but Cykiert certainly urged anti-Maoist violence.[211] This manoeuvre was probably conceived to destabilize the 'anti-Zionist' Left, allow time for Jewish youth to reintegrate into responsible structures, and ensure the Nazis did not stray into independency. Systematic damage of Maoist premises in Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane began. Two "expelled" Nazis were caught after a drunken arson spree of Melbourne Left bookshops.[212] When Maoists warned the NSPA was "openly supported" by police, retaliation was inevitable.[213]

In June 1972, a WSA mob smashed their way into the new NSPA St. Albans' office. Membership records were seized:

> the seizing and destruction of all nazi files and
> propaganda ... is not individual terrorism. It is
> correct mass action.[214]

The WSA published the names of 51 Melbourne Nazis including Croatian Ustasha boss, Strecko Rover.[215] A Melbourne Left rally in September heard Jim Cairns, Sam Goldbloom, M. Jurgevic and Mike Richards criticise Liberal complicity in Croatian and Nazi violence.[216] Maoist violence was not occurring in a vacuum although it seemed neither Left faction knew of the Young–Cykiert connection. In February 1973, Maoists appeared

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[210] Cass Young; Claude Woods; Edward Cawthron; Witness A−1.
[211] Cass Young; Witness A−1; given the Zionist vendetta against the CPA(M−L) which culminated in the 1979 Community Radio affair, there was the context of Maoist "anti-semitism".
[212] Cass Young, "Editorial", Stormtrooper, No. 4, undated 1972, p. 1; "Right Terror On The Rise", Tribune, May 30 1972, p. 11; "Fascist Attacks On Bookshops Listed", Vanguard, February 22 1973, for catalogue of 2 years of violence.
[213] "Nazi Thugs Openly Supported By Police", Vanguard, May 18 1972, p. 5; "Violence And The Law", Vanguard, June 1 1972, p. 4; "A Copper Is A Fascist's Best Friend", Struggle, No. 21, March 3−17 1973, p. 1.
[214] "Action Against Nazis Is Correct", Vanguard, June 22 1972, p. 5.
[215] "Nazis Exposed", Struggle, No. 31, March 3−17 1973, pp. 14−15. The Rover connection implied continuing police-Ustasha-Nazi involvements.
[216] "Nailing Extreme Right Wing", Tribune, September 12 1972, p. 12.

in court on charges from the 1972 riot.[217] A wharfie, Harry Bouquet, was jailed in August, with Maoist Waterside Workers' chief Ted Bull launching a twenty-four hour political strike in protest.[218]

The expanded NSPA, with 200 members, ran four candidates in the 1972 Federal Poll.[219] The following results showed minimal support for its 'White Australia' and anti-communist stance:

Table 2.2   Nazi Election Results 1972

Candidate	Seat	Score	Percentage
F.S. Young	Lalor	489	.76%
K. Young	Maribrynong	148	.28%
P. Wilkinson	Sturt	321	.58%
L. Leisemann	Wide Bay	203	.39%

Nazis proclaimed electoral participation proof of maturity.[220] The new Labor government and public clamour for a ban, did not disturb the NSPA.[221] In its fantasy-world, the NSPA did not appreciate what the coming clash of a Cold War political police and an internationalizing Labor government could bring. Rather, its leaders probably imagined the para-state/Nazi relationship was an existent Nazi–Liberal alliance.

Doubtlessly, ASIO distrusted the Labor government[222] and held a particular aversion to Jim Cairns.[223] Attorney-General Murphy's dramatic 'raid on ASIO' for documents on

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[217] 25 People Face Gaol For Acting Against Nazis, joint Trade Union leaflet, March 1973. Many of the sponsoring unions were CPA(M–L) influenced.

[218] "Melbourne Wharfies Act Vigorously Against Fascism", Vanguard, August 30 1973, p. 1.

[219] David Harcourt, "An Assault On The Jew – Democratic Nut House", in Henry Mayer (ed.), Labor To Power, Sydney, 1973, pp. 111–112.

[220] National Socialist Action Report, No. 14, December 1972, p. 2.

[221] National Socialist Action Report, No. 16, February 1973, p. 3.

[222] For ASIO's integration with Liberal–Conservative forces: Robert Mayne, "How ASIO Exceeds Its Charter", National Times, March 19–24 1973, pp. 1, 4.

[223] Peter Samuel, "Cairns: ASIO's Startling Dossier", The Bulletin, June 22 1974, pp. 8–9.

Ustasha terrorism, strained relations to breaking point.[224] Murphy knowingly asserted seventy Melbourne ASIO officers constituted a special structure to snipe at the government.[225]

Nazis condemned the Murphy raid, arguing "ASIO is not a politically motivated organization".[226] On May 8 1973, at Melbourne's Dallas Brookes Hall, Nazis let off poison gas to disrupt Federal Minister Cairns's reception of a Viet Cong delegation. Violent clashes between police, Nazis and Maoists took place outside.[227] These events had followed a spate of arsons and firearm attacks.[228]

While Young was "interviewed" by Special Branch between May and July 1973, assorted charges were laid only against other Nazis. A full investigation of the poison gas issue was never pursued.[229] Young always understood various charges could have been brought against him.[230] In July, Young fled to Sydney where Nazi records were turned over to ASIO at Special Branch headquarters. He would not be disturbed if he avoided politics and stayed out of Victoria.[231]

It may be concluded that ASIO choreographed a 'dirty tricks operation' against a Federal Minister and then, realizing the danger of detection, closed down the auxiliary organization, which was otherwise on a dangerous rampage.

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[224] Researched articles in Tribune included: "Murphy, ASIO And The Ustasha: The Facts", March 27 1973, p. 1; "Labor's Biggest Problem: The Bureaucracy", April 3 1973, p. 3; "Power Plays Against Labor", April 10 1973, p. 3; "Labor's Anti-Climax On ASIO", April 17 1973, p. 2.

[225] "Murphy Confirms Existence Of Private Spy Force", The Australian Financial Review, August 23 1973, p. 4.

[226] Cass Young, "Feds Raid ASIO", Stormtrooper, No. 10, April 1973, pp. 1–2.

[227] "Police Hold Nazi After Vietnam Demo", The Age, May 9 1973, p. 1; "Fast Tango in East Melbourne", Sun, May 9 1973, p. 1; Witness A−1.

[228] "Fascist Attacks On East Wind Bookshops", and "Nazi Thugs And Backers Should Be Exposed And Punished", Vanguard, April 12 1973, p. 4.

[229] Bryan Jamieson, "Poison Gas Plot By Nazis", Truth, July 28 1973, pp. 1, 3; David Harcourt, "Cass Struggles On", Nation Review, August 3−9 1973, p. 1298. Here Young admitted Special Branch seized "gas" and weapons.

[230] Cass Young; Claude Woods.

[231] Witness A−1.

The twilight war had a profound destabilizing effect on the Melbourne Left. The Maoists concentrated on the Nazis as indicative of incipient fascism.[232] They confused a phantom with a significant fascist movement. Their fury was understandable, but their moral anguish at the 'brownshirts' caused a misallocation of limited resources and failed to move workers into the Maoist camp. Maoists and other leftists surmised the Intelligence–Nazi link[233] but blundered regardless, successfully ensnared into the twilight war. Occasionally also, the CPA(M-L) struck at other leftists for lack of anti-fascist fervour.[234] From late 1973, WSA activism declined, following chronologically the collapse of the NSPA. The movement was derailed. The 'traces' of Nazi–Intelligence–Zionist chicanery disappeared.

(e)   Brisbane Nazism 1968-73

After years of clandestine activity, a section of Cawthron's NSPA formed in 1968. Until the 1970 Election, its main campaigns revolved around non-violent protests of the CPA and Brian Laver's anarchists.[235]

In 1971 the leadership of Niemeyer, Raymond Gillespie, Des Hatton and brothel-operator, Gary Mangan, escalated activism at a propitious moment in Queensland politics. The League was active, Bjelke-Petersen was increasingly a messiah to conservatives and the Left was active amongst youth and the streets.[236]

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[232] "Ruling Class Prepares For More Fascist Repression", Vanguard, June 15 1972, p. 4; Law And Order And Violence, CPA(M-L) pamphlet, Melbourne, 1972.

[233] "Fascism Challenged", Continent, May 1973, p. 3: for proceedings of 'Anti-Fascist Sunday', April 8 1973.

[234] "Trotskyists Serve U.S. Inspired Fascist Offensive", Vanguard, March 22 1973, p. 8; Louise King, Interview, 1983, for Maoist organized assaults on Trotskyists, their lack of anti-fascist fervour, another aspect of their 'anti-communist' position.

[235] Raymond Gillespie, Interview, 1995. Gillespie joined in 1968 at age 18 as an apprentice–bookbinder. He served as secretary. David McKnight, op.cit., p. 215, for ASIO concern at Laver's activism.

[236] John Harrison, "Faith In The Sunshine State: Joh Bjelke-Petersen And The Religious Culture Of Queensland", PhD Thesis, University of Queensland, 1991, pp. 506–8; Hugh Lunn, Joh: The Life And Political Adventures Of Johannes Bjelke-Petersen, St. Lucia, pp. 93–4.

The large Special Branch included Les 'Fat Guts' Hogan, David Ferguson, Jim Howard[237] and Liberal Party State Executive member, Don Lane.[238] These men, after pronouncing the NSPA "subversive",[239] and intimidating its members in various ways,[240] conspired with Nazis to unleash two years of violence.

First, in July 1971, a 'State of Emergency' was declared to control 'anti-apartheid' demonstrations during the Springbok Football Tour.[241] On July 21, Hogan commissioned Mangan to throw a brick which hit a police constable guarding the Springboks at the Tower Mill Motel.[242] An NSPA picket incited the crowd outside and the Riot Act was read. The CPA described the

> unprovoked charge on [the] Tower Mill
> demonstrators ... immediately on some other
> officer's order, police charged.[243]

Physical violence was perpetrated on the crowd. Mangan and Hatton were "arrested", but later released from a police van blocks away. Conveniently perhaps, Queensland Police no longer possess records of the Tower Mill riot.[244]

Second, NSPA 'stormtroops' organized violent assaults on anti-Vietnam War demonstrators. The CPA(M–L) claimed a Nazi entered their bookshop and:

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[237] The author has met each of these officers. Ferguson was part-Jewish (reputedly) and Howard later a bodyguard to Prime Minister Hawke. In view of what follows it can be said each had no sympathy for Nazism.

[238] Don Lane, Trial And Error, Brisbane, 1993, p. 71.

[239] "Police Department Office Of The Commissioner Of Police, Instructional Circular 7/70. Memorandum Re Subversive Activities – Communists, Nazis, Revolutionaries And Saboteurs", in Don Lane, op.cit., pp. 300–302.

[240] The Amazing Revelations Of Gary John Mangan (Deceased), National Action leaflet, 1988.

[241] Stewart Harris, Political Football: The Springbok Tour Of 1971, Sydney, pp. 128–139.

[242] Gary Mangan; Raymond Gillespie; 'Ed'.

[243] "Uni Strikes Over Racism, Police State", Tribune, July 28 1971, p. 3.

[244] "Letter Of The Freedom Of Information Unit, Queensland Police Service", April 16 1996. F0I forwarded my enquiries to the State Intelligence Branch whose commander was Inspector Ledicki – formerly of Special Branch.

claimed the police on duty at their punch-ins were

there to protect them from effective retaliation.[245]

Mangan said these words were his words, and were truthful.

Third, a 1972–3 campaign was directed against a new Country Party enemy, the nascent Aboriginal Rights movement.   Homes, churches and vehicles were damaged, and Liberal then-parliamentarian Don Lane, had his office vandalized by Nazis in the name of Aboriginal groups. A new NSPA organizer, Terrence Belford, directed the campaign.[246]

Fourth, Hatton warned the Nazis kept a death-list of prominent Leftists.[247]

Fifth, in 1972, Special Branch provided Nazis with the address of a radical activist, Dick Shearman.[248]

Sixth, the CPA(M-L)'s bookshop was damaged some eight times (1972–3), usually by Nazis, without serious investigation or with inconclusive result.[249]

Seventh, the emergent Trotskyists had their bookshop regularly vandalized.[250]

The targets of NSPA violence were all within Special Branch's brief. Gillespie, alienated by the para-State links of post-Cawthron Nazism and its pathological anti-communism, approached the Sydney Jewish Board of Deputies. Though interested in police–Nazi links,

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[245] "Nazis Helped By Police", Vanguard, July 15 1971, p. 4.

[246] National Socialist Action Report, No. 3, January 1972, p. 1, for legal aspects of this confrontation; Raymond Gillespie; the author discussed this campaign with Belford in 1973 and acquired the details: Jim Saleam, op.cit., p. 8.

[247] "Nazi Death List", Tribune, August 25 1971, p. 8: In 1975, Mangan hospitalized Hatton with no police action. It may be Hatton's claims represented some sort of concealed truth.

[248] Raymond Gillespie; Jim Saleam, op.cit., pp. 6–7.

[249] "Fascist Attacks On East Wind Bookshop", Vanguard, April 12 1973, p. 4; "Police Collude With Fascists In Attacks On Bookshops", Vanguard, June 21 1973, p. 8 (a Sydney attack but useful in context); "Make Fascist Attacks a Mass Question", Vanguard, August 10 1973, p. 3; Alan Knight, "Fire At Maoist Bookshop", Nation Review, August 3–9 1973, p. 1296. (This fire was lit as Captive Nations marchers paraded past the shop – with Nazis in attendance.)

[250] Witness A–3.

they shocked Gillespie: "we know most of this. Go home. Stick with Cass and Katrina ... (Young)."[251]

The expulsion of Mangan from the NSPA in October 1971 centred on his looselipped talk of the Special Branch connection.[252] Mangan thence organized thirty drunken thugs into a 'Fascist Party' which terrorized Left activists. In April 1972, two Fascists bombed the Brisbane CPA building. It was one of a series of Right bombings.[253] Mangan was tried in November 1972 and acquitted on civil-liberties 'technicalities'. Although Mangan could have been tried on related charges, he went free.[254] Vanguard later reported the

> common belief that fascist Mangan laid it on the line
> to the Liberal–Country Party government ... if
> brought to trial he would tell what finance and other
> help was given to fascists.[255]

Mangan claimed the case was "fixed" by Special Branch.[256]

The hundred Queensland Nazis recruited between 1968 and 1973, spoke the same language as the League Of Rights,[257] but regarded themselves as the hard fist of anti-communism. They were prepared to take risks but existed in an atmosphere of State tolerance.[258] However, the para-State link was crafted by careful police who kept sufficient distance from their 'agents'.

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[251] Raymond Gillespie.

[252] Cass Young; Gary Mangan; the 'official reason' concerned Mangan's 'morality'. He ran a brothel (which paid police).

[253] "Who Bombed Sydney Senator?", Tribune, March 10 1972, p. 1; "Political Bombings Here: We Accuse", Tribune, January 11 1972, p. 1.

[254] "Man Charged With Bombing CPA Goes Free", Tribune, November 21 1972, p. 3.

[255] "Another Lesson From The Courts", Vanguard, February 15 1973, p. 3.

[256] Gary Mangan; State Reporting Bureau, The Queen v Gary John Mangan, for the technicalities of the case. The ultra–liberal judicial intervention was remarkable.

[257] Kenneth J. Gibbett, Queensland NSPA Senate candidate 1970, in David Harcourt, Everyone Wants To Be Fuehrer, p. 115; Gibbett later edited National Socialist Newsletter, which sold League theoretical material. See NSN No. 4, August 1971, p. 6.

[258] "Communists Defy Bomb Terrorists, Brand The Guilty", Tribune, April 25 1972, pp. 1, 3; "Nazis Train To Kill", Tribune, May 23 1972, p. 3 – for State disinterest in rightist violence.

The Nazis were the most unacceptable of allies. After 1973, the lifeline was severed and the plant soon wilted. Thuggery yielded to normal police power, and ubiquitous surveillance. The destruction of Special Branch files in 1989, precluded any public inquiry into para-State violence.

(f)   Final Phase Nazism Re-Establishes A Police Link 1973-5

A Melbourne meeting in November 1973 re-established the NSPA with sections in Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane and Adelaide. Cawthron's WUNS Secretariat, which hoped to save something from Australian Nazism, provided Robin Sparrow, an Adelaide University student, as inter-state liaison officer. Shortly thereafter, Cawthron was interviewed by an Adelaide Special Branch detective who advised that the NSPA – "should stay dead. We thought that was agreed."[259] There were 100 Australian Nazis.[260]

The NSPA practised Kafka-esque normalism. It had published an Agricultural Programme (1972) and attacked the ALP for abandoning White Australia (1973). It desired to participate in elections to win the middle class.[261] With the Special Branch connection in abeyance, NSPA 'normals' resolved to cautiously reactivate.[262]

Organizational gravity transferred to Sydney under Secretary Neil Garland, 40, formerly of both the ANSP and NSPA, and Robert Cameron, 25, a railway worker. While other sections became loose networks for the distribution of (often foreign) Nazi material, Cameron operated an activist cell.

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[259] Edward Cawthron.

[260] Neil Garland; in 1976 Garland allowed me to inspect the 'current' list of 73 Nazis (a dozen actives) and other documents and correspondence prior to their destruction.

[261] National Socialist Party Of Australia Agricultural Programme, Melbourne, 1972, was similar to the League's position; Labor Must Go, NSPA leaflet, 1973, attacked Labor on Vietnam and Murphy raid; Restore White Australia, NSPA leaflet, referred to the traditional ALP stand; National Socialist Bulletin, No. 29, October 1972, p. 1.

[262] Robin Sparrow; Neil Garland; Claude Woods.

In March 1974, this former Fascist Party member acquired the membership list of the Trotskyist Socialist Youth Alliance stolen in a 1973 break-in at its Glebe offices. The list was passed to Special Branch, conduct not considered worthy of reproach.[263] The rebuilding of a Special Branch link would prove portentious, giving substance to Australian Nazism and purpose to Cameron's subsequent activities.

In Easter 1974, the NSPA held a "Congress". Cawthron pushed proposals to cease using swastikas and Germanisms, and to approach other racist formations, but these were defeated.[264] Nazis went on to contest the 1974 NSW Senate poll, splitting the racist vote with the White Australia Progressive Party. The results gave John Stewart 1475 votes and Robert Cameron 1025 votes. The 'Skull' contested Werriwa against Gough Whitlam for 89 votes. The NS Bulletin considered the result encouraging.[265]

Cameron switched from this electoral pretence and initiated a vicious campaign aimed at Jack Mundey, Builders' Labourers' Federation (BLF) leader then involved in intra-BLF disputes and the Green Bans movement.[266] The 'Black Order of Fascists' smashed windows of the Third World Bookshop and threatened Left-identity and owner, Bob Gould.[267] Sydney Nazis confronted Trotskyist intellectual Ernest Mandel at Queensland University, scuffling with Left students. Mandel's Trades Hall lecture ended with the location of a fake-bomb device.[268] The Sydney CPA office was daubed with death threats[269] and Garland and an Adelaide Nazi were convicted for damaging books at the Socialist Party's bookshop.[270] Cameron, although on a bond, 'survived' prosecution on damage charges.

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[263] Arthur Smith; Witness A−1; Neil Garland.

[264] Robin Sparrow; Neil Garland. Cawthron resigned from the NSPA and shortly thereafter from WUNS.

[265] National Socialist Bulletin, No. 34, July 1974, pp. 1−2. This Bulletin was edited by those who clearly thought "Nazism" was politically viable and potentially respectable.

[266] "Call For Action Against Fascist Terror Threats", Tribune, January 21 1975, p. 2.

[267] "Workers Must Repel Nazi Right-Wing Threats", Tribune, September 10 1974, p. 2.

[268] "Angry Students Send Four Nazis Running", Daily Telegraph, September 14 1974, p. 1.

[269] "Call For Action Against Fascist Terror Threats", Tribune, January 21 1975, p. 2.

[270] "Nazis Put Paint On Books", Sun, January 3 1975, p. 4. Action Report, undated NSPA members letter (probably early 1975), p. 1.

The conservative mobilization against Labor during 1974–5 never conceded the NSPA any significant role. Indeed, following a sensationalist picket of Brisbane's Maoist bookshop,[271] Cameron developed an adventurist media style. He announced the NSPA operated a combat training camp[272] and a death squad to kill Jim Cairns,[273] had a "death list"[274] would send Nazis to assist crumbling Vietnam[275] and worked with pro-Palestinian organizations.[276]

Cameron had forged a bond with Brisbane Dutch collaborator, Anton Heintjes, who pressed attacks on ALP and Fabian Society figure, Jack Geran.[277] Heintjes urged sensationalist publicity to impress rightist groups with the Nazis' news-worthiness and interest them in unity. However, approaches to various groups were unsuccessful and despite an election flurry (Ross May, 'Werriwa', 263 votes), Australian Nazism was at its nadir.

The NSPA died in December 1975 in a welter of petty conspiracies unworthy of expanded commentary.[278] Nazi loyalists burned Garland's vehicle as punishment for participating in breaking it up. An NSPA Bulletin denounced wreckers and pined for the return of uniformed Nazism.[279] Garland insisted he was used from a point in 1975 as a cover for persons who intensified sensationalist behaviour; he plausibly argued the group's traditional targets had waned by 1975, that the NSPA (1973–5) was plagued by neurotics who replaced those 'normals' who repudiated neo-nazism. A pithy notice appeared in Nation Review – by way of an obituary.[280]

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[271] "Nazis March In", Courier Mail, February 1 1975, p. 1; "Confrontation In The Street", Sunday Mail, February 2 1975, p. 1.

[272] "Nazis Boast Training Camp In Queensland", Tribune, February 11 1975, p. 2.

[273] "Nazi Death Squad: We'll Kill Cairns", Melbourne Truth, March 22 1975, p. 2.

[274] "Nazis Boast Training Camp In Queensland", Tribune, February 1975, p. 2.

[275] "Aussie Nazis Off To Vietnam", Truth, April 12 1975, pp. 1–2.

[276] "Arabs Deny Nazi Links", Melbourne Truth, April 12 1975, p. 3.

[277] "Police Guard ALP Man", Brisbane Sunday Sun, December 1 1974, p. 3; Action Report, undated NSPA members leaflet (probably Dec. 1974), p. 1.

[278] "Nazi Ross Meat In Power Play Sandwich", Melbourne Truth, January 13 1976, p. 3, for Newcastle crank Arthur Tane's activities; Jim Saleam, Never In Nazi Uniform, pp. 11–14, for activities of 'Radical Nationalists' against the NSPA.

[279] NS Bulletin, un-numbered, January 1976, p. 2., denounced Tane, of the 'White Christians League', and "radical-nationalist" Saleam, and Cawthron.

[280] "Notices", Nation Review, April 23–29 1976.

3.   AN EXTREME RIGHT EMERGES 1966–75

In March 1966, the Liberal government abandoned the substance of 'White Australia'. The strange death of racially-restrictive immigration has been variously ascribed to the liberal Immigration Reform Group,[281] "long hairs" in Labor party structures,[282] the Fabian Society,[283] the personal intervention of Hubert Opperman[284] and intellectuals who fostered liberalization of national attitudes.[285] The obscurity of this 'silent revolution' was suggestive of conspiracy within the apparatus of State. Lord Casey, a gnome of the Imperial-State conspiracies of the 1930's, authored The Future of The Commonwealth (1963) to push for change.[286] His associate in the Round Table, Sir Peter Heydon of the Immigration Department, had been active in various 'reforms' of the 1950's.[287] Subsequent Liberal governments pursued the "aim" of a "multiracial society" by the 1980's, whilst sidestepping political flak with occasional rhetoric about quality migrants and assimilation. Dissimulation, as discussed further, could suggest the intention to expand the program once public concerns had been lulled.[288] Seven years passed before Prime Minister Whitlam could openly say: "the White Australia Policy is dead. Give me a shovel and I'll bury it." These years also undermined and shattered the Menzies consensus, via the Vietnam War and the

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[281] Gordon Greenwood and Norman Harper (eds.), Australia in World Affairs 1961–65, Melbourne, 1968, pp. 84–5; this work was published for the Australian Institute of International Affairs, a Round Table spin-off organization.

[282] Sean Brawley, "Long Hairs And Ratbags: The ALP And The Abolition Of The White Australia Policy," in A Century Of Social Change, Haymarket, 1992, pp. 202–219.

[283] Donald Dunstan, quoted in, Silent Invasion, ICA leaflet, undated.

[284] James Mackie (Professor Emeritus, Australian National University), "Oppy's Assault On White Australia", The Australian, letters, April 22 1996.

[285] Nancy Viviani, "Intellectuals And The Abolition Of The White Australia Policy", in Nancy Viviani (ed.), The Abolition Of The White Australia Policy: The Immigration Reform Group Revisited, Mt. Gravatt, 1992, pp. 33–39.

[286] R.G. Casey, The Future Of The Commonwealth, London, 1963, pp. 47, 76, 93.

[287] Leonie Foster, High Hopes: The Men And Motives Of The Australian Round Table, Melbourne, 1986, p. 181.

[288] Katherine Betts, Ideology And Immigration, Carlton, 1988, pp. 104–5; "Gorton Says: Australia Will Abolish Racism", Sydney Morning Herald, January 21 1971, p. 12; Sean Brawley, op.cit., pp. 212–3.

growth of a militant Left. In these turbulent times, the increase in non-European immigration passed unnoticed[289] by a general public transfixed by issues more immediate.

Resistance was quickly forthcoming. The League Of Rights maintained support for 'traditional' migration and condemned "multiracialism" (1966–7).[290] Its campaign of support for Rhodesia (1964–7), acclimatized rightists to racial questions. International communism was blamed for inspiring racial tensions with liberal multiracialists, the dupes of the Left.[291] However, the League was running with other campaigns and while some Right cadre were compelled to 'action', the new anti-immigration groups mobilized new forces.

The first documentable 'resistance' group was the Perth circle of Dutch migrant Robert Nederpelt, which was born and died in April 1966 after a media crucifixion.[292] A more serious effort followed in Perth in early 1968 with the foundation of the Conservative Immigration Movement (CIM) by LOR supporter and public servant Ian Skipworth and council worker Eric Langhorne. CIM opposed "negro" and Asian immigration and organized private and public functions.[293] In 1970 it contested the Western Australian Senate election and gained 4864 votes.[294] Brenda Macintyre, a member of CIM (and most other groups 1969–96) described it, and successor groups in the 1970's, as collections of essentially older middle-class people (including many women) who were shocked by the immigration-change but their determination to act did not involve violence or illegality;[295] Skipworth concurred with this characterization.[296] The Perth groups accepted they espoused a new cause of a fundamental nature which demanded new activist

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[289] "True Or False? Are Published Immigration Figures Accurate?" Viewpoint, No. 7, August–September 1971, pp. 1–4; Did 25000 Non-Europeans Arrive Last Year? ICA leaflet, 1972. The numbers evoked no mass reaction. The pleading tone of the material should be noted.

[290] Church Of Rome's Apostolic Delegate Supports White Australia Policy, League Of Rights pamphlet, 1966.

[291] John Playford, "The Radical Right And The Rhodesia Lobby", Outlook, No. 4, August 1966, pp. 15–18.

[292] "Keep Australia White Is Their Aim", Daily News, April 5 1966; "From Your Letters", Daily News, April 12 1966, for a welter of public criticism of 'racism'.

[293] "Ban Negroes Says WA Race Group", Daily News, August 27 1968.

[294] Commonwealth of Australia, The Senate Election 1970. State of Western Australia Statement Showing The Result. Results: David Smith 4536, Eric Langhorne, 328.

[295] Brenda Macintyre, Interview, August 1996.

[296] Ian Skipworth, Interview, November 1995; Skipworth had also been a president of the W.A. Friends of Rhodesia and an associate of Cawthron's NSPA 1969–70.

organizations. While a <u>drift</u> away from the Conservative Right had begun, the State's role was not questioned beyond ascribing 'bad policy making' to its liberal politicians and functionaries.[297] Certainly, enthusiasm was sustained; the 1971 break-up of CIM saw it followed by a White Australia Party (1972) and a Conservative Party (1974–5) comprising new and former activists.[298]

In New South Wales, a Democratic Party was established in 1970. Two farmers, R.J. Bourke and E.N. Blacker, drafted a Constitution giving 'Aims And Objectives' strongly reminiscent of League principles: "British heritage", "individual rights", "loyalty to Almighty God".[299] However, the Party in contradistinction to the League would participate in electoral activity to win farmers, business people and workers into an electoral, propaganda and activist movement – if only "to keep the Government functional but with an amended policy".[300] Its support for "traditional" immigration won supporters in Perth. A Senate team was fielded in NSW in 1970 and attracted 52,799 votes.[301] Success did not follow the financial outlay and it folded in early 1972 with resultant cadre loss.

The archetypal organization of the anti-immigration genre must be the Immigration Control Association (ICA) founded in 1970 by a retired Sydney importer Robert Clark, 61, and its development was ideal-typical of the development of an Extreme Right beyond conservatism's boundaries. Clark recruited some 500 members (1970–75) launching sections for New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia and, although blessed with funding from conservative Liberals, developed an independent financial base and organization. Through the letterbox leaflet and <u>Viewpoint</u>, ICA lambasted the new colour-blind migration.[302] In 1970, Clark recruited Nick Maina, a Liberal of Greek descent, and

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[297] <u>Brenda Macintyre</u>; <u>Ian Skipworth</u>.

[298] <u>Keep Australia White</u>, White Australia Party leaflet, 1973; WAP leader, David Smith was a South Perth City Council alderman (see: <u>David Smith For Civic Ward</u>, leaflet 1995, and still campaigning Australia "not become a satellite colony of Japan".); <u>News Letter</u>, July 1974, pp. 1–4 (a Conservative Party bulletin)

[299] <u>The Democratic Party Constitution And Rules</u>, p. 1.

[300] <u>Democratic Party Of Australia: 1970 Senate Election – Policy Statement</u>, p. 7.

[301] Commonwealth of Australia, <u>The Senate Election 1970, State Of New South Wales Statement Showing The Result</u>. Results: Richard Bourke, 49996, George Matchett 2803. The Democratic Party received the 'donkey vote' and hence its true support would be difficult to gauge.

[302] "Racial Leaflets Attack Parties' Policies", <u>Sydney Morning Herald</u>, April 8 1972, for an account of ICA activities; ICA material could be crudely provocative: "Do you want a brown Australia? Have

the crankish Laurie Clapperton, whose 1950's British Australian Association attacked European immigration as "Latinization".[303]

Clark became an enemy of Captive Nations conservatives. Clapperton maintained that Clark divided racists from anti-communists. They never forgave him.[304]

Clark considered the immigration issue <u>absolute</u> and although he could equate the new liberalism with marxism, he recognized the indifference of anti-communist leaders like Lyenko Urbanchich towards race issues.[305] ICA nonetheless, occasionally liaised with the League, despite Clark's aversion to Social Credit and conspiratology. He addressed a 1971 League seminar[306] and assisted the organization of Butler's 1972 Sydney debate with Edward St. John, but he stressed ICA's independence.[307]

Clark was not alone in this drift from organized conservatism. In 1972, dentist Noel Macdonald quit the Evans branch of the Liberal Party to contest the seat as an independent with ICA support.[308] Macdonald won 1714 votes (3.21%) against Malcolm Mackay.[309] However, Clark's authoritarian manner bred of 30 years in South Africa, repelled Macdonald who launched the White Australia Progressive Party (WAPP). The WAPP attracted 200 Sydney members (1973–4), including some 'radical' youth elements which gave it a decided Extreme Right direction.[310]

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you seen the increasing number of brown and yellow faces in the streets lately?", in "Multiracial Madness", <u>Viewpoint</u>, No. 3, October–December 1970, p. 1.

[303] "Department of Immigration News Bulletin, No. 53", May 7 1958, in AA CRS A6122/44 Item 1496 (British Australian Association).

[304] <u>Lawrence Clapperton</u>, conversation with author, 1979. I met Clapperton for two hours with Frank Salter in a full discussion of the 'anti-immigration movement'.

[305] <u>Frank S. Salter</u>. Salter had connections to Urbanchich, Clark and other groups.

[306] "Cilento: Keep Race Pure", <u>West Australia</u>, September 20 1971, p. 3.

[307] <u>Immigration Control Association Members Letter</u>, July 1972; Clark described Butler as an "internationally renowned speaker". "Racial Leaflets Attack Parties' Policies", loc. cit., for ICA differentiation from the League.

[308] Immigration Control Association, <u>Confidential Memorandum for Members In Sydney Metropolitan Area</u>, 7 November 1972; "Report On The Election", <u>Viewpoint</u>, No. 22, August–September 1974, p. 2.

[309] "Why Dr Mackay Lost Evans – And When", <u>Viewpoint</u>, No. 14, December 1972–January 1973, pp. 1–4.

[310] <u>Gary Laidlaw</u>, Interview, 1995; <u>Neil Garland</u>; <u>Nick Maina</u>, Interview, 1996; Each interviewee had attended WAPP meetings; I have met other members also. WAPP considered demonstrations, poster campaigns and other 'non conservative' efforts.

The ICA also developed a political wing, the Australian Conservative Party, which criticized the Liberals' drift from Menzies's principles – particularly 'White Australia'. The members were

> tired of trying to exert any worthwhile influence on the existing political parties ... these parties have become so thoroughly infiltrated by Fabian theorists and permissive elements that there is little possibility of being able to stop the rot and the drift towards Socialism ... [311]

The ACP would be:

> a respectable banner of defiance under which people with sound conservative views will be able to rally.[312]

A clue to the type of people ACP/ICA leaders were, appeared in a members' letter:

> For years conservatives in the Liberal Party who objected to the way their Party was going were ignored ... This caused a group ... to form a new political party with a sound conservative programme.[313]

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[311] Australian Conservative Party Members Leaflet, untitled, December 5 1973. The party was founded in Sydney in November 1973.
[312] Immigration Control Association, Confidential Report For The Information Of Members Only, August 27 1973, p. 2.
[313] Australian Conservative Party Members' Letter, September 1975.

The label conservative was partly a device since the ACP also took on the mantle of modern classless 'nationalism'.[314] This Thesis would suggest its ethos had thus acquired a tendentious independency of State parties and conservative allies in establishing a new ideological dynamic.

There were some successes. Although Maina and Clapperton broke with Clark to found a 'White Australian And Aborigines' Defence League' to permit "the Anglo−Saxon in Australia to control his destiny",[315] all came together to campaign against Immigration Minister Al Grassby in the 1974 election.[316] Grassby lost his parliamentary seat, blaming the "racist campaign" and referring to threats.[317] Grassby's emotion spilled over on national television into mutual threats with Maina, Clapperton and Macdonald.[318] However, he rightly noted that the trio who ran as WAPP Senate candidates polled only 1993 votes[319] − less than the NSPA − and pushed for anti-racial vilification legislation to offset the public, as opposed to electoral, impact of 'racist' campaigning.

The anti-immigration cause drew some credible forces. Jack Lang used The Century to campaign on 'White Australia'.[320] He opened the letters column to Maina and Clapperton and allowed the Perth-based CIM to reprint his articles.[321] Arthur Calwell appeared in the

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[314] The Australian Conservative News And Views, August 1975, p. 3. "The Australian Conservative Party is neither 'Right' Nor 'Left' in the outdated sense which divided people on class war lines. It is a modern conservative Nationalist movement dedicated to unite the people of Australia in defence of the nation's heritage ..."

[315] White Australian And Aborigines' Defence League, form letter, December 1973, p. 1.

[316] The idea of this campaign was first with ICA. See: Immigration Control Association, Confidential Report For Members Only, June 19 1973; "Riverina, Putting The Record Straight", Viewpoint, No. 22A, October−December 1974, pp. 1−2; Robert Clark, Immigration Control Association, National President's Report, 1975.

[317] Al Grassby, The Morning After, Canberra, 1979, pp. 95−119; "Grassby Must Go", Viewpoint, No. 22A, for some of the anti-Grassby material.

[318] "Grassby: Punch Up Offers In TV Race Row", Sunday Mirror, May 26 1974.

[319] Al Grassby, op.cit., p. 82; Commonwealth of Australia Electoral Commission, State Of New South Wales, Senate Election 1974, Statement.

[320] J.T. Lang, "White Australia Only True Labor Policy", The Century, May 19 1972, p. 1; J.T. Lang, "Whitlam's Sensible Approach To Immigration", The Century, October 20 1972, p. 1; Lang repudiated his Whitlam error: J.T. Lang, "Whitlam Attacks White Australia", The Century, March 8 1974, p. 1.

[321] CIM reproduced by "permission" − J.T. Lang, "The White Australia Policy", The Century, April 25 1969, p. 1; "Letters To The Editor", The Century, August 9 1974, August 30 1974, October 11 1974, September 20 1974.

press and in his autobiography as a rearguard fighter.[322] In a letter to Brenda Macintyre, Calwell maintained:

> Unfortunately student groups and certain churchmen
> and some starry-eyed enthusiasts who would open
> the floodgates of immigration ... [would] ... destroy
> all our living standards and the homogeneity of our
> people.[323]

Calwell was supported by the Australian Natives' Association which publicly repudiated the new policy.[324]   However, the resistance was outgunned by Liberal–Labor bipartisanship.

The anti-immigration groups were thus campaigning against a swift-running tide. They found it difficult to agree, to coalesce and to attract substantial persons capable of delineating a new ideology. Ian Hampel, a veteran of the Australian Commandoes, drafted The Conservative Party Programme. He recalled the members as people bewildered by change towards 'multiculturalism', World War Two veterans and a "very ordinary" segment of suburban Australia. Few were tertiary educated; they found the verbalization of the 'crisis' difficult and hoped their aggressive propaganda would restore the status quo ante.   Significantly, he noted they professed no particular interest in, or fear of, the Left–radical street forces unlike the Nazis and the Captive Nations Right; they could not be 'directed' into sterile confrontation.[325]

By 1975, two lines had emerged in the broad anti-immigration movement. Maina, after taking over WAPP on Macdonald's death, turned the group into a 'Immigration Restriction

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[322] Arthur Calwell, "Hands Off Our Immigration Laws", West Australian, January 27 1971; Arthur Calwell, Be Just And Fear Not, Hawthorne, 1972, pp. 117–127.
[323] Arthur Calwell, Letter To Brenda Macintyre, May 26 1969.
[324] J.E. Menadue, A Centenary History Of The Australian Natives' Association, Melbourne, 1972, pp. 251–254.
[325] Ian Hampel, Interview, 1996.

Council', another "lobby" and "educational" force of indeterminant membership.[326] In early 1975, an approach came from Brigadier Eason's Victorian 'National Australia Association' (NAA) founded in late 1974. Eason was strongly influenced by the League Of Rights. The ubiquitous eight or nine 'League-like' aims and objectives of defence of Monarchy, Flag, Constitution and individual rights, were listed.[327] Eason anticipated in a continuing satellite style, a broad conservative "anti-socialist" non-party movement which also favoured 'traditional' immigration. Strategically, Eason looked to conservative factions of the Liberal–National parties and the RSL.[328] Maina's group liquidated into NAA.

Clark was unconvinced. However, his Queensland group under Dr John Dique, a disease researcher, was closely allied to the League. Dique had been a member of the League since 1965 [329] and supported Bjelke-Petersen. The League's Heritage Society, established in Melbourne in 1971 with the patronage of Sir Reginald Scholl and Cilento, had diverted 'anti-immigration consciousness' into a defence of the British cultural connection[330] and its NAA side-growth promised only a more radical verbiage.[331]

Consequently, the ICA/ACP was the Extreme Right force; it did not have so much the anti-European-migrant 'echoes' as did other groups.[332] It wanted a new party as well as an educational force. Although most activism centred in Sydney, it had a national membership and acted as a pole of attraction to disgruntled conservatives.

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[326] Immigration Restriction Council Newsletter, November 1974; Secretary's Report, Immigration Restriction Council, February 6 1975; Nick Maina could not give a precise membership of IRC – "perhaps a few dozens". The publications were not well produced.
[327] National Australia Association Constitution And Objectives, Doncaster, 1975, p. 2.
[328] Nick Maina; NAA Appeal For Funds, members' leaflet, 1975.
[329] Dr J.C.A. Dique, Letter To V. Lowe, November 4 1982.
[330] A Melbourne secret society predated Heritage Society. See: The British Brotherhood, leaflet, 1970. The nine League-type points appeared including a new one: "a Union of British Nations within the Commonwealth" which anticipated other groups as the National Front of Australia and the "Crown Commonwealth League Of Rights"; The Heritage Society, leaflet, 1971.
[331] NAA leaflets: The Great Australian Takeover, As Aliens Pour In Australians Get The Sack, What Is Australia Worth To You? (1975), argued for restriction of immigration to Britain/North Europe and a claim immigration was somehow connected to communist conspiracy with a reference to issues such as job losses and university displacements.
[332] A New Political Movement With A Conservatively Progressive Outlook, ACP leaflet, 1975, said ACP "supports the continuation to the British connection and is opposed to the whitling away of ties linking Australia with Britain ..."; but Confidential Circular For Members Only, October 1972, shows ICA opposed only "non-European" immigration and supported "European immigration where assimilation was the goal."

Approaches were directed to the Conservative Party in Perth and the new 'Australian Nationalist White Workers' Party' (ANWWP) in Sydney to augment the core,[333] while discussions were pursued with conservative groups for an attack upon the proposed 'Racial Discrimination Act' criminal sanctions for racist conduct.[334]

The ANWWP formed in 1974 by English National Front member John Raven and Alex Norwick was a new development, an anticipation of the radical–nationalist line discussed in Chapter Five.[335] Although it recruited only fifty members, various East European anti-communists provided some monetary support.[336] Norwick conferred with Maina and Garland but repudiated their respective monarchist and neo-nazi positions. The ANWWP trumpeted "racial socialism" and devised posters and leaflets for "working class suburbs";[337] but clearly Clark dominated the Extreme Right milieu as the crisis of 1975 unfolded.

The 1975 Constitutional crisis tested and broke the small Extreme Right. The lack of compelling historical evidence on the international machinations underlying 'the dismissal' of Whitlam's government has produced various conspiracy theories usually from the Left – which cannot be absolutely discounted.[338] At least, there existed a conservative extra-parliamentary mobilization directed at the Labor government which would confirm

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[333] Brenda Macintyre; Ian Hampel; Alex Norwick, Interview, 1995.

[334] ICA's fearful and critical attitude towards 'anti-racial vilification legislation': See – "The Racial Discrimination Act 1974 Attacks Your Basic Right Of Free Speech", Viewpoint, No. 23, January–February 1975, pp. 1–4; Clark told me Dique handled approaches to the conservatives.

[335] Unconnected groups like the 'Eureka Students League' and 'Radical-Nationalists' also fit this category. See elsewhere.

[336] ANWWP met on Ukrainian Club premises; anecdotal and circumstantial information from Captive Nations activists Tiiu Simmul, Oleg Kavenenko, John Kedys; discussions, 1976–79, with these E. Europeans judging it an "activist" ally.

[337] What Is Racial Socialism? ANWWP leaflet, 1975; Join The Australian Nationalist White Workers' Party, poster, 1975; Neil Garland affirms attempts were made by other Nazis to intimidate ANWWP into 'union' – which was rejected.

[338] Denis Freney, The CIA's Australian Connection, Sydney, 1977, pp. 22–38; E.F. Hill, The Great Cause Of Australian Independence, Melbourne, 1977, pp. 121–3; Brian Toohey and Dale Van Atta, "New Light On CIA Role In 1975", National Times, March 21–27 1982, pp. 12, 14–17; "How The CIA Saw The 1975 Crisis", National Times, March 28–April 4 1982, pp. 16, 18, 20.

traditional marxist arguments against the Right.[339]   Whatever the Nazi role, the Conservative Right and the Extreme Right roles were ideological and activist. A pattern of 'anti-socialist' 'anti-union' and anti-communist activity emerged under Liberal–National party inspiration.

In November 1973, the League Of Rights (Queensland) sponsored a 'Save Our State' movement to garner critical support for Bjelke-Petersen.[340] His rise to 'messiah' status for conservatives has been explored.[341] The SOS warned of centralist socialists leeching upon Queensland's economic wealth and characterized Whitlam as "WHITLAM" a nazi-communist.[342] Socialism, "whether national or international", sought to destroy states' rights and erect dictatorship. Bjelke-Petersen's 'Inflation Plan' (1974) was touted by the League as practical Social Credit, the portent of a 'State Bank' of credit-issue which would emancipate Queensland from "international finance."[343] Citizens For Freedom came onto Brisbane streets to protest Australia's recognition of Soviet incorporation of the Baltic states.[344]

In Perth in August 1974 Tony McGillick resurfaced, to lead a 'Private Citizens Protest' outside Trades Hall, against strikes and communists.[345] In May 1975 Jennifer McCallum, a Melbourne housewife, led a 'People Against Communism' (PAC) mass rally; quickly thereafter, Sir Henry Bolte and Senator McMannus (DLP) became her "patrons". The PAC activated housewives, small business people and migrants against 'Labor socialism'.[346] A similar rally of Captive Nations and NAA took Sydney's Town Hall in

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[339] This Thesis would accept the argument in Andrew Moore, "Send Lawyers, Guns And Money!", pp. 454–459. Moore observed a subjection of the Right to State requirement in the anti-Whitlam fight.
[340] Jeremy Lee, States Rights Force Founded, LOR members' letter, December 1973.
[341] John Harrison, "Faith In The Sunshine State: Joh Bjelke-Petersen And The Religious Culture Of Queensland", pp. 504–7.
[342] Save Our State, broadsheet, 1974.
Stop WHITLAM, SOS poster, 1975; Down The Inflation Road To National Socialism – The Real Meaning Behind The Whitlam–Cairns–Coombs Programme, leaflet, 1974.
[343] The Petersen Plan, League Of Rights leaflet, 1974; David Kitto, The Petersen Plan Campaign, League Of Rights leaflet, Adelaide, 1974; An Open Letter to All Australian Housewives, League Of Rights leaflet, 1974(5).
[344] Freedom For The Baltic States, CFF members leaflet, September 1975.
[345] "Reaction Organizes – League Of Rights, R.S.L.", Tribune, August 20 1974, p. 3.
[346] For some detail: Social Sciences Resource Unit, Macquarie University, 1/D/7, Box 1; "Anti Communism Crawling Out Of Woodwork", Tribune, October 8 1975, p. 8.

June for an anti-socialist protest,[347] and a National Interest Committee called out hundreds in Maitland.[348] In 1974 an injudicious NSW RSL President, Colin Hines, spoke of a need for a mass service organization (not unlike GB'75 of Britain's Colonel Stirling) to avert "breakdown".[349] His close links with the Right suggested he was parroting the wild rhetoric of the time, the 'strategy of tension' against Labor.[350]

On August 13 1975 NAA hosted a Right-assembly addressed by Michael Mackellar, Shadow Immigration Minister. Although no public 'racist' statement was made,[351] members of the NAA, NSPA, ANWWP and ICA left the gathering convinced immigration-restriction would be 'soon' reinvoked.[352] Thereafter, the Liberal controlled Senate blocked anti-racial vilification legislation. The NAA may also have provided Bjelke-Petersen with "our Queensland liaison officer" and his phoney Senate appointee Pat Field,[353] who played a role in Whitlam's demise.

The coordination of the Conservative Right by the Liberal–National parties extended to private discussions between Eric Butler and Fraser in early 1975 where the League's pro-Constitution stance was stressed.[354]

After the November 11 1975 'putsch' the ICA was also 'co-ordinated'. The approach was made by Liberal Sydney solicitor and 'Uglies faction' member, David Clarke. The

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[347] NAA Members Letter, September, 1975.

[348] "Another Right Group Formed To Save Free Enterprise", Tribune, March 11 1975, p. 12. Later Liberal Federal President John Valder was a speaker.

[349] "Ready For A New Guard", Sun, August 20 1974, p. 5.

[350] Hines addressed at least one meeting of the Immigration Restriction Council in December 1974. See Immigration Restriction Council Newsletter, March 1975, p. 14.

[351] National Australia Association, Members' Letter, November 10 1975, did refer to "our former misgivings of the Liberal Party's Left-wing divergence from ... Menzies (policy) ..."

[352] Nick Maina; I have spoken with various persons who attended the meeting – Cameron, Clark, and others. It seems Mackellar 'offstage' created this "impression".

[353] National Australia Association Newsletter, February 1976, p. 2. Field later attended League meetings in Brisbane.

[354] Peter Henderson, Edited Interview With Eric Dudley Butler, March 25 1997; Eric Butler, The Truth, p. 86.

ACP was admonished <u>not</u> to field candidates and rely on (Round Table member) Michael Mackellar favouring their perspective.[355]   The ACP advised:

> ... Conservative Party candidates would most certainly draw their support from people who ... vote for the Liberal/NCP coalition ... their presence may be detrimental to the present purpose of ridding Australia of the socialist lunacy ... once that is achieved we ... [must] ... convince the supposedly conservative Mr Fraser ... [to] ... stop the trendy elements from drifting the Liberal Party to the left ...[356]

Like ANWWP, Perth Conservatives, Queensland ICA and others, ACP deluded itself to believe it was participating in a broad popular movement. Hysteria, the Liberal–National machines' entreaties and the obvious dearth of ideological discrimination produced 'loyalists' to balance Left street support for Labor.

<u>CONCLUSION</u>

The evidence demands a severe verdict on the Satellite Right.   Its State-dependent substance, more than its rhetoric and programmes, explained its <u>quality</u>.

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[355] The author was told this by Robert Clark (1981); <u>Vincent Lowe,</u> Interview, 1996. Lowe was an executive member of ICA/Conservative Party; A <u>Report From Deputation Which Recently Met The Minister For Immigration And Ethnic Affairs,</u> April 29 1976, suggests a friendly response. Clark and <u>Lowe</u> claimed later ICA members played a role in Mackellar's Liberal 'preselection'. "At Last – A Realist", <u>Viewpoint</u>, No. 29, March–April 1976, p. 1 praised Mackellar's 'Drive For British Migrants'; "Dr Klugman's Fascist Smear", <u>Viewpoint</u>, No. 8, October–November 1971, p. 3 refers to a debate between Klugman and Mackellar in Parliament where the former inferred ICA's endorsement of Mackellar.
[356] "Why There Are No A.C.P. Candidates", <u>The Australian Conservative News And Views,</u> November 29 1975, p. 1; "It Is Now Up To The People", <u>Viewpoint</u>, No. 27, December 1975: ICA noted the Liberal Senate struck down parts of the Racial Discrimination Bill: "we have to thank the Liberal–NP coalition ...", "to whom we owe no less than our continued existence as an association ..."

The conservative State moved out of the Empire into the Western anti-communist alliance. In the conservative mobilization phase (1944–49), the auxiliary organizations proved useful; the State (1949–65) fostered and received support from effective satellites. With anti-communism the source of doctrine and action, they never questioned the relationship. Hence Moore's belief that Menzies made the Right "virtually redundant",[357] could be rejected; rather the Satellite Right was a significant aspect of the conservative order. The State monopolised violence, but these privatized auxiliaries were propagandist weapons of anti-communist discipline and conservative hegemony.

The mid-1960's produced a revitalized Left, dynamic through to the Fraser 'coup'. A new reactive Right emerged and the League Of Rights expanded but there was no change of auxiliary status. In this way Nazi activism was determined as part of the mosaic of reaction to the new militant Left and integrated with other Right responses. The additional element was intensive para-State manipulation tacitly accepted by many leaders and activists. Regardless of the formative impulse and the episodic independence of some players, the Nazi phenomenon was a potemkin-fascism, a militant conservative satellite whose significance must lie in the distractional and perpetual violence against the Left, waged vehemently – particularly between 1970 and 1973.

The conservative auxiliaries did not provide inspiration or activist cadre for an independent Extreme Right. The Extreme Right's emergence after 1966 was chiefly a response to those immigration reforms which challenged the European basis of the society. However, this response was inconsistent. The new groups utilized the term 'conservative' whilst participating in aggressive campaigns and electoral contests. Some were critical of 'unassimilable' non-British migrants, while others raised an inclusive-European perspective. If the Right was a non-party movement, linked to anti-communist activism, the new Extreme Right was less motivated by the 'threat from marxism'. Indeed, ICA/ACP kept a distance from the League and Captive Nations Right milieu. It repudiated any link with the

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[357] Andrew Moore, The Right Road?, p. 58.

Nazis[358] and called itself nationalist. However, in an environment new to independency, the siren call of the Conservative Right, with its nostalgia for the Menzies order, was ever present. After Mackellar's wooing of the Right, but just prior to ACP's capitulation to Fraser, Viewpoint proclaimed:

> We feel that after a Liberal Party government led by
> Mr Fraser and with the present Shadow Minister
> Mr Mackellar in charge of Immigration we may [we
> hope] have less reason to be critical ... we have
> merely suspended operations and not disbanded ...
> [359]

The ICA/PCP's Extreme Right position contended with other organizations and conservative NAA-type anti-immigrationism. It was denied space to grow.

A 'resource mobilization' argument provides perspective.[360] There was a cause, and an activist base with some disposable income and time; but it depended upon older people with 'something to lose'. There were few working class or youth elements and with the core of Menzies-nostalgics in command – little confrontation. The stress under which the new Right operated was not economic but cultural-psychological. Increasing non-European immigration and the new policy of multi-culturalism brought political alienation. The '1945' mind-set implied a certain confusion with 'modernity'. Such persons had never considered political militancy and not surprisingly, their 'extremism' was inconsistent. The community was unresponsive to their warnings of catastrophe (as shown in electoral results) and the tendency to schism easily arose from leaders and cliques groping blindly after better methods.

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[358] ICA Confidential Members' Letter, November 1972, warned of "National Socialist" candidates and to place them and Communist candidates – last. Cawthron and Clark both admitted to meeting in 1970 and Clark advised Cawthron against 'Nazi' politics.
[359] "Important Announcement", Viewpoint, No. 26, July–August–September 1975, p. 4. This newsletter appeared in October 1975.
[360] Gary T. Marx and Douglas McAdam, Collective Behaviour And Social Movements, Englewood Cliffs, 1994, pp. 81–83: "organizational resources", "discretionary income", and a "conscience constituent" were all available factors.

Grim <u>irony</u> attended the collapse of the Extreme Right. Refugee-boat-arrivals were regular events in Northern Australia from early 1976.[361]

[361] "Those Vietnamese Refugees", <u>Viewpoint</u>, No. 25, May–June 1975, pp. 2–3; Opposition Leader Fraser's "mistaken judgement" was roundly criticized for supporting admission of 'boatpeople' in larger numbers, over the limited response of the Whitlam government.

PART II:
THE FOUR FACES OF THE EXTREME RIGHT,
1975-95

CHAPTER THREE

INTRODUCTION: DEVELOPING A NEW TYPOLOGY

Chapter Two has argued that the Australian Right (1945−75) was dominated by conservative organizations, satellites of the core power bloc and faithful auxiliaries. Whether propaganda groups, or violent para-State connected structures, they functioned to preserve a conservative-capitalist system. However, the formative Extreme Right had focused upon the politics of race − which the State could not accommodate. The following discussion of the post-1975 period will show the Extreme Right's independence of both State and para-State and describe its anti-establishment challenge.

Applying typologies after 1975 has difficulties. The nature of 'Extreme Right' principles and the definition of its independence are contentious. Australian research is weak and the field is besieged by inaccurate journalism and propaganda.

One 1989 journalistic survey advanced a typology based upon "hatred" − in degrees and forms − only to be joined by recent scholarship which has sought to reduce the Extreme Right to instigators and practitioners of racist 'hate-crime'.[1] The Sydney Institute's Dr. Gerard Henderson contrived a 'Lunar Right', and characterized its protectionist, racist and isolationist views, as irrational and dangerous.[2] Jewish opinion has searched for anti-semitism and with iron consistency stigmatized groups accordingly.[3] The Australia−Israel Review has refused to distinguish anti-semitism, anti-Zionism and criticism of Israel,[4] and like the American Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Zionists, located proto-nazism

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[1] Lyndall Crisp, "Harvest of Hate", The Bulletin, April 4 1989, pp. 42−47; Chris Cunneen, David Fraser and Stephen Tomsen (eds.), Faces Of Hate: Hate Crime In Australia, Annandale, 1997,   pp. 1−14.

[2] Gerard Henderson, "Lunar Right Rising", Sydney Morning Herald, The Good Weekend, April 9 1994, pp. 70−79; Gerard Henderson, "It's Time To Muzzle The Lunar Right's Baying", The Australian, April 4 1989, p. 7.

[3] Jeremy Jones, "Writing About The Lunar Racist Right", Australian Jewish News, April 14 1989, p. 4.

[4] From the effect of the arrangement of the articles: Australia−Israel Review, Vol. 13, No. 18, October 13−26 1988, pp. 6−7; Vol. 16, No. 7, May 1−14 1991, p. 7; Vol. 16, No. 12, July 10−23 1991,   pp. 6−7; Michael Agursky, "The Soviet Campaign Against Zionism", Australia−Israel Review,   Vol. 12, No. 6, April 13−28 1987, p. 3; "On The Far Right", Australia−Israel Review, Vol. 12, No. 5, March 29 − April 11 1987, p. 3.

on the Left and the Right and amongst various ethnic groups.[5] Nonetheless, the idea that anti-semitism is the Right's focus has been criticized by liberal opinion.[6]

Anti-semitism has been confused with "neo-nazism", another concept seldom defined, and applied to disparate groups.[7] It is often a pejorative term of malicious obfuscational power wielded by journalists. This Thesis argues there existed a deliberate intent to blend 'anti-semitism', 'neo-nazism' and the 'Extreme Right' into a propaganda picture.

This course was undertaken by David Greason whose book, I Was A Teenage Fascist, was lionized in the press, the Australia−Israel Review and on the Left.[8] While "defector" literature must be scrutinized for reliability, this work was extensively plagiarized for themes, characterization and dialogue.

The author compared Greason's book with Cecil Sharpley's The Great Delusion: The Autobiography Of A Communist Leader and I Was A Communist Leader.[9] Sharpley and Greason described adolescent loneliness and exaggerated mother feelings,[10] awakening from intellectual sleep in a library,[11] feeling the call of political adventure in their commitments,[12]   and   being   chosen   for   higher   movement

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[5] Isi Leibler, The Escalation Of Anti-Israel And Anti-Semitic Agitation, Melbourne, 1974; Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, The New Anti-Semitism, New York, 1974; "Istanbul Synagogue Massacre", Australia−Israel Review, Vol. 11, No. 17, September 23 − October 6 1986, p. 1; "Passion, Pride And Prejudice", Australia−Israel Review, Vol. 17, No. 14, July 28 − August 10 1992, p. 1. An Australian Jewish Anti Defamation Commission now exists.

[6] Phillip Adams, "The Role Of The Media", Without Prejudice, No. 8, April 1995, pp. 47−52, remarks at 'Racism And Anti-Semitism In Contemporary Australia Conference', Melbourne, 1994.

[7] Mark Skulley, "Clash Of Opposites In The Racist Right", Sydney Morning Herald, January 4 1992, p. 45;

[8] David Greason, I Was A Teenage Fascist, Fitzroy, 1994. For media support: Don McDonnell, "The Accidental Fascist", Herald−Sun News Review, July 30 1994, pp. 13−15; for the Left's sympathetic attitude: Sean Lennon, "What Makes A Fascist?", Green Left Weekly, October 19 1994, p. 14; Justice Marcus Einfeld, "Facing Up To Fascism", Australia−Israel Review, 10−30 August 1994, pp. 9, 12, for a laudatory review.

[9] Cecil Herbert Sharpley, The Great Delusion: The Autobiography Of A Communist Leader, Melbourne, 1952; Cecil Herbert Sharpley, I Was A Communist Leader, Sydney, 1950.

[10] Comparisons 10−16. The Great Delusion/I Was A Teenage Fascist by page numbers: 10. (i), 2/ 5−40, 19−23, 143−148.

[11] 8/35−36, 66, 143.

[12] 9−10/40, 155, 200.

tasks by the leaders.[13] They similarly described CPA/LOR offices,[14] the desire to leave the movement yet they stay on[15] and a remarkable "dream" which affects each as he meets his nemesis.[16]

Greason also recounted in Sharpley's terms, tales of incompetence[17] and the failed personalities attracted to the divisive Extreme Right.[18]

Greason's plagiarism had other sources. Ray Hill's The Other Side Of Terror: Inside Europe's Neo-Nazi Network acclaimed by the British Searchlight magazine, was utilized for descriptions of: The Turner Diaries (as below), "Strasserism", and international Right trends.[19] The Simon Wiesenthal endorsed work by East German neo-nazi Ingo Hasselbach – Fuhrer-Ex: Memoirs Of A Former Neo-Nazi[20] – was the likely inspiration for material on lust for an Asian prostitute,[21] fractured adolescence,[22] threats from former contacts and the life of redemption.[23] Lastly, the ultra-sectarianism of the Trotskyist 'Spartacist League' – revealed in "I Was A Teenage Sectarian" – provided background to be grafted upon the Extreme Right.[24]

Bluntly, the connection of Greason, Hill and Hasselbach with Jewish 'anti-racist' organizations, implied an international Jewish agenda to project the Extreme Right through the neo-nazi/anti-semitic prism. Greason has applied this logic and played a role in inciting

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[13] 11/72.

[14] 11/40.

[15] 113–4/220, 221, 223.

[16] 119/297–8.

[17] Comparisons 17–18. I Was A Communist Leader/I Was A Teenage Fascist by page numbers: 17. 3/275.

[18] 10/223–4, 265–6, 262.

[19] Ray Hill, The Other Side Of Terror: Inside Europe's Neo-Nazi Network, London, 1988; Hill's postscript, pp. 291–298 with Greason's last chapter 'The Right True End'.

[20] Ingo Hasselbach, Fuhrer-Ex: The Memoirs Of A Former Neo-Nazi, London, 1996. This book appeared in German in 1993 suggesting a translation was provided. Greason also supported Yaron Svoray's sensationalized account of German neo-nazis on an Australian-speaking tour in 1995. Svoray's scare-mongering-claims, sponsored by Simon Wiesenthal Centre, were repudiated by German prosecutors.

[21] Comparisons notes 21–23. Hasselbach/Greason: 21. 176/242–3.

[22] 3–40/5–30.

[23] 356–8, 370–84/295–311.

[24] "Dawn McEwan's Flight From Trotskyism: I Was A Teenage Sectarian", Australasian Spartacist, No. 86, July 1981, pp. 11, 14–15: David Greason, op.cit., pp. 244–247.

the Left against the Extreme Right.[25]   Care must therefore be applied in assimilating 'information' from Zionist sources.

Australian society since 1975 has reflected a liberal-internationalist rather than conservative ideological hegemony. Significantly, Cathcart compared his 1919–1930's paradigm which partitioned politics into 'pro-British' / 'anti-British' with contemporary racist/anti-racist discourse.[26] Upon this dominant logic, the League Of Rights became a racist bogy and – "extreme".[27] During the hyper-internationalist 'Eighties, the ground occupied by the entire Right was minimal, and from the liberals' distance, Right typologies meant nothing. There was only the murky world of 'racism-extremism-violence-anti-semitism'.

The contemporary Extreme Right is under-researched.   Peter Henderson, after concentrating upon fundamentalist Christianity as vital for Right typology,[28] has described as the basis for doctoral research, a pattern of episodic and marginal individual militancy around Right themes.[29] This program could underestimate the Extreme Right and not discern its variations. Andrew Moore's The Right Road? advanced core postulates about the nature of the Right. It was held "more extreme than mainstream 'conservative' groups like the Liberal Party ... (while) the relationship ... ebbed and waned …". It used conspiracy theory as an organizing principle and expressed various ideas of nationalism while being suspicious of liberal-democracy.[30] Although Moore noted correctly the Anglophilic nature of this 'Right', he did not conceptualize the inter-relationship of the conservative auxiliaries and the State nor separate the Conservative Right from the Extreme Right and explain the basis of its mobilization. Various errors and misinterpretations referred to elsewhere in the Thesis misdirected useful observations. Moore's marxist

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[25] Sean Lennon, op.cit.; Citizens' Electoral Councils Of Australia, Is The Anti-Defamation League Spying On You?, Melbourne, 1995. I quote this document for its newspaper–file reference only.

[26] Michael Cathcart, Defending The National Tuckshop, pp. 123–6.

[27] Paul Gardner, "Profile: The League Of Rights In Australia", Without Prejudice, No. 3, June 1991, pp. 42–52; this view also appeared in Andrew Campbell, op.cit. (see Chapter 2).

[28] Peter Henderson, "Who's Who In The Zoo?", Union Issues, No. 14, Summer 1992, pp. 8–10.

[29] Peter Henderson, Letter To James Saleam, June 14 1996.

[30] Andrew Moore, The Right Road?, pp. 3–4.

perspective, which maintained that the State did not require "terror" to maintain capitalism – as an explanation for the Right's failure[31] – will be challenged.

To conform to the analysis imposed in Chapter One, it was considered that the tripartite Right taxonomy should be utilized for the post-war period. Scholarship which defined contemporary European/American neo-fascism, Extreme Rightism and other Right phenomena, with all their ideological variations, advanced this logic as useful and explanative.[32]

However, concessionally there are terminological difficulties: Lacquer argued of the second and third categories:

> Why use the term neo-fascism in the first place if the
> neo-fascists observe the democratic rules? ... what
> alternative terms could be used? Several have been
> suggested ... right-wing extremism, right-wing
> radicalism, radical right populism, national populism
> and national revolutionaries.[33]

A certain degree of classificatory inventiveness is called for. If the axis for the Australian-specific classification becomes the conflicting Anglocentric and nativist-European concepts of national identity and State legitimacy, which are bonded to differing strategic-tactical approaches and social clienteles, the new tripartite paradigm would be: Conservative Right, Extreme Right, Radical-Nationalist. If this rationale was applied into the discussion in Chapter Two, selected organizations would classify as:

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[31] ibid, p. 144.
[32] Roger Griffin, The Nature Of Fascism, pp. 161–2, 170–2; Stanley Payne, A History Of Fascism, pp. 497–8.
[33] Walter Lacquer, Fascism, Oxford, 1996, pp. 7–8.

Table 3.1   Australian Right Organizations 1945−1975

Conservative Right	Extreme Right	Radical-Nationalist
Citizens' Rights Associations	Immigration Control Association	Individual 'Nazis' − Smith Cawthron
NSW People's Union	Australian Conservative Party	Australian Nationalist White Workers' Party
League Of Rights	White Australia Progressive Party	Eureka Students' League
Defend Australia League	White Australia Party	Radical−Nationalists
Citizens For Freedom	W.A. Conservative Party	
Christian Anti-Communism Crusade	Democratic Party	
National Australia Association		
Australian Nazi 'parties'		

Without pre-empting the discussion of the ideology, politics and organization of the Extreme Right, selected significant groups for the contemporary period 1975−95 classify as:

Table 3.2   Australian Right Organizations 1975−1995

Conservative Right	Extreme Right	Radical-Nationalist
League Of Rights	Immigration Control Association	Australian National Alliance
Council For A Free Australia	Progressive Conservative Party	Australian National Action
National Flag Association	National Front Of Australia	Australian Populist Movement
National Australia Association	Some Firearms Rights Groups	National Republican Movement
Patriotic Lobby	Confederate Action Party	Australian National Vanguard
Constitutional Heritage Protection Society	Rural Anti-Bank Action Groups	Phoenix Alliance
Peter Sawyer's Inside News	Enterprise Freedom And Family	
	Australians Against Further Immigration	

Paradigms are heuristic and some groups present mixed features. The satellite period, with a phase of Queensland exceptionalism aside, was over and a new challenge to the internationalist State came from a protean Right in fundamentally new political circumstances.

Generally, the Conservative Right was a product of prior auxiliary status and retained loyalty to symbolic and ideological Anglo-Australian traditionalism, while avoiding violence and abstaining from electoralism. Groups formed in leagues, lobbies, associations and councils, older people predominating, to 'educate the public'; but the conservatives came to deny the 'legality' of State power under the impress of the 1986 Australia Act. With the collapse of Bjelke-Petersen's system, the satellites received independence.

Generally, the Extreme Right created electoral 'parties' or activist structures, engaged in physical activism and developed cadres and propaganda. Some groups radicalized conservative ideas and challenged the State as corrupt and constitutionally illegitimate, as a failure in delivering freedom and identity. This limited delegitimization of the State encouraged the Extreme Right to desire political power or challenge the State's internationalist ideology.

The Radical-Nationalists shared Extreme Right methods and advanced others, but embraced the republican-nationalist-labour heritage. Groups denied the modern State's historical legitimacy and expressed the palingenetic impulse. In this manner this category has replaced the 'Fascist' one of the pre-1945 period (although the question of neo-fascism is debated below).

This paradigm suggests the radicalization of the Right. Notedly, O'Maolain arrived at a similar tripartite position with anti-communist, ultra-conservative and extreme right categories for the international Right,[34] with fifteen broad points of policy variously

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[34] C. O'Maolain, The Radical Right: A World Directory, p. vii.

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shared.[35]   While focusing on the Establishment-aligned Right, O'Maolain's notice of the Extreme Right's independence was valuable.   Eatwell's delineation of five 'Rights' – Reactionary Right, New Right, Liberal Right, Conservative Right, Extreme Right – certainly affirmed the Extreme Right as an independent quality.[36] Eatwell subsequently distinguished between the Extreme Right/Fascism–neo-fascism at the levels of core-myth, class substance and degree of radicalization of temper and programme.[37]

However, in the Australian case, the ideological paradigm alone was adjudged conceptually insufficient.   It would not (i) accommodate neo-nazism (which combined features of each category with some curious additives), (ii) distinguish Radical Nationalism and the 'Extreme Right' without divorcing them completely, (iii) place within its framework new discourses like environmentalist anti-immigrationism and the radical 'freedom-movement' with its occasional populist 'anti-liberal-elite' interpretation of monarchical power.

Two foreign academic studies suggested ways to develop a typological descriptive second-paradigm. Barrett, a Canadian researcher, attempted classification:

> … the fringe right is 'moderate' only in relation to the radical right … in this study the 'Radical Right' shall refer to those … racists, fascists and anti-semites and who are prepared to use violence … The fringe Right will refer to people who share the view the Tory Party is controlled by Socialists posing as conservatives, who oppose Third World immigration, foreign aid, homosexuality …[38]

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[35] ibid., p. viii. See Chapter Ten, for discussion of this typology.
[36] Roger Eatwell, "The Nature Of The Right: The Right As A Variety Of Styles Of Thought", in Roger Eatwell and Noel O'Sullivan (eds.), The Nature Of The Right: European And American Political Thought Since 1789, London, 1989, pp. 62–76.
[37] Roger Eatwell, "Towards A New Model Of Generic Fascism", pp. 167–9, 189–90.
[38] Stanley R. Barrett, Is God A Racist? The Right-Wing In Canada, Toronto, 1987, pp. 9–10.

His description of 'Fringe Right' interests could merge my Conservative Right and Extreme Right categories; his 'Radical-Right' loosely fits my Radical-Nationalism category. The long lists of Canadian 'fringe' organizations and their single-issue orientations would prove to have Australian equivalents (see Chapter Eight).

Spoonley's New Zealand study separated the Right along petty bourgeois and working class axes, the former sprouting various populist, Social Credit and one-issue fractions and the latter engendering neo-fascist and neo-nazi groups concerned with race and identity. Spoonley's division between neo-fascism and neo-nazism, appeared in Griffin and Payne.[39]

This collective scholarship may guide the research into the Australian case, shape the assembly of primary material and allow useful comparisons. First, the Extreme Right and Radical-Nationalists share points of convergence – anti-marxism, anti-liberalism, moral-reaffirmation, anti-immigrationism, populist democracy – and although there is a gravitational attraction upon some Extreme Right groups from the Conservative Right, the category became constant. Radical-Nationalism would represent the Extreme Right shorn of sentimental Anglophilia and legalism, able to accommodate many of its programmatic objectives within a potentially revolutionary discourse. Second, the Extreme Right can be assessed flexible with new ideas – such as environmental anti-immigrationism and the populist 'freedom-movement' – entering into the matrix. Third, these positions and others can reflect the availability of new formative cadres, and changes in the western (and Australian) public mood – particularly the creeping 1980's rejection of party politics, cynicism towards liberal-elites and fear of the future – with a tendency for voters to break free of traditional alignments.[40] In this way, the Extreme Right internationally issued an anti-Establishment challenge; indeed unlike the Conservative Right, its anti-marxism was often rhetorical rather than substantive throughout the period. Since the collapse of the Eastern

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[39] Roger Griffin, op.cit., pp. 163–79; Stanley Payne, op.cit., pp. 498–9; Paul Spoonley, The Politics Of Nostalgia: Racism And The Extreme Right In New Zealand, pp. 147–74.

[40] Piero Ignazi, "The Silent Counter Revolution: Hypotheses On The Emergence Of Extreme Right Parties In Europe", European Journal of Political Research, Vol. 22, Nos. 1–2, pp. 5–6; Roger Eatwell, A History Of Fascism, pp. 276–87. For Australia: Patrick O'Brien, "The Real Politics Of The Western Australian Constitution And The Executive State", in Patrick O'Brien and Martyn Webb (eds.), The Executive State: WA Inc. And The Constitution, Perth, 1991, pp. 1–5.

bloc and the implosion of the Left, the Extreme Right in all western societies has had fewer qualms in mounting an anti-Establishment challenge.[41]

With these forethoughts the tripartite paradigm may be joined by a four-face typology for the Extreme Right:

Radical-Nationalism; Neo-Nazism; Populist-Monarchism; Radical-Populism.

This Part now divides into five chapters: the 'rebirth' of the Extreme Right after 1975, and progressively and somewhat chronologically – the four faces of the Extreme Right.

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[41] Robin Rodd, "The Fascist Essence Now As Then", Arena, No. 6, 1996, pp. 25–33, a general conclusion.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANTI-IMMIGRATION ORGANIZATIONS 'REBIRTH' THE EXTREME RIGHT 1975- 82

The 'Fraser Coup' called forth Left militancy. The Maoist 'Independence Movement' developed a 'Left-nationalist' critique of State power.[1] Trotskyists practised campus activism and youth recruitment.[2] Citizens For Democracy urged a republic.[3] The Left dynamic drew upon a second-generation of youth radicalized by Labor promises and the failure of labourist social reform.[4] Rejecting life-style-ism and social democracy, they fleshed out a number of hard-Left sects each asserting various strategies and ideological heritages against capitalism's offensive.

Left critiques were not unreasonable. The Liberal government sought to alter the social balance in favour of large capital, particularly global-connected enterprise.[5] Left literature that examined the Trilateral Commission's role in international capitalist organization, a new Cold War and an internal assault on democratic freedom – was credible.[6]

The Right was in disarray. Co-opted by the Liberal–National parties, it was dependent; but the new Liberal positions shocked conservatives. The 'pro-South African' Senator Sheill was sacked from the Ministry, Rhodesia was condemned[7] and Vietnamese refugees were welcomed. Fraser adopted a pro-Chinese foreign policy. State policy had severed the auxiliary connection, leaving only the exceptionalist Queensland Premier as a Right

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[1] E.F. Hill, The Great Cause Of Australian Independence, Melbourne, 1977, pp. 97–108, 142; For Independence And Socialism, CPA(M-L) pamphlet, February 1978; The Semi-Fascist Coup, CPA(M-L) leaflet, 1976.

[2] From a general survey of Direct Action, Labour Press/Workers News, Australasian Spartacist, 1976–80.

[3] For The Republic Of Australia, CFD leaflet, 1976.

[4] Editorial, "The Growing Threat From The Left", The Australian, June 16 1976, p. 6.

[5] Robert Catley and Bruce McFarlane, Australian Capitalism In Boom And Depression: Options For The 1980's, Chippendale, 1981, pp. 94–121.

[6] David Marcus, "The Multinational Alignment: The Trilateral Commission", Arena, No. 52, 1979, pp. 103. Marcus's bibliography included Eric Butler, "The Grand Design Unfolds: Behind The Trilateral Banner", The New Times, Vol. 43, No. 5, May 1978, pp. 1–3.

[7] Vote Australia First On December 10, League Of Rights leaflet, 1977.

patron and leader. As shall be shown, the LOR, NAA and conservative Liberals scarcely understood their estrangement from State requirement, obsessed as they were by the Left. Rather, it was the anti-immigrationists who re-established an independent Extreme Right.

1.   IMMIGRATION CONTROL ASSOCIATION/PROGRESSIVE CONSERVATIVE PARTY DEVELOPS A NEW EXTREME RIGHT 1976–80

The ICA reactivated, claiming cautiously the new Immigration Minister was a "realist", but warning against Fraser.[8] As ICA cranked up, it reasoned the refugee "invasion" demonstrated failing resolve, and that capitulation to "United Nations pressure"[9] on refugees required a new "Conservative Party".[10] Frenchman Jean Raspail's apocalyptic novel, The Camp Of The Saints, with its description of an unarmed refugee invasion of morally bankrupt Europe, sounded the alarm.[11] ICA President Robert Clark, burnt his bridges to the anti-communist Right.

A loose collection of new anti-immigration groups provided an Extreme Right resource-base. Perth was fertile, with the Campaign Against Illegal Immigration (1976–8),[12] Migrant Policy Action Group (1976–8),[13] European-Australian Alliance (1977–8)[14] and Robin Linke's Immigration Control Council (1980–4).[15] With the regroupment of these forces, a cadre emerged around two late-forties activists – property developer Gordon Hardy and

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[8] "At Last, A Realist", Viewpoint, No. 29, March–April 1976, p. 1. "Was Whitlam Right About Malcolm Fraser?", The Australian Conservative News And Views, April 1977, p. 1.
[9] "Australia Now Has The Welcome Mat And A Wide Open Door To All And Any South-East Asians", Viewpoint, No. 36, September–November 1977, p. 1.
[10] Australian Conservative Party Members' Letter, April 27 1977.
[11] "The Boat People – A Peaceful Asian Invasion. What Will This Dangerous Precedent Lead To?" Viewpoint, No. 40, September – October 1978, p. 3.
[12] Campaign Against Illegal Immigration Members' Letter, May 1978. CAII utilized newspaper advertisements and letters columns.
[13] Migrant Policy Action Group Newsletter, May 26 1978. MPAG utilized leafleting, letters columns, raised funds, held private meetings.
[14] Gerard O'Neill, Interview, 1996; EAA placed newspaper advertisements and distributed stickers. O'Neill became a stalwart of several groups thereafter.
[15] ICC was a sophisticated group; See: Submission On Proposed New And Amending Legislation Of The Racial Discrimination Act. ICC gave some support to PCP. Linke was a jeweller.

businessman Les Dunn. Long standing Extreme Right campaigners were present when a Perth branch of the ICA-initiated Progressive Conservative Party (PCP) was established in early 1980.[16]

Some rightists radicalized in Adelaide. In 1978, Christopher Steele, son of Joyce Steele, a Liberal Cabinet Minister, introduced a swathe of LOR "actionists" to the immigration question. His branch of ICA soon distributed 100,000 leaflets.[17] By mid-1978 ICA reasoned:

> We do not know what goes on behind the doors of
> the exclusive Melbourne Club where … the present
> Immigration [policy] is worked out by the elite …
> Members of the same class … who imported
> coloured labour in the last century are now harping
> continually on the theme that local labour is not
> productive enough … a campaign has started to
> encourage these people to keep their own culture
> and languages. The effect will be … without a
> common language and culture the various sections
> of the working class will tend to be isolated …
> [and] … the employer will get productive labour at
> a cheap rate.[18]

ICA demanded a political-popular struggle against multiracialist capital. It went on to criticize Bjelke-Petersen's close bond with Japanese capital[19] and chided Right groups for failing to tackle the National Party.[20] By 1980 a mailing list of 1000

[16] Brenda Macintyre; Gerard O'Neill. This course of events unfolded over the two preceding years. See: Norman Aisbett, "Send Them Home Says Mr Clark", The West Australian, September 22 1978, p. 7.
[17] Christopher Steele, Interview, 1996.
[18] "Why, Why?", Viewpoint, No. 38, April–June 1978, p. 3.
[19] "Yeppoon–Jappoon: Australia's Trojan Horse", Viewpoint, No. 47, July–August 1979, pp. 1–2.
[20] Vincent Lowe, Letter To J.C.A. Dique, President ICA (Queensland), May 8 1980, referred to League Of Rights, ICA(Q) for "softness".

existed.[21]   From 1977, one million recruitment leaflets were distributed.[22]   ICA/PCP's consistency outbid the NAA for the 'racist' market.

Faced with a militant street Left, the NAA "could only see red".[23]   It lobbied hard for Governor-General Kerr's public reputation with leaflets and "loyal petitions".[24]   With Constitutional defence paramount, it petitioned that the Monarch be proclaimed Queen of each state and announced Australia's legal-heritage stymied the "aspiring dictator" Whitlam and Labor crypto-marxism.[25]   Immigration was again criticized as a marxist divisionist tool, and early in 1976 NAA achieved its own coup – acquiring Sir Robert Menzies as patron. Menzies wrote:

> The objectives of the National Australian Association as set out in their Constitution are such as to produce my complete support. It does not surprise me that I should find myself supporting a body of people whose views on immigration are similar to mine and to those of the late Arthur Calwell.[26]

Placed under intense criticism, Menzies withdrew.[27]   Bjelke-Petersen, whose patronage was acquired next, also quit amidst media allegations of racism.[28]

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[21] The author was shown this list in 1981.

[22] Immigration Control Association Members' Letter, January 3 1979; Immigration Control Association Members' Letter, March 20 1979; Robert Clark; Ian Hampel.

[23] Nick Maina; Peter Applin, Interview, 1978 (Applin, a former British NF member moved between NAA and Liberal Party Right). Both said NAA was driven by a fear of a Left and Labor united front.

[24] We Defend Sir John Kerr, NAA leaflet, 1976; Loyal Petition To Sir John Kerr, NAA leaflet, 1976.

[25] A Humble Prayer And Petition, NAA(Sydney) leaflet, 1976; "Editorial", National Australia Association Newsletter, August 1976, pp. 2–3.

[26] "Sir Robert Menzies", National Australia Association Newsletter, May 1976, p. 3.

[27] "White Australia Group: Menzies Patron", The Sun, March 23 1976, p. 1. "Menzies Denies Racism", Daily Telegraph, March 24 1976, p. 3.

[28] "Racist Group's New Patron: Bjelke Replaces Menzies", The Sun, September 16 1976, p. 1; "Group's Actions Too Much For Bjelke", The Australian, September 17 1976, p. 4.

Although rejected, NAA continued to push for a conservative reaction inside the government parties. It entered into alliances with Lyenko Urbanchich's 'Uglies' Liberal faction[29] and Alex Psalti's group in the Victorian Nationals. With perhaps 500 members in three Eastern States, NAA lobbied RSL conferences that it fight to rid Australia of:

> strange foods, odours, animals slaughtered in
> bathrooms, styles of dress and manners … bizarre
> crimes, bombs, knives, kidnappings (which) … are
> not the Australian way …[30]

The NAA's pressure-infiltration efforts familiarized RSL spokesmen with anti-immigration positions. Although initially the organization was unresponsive, the mood would change when in August 1981, the Victorian RSL denounced the pace of Asian immigration.

For NAA, immigration undermined the British constitutional and civic heritage. Thus an alliance with the LOR front, the Heritage Society, was formalized in August 1977;[31] with Eason's illness occasioning the NAA's infirmity, this League front could offer a secure home for most members. The Heritage Society's propaganda outpourings favouring the Old Australia of Monarchy, Flag, Constitution, Anglo-Saxon Christian virtue, states' rights and common law, were massive compared to NAA's effort.[32] With its styled 'public opinion' "voting form" mass leaflet opposing the "Grassby Mackellar Immigration Policy", the League competed with ICA/PCP[33] albeit with a 'non political' pressure group solution.

Further, the League/NAA line remained at odds with ICA/PCP over the definition of heritage and identity; one favoured a semi-mystical vision of archaic constitutional rights and

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[29] "Quarterly General Meeting", National Australia Association Newsletter, November 1976, p. 4. NAA was addressed by Dr Lindsay Grant of the "Tinker Taylor" religious sect and owner of the Commonwealth Club in Castlereagh Street Sydney, venue for various rightist functions; Grant was a member of the Liberal State Convention. For Tinker Taylor and its Right links: Carol Dianne Thornton, "The Crusader Union Of New South Wales: A Political And Administrative History", BA(Hons) Thesis, University of Sydney, 1978, p. 67–70.

[30] "Editorial", National Australia Association Newsletter, February 1976, p. 6.

[31] "Unity With Heritage Society", National Australia Association Newsletter, August 1977, p. 4.

[32] Nick Maina.

[33] The Grassby-Mackellar Immigration Policy, League Of Rights leaflet, 1980.

symbols derived from the British connection, and the other a nativist idea of Australian identity based upon European race and culture. The Progressive-Conservatives received no encouragement from the League which eschewed 'political' action and responded with rancorous invective. League officials Ray White (Perth), Peggy Fox (Brisbane) and Roy Stuckey (Sydney), fearful of defections, pilloried the PCP as a "power movement" with "no understanding of finance" (Social Credit), and an "equivocal attitude" towards protection of the Australian Constitution.[34]

The active Extreme Right PCP had acquired a new market with separate interests to the older conservative forces. It was a magnet to people the conservatives had hoped to recruit. The PCP appealed for a $20,000 Electoral Fund early in 1980[35] and targetted various 'pro-Asian immigration' politicians as the ICA had done in the 1970's. Perth M.P. Ross McLean, and Michael Mackellar, found themselves under attack through mass leaflets.[36]

The 1980 Federal Election was seen by the PCP as a desperate contest on the direction of immigration and multiculturalism.[37] Candidates were advanced in three states. The results were:

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[34] Vincent Lowe; Robert Clark; Ian Hampel; Gerard O'Neill, Brenda Macintyre. The author has attended 'Conservative Speakers Club' functions and heard such comments from Jeremy Lee, former Assistant National Director of the League.
[35] 1980 Election Appeal: $20000 Wanted Urgently, PCP Members' Letter, 1980.
[36] Frazer Guild, "War On The Asians", Weekend News, August 18 1979, 20–21.
[37] "The Liberals Have Made Australia A U.N. Puppet", The Progressive Conservative News And Views, No. 2, June–July 1980, p. 1.

Table 4.1   Progressive Conservative Party 1980 Federal Poll[38]

Candidate	Electorate	Primary Vote
John McGrath	Warringah (NSW)	1297
Colin Wuttke	Sturt (SA)	354
Jim Russell	Boothby (SA)	762
Don Keitel	Boynthon (SA)	656
Pamela Wells	Canning (WA)	896
June Steen-Olsen	Perth	551
Syd Negus	WA Senate	4836
P.H. Harwood	W.A. Senate	163
D.C. Kitto	S.A. Senate	1045
M.A. McKenzie Huish	S.A. Senate	203

These results represented another lost hope and PCP cast for options. The approach was made to Australian National Alliance for unification.

2.   AN ABORTIVE 'FASCISM': THE NATIONAL FRONT OF AUSTRALIA (NFA)

The launch of a branch of the British National Front in June 1978 was one response to the Vietnamese refugee policy of the Fraser government.[39] The National Front of Australia intended "the unification of all the nationalist/patriotic forces" to reverse the position where "the patriotic vote is virtually forced into supporting the Liberal or National Party …"[40] Although only 150 persons joined between 1978 and 1984 when it was wound up,[41] NFA's relevance to this Thesis is two-fold. First, it highlighted the inter-relationship

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[38] Commonwealth Electoral Office, House Of Representatives Election: By Division And Subdivision, AGPS, 1980; Commonwealth Electoral Office, Senate Election: South Australia, AGPS, 1980, p. 3; Commonwealth Electoral Office, Senate Election: Western Australia, AGPS, 1980, p. 3.
[39] Australian Nationalist, No. 4, April 1978, p. 5; "Keep Asians Out", Frontline, No. 2, July 1978, p. 5.
[40] "Editorial", Frontline, No. 8, January 1979, p. 1.

[41] Pat Leyman, Interview, 1995. (Leyman was a foundation NF member in Sydney).

between the old Conservative Right and new activists who perceived an enemy in Fraser's 'conservatism'. Second, it demonstrated para-State intervention against the Extreme Right.

The NFA's origins lay in the Melbourne University-based Eureka Students' League (ESL), formed in 1974 by Alan Birtley. The ESL created a furore when its candidate for editorship of the campus newspaper received a 10% vote,[42] and as it issued widely distributed documents against the Maoists for using the Eureka flag. The Maoists called for "appropriate action",[43] and finally bashed Birtley in September 1976 calling this violence – "a meting out of people's justice".[44] Originally sympathetic to the nationalist labour tradition,[45] Birtley also served as vice-president of People Against Communism along with 'Nazi' treasurer, Claude Woods. But once PAC expelled these "extremists",[46] a new source of inspiration was found in the British NF. The group planned to regroup conservatives, their essential ideology intact, into an electoral machine.

Rosemary Sisson, ESL activist and law student, commenced publication of Australian Nationalist in 1977. Sisson set its ideological tone:

> The oath of allegiance to the Sovereign should be
> restored … there is no reason why we should
> foresake our history and clamour for a republic …
> Australia owes almost everything to Great Britain
> …[47]

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[42] "Farrago Elections", Farrago, October 3 1975.

[43] "Fascists Attempts To Organize Amongst Students Must Be Nipped In The Bud", Vanguard, September 25 1976, p. 4.

[44] "People's Justice", Vanguard, November 4 1976, p. 4. Charges against a Maoist student were dismissed: "Ex-Nazi's Story Not Acceptable", The Age, January 29 1977, p. 11.

[45] Ultra (Broadsheet Of The Eureka Students League), No. 1, on Eureka Stockade; Ultra, No. 2, on Henry Lawson; Ultra, No. 5, on Jack Lang; Ultra, No. 6, on working class, White Australia agitation; Ultra, No. 8, on William Lane.

[46] Simon Margison, "People Against Communism's Anti-Semite Leaders", Axis, October 18 1976, p. 11.

[47] Australian Nationalist, No. 4, April 1978, p. 2.

With praise for Eric Butler's writings[48] and its bias against Continental European migrants,[49] the group was notionally palatable to the Conservative Right. Dr. Dique's ICA favoured Sisson's position[50] as did some Social Credit activists, League supporters,[51] and ex-NSPA members. NFA's growth campaign would trade initially upon name-recognition.

A special palingenetic myth was also advanced: to "reform … the present multiracial British Commonwealth into a closely knit association of White states … (with the) … voluntary co-ordination of policies …"[52] – a revived empire. The dream was necessarily contingent upon the success of the British party. Both elements of the scheme revised conservative positions. Religious, civic and traditional Anglophilia was to be transmuted into a racial-nationalism organized independently of the Liberal–National parties and organically bonded with a foreign organization.[53] Rejected by the ICA and nascent nationalist groups (as below), it was not at the time of 'foundation' a real amalgamation of other forces. While 'Chairman' Sisson correctly recognized the refugee question as a powerful mobilizer, no substantive groundwork had been laid to lure the conservative bloc. Prominent Queensland Frontist, and occasional parliamentary candidate Victor Robb, reasoned three years later:

> Bjelke-Petersen unjustifiably … enjoys an
> Australia-wide reputation as a strongly conservative
> leader. He may well be the best active anti-socialist
> operating … [but] … I am not impressed by some
> of … [his] … League Of Rights supporters who

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[48] Australian Nationalist, No. 3, March 1978, p. 1.

[49] "Editorial", Australian Nationalist, No. 4, April 1978, p. 1. This 'prejudice' was developed in "Euro Nationalism Not For Us", Frontline, No. 4, September 1978, pp. 1–5.

[50] "Leader Of Racist Group Is In Army Reserve", The Age, June 8 1978, p. 1.

[51] Instant Money, leaflet 1978; see articles in Frontline, No. 13, June 1979, No. 15, August 1979, No. 24, May 1980, were all reprints from Victor Robb's Ipswich Social Credit group which was connected to the LOR.

[52] "Commonwealth National Front", Frontline, No. 1, June 1978, pp. 3–4.

[53] National Front Objectives, 1978; Alain Birtley, Interview, 1995; "The Bulldog Breed", Frontline, No. 12, May 1979, pp. 1–3.

argue he cannot be expected to act until he is

assured of substantial electoral support …[54]

This paean to conservative immobilism meant the NFA had confused expectations of Bjelke-Petersen and his auxiliaries. Sisson's Senate campaign waged in Queensland (1980: for 1467 votes),[55] shattered the illusion, as much as the British NF's electoral crash in May 1979 had exposed the fantasy. Realistically, as long as Right satellites had Bjelke-Petersen as a messiah, their radicalization was problematical for the Extreme Right.

'Dirty Tricks' limited the NFA's thrust. In 1977, the British party was a rising force. The political syncretism achieved united neo-nazis, neo-fascists and "racial populists" into an electoralist anti-immigration alliance.[56] The leadership was effectively hijacked by covert neo-nazis whose reborn herrenvolk principle was the "Anglo-Saxon commonwealth".[57] Some evidence existed that an Intelligence assessment of the Australian scene posited neo-nazis could attempt a similar exercise. The 1977 recruitment by Commonwealth Police of English Special Branch detective Norman Ferris, to advise on techniques to manage an Australian NF, demonstrated not simply the existence of a concern (Ferris "interviewed" numerous ex-NSPA members during 1977–8), but also Intelligence monitoring of Sisson's activities.[58]

The NFA's June 3 1978 Melbourne foundation meeting, was infiltrated by an Age journalist – David Wilson – long accused of an ASIO connection.[59] How Wilson came to be there is unresolved. The resultant media frenzy[60] however, quickly located Nazi Robert Cameron, who claimed Front leadership alongside Anton Heintjes as Queensland leader.[61]

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[54] Victor Robb, Letter To "Ian", September 27 1981.

[55] Commonwealth Electoral Office, Senate Election Queensland, 1980.

[56] Richard Thurlow, Fascism In Britain, pp. 276–8; Martin Walker, The National Front, London, 1977, pp. 68–107.

[57] ibid., pp. 47, 78–81; John Tyndall, Britain: World Power Or Pauper State, London, 1977.

[58] Jim Saleam, Never In Nazi Uniform, p. 14; Ray Gillespie.

[59] Joan Coxsedge, Rooted In Secrecy: The Clandestine Element In Australian Politics, Melbourne, 1982, pp. 155–6.

[60] "Australian National Front Is Formed", The Age, June 5 1978, p. 1; "Right-Wing Group Formed In Secret", The Age, June 5 1978, p. 1.

[61] Malcolm Brown, "Racist Group Expects Nation-Wide Membership", Sydney Morning Herald, June 8 1978, p. 3; "The Man Who Would Be Leader", The Australian, June 9 1978, p. 2.

Cameron's insinuation was made near-unassailable by the Sydney arrests on June 15 of Tim Anderson, Ross Dunn and Paul Alister of the Ananda Marga sect. Special Branch detectives alleged a conspiracy to murder the 'NF leader'.[62] Media also falsely reported Cameron as leader of the "National Alliance Nazi Party".[63]

A compelling case has been made that the 'Ananda Marga Three' were ruthlessly framed by Special Branch to cover security services' complicity in the 1978 Hilton Hotel Bombing.[64] However, if the men were framed it must be asked why Cameron became the chosen subject of police conspiracy.

David Greason made a sensational allegation. In 1979, whilst working for Melbourne's Jewish Times, he claimed to have had a conversation with a member of the Victorian Jewish Board of Deputies. He was told that in May 1978, a member of the JBD and a Commonwealth Police officer, paid Cameron $1500 cash to announce his claim to NF leadership.[65] These events would have paralleled the developing Special Branch conspiracy to frame Ananda Marga.

Opposing forces have alleged that Cameron was an informer-provocateur.[66] Heintjes withdrew from Cameron's media fraud, crying "set up".[67] Greason's story would explain why Cameron came forward, and why some media reported his statements. Given Cameron's earlier Special Branch link and his role in destabilizing Sisson's NF, Special Branch had a compliant 'victim' for a terrorist bomb and an egoistic strawman to elevate as 'the face of the Extreme Right'.

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[62] "Time Bomb Murder Plot", Daily Mirror, June 16 1978, pp. 1–2.

[63] "Bomb Plot Murder Charges", Telegraph (Brisbane), June 16 1978, p. 1.

[64] Tom Molomby, Spies, Bombs And The Path Of Bliss, Sydney, 1986. For the importance of the Hilton case to the political position of security services: David Marr, "Biggest Security Case Since Petrov", The National Times, August 5 1978, pp. 7–8.

[65] David Greason's version was given to: Pat Leyman, James Saleam, Alex Norwick; previously the payment of $1,500 but not the paymaster was known – see: E. Azzopardi, "What's In A Name?", Alliance News, No. 2, undated, p. 3.

[66] Jim Saleam, Never In Nazi Uniform, p. 14; "Capitalist Class Keeps Fascist Groups In Reserve", Vanguard, October 6 1982, p. 4.

[67] "Front Man Quits. I Was Set Up", The Australian, June 15 1978, p. 2.

The NFA was stillborn. Cameron tainted it with 'open' nazism and violence (although it was foolishly "proud" to be "fascist");[68] it never escaped the "Jackboot" smear.[69] Rightists like Urbanchich backed away[70] and National Alliance was angered by the 'Cameron link'. Sisson may have said NFA was "neither right nor left, but above",[71] but its call for a "regenerated British Australia"[72] meant it had to compete with cautious rightist groups with established resource bases. The task was too great, and some discouraged foundation-cadre deserted for other groups.

The NFA strategy was misconceived, but two facts were demonstrated: some Extreme-Rightists had strategies, and the para-State intended they not blossom.

3.   AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL ALLIANCE INITIATES A 'RADICAL-NATIONALIST' TREND

Australian National Alliance (ANA) formed in January 1978, developed upon previous adumbrations of Radical-Nationalism to articulate a new trend on the Extreme Right.

In early 1976, the Australian Nationalist White Workers' Party (ANWWP) dissolved, its migrant members rapt in Fraser's Liberal victory and Captive Nations sympathies. The rump fused with the 'Australian Rightist Community' (ARC). This group, established by former NSPA official Neil Garland in July 1976, announced:

> Our aim is to promote true and responsible National
> Socialism, Fascism and Australian nationalism.[73]

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[68] NF Bulletin (Queensland Branch), No. 4, January 1980, p. 1.
[69] Paul Lyneham, "Jackboots Are On The March Again", Pol, June 1979, pp. 51–56.
[70] Lyenko Urbanchich, conversation with author, 1987. Urbanchich referred to "radio" and "ethnic press" commentary.
[71] "Front Is 'Neither Right Nor Left But Above'", The Age, June 7 1978, pp. 1, 3.
[72] "Euro-Nationalism Not For Us", Frontline, No. 4, September 1978, p. 4.
[73] ARC Newsletter, No. 1, August 1976, p. 2.

Although the ARC Newsletter also uncritically reported a supposedly "terrorist" Brisbane World Union of National Socialists section,[74] Garland warned: "I counsel no reformation of any NSPA-style group."[75] He later declared

> the passing of the NSPA cannot be anything but a
> release and a relief from its charade.[76]

Thereafter, the evolving ARC opted "to promote a definite new ideological line",[77] which led to paper discussions of the New Guard, Stephensen's nationalism and "Australian Social-nationalism".[78] A "discussion group for the Australianist idea", formed[79] and contact was made with National Resistance, a Sydney campus organization, and Sisson's Australian Nationalist group.

For ostensible radicals, the anti-communist Liberal government represented capitalist internationalism. Consequently, loyalism was rejected. Ideological formation for these isolated Sydney grouplets brought confrontation with the British National Front whose intervention in the Australian Right was criticized as colonialist and misinformed about native identity and the 'potential' amongst European migrants.[80] The Australian NF, was subsequently likened to a "noisy League Of Rights" with an oedipus complex.[81] A model of organization and a systematic ideology were sought to counterpose to State "liberal-conservatism".   National Resistance, established in early 1977, discerned a threat to Australia from the Third World's "population-food crisis".[82] The marxist 'theology' was contrasted to "the socialism of the early Labor party – socialism without doctrines"[83] and

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[74] ARC Newsletter, No. 2, October 1976, pp. 1–2; for the allegedly terrorist group, Patrice Chairoff, Dossier Neo-Nazisme, Paris 1979. It is understood Chairoff was a provocateur for the Gaullist SAC.

[75] ARC Newsletter, No. 1, op.cit.

[76] Nationalist News, No. 3, December 1976, p. 1.

[77] Nationalist News, No. 4. February 1977, p. 1.

[78] Nationalist News, No. 8, April 1977, p. 1 and passim.

[79] Nationalist News, No. 7, August 1977, p. 1.

[80] John Tyndall, Letter To Neil Garland (undated) 1977, referred to in Jim Saleam, What Is To Be Done?, Sydney 1985, p. 2. Tyndall was Chairman of the British NF.

[81] E.F. Azzopardi, "Un Australian Activities: The National Front", Audacity, No. 5, August 1978,   p. 5.

[82] Audacity, NR student broadsheet, 1977 (no other details), in possession of author.

[83] Audacity, 1977 (no other details) in possession of author.

the Right was labelled "old people regardless of their age".[84] The Eureka Flag was used and the CPA(M-L)-controlled Australian Independence Movement and Builders' Labourers' Federation condemned for their 'parodying' of nationalism.[85]   National Resistance, a "temporary organization whose role is the preparation of an effective political party", prepared the advent of ANA.[86]

National Resistance gained the ARC mailing lists, passed over when Garland quit activism, recruited numerous 'Democratic Club' students and acquired patronage from atomic physicist Sir Philip Baxter, whose 'lifeboat Australia' argument was counterposed to the "refugee invasion".[87] The new organization was launched.

The ANA founders possessed particular ideological-activist backgrounds. Ed Azzopardi, 22, of Maltese lineage rejected the Anglophile Right, and liaised with Jack Lang who suggested he play a role with The Century. In 1977 he qualified as a teacher. Frank Salter, 24, had a League Of Rights family background and had resigned from Duntroon Military College to study engineering; James Saleam, 22, was a postgraduate student with interests in Extreme Right ideology; Alex Norwick and a former Trotskyist teacher Myles Ormsby, 26, completed the set.   This group considered the Extreme Right and conservative forces as failures and their strategy was one of intentionalism: they would consciously change the Extreme Right's style.

ANA's founders had reflected upon the European Extreme Right. The cadre-ideological French and Italian New Order parties were praised,[88] as was the electoralist and street-oriented British National Front.[89] These movements were contrasted to the local Right with its Constitutionalism, Social Credit and pro-Liberal anti-communist preoccupations. Neo-nazism and mimetic fascism were considered dead-ends. Rather, ANA intended to invoke

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[84] ibid.
[85] "Australian Nationalism", Advance, No. 1, undated, p. 1.
[86] Constitution And Rules Of National Resistance, October 1 1977.
[87] "Scientist Speaks Out", Advance, No. 3, December 1977, pp. 2, 4. Also Baxter at Petersham Town Hall, 16 March 1979, Alliance News, No. 6, April 1979, p. 1. Baxter later obscured his NR/ANA link: "Top Scientist Denies 'Keep Australia White' Connection", Weekend Australian, May 16 1981, p. 2.
[88] "The Student Right", Spearhead (National Resistance schools broadsheet), undated, 1977.
[89] "The National Front: The Facts", Advance, No. 1, p. 4.

labour-nationalist tradition as the basis of its 'White Australia republicanism'[90] – and create a cadre-electoral structure.

An inter-related dual-focused political analysis created the crisis-'enemy'. Fraser's anti-communism was denounced as false, and subservient to a Peking-Tokyo-Washington Axis directed at the geo-political racial-nationalism of the Soviet Union.[91] Australia's drift into Asia and open-door on the Vietnamese refugees was imposed by America to pay off its new oriental allies. Australia faced superpower war and both armed and unarmed refugee Asian attack.[92] Responsive Nativism, Armed Neutrality, Fortress Australia and anti-American policies were shocks to ANA's Left critics[93] and a novel discourse for right-wing listeners.

ANA's plan for a "party of the National Right"[94] involved, like NFA's scheme, a regrouping of existent Right forces, but limited to those who could appreciate an ultra-nationalist position, provide funding and supporters – thereby telescoping growth.

In 1977–8, ANA clashed with the Sydney Liberal Party 'Uglies' for the support of the Italian immigrant MSI section and other Urbanchich followers. Salter's father, an 'Ugly' and LOR official, ensured favourable articles appeared in News Digest International (NDI).[95] ANA savaged the Liberal 'Uglies' around Spectrum magazine, for Cold War consumer-society nostalgia:

> Time, money and energy are being wasted on what
> amounts to a comedy … Nothing was achieved by

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[90] "The Old Order Crumbles", Advance, No. 3, December 1977, p. 3.
[91] No Pact With Peking, ANA leaflet, 1978.
[92] "Australia Imperilled", Audacity, undated, No. 6, pp. 1–2; "The Peking Alliance: The End Of White Australia", Audacity, No. 7, March 1979, pp. 2, 10.
[93] Fiona Gillies, "National Alliance", Newswit, November 1978, p. 9; Greg Schofield, "National Front On Campus", Honi Soit, March 12 1979, p. 2; "Oppose All Racists", SAI News, Vol. 4, No. 2 (undated), La Trobe University Maoist sheet, 1979.
[94] "It's Time For Unity", Alliance News, No. 6, April 1979, p. 1; "Unity", Alliance News, No. 7, May 1979, p. 3, developed National Resistance: Australian Nationalist Movement, leaflet, 1977.
[95] "National Resistance", News Digest International, September 1977, pp. 41–2; "Australian National Alliance", News Digest International, December 1978, p. 40.

these individuals in the past … Why imitate

Menzies? The Liberal Party was an obsolete piece

of junk even in the Golden Age of the '50s …[96]

The attack developed with criticism of Urbanchich's ambivalence towards the 'refugee invasion' and the assertion of a "void to his Right".[97] NDI, which spoke for Captive Nations, pleaded:

There is no need for any discord; they are closer in

basic philosophies than they realize …[98]

However, the rift was there. The East European and conservative anti-communists remained wedded to their auxiliary position and their suspicions of ANA were sharpened by whispering campaigns undertaken by David Clarke. Some might endorse ANA 'militancy' but the bloc would not fracture.

The LOR periphery was approached. Dora Watts, part-Jewish 'racist' pamphleteer joined, recalling proudly her association with P.R. Stephensen.[99] Grazier Nicholas Lindemann, author of Japan Threat, affiliated.[100] Some League-connected 'anti-immigrationists' accepted the ultra-nationalist argument but this monarchist organization was innoculated against nativism.

The ICA cautiously pursued a wait-and-see approach. Although it shared members with ANA and co-operated with it, ICA was wary of implicit republicanism.

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[96] "The Conservative Pastiche", Audacity, undated, No. 5, p. 6.

[97] "Goodbye Lyenko", Audacity, undated, No. 6, p. 3.

[98] "Turner's Telescope", News Digest International, No. 2, June 1978, p. 40.

[99] Dora Watts, "The Murder Of A Nation", Advance, No. 3, January–February 1978, pp. 7–8. Dora Watts' LOR pamphlets, The Equality Dogma Leads To Communism, Melbourne, 1966 and The Dangerous Myth Of Racial Equality: Genocide Of The White Race, 1968, were sold by ANA.

[100] Nicholas Lindemann, Japan Threat, the author, 1977; Nicholas Lindemann, "Times Change: Australia And The USSR", Audacity, undated, No. 8, pp. 6–8.

Essentially ANA, with its home base in Sydney, was surrounded by hostile or suspicious Rightists who denied it political space. It lacked strong facilitators in other areas. The only other option was direct public recruitment.

The ANA showed unrealized potential. It conformed to the Griffin-Llobera models of neo-fascist/nationalist organization: initial gathering of cadre, militant ideas, growth beyond the margin and the attempt to solidify organizational forms.[101] The ANA published Audacity, opened an office in Sydney city and built a skeletal national structure during 1978–9.[102] It sidestepped the NFA debacle and confrontation with the Left (although Maoist students bashed Salter early in 1979).[103] It worked assiduously at clandestine self-promotion authoring pseudonymous 'smears' which simultaneously presented its views favourably.[104] In June 1979, Salter contested the 'Grayndler' by-election and received 863 votes (1.64%); ANA issued election posters in Italian and Greek – something no 'White Australia' organization had done.[105] Frank Browne returned from (drunken) retirement and pledged to edit a new ANA magazine. However, ANA's direct recruitment program snagged

> … in 1979 during the Refugee Crisis. Hundreds of
> people contacted the nationalist movement
> precipitating a crisis in ideology and tactical
> perspectives … we had to preserve our essential
> creed before submission to momentary issues …
> Many of our new contacts failed to appreciate such

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[101] Roger Griffin, The Nature Of Fascism, pp. 26–7, 184–5; Joseph R. Llobera, The God Of Modernity: The Development Of Nationalism In Western Europe, Oxford, 1994, pp. 203–4.

[102] From a survey of Alliance News (Internal Bulletin Of National Alliance), 1978-9.

[103] C. Maltby, letter to Tharunka, March 3 1979; "Nationalists Defeat Marxists", Alliance News, No. 6, April 1979, p. 2.

[104] Articles written by James Saleam or Myles Ormsby: "A New Rightist Threat", Newswit, April 1979, p. 21; "National Alliance", Honi Soit, April 2 1979, p. 3; "Racism Beneath The Southern Cross", Farrago, August 9 1979, p. 57–9; "The Far Right Won't Go Away", The Bulletin, August 21 1979, pp. 24, 28–9. David Greason, "Trouble Brewing In Wills", Rabelais, Vol. 13, No. 10, p. 9.

[105] "Racial Tensions Over Refugees", Asiaweek, September 27 1979, p. 29; Stephanie Bunbury, "Everyone Wants To Be Fuehrer", Lots Wife, October 29 1979, pp. 26–7.

'foreign' notions.   They wanted immediate results

… They cared very little of much else …[106]

Whereas Azzopardi envisioned a party with "the discipline of Spartans and the fanaticism of Jesuits …",[107] ANA failed to institute internal education programmes. It produced a welter of journalism and paraphenalia but its reading lists were eclectic and shallow and it featured only one sketchy theoretical-tactical guide.[108] The newsletter Alliance News, made references to "cadre building", schools and university activism, but ANA reflected the crucial problem of a youthful propaganda group faced with sudden membership surges:

… A small coterie of leaders decided … the new

recruits … were 'reasonable' and that it was "time

to get out of the sectarian mentality" and embrace a

watery patriotic ideology. At that point ideological

struggle began …[109]

The ANA remained structurally fragile. In late 1978, Salter arranged that an unknown "company manager" Max Davis, be promoted to the Committee, a position he held for some months until his 'disappearance'. Investigations revealed 'Davis' had a false name, switchboard phone services and a mock apartment – and reasonably an Intelligence connection.[110] The affair destabilized ANA and when another 'plausible businessman' promised a new façade of respectability, Salter involved ANA in various enterprises in 1979-80, bankrupting it. The businessman proved to be the Nazi, Graeme Royce.[111]

The combination of division and financial loss proved fatal. The increasingly cranky Salter sought to truncate the anti-U.S., labour-nationalist and militant references so as not to

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[106] Anon, Lessons For Nationalists, Sydney, 1982, p. 1.
[107] Edward Azzopardi, "The Order Of The Day", News Digest International, December 1977, p. 27.
[108] Anon, Move Forward, Sydney, 1979, set out ANA tactics; the reading list contained 22 items (see Chapter Ten).
[109] Anon, Lessons For Nationalists, p. 1.
[110] Alex Norwick; an electoral roll search of 1978-9 records revealed no 'Max Davis' at the address cited.

"confuse" new recruits, and when this course was rejected he resigned, denouncing ANA leaders for "obscurantism".[112] The declining organization imploded, a residue lumbering on to contest 'Parramatta' in the 1980 Federal Poll (1248 votes: 1.81%). The experiment was over. To preserve its ideological core, ANA amalgamated with ICA/PCP, a course discussed by both sides over time.

The ANA had failed to reorient the Right, but its ideological-political provocation of the Left was significant. The CPA(M-L)/Independence Movement was attempting to hegemonise the Left and related mass movements (anti-foreign bases, anti-war, uranium, militant unionism) around the idea of 'anti-imperialist national independence'.[113] The CPA and SPA used similar rhetoric. The squabbling Trotskyist movement faulted Maoist nationalism for class-collaborationist chauvinism, and subservience to Chinese foreign policy.[114] The ANA deliberately fueled both this critique, and the strategic debate within Maoist ranks upon such questions, by utilizing the Eureka Flag and Maoist slogans on superpowers and independence.[115] The CPA(M-L) raged, and violence was directed at those Trotskyists who "joyfully chorused" (laughed at) their discomfort.[116] ANA's ubiquitous stickers and posters drew a full-page Independence Movement advertisement in The National Times:

> We declare that the Eureka Flag belongs to the
> Australian people. We deplore its use
> alongside racist and fascist slogans …[117]

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[111] Australian National Alliance, File: Graeme T. Royce.

[112] Frank K. Salter, Letter To Australian National Alliance, August 15 1980.

[113] Uranium, Superpowers, Independence, CPA(M-L) pamphlet, October 1977, passim; Independence And Socialism, CPA(M-L) pamphlet, 1977.

[114] Jon West, "Nationalism And The Labor Movement", in Jon West, Dave Holmes, Gordon Adler, Socialism Or Nationalism: Which Road For The Australian Labour Movement?, Sydney, 1979, pp. 36–40; "Fascists Vie With Maoists For Eureka Flag", Australasian Spartacist, No. 54, June 1978, p. 6.

[115] "Anti-Australian Activities: Peking's Paid Patriots", Audacity, No. 6, p. 4.

[116] "Rout The Fascists: Hold High The Eureka Flag Of Independence Amongst The People", Vanguard, August 10 1978, p. 4; Louise King, conversations with author, 1983. King was an Adelaide Maoist organizer.

[117] "The Southern Cross Or 'Eureka' Flag Stands For Unity And Equality", The National Times, March 30 – April 5 1980, p. 47.

– but the Left's hold on the Flag was weakening.

Trotskyists wrangled over how to oppose ANA, whether to use violence or exposure.[118] The SPA resorted to the "Nazism" tag.[119] The CPA, confused over the attack upon "Tokyo-Joh Petersen" and ANA's references to Lang, Lawson, The Bulletin nationalists and use of the Eureka Flag – denounced it as 'Nazi' or fascist.[120] Together, the CPA and SPA accepted the commentary of Al Grassby, Commissioner for Community Relations, and united with him and other liberals in a 1979–80 Movement Against Fascism And Racism (MAFAR) with its programme for "anti-racial vilification legislation".[121]

ANA had three effects on the Left. First, it worsened divisions amongst the major currents on ideological matters and methods to combat the new threat.[122] Second, the 1977-8 cadre split in Maoism (Chapter Five) was sharpened through ANA's destabilizing activism. Third, by driving some leftists via MAFAR into alliance with Grassby's Race Discrimination 'qango', the first step was taken in the satellitization of the Left on the issue of race.

4.   THE POLITICAL FAILURE OF THE EXTREME RIGHT 1975–82

In this Section, conclusions are advanced on the character of Extreme Right activism

in the 1975–82 period; particular events that finalized one period of the Right's evolution and acted as a prelude to new developments are examined.

Al Grassby concluded of the Extreme Right's electoral failure:

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[118] "No Platform For Fascists", Australasian Spartacist, No. 55, July 1979, p. 3, discussed the divisions amongst Trotskyists on the issue.
[119] Stop The Nazi National Alliance, Socialist Party leaflet, June 1979.
[120] "Racism In Sydney's Western Suburbs", Tribune, February 27 1980, p. 12. For CPA's 'confusion' "Between The Lines", Tribune, August 9 1978, p. 9
[121] Turning Point (Newsletter of MAFAR), No. 1, November 1979; "The Racist Build Up In Australia", The Socialist, October 10 1979, p. 5; "Meeting Against Racism", Tribune, November 14 1979, p. 3.
[122] See Letters columns: Tribune, October 17 1979 and November 14 1979, for CPA/SPA debate.

The end result of racist activities in the election is an indication of how it is possible to mobilize a lunatic fringe. It may be said that an average vote of 1% is hardly a matter of deep concern … Despite the million pamphlets, attempted intimidation, overseas funds and the cancer of unemployment, the racists have failed in their objective of mass recruiting …[123]

The weak 1980 results demonstrated the limited appeal of the Extreme Right. Paddy McGuinness's announcement of an operative "conspiracy of silence" between media and government on the continuing refugee influx,[124] may suggest that publicity-starvation was applied to cripple the anti-immigrationists after their 1979 surge.

The PCP/ANA merger produced the 'Progressive Nationalist Party' (PNP). This organization stayed relaxed and uncoordinated, fielding a candidate in a Sydney by-election[125] and campaigning against the 1981 Commonwealth Heads Of Government Meeting.[126] In early 1982, Clark, fearing PNP might take the confrontationist road, withdrew to re-launch ICA, but soon after dissolved it because of the disinterestedness of PNP's paper members.[127]

On the ground, the anti-immigration Extreme Right seemed exhausted. The legacy of the 1975–82 period was mixed. Clark considered the ICA/PCP a sort of "culmination" of previous anti-immigration groups. He had "settled the question" of whether a party or a lobby group was required and although he favoured a "conservative" signpost for "respectability", he considered the group "Nationalist". While critical of both myopic anti-

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[123] Hon. A.J. Grassby, Australia's Racist Underground, Canberra, 1981, pp. 9, 16.
[124] P.P. McGuinness, quoted in, Susan Molloy, "Migrant 'Myth' Must Die – Macphee", Sydney Morning Herald, July 21 1980, p. 1.
[125] "Liverpool Electorate Chosen", The Progressive Nationalist News And Views, No. 3, August 1981, p. 1.
[126] CHOGM: A Menace, PNP leaflet, 1981.
[127] Vincent Lowe; Robert J. Clark, Letter To Gerard O'Neill, August 11 1982; Progressive Nationalist Party Members' Letter, South Australia, undated.

communism and "Eureka-Flag radicals" he built a provocative but non-confrontational group.[128]

The ICA/PCP had fought a rear-guard action. The Fraser years provided opportunities for agitation arising from the pro-immigration and deindustrialization policies advocated in the Galbally and Harries Reports, economic structural crisis and Vietnamese refugee arrivals. However, ICA/PCP narrowed itself towards electoralism which depended upon ballot box success, and which in turn, required enthusiasm and money. A 'party of the National Right', which married PCP's limited finances and ANA's enthusiasm, might have fared just a little better.

The friction between ICA/PCP and ANA was generational. Clark's followers (1975–82) tended to be older (45–70 years), financially secure and former Coalition supporters.[129] National Alliance numbers were younger, less established and devoid of nostalgia for 1950's Australia.[130] Whereas ICA/PCP bemoaned foreign aid for short-changing pensioners, and immigration for neighbourhood deterioration, ANA maintained the propagandistic vulgarity of "Jobs Not Refugees"[131] and the more intricate warning – "No To The Peking Tokyo Washington Axis".[132] However, both regularly criticized the 'Anglo-Saxonism' of the old Right and moved beyond laissez-faire economics towards a populist anti-capitalism.[133]

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[128] Robert J. Clark, Interview, January 1985. Clark's commentary was used in Jim Saleam, What Is To Be Done?, pp. 1–3.

[129] Progressive Conservative Party: Introducing June Steene-Olsen, PCP leaflet, 1980; "Pamela Wells", The Sound Advertiser, October 8 1980, p. 14; Who Is Syd Negus? PCP leaflet, 1980; Christopher Steele; see also Chapter 2.

[130] "The Road To Nationhood", Audacity, No. 7, March 1979, pp. 5, 6, 14.

[131] Introducing The Jobs Not Refugees Campaign, ANA leaflet, 1979; Jobs Not Refugees, ANA poster, 1979.

[132] No To The Peking Tokyo Washington Axis, ANA leaflet, 1978; sticker of same title, 1979. The slogan was also taken up by the Socialist Party of Australia.

[133] The Progressive Nationalist Party: Objectives, Sydney, 1981, pp. 1, 2, 7 – an obvious synthesis of The Progressive Conservative Party Objectives, Sydney, 1980 and Australian National Alliance Manifesto, leaflet, 1978; J. Saleam, "Lang: The People's Champion", Audacity, No. 11 (undated), p. 3.

The marriage of palingenetic nationalism with an Extreme Right membership base missed its propitious moment. Significantly, the Fraser years exhausted the Left cadres, the various general staffs of the proletariat drawn into street adventurism whilst the Left union and community sub-cultures were undermined. The new order was also vulnerable to disruption from rightist challenge and an opportunity was open for an aggressive Extreme Right organization. However, the Extreme Right had been limited by conservative anti-immigration competition, neo-nazi provocation and the failed NFA experiment. An unfriendly or silent media was another impediment. The apocalyptic crisis-mythos of ANA's propaganda, neither overwhelmed the conservatives nor remoulded ICA/PCP into a cadre-electoral machine. It failed to inspire its many 'recruits' to disciplined politics. Nonetheless, the defeated Extreme Right had gained a certain fringe permanence.

Knopfelmacher's 1978 insight was valuable:

> There is the large unemployment amongst the young, particularly the working class young. The noise, entertainment and excitement of a new movement could appeal to them. Also many young people, like many older ones are disillusioned with the government and institutions. And there is the disappearance of the DLP. It was a reasonably rational right-wing alternative. Now there is a vacuum to the Right …[134]

Finally, some Radical-Nationalists observed that the era of anti-communist auxiliary rightism had waned and the Extreme Right would fish in the waters of alienation. In as many words, this was finally recognized by Right militants.[135]

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[134] Frank Knopfelmacher quoted in Martin Wilkinson, "Black Shadow Rising", The Sun, June 6 1978, p. 8.
[135] "It Is Inevitable", Progressive Nationalist News And Views, No. 2, July 1981, p. 3.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE RADICAL-NATIONALIST FACE OF THE
EXTREME RIGHT 1982- 95

This Chapter shall examine a number of organizations which are recognizable by their ideological and propagandist reference to the Australian labour, republican and nationalist heritage. These movements are described as the 'Radical-Nationalists', an appropriate label given their rejection of the political legitimacy of the Australian State whether in its imperial, American-alliance or client-internationalist phases. Several questions shall be resolved.

This Chapter explains:

- how the Radical-Nationalist position revamped itself out of the political failure of the Extreme Right 1975–82, to achieve permanence as one of its typological faces;

- how the new ideological initiatives integrated the Radical-Nationalist mythos with strategic-tactical ideas drawn from Australian and foreign Left and Right ideologies.

This Chapter analyses this Radical-Nationalist effort as achieving concrete results.

First, it discusses:

- how and why Radical-Nationalists participated in international Extreme Right politics?

- how Radical-Nationalists integrated the new ideological syntheses with political action?

Second, it asks:

- Did the new militancy have an effect such that it necessitated State/para-State reaction?

- Did the propaganda use of the labour heritage push the co-optation of the Left on the issues of race and national political-economic independence, during the period of its crisis and decline?

The Chapter advances data on the membership of Radical-Nationalist groups and integrates this information with questions of politics and organization.

Lastly, the continuing Radical-Nationalist activism shall be shown as an influence on the Extreme Right's evolution.

1. THE EMERGENCE OF AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL ACTION 1982–5

The foundation-circumstances of 'National Action' (NA) in Sydney have hitherto been described inaccurately.

Denis Freney asserted:

> In April 1982, Saleam launched his fourth political organization: National Action … [and] … determined to keep it on the straight and narrow as a pure neo-nazi activist group, with an updated 'Oz fascist' ideology … [its] political programme is … an extension of earlier nazi party programmes … [1]

Freney continued:

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[1] Denis Freney, Nazis Out Of Uniform: The Dangers Of Neo-Nazi Terrorism In Australia, Sydney, 1984, pp. 13, 15.

> National Action has its origins in the post-war nazi
>
> parties set up in Australia.[2]

The NA membership records[3] discount any continuation from 1960's–1970's neo-nazism, with 1 per cent attracted from that pool.[4] Between 1977 and 1981, National Action's predecessors distanced themselves from neo-nazism.[5]

David Greason maintained he was both an intellectual influence and "founder"[6] who established NA in his "living room" in March 1982.[7] Yet he also cited a February establishment date.[8] Freney ignored Greason's 1984 claim, first raised in material published by the International Socialists.

In truth, NA was founded by seventeen persons in Sydney's Glebe[9] in February 1982 with an inaugural assembly on April 25 1982.[10] A committee of Saleam, Azzopardi, Boris Link (24, security guard) and David Merrett (22, public servant), was appointed to draft a programme and constitution, and hold a conference two years later.

Support was slim. Eugene Donnini's Melbourne PNP section joined, as did individual PNP activists from other sections, such that by the close of 1982 an embryonic national structure was emplaced. In January 1983, Sydney NA opened a bookshop headquarters in Tempe.

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[2] ibid, p. 2.

[3] Australian National Action, Membership Files For New South Wales, Computer Record; Australian National Action, Card Index and Membership Index. Records held by the author of 505 persons (see below). Other records unavailable.

[4] Confidential.

[5] "Press Council Censures The Australian", The Australian, October 3 1979, p. 5; "Extremists", Audacity, No. 12, undated, p. 1.

[6] "Racist Groups Exposed! Ex-Leader Tells All", The Battler, April 14 1984, pp. 1–2.

[7] David Greason, I Was A Teenage Fascist, pp. 274–5; Verity Burgmann, "Writing Racism Out Of History", Arena, No. 67, 1984, p. 79.

[8] David Greason, op.cit., p. 276.

[9] John Birmingham, "Hearts Of Darkness", Rolling Stone, September 1990, pp. 44–51.

[10] What Is National Action?, leaflet, 1982.

The direction this new Radical-Nationalist organization would ultimately assume was suggested in the early period.

Although NA worked with other anti-immigration groups, such as Linke's Perth Immigration Control Council, Dique's ICA(Q) and Maina's Sydney 'Patriotic Lobby' (PL) (formed in 1981 from NAA's wreckage) in the July 1982 immigration consultative process, NA criticized lobbyist methods. A series of chaotic town hall meetings in state capitals focused public attention upon immigration issues,[11] but for NA its function remained one of organization-building. It subsequently signed a 'Declaration' for co-operation with the Sydney PL,[12] but avoided other Right entanglements.

National Action considered Australian National Alliance had pioneered correct ideology, but concluded that its strategic and tactical planning was stunted. However, its criticisms of the Right were supported:

> … National Alliance was not simply an anti-
> immigration movement. When … [it] … insisted on
> tactics, strategy, ideology these patriots looked on
> us as if we had come from the moon … [13]

Those divisions in ANA referred to in Chapter Four were ascribed to rightist contamination:

> One side wanted an 'acceptable' party of ordinary
> Australians led by democratically chosen leaders;
> the nationalists urged the forging of a closed activist
> union of militants led by a closed leadership which

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[11] Laurie Oaks, "Racists Attack Mixed Society", <u>The Age</u>, July 30 1982, p. 13; "Disrupted!", <u>National Action Bulletin</u>, No. 2, undated, p. 1.
[12] "Declaration", <u>National Action Bulletin</u>, No. 6, undated, p. 1.
[13] Anon, <u>Our Tasks: Vital Questions For The Nationalist Party</u>, Sydney, January 1983, pp. 2–3.

refused to open the party to public scrutiny and disruption.[14]

National Action formally condemned the Right's legalism, 'Menzies-ism', Anglophilia and pro-American anti-communism, in the same breath as it denied the marxist Left was its main enemy.[15] Rhetoric directed at the Right would become more critical as NA argued it would break from the Right:

> Have you ever met cranks? Crazy old men obsessed with religion? Old men who argue anti-semitic doctrines, informing us China is run by Jewish capitalists?[16]

Nonetheless, NA's aim was to gain dominance over the other anti-immigration groups; its enforced public profile was intended to sideline them and act as a magnet for their approachable elements.[17]

The NA leadership appreciated the importance of controversy. Its earliest activities at Sydney University were occasions for Left demonstrations and 'exposure' literature.[18] Although weak, NA initiated a provocative propaganda against the overseas-student program (1982–4).[19]

The organization won extensive publicity and confronted Leftist groups which, in rallying unconditionally to these bourgeois 'victims of racism', were lured into defending the de-

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[14] ibid, p. 3.
[15] "Are We Radicals?", Audacity, No. 24, April–May 1982, p. 6; "The Enemies Of Australian Nationalism", loc.cit, p. 8.
[16] J. Saleam, "Break From The Right", National Action Bulletin, No. 10, undated, pp. 5–7 (actual date June 1983).
[17] "ICA", National Action Bulletin, No. 3, undated, p. 2; "Mistakes", National Action Bulletin, No. 6, undated, p. 2.
[18] "No Platform For Fascists! Drive The PNP Off Campus", Australasian Spartacist, No. 93, April 1982, pp. 2, 6; Stop Racist Attacks On Campus, Maoist campus leaflet, April 1982.
[19] Overseas Students And You, National Action leaflet, April 1983; Jim Saleam, "Overseas Student Furore", Audacity, No. 19, August 1983, pp. 1, 3.

skilling of Australia, displacement of the native-born and backdoor immigration.[20] However, when tested in campus politics in 1983 a candidate for President of the Student Representative Council at Sydney University, polled just 2.1 per cent.[21]

Andrew Guild, Victorian Chairman (1984–90), described a basic propaganda group:

> Melbourne NA activities 1982–4 were centred on gaining a visible public presence and promotion of the name 'National Action'. We distributed 200,000 posters, stickers and leaflets with the popular slogan 'Stop The Asian Invasion'. This campaign resulted in a couple of hundred enquiries.[22]

The subsequent 'Blainey Debate' (1984) on immigration and multiculturalism was partly sparked through Blainey's sightings of this repetitive message.[23]

During 1983–4 National Action did, in the battle for political space, strike at the Left. The amorphous Sydney Skinhead movement was enthused by NA's presence; Skinheads operating from a derelict warehouse off Elizabeth Street, sallied forth to burgle the Maoist bookshop, arson Gould's Left bookshop and intimidate 'anti-racists'.[24] An ephemeral youth movement in Sydney's depressed western suburbs – the 'Western Guards' – distributed NA propaganda, daubed walls and may have been responsible for the bashing of an anti-racist activist.[25]

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[20] Adam Fraser, "Group Formed to Fight University Racism", Tribune, February 22 1984, p. 13; "Sydney Students Battle Racism", Direct Action, August 22 1984, p. 21; "University Campuses In NSW Have Combatted Strongly Fascist, Racist Propaganda", Vanguard, September 28 1983, p. 3.

[21] "University Poll", National Action Bulletin, No. 12, undated, p. 1.

[22] Andrew Guild, Interview, 1995.

[23] Geoffrey Blainey, All For Australia, Sydney, 1984, pp. 14–15.

[24] "Racist Attacks Will Not Be Tolerated", The Socialist, March 14 1984, p. 3 , for a list of these offences.

[25] "Racist Violence", Honi Soit, Arena, Newswit, combined edition, August 1984, p. 3.

Like the former ANA, National Action laboured to confuse opposition and create a 'mystique' around the new force. Here National Action employed an agent to dupe Denis Freney of Tribune into publishing reports of NA's "connection" to the French Party of New Forces and the South African "AWB", of its access to firearms and South African money.[26]

National Action affected a Janus-faced methodology. To affirm its legitimacy, National Action contested the February 1984 Hughes by-election (966 votes).[27] To intimidate opposition, it occupied the student union offices at Macquarie University as retaliation for an 'unfair' television confrontation with its President on the overseas student question.[28] Consequently, National Action became the first organization banned from a campus.[29] The organization interfered with State interest when it produced evidence that liberal aid organization Community Aid Abroad was a sanctioned-conduit for funds for Pan-African Congress and African National Congress terrorism.[30]

The political atmosphere of 1984 was race-charged. On March 22, Foreign Minister Hayden stated his preference for an Australia of 50 million people of Eurasian ethnicity,[31] while Professor Geoffrey Blainey soon after initiated an 'immigration debate' which saw marxists disrupt his public meetings and academics question his intellectual and moral integrity.[32]

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[26] "French Fascist Invited Here For Speaking Tour", Tribune, December 14 1983, p. 2; Denis Freney, "Racist Group Has Weapons On its Premises", Tribune, April 11 1984, p. 11; "Neo-Fascists Try To Woo Skinheads", Tribune, December 7 1983, p. 15.

[27] "Fun, Filth And Slander: The Hughes By-Election", Ultra, No. 16, undated, pp. 1–2.

[28] "Racist Incidents At Macquarie", Australian Jewish Times, March 29 1984, p. 3; "Hot Reception For National Action At Macquarie", Direct Action, March 21 1984, p. 21; Anti-Semitism Today, Jewish student leaflet, 1984.

[29] "University Bans Racist Group", publication unknown, dated November 23 1988 in Ultra, No. 56, December 1988, p. 2, when National Action remonstrated over the 1984 ban.

[30] "Campaign Of Fear Stops Aid Group, The Age, July 24 1984, p. 1; Community Aid Abroad: Front For Terrorism, leaflet, May 1984.

[31] Bill Hayden quoted in, "Is Bill Hayden Insane?", Audacity, No. 22, July 1984, p. 3.

[32] "Liberals Go Migrant Bashing", Direct Action, No. 478, May 16 1984, pp, 1, 3; Andrew Markus and M.C. Rickleffs (eds.), Surrender Australia: Essays In The Study And Uses Of History, Sydney, 1985.

By late 1984, National Action's propaganda and physical force campaigns had created an organization of a few hundred supporters with additional mailing lists. NA was nationally known and pre-eminent over other organized 'anti-immigration' groups. As discussed below, its activism brought brushes with the law. National Action's methods had damaged liberal and Left groups while bluffing them as to its resources and strength. Participation in the 1984 Federal poll brought results considered somewhat optimistically as a 'breakthrough' for its radical message.[33]

Table 5.1   National Action 1984 Election Results[34]

Candidate	Electorate	Result
J. Saleam	Reid (NSW)	2803 (4.72%)
M. Ferguson	Wills (Vic)	1360 (2.33%)
J. Van Tongeren	West. Aust. Senate	861 -

It remained to be seen how a 'fighting organization' could locate a coherent strategy, systematize its journalistic outpourings and create cadres from members.

2.   STRUCTURAL WEAKNESS, NEW RADICAL-NATIONALIST
        ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR STRATEGIC OPTIONS

Vanessa Coles's limited research into National Action – in favour of neo-nazism as the axis of Extreme-Right study – had a harsh conclusion:

> … [NA was] … incredibly undecided … on basic
> beliefs … to such a point where policy formulation
> was practically impossible … [35]

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[33] "A Breakthrough", Ultra, No. 23, undated, p. 1.
[34] Australian Electoral Commission, House Of Representatives Election: By Division And Polling Place, Canberra, 1984; Senate Election: Western Australia.

While an inappropriate description of NA as it developed, this description was accurate at a particular point.

Certain divisions in NA, and the birth of new Radical-Nationalist and other formations (1984–5) are germane to an appreciation of ideology and style on the Extreme Right. They demonstrated that the Australian case validated Griffin's analysis of neo-fascism's[36] achievement of "ideological and organizational innovation" marred by "chronic structural weakness."[37]

Certainly, NA rendered obsolete Al Grassby's argument that the 'racist Right' was dominated by Anglophiles, conspiratologists and racial-haters.[38] In challenging the old-Right, NA and its forebears in ANA, had opened themselves to influence by European 'revolutionary-nationalist' ideological, political and organizational models.[39] Griffin has rightly characterized this enormous corpus as "highly nuanced".[40] Under disciplined assimilation any ideological corpus could fertilize the indigenous product, whereas under other circumstances this penetration would result in division. The evidence will show both results.

The first expression of foreign influences conformed microcosmically to Leonard Weinberg's analysis of Italian neo-fascist terrorism. He noted that some student activists would progress through stages: from campus activism, through 'populist' agitation towards frustration in failure. Recrimination would lead some to armed struggle.[41] Certain NA activists grouped around Merrett and Link reviewed the 'failures' of ANA/PNP and

[35] Vanessa Coles, "The Continuity Of Fascism In Germany And Australia: A Comparative History", BA(Hons) Thesis, University of Sydney, 1994, p. 70.
[36] The question of neo-fascism is dealt with in Chapter Ten.
[37] Roger Griffin, The Nature Of Fascism, p. 170.
[38] Al Grassby, The Tyranny Of Prejudice, Melbourne, 1984, pp. 460–2.
[39] See: "French Nationalists Grow", Audacity, No. 7, undated, p. 4; "Front Nationale", Ultra, No. 20, undated, pp. 7–9; "International News", Audacity, No. 22, July 1984, p. 10. Other examples also cover the period 1978 to 1984.
[40] Roger Griffin, The Nature Of Fascism, p. 20.
[41] Leonard Weinberg, "The Violent Life: Left And Right-Wing Terrorism In Italy", in Peter Merkl (ed.), Political Violence And Terror: Motifs And Motivation, Berkeley, 1986, pp. 156–7.

imagined success in an 'armed party' similar to French and Italian 'black terrorism'. Efforts were made to acquire weapons – and funds via marijuana cultivation. The scheme collapsed in early 1984 when two Toronto men were arrested on drugs charges.[42] Trace evidence is available to suggest members of the group became informer-provocateurs for Special Branch after 1985.[43]

The early 1980's witnessed considerable fermentation on the international Extreme Right. Husbands recorded the 'survival' of the British National Front as a sub-culture in working class areas.[44] Thurlow and Eatwell noted the strategic-tactical divisions in early 1980's 'British Nationalism' over the class orientation of the movement.[45] National Action was part of this international debate encouraging the NF's 'working class' faction and receiving their reciprocal endorsement.[46] The NF's release from 'neo-nazi' control had a particular dynamic occasioned by the intervention of Canadian neo-fascist, John Jewell. Through his Direct Action bulletin he introduced an 'anti-virus' – "Strasserism".[47]

Jewell's revisitation of the 'pan-European-socialist' Strasser faction of the NSDAP, and its struggle against Hitler's ariosophical anti-Russianism and "betrayal" of the working class in the Rohm purge,[48] had little to do with rehabilitating Nazism (although some neo-nazis attempted that[49]), but with disintegrating the neo-nazi infiltration of Extreme-Right organizations in several countries.[50] Jewell argued that neo-nazis were 'right-wing', part of President Reagan's anti-Soviet politics, negative quantities with irrelevant programmes for

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[42] James Saleam, Letter To The NSW Attorney General, September 24 1996.
[43] Australian National Action, File On Boris Link; "Anatomy Of Misfits, Failures And Perverts: Special Branch To Set Up Its Own Sydney National Action", Ultra, No. 65, May 1990, pp. 3–4.
[44] Christopher T. Husbands, Racial Exclusionism And The City, London, 1983, pp. 93, 98–101.
[45] Richard Thurlow, op.cit., pp. 281–5; Roger Eatwell, Fascism: A History, pp. 270–2.
[46] David Greason, "The Invasion Of Australia", Nationalism Today, No. 10, June 1982, pp. 12–13; David Merrett, "Are We Radicals?", Nationalism Today, No. 24, September 1984, p. 13.
[47] John Jewell, Myths That Die Hard: Revolutionary National Socialism Verses Bourgeois Nazi Reaction 1918–34, Toronto, 1980, passim.
[48] J. Jewell, "The Fall Of Nazi Germany", Direct Action, No. 27, January 1981, pp. 3–11; John Jewell, "Gregor Strasser", Direct Action, No. 30, Supplement 2, December 1981.
[49] Colin Jordan, "Strasserism: Bolshevism In A Brown Shirt", Gothic Ripples, No. 7, November 1981, pp. 1–2, for reference to West German neo-nazi "Strasserists".
[50] "Black Book", Direct Action, No. 31, February 1982, pp. 1–2. "Letters", Direct Action, No. 30, November 1981, p. 7.

activism.[51] Other researchers have ignored Jewell's influence. Yet, his Strasserist critique of the "Hitler cult" destabilized international neo-nazism, drawing frenzied rejoinders. National Action's preventative use of the "anti-virus" also caused disputation.

Norwick under his pen name Saunders, authored <u>The Social Revolutionary Nature Of Australian Nationalism</u> which covered Strasserist ground with novelty. The ideologies of German non-nazi fascist Conservative Revolution and National Bolshevism were introduced to Australian readers to justify anti-Americanism, a Russophile 'tilt' and a critique of liberal-western "cosmopolitanism".[52] Such references had been invoked by influential European 'think tanks', and researchers have assessed this as an aspect of 'New Right' discourse.[53]

At NA's Easter 1985 Conference, Perth Chairman Jack van Tongeren raised certain strategic-tactical demands. This covert neo-nazi had joined to achieve NA's nazification and affect its 'turn' towards the Conservative Right.[54] Saunders wrote of van Tongeren's plan:

> … [he] … purported to be able to recruit patriotic
> members of the old order based upon some
> conservative ideology … such as Bruce Ruxton …
> We wish … [him] … well … but … groups such as
> IRC, NAA, ICA, PCP, PNP …. often had the
> patronage of conservatives such as Bob Menzies
> and Bruce Ruxton … and achieved nil …[55]

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[51] <u>Black And Red Front</u>, leaflet, undated.

[52] Alec Saunders, <u>The Social Revolutionary Nature Of Australian Nationalism</u>, Sydney, 1984, pp. 5–9. Hereafter Norwick goes by his pen name, and shall be called the same in the text.

[53] Roger Griffin (ed.), <u>Fascism</u>, p. 315; Roger Eatwell, <u>Fascism: A History</u>, pp. 248–52. As noted below, this 'New Right' bears no relationship to Reagan-Thatcher 'New Right' economics.

[54] Jim Saleam, <u>National Action's Future On The Line</u>, Sydney, April 1985, passim; Jim Saleam, <u>What Is To Be Done?</u>, Sydney, 1985, pp. 11–13.

[55] Alec Saunders, "Report On The Second National Conference Of Australian National Action", <u>Eureka</u>, No. 2, March–April 1985, p. 2. Some of Saunders's suggestions of patronage were inaccurate.

When van Tongeren demanded an end with the Eureka Flag, the republican working class reference and NA's criticism of the anti-communist Right, [56] he was essentially arguing for the Rosemary Sisson programme of 1978 and the British neo-nazi method which looked to conversion of the Tory Right.[57] His 'Australian Nationalists Movement' (ANM) split from NA. The continuing quest by some neo-nazis for accommodation with the Conservative Right demonstrated a strategic misreading of historical fascism's method. Significantly, coded debate had also raged which would continue thereafter, with the ghosts of Strasserism and Conservative Revolution in contention with neo-nazis. Australian researchers have essentially ignored these strategic discussions.

Other splits from NA also brought loss of cadre, but the creation of new breeder-pools for Radical-Nationalist organization with new discursive forms. An 'Australian Populist Movement' (APM) was formed in December 1984 from a rupture in van Tongeren's "conservative" Perth NA. A magazine – Stockade – appeared and a 'radical' red Eureka flag was raised. Under Eugene Donnini's direction, APM published a leaflet, Fight For Australia! which espoused anti-nuclear neutralism.[58] The 'green' pretense underlay the Australian Populist Manifesto which argued also for direct democracy.[59] APM's generalized condemnation of "America" as the progenitor of consumer-culture,[60] brought APM recruits amongst the Perth anti-foreign bases and environmentalist groups and from Melbourne's sizeable ex-Maoist milieu. The immigration issue was sanitized. The Stockade proudly announced its link with English New Right journal The Scorpion,[61] whose right-to-racial-difference argument merged into 'Green' economic perspectives on sustainable growth and contra-globalization.[62] The idea of national independence would be remarketed to an alternative oppositional sector. The strategy was a challenging one for Australia where the marginalized Extreme Right was under constant scrutiny by Left-liberal

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[56] Australian National Action, Second Conference Taped Record, 1985.
[57] John Tyndall, "Crypto-Marxist Claptrap Parading As 'Nationalism'", Spearhead, No. 180, October 1983, pp. 5–10.
[58] Fight For Australia!, APM leaflet, 1985.
[59] Australian Populist Manifesto, Perth, 1985, pp. 10–11.
[60] "America", Stockade, No. 2, Summer 1985–6, pp. 1–2.
[61] "The Scorpion", Stockade, No. 1, Spring 1985, p. 2.
[62] Werner Olles, "Racial Hatred Verses Multi-Racialism: Time For Another Choice", The Scorpion, No. 9, Spring 1986, p. 21; "Three German National Revolutionaries", The Scorpion, No. 4, Spring 1983, p. 11; "Ecology The Growing Dilemma", The Scorpion, No. 11, Summer 1987, pp. 3–19.

forces. The APM's kinship to NA brought warnings from <u>Tribune</u> and allegations that APM militants vandalized the CPA's Perth offices.[63]

Clearly, APM's plan to intersect with traditionally 'Left' movements predated the similar effort of Australians Against Further Immigration described below. However, APM disintegrated in early 1986, unable to penetrate its targets successfully – and amass resources for organizational intensification.

Another Radical-Nationalist initiative which promised much was that of 'Australian National Vanguard' (ANV) / 'Australian People's Congress' (APC) in the years 1982–88. This Brisbane effort was directed by Robert Pash (born 1962). From an unstable family with a history of psychiatric illness, Pash was attracted by religion, finding a berth with the U.S. 'Church Of Jesus Christ Christian' (or Aryan Nations). His paper <u>Vanguard</u> had announced: "Jewry rules the West … " and " … only the pure aryan race … (can) … achieve His Noble Purpose."[64] A transition was made to Libyan "Third Universal Theory" in 1983, with funding provided by the Libyan Embassy for distribution of Gaddafist propaganda.[65] In 1984, Pash approached National Action with promises of "unity" and Libyan support for anti-American propaganda, but arrangements were forever provisional.[66] When van Tongeren launched ANM, Pash decided to reconstitute ANV.

The ANV claimed to be "known within Trade Union circles, sections of the ALP and to overseas National Revolutionary governments".[67] Pash argued for anti-imperialist national independence "in the same way as the CPA(M-L)."[68] The ANV used the Eureka Flag and NA's labour-nationalist utterances via textual "plagiarism".[69]

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[63] "Arson Attack On Perth CPA Office", <u>Tribune</u>, August 21 1985, p. 3; "Donations Needed After Arson Attack", <u>Tribune</u>, September 4 1985, p. 3.

[64] "Hail The New Order", <u>Vanguard</u>, No. 2, September 1981, p. 10.

[65] <u>Alec Saunders</u>; <u>Ray Gillespie</u>: to whom Pash confirmed Libyan funding.

[66] <u>An Open Letter</u>, ANV members' leaflet, May 1985; <u>A Reply To The 'Open Letter' Issued By J. Saleam</u>, ANV Members' Letter, undated. These documents argue the opposite view i.e. that NA approached Pash. The question of "petrodollars" however <u>is</u> clear.

[67] "An Open Letter", <u>The Attack</u>, Vol. 3, No. 4, September 1985, p. 2.

[68] <u>Robert Pash</u>, Letter To James Saleam, October 11 1985; "A New Left", <u>National Vanguard</u>, Vol. 1, No. 8, August–October 1985, pp. 1–2.

[69] <u>Robert Pash</u>, Letter To James Saleam, September 3 1985.

However, it was the overdone loyalty to Libyan strictures which brought ANV attention from Jewish, police and Left organizations. Pash's courtship of Libya was original. He had outmanoeuvred the pro-Libyan Socialist Labour League and Bill Hartley's Australian Libyan Friendship Society and despite Tribune's suggestion that he had "conned" Libya[70] and Hartley's denunciation as a "provocateur",[71] he led various "delegations" to Libya and retained a Libyan stipend.[72]

Whatever Pash's organizational initiatives, his contorted personality wrecked the enterprise. In 1984, he had infiltrated the Queensland Nuclear Disarmament Party, acquired its mailing list and passed it to Special Branch.[73] Pash organized 1985 'Green Book Reading Nights' in the Brisbane rooms of the League Of Rights and printed a 1987 'Joh For Canberra' magazine,[74] while also simultaneously working with the Socialist Workers' Party. Saunders – who received a Libyan trip – argued that Pash was a "fraud" and "chameleon" whose political machinations implied multiple personalities.[75] Remarkably, Pash could assimilate conflicting programmes and had a compulsive desire to explain his activities to Intelligence operatives. Not surprisingly, the organization became lost in its contradictions. In 1987, ANV became the Australian People's Congress, and after arranging a 1988 Libyan trip for the British NF leadership[76] (and then the Australian SWP leaders), Pash became less of an activist and more a Libyan information agent (1988–91), surrounded by a heterogeneous circle. He went on to found New Dawn magazine.

The projected syntheses of Australian labour-nationalism, Third Universal Theory and Maoism required a nimble ideologue and a real base of support. The less than 100 recruits (1984–8) were not a cadre. Despite similarities to British NF and 1970's Italian

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[70] Denis Freney, "How A Neo-Nazi Conned Libya", Tribune, May 7 1986, p. 12.
[71] Michael Danby, "Robert Pash: This Is Your Life", Australia–Israel Review, Vol. 12, May 11–26, 1987, p. 6.
[72] George Wilson and Bruce Jones, "The Disciple Of Gaddafi", The Sun Herald, May 10 1987, p. 5.
[73] Alec Saunders; Pash personally told this to the author, April 1985.
[74] National Democrat, Vol. 1, No. 6, March 1 1987, p. 1.
[75] Alec Saunders, Letter To James Saleam, July 1985. See: photos of Robert Pash beneath Bjelke-Petersen and Gaddafi portraits, 1987, in possession of author.
[76] Graham Williamson, Letter To James Saleam, January 7 1989. Williamson was an executive member of the British NF. See: "NF Chiefs Visit Libya", National Front News, No. 11, January 1988, p. 1.

revolutionary-nationalist schemes, Pash either mismanaged or under-exploited the potential for foreign funding and developed little structure.

It is concluded that various doctrinal innovations-cum-initiatives of NA, APM and ANV were intellectually energetic, but foreign ideological inputs incited leadership ruptures as cadres searched for winning strategies. As the other groups faded, only National Action turned some ideas to profit.

3.   THE STRATEGIC–TACTICAL PERSPECTIVES OF NATIONAL ACTION 1985–90

Fractionalization amongst Radical-Nationalists brought a new ideological energy in National Action and a serious effort was made to codify strategic–tactical principles. A synthesized rationale for militant activism was formulated which governed practice until 1990:

(i)   Australia was portrayed as a capitalist dictatorship with business organizations, courts, police, media and education integrated as a machine.[77] Illusions of a neutral State, arising from good-society "corruption in our own minds", delayed this realization.[78] State power did not reside in parliament but was diffused throughout State organs and connected repressive and intellectual/cultural apparatuses.[79] Electoralism, lobbyism, terrorism and the infiltration of existing party structures were condemned as ineffective, enervating options. The alternative was the 'combat party'.[80]

(ii)   The combat model was neutrally adopted from the Leninist vanguard literature. No faith was placed in the Australian people being able to freely choose against the

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[77] Jim Saleam, The Nature Of State Power In Australia, Sydney, 1987, pp. 8–13.
[78] Jim Saleam, What Is To Be Done?, p. 33.
[79] J. Saleam and M. Slyney, Making Propaganda, NA leaflet, Sydney, 1986.
[80] Jim Saleam, What Is To Be Done?, pp. 18–21.

consumer order; nor was it expected a mass party could emerge under normal conditions.[81] The combat party would wage war against liberalism.[82]

(iii)   The political struggle was conceived as a friend/enemy discourse and in Maoist style partitioned into antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions.[83] The antagonistic oppositions were the repressive and ideological State apparatuses and those aspects of the civil society where the writ of State power ran, where people were well integrated into structures conducive to the maintenance of liberal-capitalism.[84] Consequently, the marxist Left became a secondary non-antagonistic opponent. Capitalism would receive the main blow.[85]

(iv)   The organization practised an unchristened Democratic Centralism. Membership was carefully divided into supporters and (cadre) members. The latter had voting rights.[86] Secrecy became obsessive and the authority of the committees absolute.[87] While no organization was immune to disruption or penetration, announcements of political police interest in destabilization were to encourage discipline.[88]

(v)   In sectarian fashion, National Action was described as the party of Australian nationalism. It refused to treat equally with ostensible-nationalist groups, neo-nazis or conservatives, but intolerantly proclaimed its special character and mission.[89] It would win the best of useful formations and not permit territorial competition. This implicit threat brought counter-criticism from the League Of Rights, the Anglo-Saxon Keltic Society, the Constitutional Heritage Protection Society and the ANM. The LOR referred to "a number of psychopaths and misfits who can be

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[81] J. Saleam, Australia's Road To National Revolution, Sydney, 1984, p. 1.
[82] ibid., pp. 16–17.
[83] Jim Saleam, Address To Sydney Nationalists, Tape Recording, May 1987.
[84] ibid.
[85] "Against The Left: Against The Right", in J. Saleam (ed.), What Is Australian Nationalism?, Sydney, 1987, p. 22.
[86] Constitution And Rules Of Australian National Action, 1987.
[87] Rules Of Conduct For National Action Members And Supporters, leaflet, 1988.
[88] Jim Saleam, How To Combat The Political Police, Sydney, 1987, passim.
[89] "Third Position Nationalism: The Key To Getting Out Of The Ghetto", Ultra, No. 58, February 1989, pp. 3–4.

exploited to foment extremism … a power movement."[90] Rightist whispering campaigns centring on NA's "republicanism" and "violence" – unfolded.[91] The sectarian method demanded sacrifice in the 'competitive' struggle and zealous political campaigning.

(vi)   The propagandistic use of the national-republican-labour tradition was developed. First, NA sought an effective reply to the 'fascist' name-calling of media and the Left. It was said:

> It is interesting to note that Nationalists are attacked
> in the media as 'fascists' … The good values of the
> old ALP flow into … [our] … stream … If we are
> to be characterized as alien fascists … then
> Australia's greatest Prime Minister was a fascist.
> Good company?[92]

Second, NA proceeded to absorb the tradition into its everyday work.[93] It struggled to acquire legitimacy for its anti-immigration, republican and ultra-nationalist perspectives and provide a framework for energetic propaganda against New Right liberal-capitalism then hegemonic over the Liberal and Labor parties.[94] In language reminiscent of Lawson and Lane, NA claimed that the State:

> … denounced the eighty percent of Australians who
> question Asian/coloured immigration as "racists".
> This dictatorial attitude matches up with … 'master
> race theories'. The ideal race for Australia is

[90] "The League Of Rights And Immigration", On Target, April 11 1986, pp. 2–3.
[91] Nick Maina, on Sydney conservative criticism of NA.
[92] Kevin McCauley, "The Labor Party, The Labour Movement And White Australian Nationalism", National Action, No. 32, February–March 1989, p. 9.
[93] "Depression Politics", National Action, No. 28, January 1987, pp. 1, 3.

supposed to be mixed from Asian and Australian;

he is supposed to 'work hard', never join a trade

union, follow the 'future' as laid out by Big Business

blindly and consume the products of industry. This

mindless herd is to be ruled over by a 'master class'

of local traitors and Asian businessmen.   The

Australian People reject this reverse-Nazism …[95]

National Action wanted a working class following by occupying the position the Left once possessed. The Left was proclaimed the bully-boy of capitalism given its anti-protectionist open-immigration principles, the old national-Left superceded by liberals.[96] The nationalist labour position could challenge the Conservative Right over its links with Bjelke-Petersen and anti-union 'Asianizers'; old style anti-communists would be criticized as 'anti-Australian independence' through subservience to U.S. imperialism.[97] An umbilical chord was said to exist between the Conservative Right and the free marketeers, albeit through conduits.[98]

(vii)   Youth and "inner-city and outer-suburban working people of the big cities" were the targets for recruitment.[99] Regrouped cadre from other organizations and some professionals and business people would provide direction and financing. Those unintegrated into bourgeois life would become the political soldiers (cadres) for change.[100]

(viii)   The new strategic-tactical method was dubbed 'Political Guerilla Warfare', an application of a military technique to civil society, against a state stronger in physical

[94] S. Lain, "CEDA: The Facts", National Action, No. 27, May–June 1986, p. 4. For the "Committee For The Economic Development Of Australia", see below and Chapter Nine; Tom Hume, "Behind The New Right: The Politics Of Big Money", National Action, No. 28, January 1987, p. 4.
[95] Racists Will Become Outlaws, National Action poster, 1988.
[96] J. Saleam, The Extreme Left: Thugs For Big Business, Sydney, 1986, passim.
[97] C. Barton, "Neither ANZUS Nor Pacifism", National Action, No. 32, February–March 1989, pp. 6–7.
[98] Jim Saleam, "The New New Guard: The New Right Conspiracy Against Australia – With Special Emphasis On Peter Sawyer: Part Two", National Action, No. 31, November–December 1988, pp. 6–7.
[99] Jim Saleam, "The Strategy And Tactics Of National Action", in Jim Saleam (ed.), op.cit., p. 3.
[100] "What Are National Action's Tactics?", Ultra, No. 53, August 1988, p. 3.

and intellectual-cultural power.[101] While other Extreme-Right groups were 'lost' in generalist public education campaigns and self-advertizing, NA noted its limited resources and chose to 'cut off the tentacles' of the State in civil society, to cause disruption in important areas.[102]

Political Guerilla Warfare involved: creating 'tension' around targetted individuals and persons, developing mass slogans around specific issues, utilizing defamatory and intimidatory propaganda to destabilize 'targets', developing an intelligence capability to sustain propaganda, creating an atmosphere of 'struggle' within NA so that its independence and initiative would be maintained.[103]

This method implied 'psychological action' designed to engender an impression of strength and power, to intimidate 'weak' liberal opponents.[104] The atmosphere of soft violence was to be educative of militants who were to visualize success and assimilate ideology 'on the job'. Metcalfe observed of such 'terror' within organizations:

> A terror is the enforcement of a pledge. The
> insistence anyone disloyal is an enemy … terror
> closes the group. It involves sanctions against both
> enemies and members of a group and the sanctions
> are commonly but not necessarily violent …[105]

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[101] Jim Saleam, <u>What Is To Be Done?</u>, pp. 27–29.

[102] "Towards A National State For Australia", <u>Renaissance</u>, No. 21, December 1988, p. 3. (<u>Renaissance</u>: newsletter of South Australian NA).

[103] <u>Michael Brander</u>; <u>Andrew Guild</u>.

[104] W.D. Smith, "Getting Square With Media Lies", <u>National Action</u>, No. 32, February–March 1989, p. 5.

[105] Andrew Metcalfe, <u>For Freedom And Dignity: Historical Agency And Class Structures In The Coalfields Of New South Wales</u>, Sydney, 1988, p. 164.

The new dispensation made political change conditional upon a Gramscian battle of position fought against dominant ideas and representative persons, a political bloodsport with enemies humbled by visceral attack.[106]

'Political Guerilla Warfare' was similar to the method of the CPA(M-L) and the Builders' Labourers' Federation (BLF) – which was not accidental. The Australian Maoist method is discernable from various works.[107] The BLF long committed itself after "cold hard political thinking" to "the development of guerilla tactics … most harm to the boss, least harm to ourselves".[108] A Royal Commission confirmed the BLF's plan was "to create an image of irresistible power".[109] Vanguard observed of NA:

> One of their leading people tried to associate himself with the Worker-Student Alliance before he openly committed to the Extreme-Right; he was well known for … [taking] … full account of the tactics of the Left in promoting … fascist terrorism …[110]

Saleam "admired" Ted Hill and the CPA(M-L),[111] while Donnini had been an Independence Movement cadre. The interest shown by Extreme Right organizations in Chinese Maoist doctrine and tactics has been noted by researchers.[112] National Action's 1980's liaison with the British NF deepened this interest, particularly when the NF drew

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[106] Jim Saleam, What Is To Be Done?, p. 28.

[107] Anon, Some Ideological Questions, Melbourne, undated; Barry York, Student Revolt At La Trobe University, Campbell, 1989, passim; E.F. Hill, Revolution And The Australian State: A Socialist Analysis, Melbourne, 1974, pp. 8, 18, 46, 119.

[108] "Guerilla Tactics", B.L. December 1981, pp. 8–9 and Untitled Article, Builders' Labourers' Federation Journal, October 1983, p. 5.

[109] Report Of The Commissioner Appointed To Inquire Into Activities Of The Australian Building Construction Employees And Builders' Labourers' Federation, Canberra, 1982, p. 22.

[110] "Mobilize Now To Stop Fascist Thugs Attacking Progressive People", Vanguard, February 1 1989, p. 12.

[111] Andrew Moore, The Right Road?, p. 155. This conclusion is affirmed.

[112] Martin Lee, The Beast Reawakens, pp. 168–177, 182–3.

inspiration from the Italian Terza Posizione, a "revolutionary-nationalist" party (1970's) [113] indebted to Mao and Gramsci for its organizational model for "counter-power".

Summed together, these perspectives were an admonition to strife. National Action became unique on the Extreme Right because it desired to answer the hegemony of liberal ideology and the implied threat of State sanction with physical action. 'Patriotic' elements would prospectively be attracted and through individual struggles, a 'mass party' would be constructed.[114]

National Action had drawn in the palingenetic style upon the old nationalist-labour tradition, and synthesized it with particular Left strategic-tactical doctrines. A further 'modernizing' synthesis with the European Third Way ideology was undertaken, as shall be examined.

4.   MILITANT RADICAL-NATIONALIST SECT POLITICS 1985–90

'Political Guerilla Warfare' was practised energetically after 1985 upon the supposition that authoritarian-State measures would issue to restrict opposition to economic-political 'Asianization'. Since NA was neither an electoralist nor educationist nor lobby force, it had more energy to direct at its 'targets'. With militants encouraged to action collectively and individually, NA desired to "swim as the fish in the sea of the people".[115]

A chronicle of NA's activism where relevant is recorded as testimony.

Michael Brander, (born 1961), son of a Spanish migrant, was an occasional university student when he took charge of NA in Adelaide. He commented:

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[113] Derek Holland, "The Suffering Of Terza Posizione", Nationalism Today, No. 40, undated (1987), pp. 12–13.
[114] "Editorial", Ultra, No. 33, undated, pp. 1–2.

[115] Jim Saleam, Never In Nazi Uniform, p. 27.

Our activism was varied. We campaigned with aggressive material aimed at Immigration Minister Hurford [1986]. Activists stormed citizenship naturalization ceremonies [1987]. We baited Labor M.P. John Scott and the 'Campaign Against Racist Exploitation'. NA tried to create an atmosphere of tension. … Our opposition claimed we threw bricks at Hurford's home and Scott's electoral office; similarly, with Senator Teaghue whose house was shot-gunned and the CPA office which was arsoned. We paid a price for our tactics since media brought forward these allegations. Possibly NA's activism inadvertently encouraged certain elements.[116]

Victorian National Action specialized in economic harassments and political stunts. Chairman Andrew Guild recorded:

Our branch leafletted McDonald's outlets accusing the company of supporting Asianization [1986]. We picketed Myer stores which promoted 'Asianization through Advertizing' [1986]. We demanded that one city council permit us to celebrate Eureka Stockade Day and fly the flag in the city centre [1988]. Against chosen targets we used exposure leaflets and flying pickets.[117]

[116] Michael Brander; for some reports of the subjects covered: "Minister Gets Death Threat", The Sun, April 15 1986, p. 1; "The Political Aerodynamics Of A Brick", Ultra, No. 36, July 1986, p. 3; "Racist Groups Threaten M.P.", The Sun, August 26 1986, p. 2; Stop Racist Violence, Campaign Against Racial Exploitation leaflet, 1987; "CPA Bookshop Firebombed", Tribune, March 25 1987, p. 2.

[117] Andrew Guild; for some reports of the subjects covered: "Racism In China City Row", Knox Sherbrooke News, March 12 1985, p. 1; "Council Forbids Clocktower March", Ringwood Post, November 22 1988, reproduced as NA members leaflet, 1988; Ray Bull, "Myers Bows To Racist Pressure", Direct Action, May 22 1985, p. 19; Bryce Courtenay, "A Racial Mix May Be Just The Cure

National Action's propaganda effort was reflected in national office figures for distributed-recruitment items (inclusive of ideological documents and magazines):

Table 5.2   Distributed Recruitment Items, 1985–89[118]

1985 – 169,000
1986 – 149,950
1987 – 254,700
1988 – 228,000
1989 – 123,000

(An understatement by 20 per cent on these figures would allow for specialized local material.)

National Action contested some elections. It chose Labor electorates. In reintroducing voters to nationalist labourism, NA chided the ALP for abandoning its legacy. With leaflets, posters and stickers festooned with Eureka Flags and labour movement 'icons' – Lang, Lawson, Lane, Curtin and others – the ALP was condemned for its subservience to international banking capital and as a creature of the business lobby and think tank – the Committee For The Economic Development Of Australia (CEDA).[119] Labor's deregulationist, rationalisation, and anti-tariff policies were decried as a CEDA conspiracy, and mass immigration as the means to break unionism.[120] National Action's scores were modest, revealing at best a minimum clientele:

For National Blues", The Australian, November 17 1986, p. 13; "McDonalds Loses $50000, Campaign Hits Home", Ultra, No. 45, September 1987, p. 1.

[118] National Action: Production Of Literature Record; Andrew Guild, National Action Publications, a computer record.

[119] Why You Are Out Of A Job Or Soon Will Be, leaflet, 1986, 1988; Say No To Cheap Asian Labour, poster, 1987.

[120] Restore The White Australia Policy: Before There Is No Australia, leaflet, 1987.

Table 5.3   National Action Election Results 1986–1988[121]

Seat	Election	Score
Adelaide	Federal 1988 (by-election)	409
Port Adelaide	Federal 1988 (by-election)	438
Canterbury	NSW State 1986	513
Rockdale	NSW State 1988	520

The vote tallies had not lifted beyond the scores of Extreme Right groups of the 1970's. Nonetheless, it was considered that electioneering had a limited purpose: public familiarization and resource-assembly to justify and carry on corrosive propaganda.[122]

Financial means were limited. Membership fees, sales of material and general donations to the National Office/NSW section between 1985 and 1989, totalling some $47,438, are recorded.[123] Allowing that Victorian and South Australian fundraising was each about 40% of this figure,[124] and with other areas estimated, the combined income for the period was over $90,000. These figures however, did not reflect the mobilized atmosphere of a sect that engendered significant donations of second-hand books, computers, printing and typesetting equipment, a rent-free national office and an array of other unpaid services and offerings reasonably in excess of $150,000.

A different sort of dedication was demonstrated by the willingness of members to risk arrest, imprisonment, media stigmatization and personal ostracism. The monthly newsletter – Ultra – extolled this aspect of National Action.[125]

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[121] NSW Electoral Commission, Electoral District Of Canterbury By-Election, February 1 1986, Results; NSW Electoral Commission, General Election For Legislative Assembly 19 March 1988, Sydney, 1988, p. 140; Australian Electoral Commission, Annual Report 1987–88, Canberra 1988, p. 97.

[122] Pat Leyman, "Lessons From The British National Front", in Jim Saleam (ed.), op.cit.; pp. 17–18.

[123] Australian National Action, Account Books 1985–91 (National/NSW). Records for 1990–91 are incomplete. Records prior to 1985 are no longer available.

[124] Australian National Action, Account Books 1985–90 (Victoria); Michael Brander.

[125] "NA Member Sacked For Political Reason", Ultra, No. 52, July 1988, p. 4; "If The Chairman Is Jailed?", Ultra, No. 59, April 1989, p. 4. Also: "Frame Up", White Australia News, No. 6, December 1985 (a mass leaflet).

In the battle for legitimization and political space, National Action built on its links with the international Extreme Right, and after 1985 participated in the loose 'International of Nationalism'.[126] It managed this connection in two ways: first, by developing ideological positions against "U.S. imperialism" and economic globalization, and for anti-imperialist revolution in Third World countries, the anti-Zionist 'Arab Revolution' and the 'Nouvelle Droit' principle of ethno-pluralism – or 'right to racial-cultural difference';[127] second, by wielding the cudgel of ideological innovation against competitor groups and sidestepping media "smears" of racism and intellectual poverty.[128]

National Action recognized neither any contradiction between an Australian ultra-nationalism and participation in an international movement directed at common enemies, nor in synthesizing European 'revolutionary-nationalist' anti-capitalism with the nationalist-labour mythology.[129] The international relationship was natural since National Action's 'neither Left nor Right' rhetoric approximated the European 'Third Position/Third Way' style, ostensibly demonstrating the co-operative nationalist vision as the alternative to internationalism.

Members of the German Young National Democrats and the French Third Way party addressed NA functions[130] and close links emerged with the "cadre based" British National Front (1986–89) whose "political soldiers" adopted positions on environmentalism, worked with "racial separatists" from coloured migrant groups while repudiating their former Commonwealth unity myth.[131] The NF's new palingenetic vision was one of European unity and cultural rebirth within a universal solidarity of "peoples against

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[126] "International", National Action, No. 28, January 1987, p. 10.

[127] Jim Saleam, "The Third Way: Origins Of A Term", National Action, No. 31, November–December 1988, pp. 3, 10; S. Smith, "About The Third Way", in Jim Saleam (ed.), op.cit., pp. 26–29.

[128] S. Smith, in Minutes Of The Fifth National Conference Of Australian National Action.

[129] See: untitled section, in Jim Saleam (ed.), op.cit., p. 19; "Notes On 'The Third Way'", ibid, p. 26.

[130] "German Nationalist Addresses NA", Ultra, No. 43, June 1987, p. 2; "French Nationalist Speaks At Conference", Ultra, No. 42, April 1987, p. 2.

[131] Nick Griffin, "The Way Forward: Cadre Hope", Nationalism Today, No. 40, undated, reproduced in Ultra, No. 42, April 1987, pp. 4–5; "First Inter-National?", Nationalism Today, No. 43, April 1988, p. 2.

systems".[132] These NF positions, echoed by French Third Way, the Dutch Centre Party 86 and the Belgian Party of New Forces, were advanced with academic-recognized 'sincerity'[133] in order to win public acceptance.

The vociferous condemnation of neo-nazism through Third Position's counter-ideology – which excluded racial hierarchies and vilification – also appealed to National Action. A 1984 pamphlet Neo-Nazism was reissued in which neo-nazis were parodied as the disruptive "Trotskyists of the Right".[134] The ANM was continually criticised for anti-semitism, the leader cult, and race-hate propaganda.[135] Two Sydney ANM activists were bashed, and a threat made that neo-nazism "be exorcised from those areas where the Nationalist(s) … (operate) …"[136] Sectarian logic was clearly present in this element of NA's policy.

A special ideological-political link was formed with the New Zealand Nationalist Workers' Party (NWP). Under NA's influence, the NWP authored texts predicated upon that country's labour tradition.[137] The trans-Tasman bond was regarded symbolically important in terms of the ANZAC legacy and NA's Programme.

Whatever National Action's ideological initiatives, the line of march was governed by the requirements of the political guerilla model. The Sydney branch's targets grew to encompass Japanese ("Honorary Aryans") property investment, particularly real estate agent "collaborators", one of whom reported loss of business.[138] A front, the 'South

[132] "The NPD: Four Years On", loc.cit., pp. 22–3; "Dutch Comrades Seek A New Way", Nationalism Today, No. 87, January 1989, pp. 24–5.
[133] Roger Eatwell, Fascism: A History, p. 270.
[134] Jim Saleam, Neo-Nazism, Sydney, 1984, p. 1.
[135] Jim Saleam, "The Media And Neo-Nazism", Ultra, No. 59, April 1989, p. 3.
[136] "Japanese Imperialism: The Facts", National Action, No. 32, February–March 1989, p. 2.
[137] See: K. Bolton, Origins Of NZ Racial-Nationalism, Lower Hutt, 1985; Anon, Radical Origins Of Racial-Nationalism; Lionel Terry, The Shadow, Lower Hutt, 1985; Anon, "The Third Way", The Realist, No. 35, April–May 1989, passim.
[138] Megabucks For Real Estate Traitor, NA leaflet, 1988; Malcolm Brown, "Private Mail Link To Racist Activities", Sydney Morning Herald, December 5 1988, p. 4; Oppose The Japanese Property Invasion, NA poster, 1988.

African Defence Campaign', published detailed "exposés" of aid groups, anti-apartheid journalists and community figures, inciting public reply.[139]

A pamphlet – Heavengate: Sodomy And Political Gonorrhoea In The Uniting Church – 'outed' lesbian reverend Dorothy McMahon, accusing her of networking "anti-racists" at the State's behest.[140] The developed campaign was a national scandal, occasioning the December 1988 award to McMahon by the Governor-General, of a Human Rights Medal for her "stand" against "racism".[141] Media 'heroicised' McMahon and accused NA of criminal conduct against her,[142] which invited counter-propaganda aimed at journalists as 'props' of State propaganda.[143] National Action's public attack on media was unique on the Extreme Right and indicative of the personalist politics it pursued.

The "red herring" of Liberal Party criticism of the Hawke government's immigration policy in July–August 1988,[144] encouraged an intensification of NA's propaganda directly leading to political attack. Labor M.P. Clyde Holding urged "racists become outlaws" and the Prime Minister rebuked NA on Perth radio.[145] In early 1989, Mr Hawke went further:

> … dark and sinister forces … such as National
>
> Action … were … also a threat to Australia's
>
> trade, tourism and investment interests. They are a

[139] South African Defence Campaign Of Australia, Bulletin. See Number 1, September 23 1985;   No. 3, December 1985.

[140] Evan Raftery, Heavengate: Sodomy And Political Gonorrhoea In The Uniting Church, Sydney, 1987, passim.

[141] Paul Chamberlain, "The Egalitarian Dream Inside One Church", Sydney Morning Herald, December 12 1988, p. 2.

[142] Lyndall Crisp, "Peace Campaigner A Target Of Hate", The Bulletin, January 24 1989, pp. 110–113; Liz Hickson, "Dorothy McMahon: Gentle Warrior", Women's Weekly, January 1989, pp. 10–11.

[143] "The Murder Of Freedom Of Expression: The Media/Political Police Conspiracy To Fabricate Anti-Nationalist Material To 'Prove' Complicity In Political Violence", National Action, No. 33, June–July 1989, pp. 1, 3; W.D. Smith, Heavengate 2: Sodomy And Political Gonorrhoea In The Uniting Church, Sydney, 1989, passim.

[144] Editorial, "Will The Liberal-National Coalition Curb Non-European Immigration?: Ten Questions For Johnny Howard", National Action, No. 30, Spring 1988, pp. 1–2.

[145] "Bob Hawke Praises National Action", Ultra, No. 55, October 1988, p. 1.

danger to our social harmony and stability … to

Australia's standing in the eyes of the world …[146]

The political periphery around NA expanded. The Patriotic Lobby became a channel for conservative-Liberal funding. The equivocal Skinhead groups provided occasional street muscle. Clandestine cells such as 'AWB-Australian Command', 'Sons Of Kokoda', 'Bicentennial Australian Revolutionary Kommandoes' and 'Australian People's Army' let loose waves of violence.[147] Journalist Adele Horin wrote for innumerable others:

> The brick through the window, the smashed windscreen, the slashed car tyres and the early morning bomb threat have become common experiences for a widening circle of Sydney-siders who dare to make known their anti-racist views … The terror is insidious. It strikes at the roots of democracy …[148]

The identity of the 'violence-cells' has been disputed[149] but whatever their motivation and origins, National Action had incited considerable discord. 'Violence' was directed at the Human Rights Commissioner,[150] NSW M.P. Helen Sham-Ho[151] and the Gay and Lesbian Immigration Task Force[152] with an array of 'victim' academics, journalists and 'anti-racists' crucial movers in the promulgation of a 'National Inquiry Into Racist Violence' in December 1988. Pressure mounted in NSW for 'anti-racial vilification legislation'[153] and

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[146] "P.M. Condemns Threats Against Columnist", The Australian, April 7 1989, p. 3.

[147] Malcolm Brown, "Thugs Use Terror To Back Apartheid", Sydney Morning Herald, November 18 1988, p. 20; Elizabeth Wynhausen, "Stormtroopers Who Fly The Eureka Flag", The Age; Saturday Extra, January 21 1989, p. 9; "Hate Bears A Fiery Message", Sydney Morning Herald, November 18 1988, p. 1.

[148] Adele Horin, "What Price Freedom Of Speech?", Sydney Morning Herald, November 8 1988, p. 9.

[149] Jim Saleam, Untitled Taped Compendium Of Radio Interviews, 1988–89; W.D. Smith, Heavengate 2, passim; see also, Chapter Nine.

[150] Malcolm Brown, "Shots And Slogans Used In Race Attacks", Sydney Morning Herald, January 30 1989, p. 3.

[151] Mark Sawyer, "M.P. More Afraid For Her Family", Manly Daily, December 7 1988, p. 1.

[152] "GLITF Fights Off Thugs", Star Observer, April 21 1989, p. 4.

[153] Editorial, "Racial Hatred Is A Crime We Must Prevent", Daily Telegraph, December 7 1988, p. 10.

Dr. Gerard Henderson, a supporter of economic Asianization, demanded the "baying" of the "Lunar Right" – should be muzzled.[154]

National Action's 'political-guerilla warfare' had been conducted without substantive alliances and in isolation from real community sympathy. A para-State suppression operation would follow.

5.   RADICAL-NATIONALISM AND THE CRISIS AND SATELLITIZATION OF THE LEFT 1982–89

The Australian Left weathered the seven years after Fraser's 'coup' very poorly. The CPA(M-L)'s bid for hegemony over the Left failed, partly due to a debilitating cadre split (1977–8) when a faction followed the 'Gang of Four' and repudiated Hill's narrow anti-Sovietism.[155] Maoist sectarianism had created an intra-Left rancour undiminished until new mid 1980's alliances were struck during the New Right attack upon the BLF,[156] but the CPA(M-L) had already imploded. Meanwhile, Australian Trotskyism stayed divided, failing to fill this early-1980's void. Fraser's anti-Sovietism had battered the CPA and SPA into peace-movement blocs which limited their independence.[157]

The 1983 election of a Labor government which quickly embraced economic rationalist principles, caused additional problems for the Left. A reformist impulse in face of the ALP 'Right' was self-defeating. Broad Left conferences were held with little tangible result.[158]

[154] Gerard Henderson, "It's Time To Muzzle Lunar Right's Baying", The Australian, April 4 1989,   p. 7.
[155] For the effects of this schism, see: "What Is The Red Eureka Movement?", Australasian Spartacist, No. 53, May 1978, pp. 6–7, 8; "Spartacist League Debates Albert Langer", Australasian Spartacist, No. 59, November 1978, pp, 4, 7.
[156] "Norm Gallagher Jailed For The Crime Of Militant Unionism", Direct Action, August 7 1985, pp. 1, 3, for SWP support for Maoist Gallagher. D. O'Neill, "CPA(M-L) Calls For Greater Unity", Direct Action, November 21 1985, p. 19.
[157] Conclusions drawn from: "The Spectre Of The Russian Question: SPA Faces Split", Australasian Spartacist, No. 92, March 1982, pp. 3, 7; Jim Percy, "Prospects For Socialism", Direct Action, February 22 1984, pp. 14–15.
[158] Brian Aarons, "A Strategic Left Response On Current Issues", Tribune, March 12 1986, p. 7; "Broad Left Challenges Labor Policies", Tribune, April 2 1986, pp. 1, 2, 16; "Co-operation At Fightback Conference", Tribune, April 29 1987, p. 15. These talk-fests included ALP 'Lefts' and unattached activists.

Attempts to unite Left parties failed and declarations of common action remained dead letters.[159] The Prices-Incomes Accord of the 1980's marginalized the divided Left, just as 'betrayal' of the BLF by some fractions showed bad faith. Some Trotskyists clamoured for a regrouped class struggle Left, but potential allies like the CPA were drifting in the liberal direction.[160] By the mid- 1980's the CPA had degenerated into a collection of environmentalists, homosexual-activists and social democrats, implicitly adopting the Bernsteinist position ascribed to it years before by the CPA(M-L).[161]

Into this Left-sunset came the Radical-Nationalist groups (and ANM) to enlarge upon the destabilizing effects of Australian National Alliance 1978–80. The new contest had two inter-related aspects: the Radical-Nationalists challenged for possession of the labour-nationalist heritage; through their agitation against immigration/multiculturalism the Radical-Nationalists would goad the Left into subservient 'alliances' with liberals and State agencies – and thereby deny it ideological and political independence.

Left responses to Australian National Alliance were mixed. Ironically, most of the Left initially opposed Vietnamese refugee arrivals. Establishment conservatives and anti-communists were more enthusiastic.[162] Violence between Left groups and anti-communist Vietnamese occurred as late as 1985.[163] Some leftists could appreciate the logic of restricting admission of right-wing refugees.

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[159] See: Dave Holmes, "SWP-SPA Collaboration Causes Flurry On Left", <u>Direct Action</u>, December 13 1983, p. 14; see SPA/SWP/CPA(M-L) contributions to <u>Tribune</u>, December 9 1987.

[160] Roger Miles, "Is Marxism Adequate?", <u>Direct Action</u>, February 1 1983, p. 5. See also: Peter Beilharz, "Class Struggle And Its Discontents", <u>Thesis Eleven</u>, No. 18/No. 19, 1987, pp. 166–178.

[161] David McKnight (ed.), <u>Moving Left: The Future Of Socialism In Australia</u>, Sydney, 1985, passim; For the Maoist critique of the CPA: E.F. Hill, <u>The Labor Party's Dr Evatt. The Petrov Affair. The Whitlam Government</u>, Melbourne, October 1974, pp. 116–129.

[162] Hal Colebatch, "An Analysis Of The Australian Reception Of Political Refugees With Special Reference To The Case Of The Vietnamese Boat People", PhD Thesis, University of Western Australia, 1994, pp. 338–410; Lyenko Urbanchich, "Reject The Front", <u>Ethnic Newsweek</u>, June 30 1978, p. 4.

[163] "Stop Rightist Thugs", <u>Australasian Spartacist</u>, No. 67, September 1979, pp. 6, 8; "Hawke Unleashes Vietnamese Fascists On The Left: Defend The Vietnamese Revolution", <u>Australasian Spartacist</u>, No. 111, May–June 1985, pp. 1, 6.

An Australian 'National-Left' favouring 'national independence' and industrial-protection was a lingering strategic option.[164] Ted Wheelwright's political-economy group questioned the Pacific Rim Economic Order scheme.[165] CPA theorist Laurie Aarons previously urged that Maoist extreme "nationalism" should not cause the Left to repudiate national sentiment and identity.[166] These wistful reminders of historical Left efforts at adapting internationalism to Australian realities might explain Freney's rage at National Action:

> When National Action tries to appropriate the Eureka Flag, Henry Lawson and William Lane for their fascist cause, they represent another provocation against the Left.[167]

Freney argued that the 'racism' of Lane was long expunged from the socialist movement. Yet nostalgia for the native-socialist tradition was even registered by a prominent Trotskyist who warned against NA's campaign, pragmatically and realistically urging that the class-struggle aspects of the old tradition (particularly Eureka) be subsumed into modern socialism.[168]

Radical-Nationalists had a broad interest in labour tradition. Saunders wrote at embarrassing length on the Eureka Flag, Lane's classless socialism and White Australia nationalism, while contriving a tendentious linkage between Lane, Moeller van den Bruck and Nietzschean ideals.[169] The Left quietly ignored the tradition after 1985, as National Action in particular rendered it into a marketable propaganda. Boris Frankel's analysis concluded that the similar rhetoric and iconography of "left" and "right" populism, between

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[164] Robert Catley and Bruce McFarlane, op.cit., pp. 195–198.
[165] Greg Crough and E.L. Wheelwright, Australia: A Client State, Ringwood, 1982, pp. 60–64, 80, 87.
[166] Laurie Aarons, Australia And The Economic Crisis, Sydney, 1977, pp. 9–11.
[167] Denis Freney, Nazis Out Of Uniform, p. 19.
[168] Jamie Doughney, "Whose Eureka?", Direct Action, February 8 1984, p. 21.
[169] Alec Saunders, The Social Revolutionary Nature Of Australian Nationalism, pp. 6–10; Anon, William Lane: Revolutionary, ANV pamphlet, Brisbane, 1985; Alec Saunders, William Lane And His New Australia, Brisbane, 1985.

Maoist 'nationalism' and National Action, expressed a common awareness of the utility of the tradition.[170]

Naturally, Trotskyists reviled the 'national-socialist' tradition of the labour movement as chauvinist and racist. Faced with colour questions, the response was consistent. In 1979, the International Socialists stated 'Boat People Are Welcome Here',[171] while subsequently, economic nationalism was seen as a concession to patriotism and potential racial exclusiveness.[172] By 1983–4, Trotskyists had commitments to the Overseas Student Program and would even permit Chinese contract labour lest oppositional racism be encouraged.[173] The Spartacist League went further over time and argued Hawke-Labor rested upon the racist-labour legacy. It was then argued that Labor, either by design or fault, encouraged nationalist racism, its pro-Americanism fuelling these tendencies and sustaining National Action.[174] Such zany thought expressed Trotskyist cognitive dissonance.

Capitalism was eradicating national barriers and would hardly 'import' migrants just to scapegoat them. Ultimately, the Spartacists contended National Action might produce the "racist contamination" of the working class, its independent violence unopposed by the Left.[175]

As the free-market 1980's wore on, the entire Left lurched towards internationalism on the issues of free-trade and immigration. Internationalism could be justified by Marx's schema,

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[170] Boris Frankel, From The Prophets Deserts Come: The Struggle To Reshape Australian Political Culture, North Carlton, 1992, pp. 57, 60–65.

[171] Boat People Are Welcome Here, International Socialist sticker, 1979.

[172] For a discussion of the I.S. position on protectionism: David Greason, "The Left Vs. The Nation: The Opponents Of Protectionism", Audacity, No. 13, February–March 1982, pp. 6–7.

[173] Cathy Lewis, "Socialists Must Oppose Anti-Asian Campaign", Direct Action, May 23 1984, p. 14; "China's Labour Scheme", The Battler, April 14 1984, p. 4.

[174] See: "Life In A Remote Imperialist Enclave", Australasian Spartacist, No. 104, Summer 1984, pp. 5, 8; "Hawke's Cold War 'Consensus' Fuels Racist Backlash", Australasian Spartacist, No. 107, July–August 1984, pp. 1, 4, 7; "Bread And Circuses To Sell Racist Australian Imperialism", Australasian Spartacist, No. 124, February–March 1988, pp. 10, 12; "Hawke's Cold War Racism Fuels Ugly Racist Furore Over Asian Immigration", Australasian Spartacist, No. 128, October–November 1988, pp. 1, 4, 5; "Labor's Recession Racism", Australasian Spartacist, No. 137, July–August 1990, pp. 1, 2, 13.

wherein free-trade capitalism would hasten the unity of the proletariat by dissolving nations.[176]   In that way, immigration controls were 'racist' according to International Socialists in 1984.[177]   Simultaneously, the CPA 'surrendered' national preference:

> Although there are some divisions over Asian immigration, the Australian ruling class knows its future lies in Asian markets. They cannot afford a rabid anti-Asian movement here … As for the Left, we mightn't like the politics of the Vietnamese refugee leaders but we must be in the forefront of their defence …[178]

This retreat left the CPA tacitly accepting that racist-nationalism was anti-capitalist. The CPA quietly abandoned its 'National-Left' notion of Australian economic independence. Cynically, its protectionist 'people's economy' projects were designed to bloc with ALP progressives,[179] while Labor's actual New Right deregulationism modified Australia. Sharp CPA critiques of the New Right would follow,[180] but the party went blinkered associating the new capitalism with ALP 'Rights' and the Liberals, judging it 'racist' and the Extreme Right its bully-boy manifestation.[181] This confusion was fatal. CPA alliances with Labor 'Lefts' induced liquidationism at the very historical moment it was trying its Bernsteinian merger into the radical-liberal social movements from which the socialist future would supposedly crystallize – and as Communists played a role in anti-racist 'united fronts'.

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[175] "National Action: Nazis Under The Southern Cross", <u>Australasian Spartacist</u>, No. 131, April–May 1989, pp. 6–7.

[176] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, <u>The Manifesto Of The Communist Party</u>, Peking, 1968, pp. 35, 54–5.

[177] <u>Smash Racist Immigration Controls</u>, I.S. leaflet, 1984.

[178] Editorial, "Blainey Pushes The Racist Bandwagon", <u>Tribune</u>, March 28 1984, p. 2.

[179] Allen Myers, "CPA/AMWSU Give Hayden A Hand: Helping to Sell A Social Contract", <u>Direct Action</u>, May 19 1982, p. 5; "Broken ALP Promises Behind Centre-Left's Emergence", <u>Tribune</u>, February 22, 1984, p. 2.

[180] Laurie Aarons, <u>Here Come The Uglies: The New Right: Who They Are, What They Think, Why They're Dangerous</u>, Sydney, 1987; <u>Democratic Public Control Against The Deregulators And Privatisers</u>, CPA pamphlet, Sydney, 1987.

[181] Richard Brass, "Right Splits Over Fascist Allegations", <u>Tribune</u>, October 8 1986, p. 4.

'People Against Racism' groups in Sydney and Melbourne attracted I.S. and SWP activists (1983–4) to combat NA's anti-overseas student campaign. However, it was Combined Unions Against Racism (CUAR) which best illustrated cooptation. The CUAR, founded in April 1984, sought to expose National Action "attacks" and other racist violence[182] and to oppose 'workplace racism'.[183] Pro-ALP union officials,[184] and ALP politicians (Frank Walker and Meredith Burgmann) directed the show in which the Left played second fiddle. New South Wales government funding was provided. The Left was admonished not to use violence, run education campaigns, guard its property[185] – and co-operate with police.[186] Special Branch action against 'racists' was demanded by CUAR and the CPA.[187] By 1985 a multi-organization 'anti-racist network' across Australia had emerged.[188] CUAR activist Bronwyn Ridgeway, the victim of a mysterious Sydney car firebombing in June 1985[189] united various Left groups with CUAR in anti-racist activism.[190]

Between 1986 and early 1988 contention between the Left and the Extreme Right was limited. While the Left grappled for space in Australian politics and exchanged polemics, NA became a small cadre movement, ANM developed a Perth racist campaign and a populist Right (Chapter Eight) developed in the countryside. Spartacists occasionally called for anti-Right 'labour-minority' mobilizations,[191] and I.S. members damaged NA offices, but generally the Right operated unhindered by the Left.

By mid-1988, the Extreme Right had become more aggressive. Responsively, a Melbourne 'Coalition For Multicultural And Democratic Rights' united ALP, CPA and

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[182] John Compton, "Unions to Combat Racists", Direct Action, April 11 1984, p. 2.

[183] "Trade Union Campaign Against Racism Launched", Tribune, July 11 1984, p. 3.

[184] "It's Time To Fight Back Against Racism", Tribune, May 30 1984, p. 4.

[185] Denis Freney, Nazis Out Of Uniform, pp. 39–40; "Another Neo-Nazi Attack", Tribune, December 7 1984, p. 2.

[186] Denis Freney, "Neo-Fascists On Campus: Behind National Action's Nationalist Mask", Honi Soit, No. 4, March 1984; Racial Violence On The Increase, CUAR leaflet, 1985.

[187] Peter Letts, "Trade Unions United Against Racism", Tribune, February 13 1985, p. 4.

[188] "The Anti-Racist Network", Audacity, No. 25, August 1985, p. 4.

[189] Bill Mason, "Action Demanded After Unionist's Car Firebombed", Direct Action, July 3 1985, p. 3.

[190] Defeat Racism, I.S. leaflet advertising Ridgeway speech, 1985.

[191] Smash White Australia Racism!, Spartacist leaflet, undated; "Crush The NA Fascists", Australasian Spartacist, No. 130, February–March 1989, pp. 4, 11.

CPA(M-L) activists against racism. A Perth 'People Against Racism' lobbied for anti-ANM 'anti-racial vilification legislation'.[192] The SPA demanded police close down National Action.[193] In 1989, Sydney CPA members joined 'Community Alert Against Racism And Violence', an anti-racist neighbourhood-watch designed to report suspicious persons to police, such that cars and homes of anti-racists could not be damaged by the violence squads.[194] Adelaide's Campaign Against Racial Exploitation and anti-Apartheid groups rallied leftists to publish against National Action. Like many liberals, NSW leftists co-operated with Special Branch and supported the 'National Inquiry Into Racist Violence'. Incredibly, the CPA said it would support a parliamentary inquiry into the funding of the League Of Rights.[195] The Extreme Right's monopoly of violence persuaded Left anti-racists to forego retaliation or independent action. Almost as a postscript, the unexpected collapse of Eastern European communism broke the Old-Left finalizing a period of confusion, co-optation and Right attack. By 1991, the CPA had dissolved, and the SPA wilted.

To give a precise weight to the Extreme Right's impact on the 1980's Left is difficult and overstatement must be avoided. Arguably, the Radical-Nationalists took possession of the labour-nationalist heritage shutting off a Left-nationalist option, encouraging Trotskyist and Old-Left internationalism on industrial protection and race. The Left's anti-racist impulse waxed which pushed co-optation just as Left reformism or Left opportunism (opposite responses to the Labor government) encouraged marginalization. Perhaps the Left cast for an issue to win a new support-base. However, capitalism was the ultimate anti-racist force. Left anti-racism could augment capitalist ideological hegemony, not challenge it. In the discussion of the State and the Extreme Right in the 1990's, Left-satellitization shall be shown as a normative for post-Berlin Wall marxism.

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[192] Hate Speech Is Not Free Speech, PAR leaflet, 1989.
[193] "Editorial", The Socialist, April 12 1989, p. 4.
[194] Stop Racist Violence, CAARV poster, 1989; "CAARV Launched", Tribune, May 24 1989, p. 12: "pressure applied by CAARV on the State government" led to the NA arrests.
[195] Denis Freney, "League Of Rights: M.P.s Attack Its Millions In Funds", Tribune, October 19 1988, p. 11.

6.   THE MEMBERSHIP OF AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL ACTION 1982–1995

The membership of Extreme Right organizations has been subject to speculation. Tillett estimated NA's national membership (in 1989) at over 100, males predominating.[196] It was actually just under 500. One journalist argued:

> The leaders are invariably well educated middle-class males, often from unhappy families … drawn from universities where they have dabbled in political movements … they have a devastating contempt for 'the masses' whom they regard as gullible … The 'army' Mr Saleam refers to is drawn from the poorer, less educated ranks of the unemployed … brutally minded young men who often cannot rationalise why they believe something but are seeking opportunities to display their aggression …[197]

Available NA records and other public information will establish similarities to the negative model but also substantial variation.

The NA records were limited.[198] Information existed on only 505 members (1982–91), but 13 Adelaide males had no details recorded against them. Persons who withdrew from membership were eliminated from some branch records. Major branches kept 'unavailable' secret lists of members who worked in government agencies or whose interests demanded anonymity. Such 'professional' memberships would distort available data.

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[196] Greg Tillett, "Organized Racism In Australia", unpublished paper commissioned by the National Inquiry Into Racist Violence, 1990, p. 25.

[197] Michael Robotham, "Racist Terror Spreads Through Suburbs", Sunday Telegraph, April 23 1989, p. 36.

[198] Australian National Action, Membership Files For NSW, computer record. Also: Card Index, Membership Forms, Printed Lists.

Table 5.4   Membership By Sex

Males	Females
443	62

Table 5.5   Membership By Age Group

Under 20	20–30 years	31–40 years	41–50	Over 50
83	164	87	78	80

<13 uncertain>

Table 5.6   Membership By Geographical Distribution

Metropolitan	Other City	Country
455	32	18

These tables illustrate National Action's specificity as an urban construction dominated by younger males. The relationship between political experiences and age distribution was explicable:

Table 5.7   Political Involvements Prior To NA Membership

NIL	Other Right	Mainstream	Left
354	125	10	3

<13 unknown>

Younger members usually had NA as their first political commitment. Some older members (especially women) had been in ANA/ICA/PCP and maintained an evolving commitment, while some moved from perceived less-effective vehicles towards a radical organization.[199]

Table 5.8   Educational Achievement

High School	Matriculation	Tertiary
367	98	27

<13 unknown>

NA was skewed in the direction of the less educated, although in militant activist politics success is dynamically reflexive of the 'less-complicated' obeying the leadership. The BLF/Independence Movement activism (1970's/1980's) demonstrated this trait was not simply a Right phenomenon.

Table 5.9   Membership By Occupation (at time of joining)

Unskilled Workers	Skilled Manual Workers	White Collar Employees
203	98	127

Students	Professionals	Business
9	28	27

<13 unknown>

Occupational distribution indicated both a working class 'skew' and early-career distributions of younger members. The older members, often from Mainstream and Right

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[199] B. Knight, "Australian National Action Anniversary: Fifteen Years Of Nationalist Action", National Action News, No. 28, October 1997, pp. 6–7.

backgrounds, were disproportionately reflected in business and white-collar occupations and were thus able to sustain the organization financially.

Reputedly, NA members had a low rate of trade-business-professional group membership, keeping compartmentalized work-family-political lives.[200] They also had weak religious interests.

Table 5.10   Membership Of Religious Faiths

Christian	Jewish	Other	None Known
58	3	6	425

<13 unknown>

The 'Jewish' members were secularized, 'nominal' and unconnected to the community. Interestingly, NA attracted a number of foreign born (evenly divided between Britain and Europe-Continent), some of whom held organizational rank:

Table 5.11   Country Of Birth

Australia	Britain	Europe-Continent
448	20	24

Most migrant members were well-assimilated into native-norms.

National Action's political tactics ensured confrontation with the law. Few members joined with criminal histories (e.g. Donnini – armed robbery, and some youths – drunkenness, assault) but many earned convictions for assault, violent disorder, firearms offences and

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[200] Andrew Guild; Michael Brander.

malicious damage. An estimate cited 47 members with convictions;[201] this bore no stigma and was explained as a consequence of radical activism. Of course the exigencies of the propaganda war engendered media allegations of criminality.

Data on NA membership 1991–5 could not be examined.[202] There was a break in continuity after 1991 (as below) with the recruitment of new younger members, and some indications of a loss of older long-serving cadre. Conclusions drawn here generally reflect the conditions prevailing until 1991. The cases of other Radical-Nationalist formations must be left to textual commentary. Some groups had dispersed while others would not produce records. Nonetheless, the centrality of National Action to Radical-Nationalism permits general conclusions.

Membership motivation or participant psychology are important but loaded issues. A genre of psychological literature which aims to dissect Right behaviour and belief began with Theodore Adorno's The Authoritarian Personality. His 'Fascism Scale' sought to predict fascist potential from psychological profiling. That study located essential traits of the authoritarian personality: authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression and conventionalist adherence to societal norms.[203] This legacy inspired considerable research. Whatever the idiosyncrasies of Adorno's study, the discussion was actually about conservatism with underlying assumptions about subjects' beliefs in anti-semitism and paranoid conspiracy doctrine. With some modifications, Billig applied such an interpretation to the 1970's British National Front.[204] He relied upon the 'coded' publications of this party – which was under neo-nazi manipulation – to set a framework for interview with members. The 'flawed' paranoid personalities supposedly maintained the apocalyptic genocidalist tradition of centuries old anti-semitism.[205] A recent American study skirted around the question of whether 'fascism' or 'conservatism' was under

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[201] Shane Rosier; Terry Cooksley; the author: from personal knowledge of the persons involved in the organization 1982–91.

[202] Michael Brander declined to produce such records although a minimum of 500 were available in 1998 (after the period covered in this Thesis) to support ANA's registration as a Federal political party.

[203] T. Adorno, E. Frenkel-Brunswik, E. Levinson, D.J. Sanford, The Authoritarian Personality, New York, 1950, pp. 224–241.

[204] Michael Billig, Fascists: A Social Psychological View Of The National Front, London, 1978, pp. 54, 61, 200–1.

analysis, but its 'Right-Wing Authoritarians' came through as rigid protectors of actual conservative values, or seekers for a return to lost standards. It was argued that the Oklahoma Bombers, conservative activists and neo-nazis, were different in <u>degree</u>.[206]

The genre of psychological critical literature confuses Right typologies and tends to limit Right cadre to particular human types. It is tempting to criticise the literature as the State's discourse-for-marginalization although it can define some individuals in various Extreme Right movements and therefore be relevant.

The evidence presented in this Chapter sustains the argument that National Action was a sect. It claimed possession of a truth, was exclusivist, centrally controlled and employed a special language to express ideology.[207] This status was held in common with the League Of Rights allowing that NA was a "fighting organization" unconnected to the mythic symbolism of satellite conservatism. The organization's strategic-tactical plan might be compared with the Sorelian 'revolutionary myth' contrived to sustain members for the long-term struggle to re-establish community out of decadence and rebirth an identity after revolution.[208] A sect inevitably attracts heterogenous membership and some fringe personality types. Determinatively of National Action's organizational 'psychology' however, must be its anti-State style distilled of the native ultra-nationalist tradition which denigrated State authoritarianism. 'Authoritarian Personality' theory would be inadequate in such a case.

Nonetheless, NA did attract a few unstable individuals, not the quaint LOR activist who took vitamins, avoided fluoridated water and was worried about cancer, but victims of personal trauma. David Greason described himself as:

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[205] ibid, pp. 308, 315, 320, 322, 327.
[206] Bob Altemeyer, <u>The Authoritarian Spectre</u>, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 1–7, 8–11, 59–62, 305–6.
[207] R. O'Toole, <u>The Precipitous Path: Studies In Political Sects</u>, Toronto, 1977, passim.
[208] Georges Sorel, <u>Reflections On Violence</u>, New York, 1961, pp. 32–35, 49, 148–150.

> fat, spotty, sexually and socially inept, no money, no
>
> job, no self-esteem, polyester shirts, always
>
> desperate for a fuck …[209]

There was the odd neurotic and a woman with an invented life (Chapter Nine) but no evidence of membership abnormality in the self-policed organization, albeit with <u>two significant exceptions</u> who created a negative aura around National Action.

Jason Frost, aged 22 in 1989, was a tortured personality who suffered maternal abandonment and paternal violence.[210] He found solace in an organization accused of criminality.[211] In January 1989, Frost discharged a shotgun at the Sydney home of Eddie Funde, a representative of the African National Congress. Frost later testified that Saleam was his substitute authority figure who seduced him into the crime.[212] It was countercharged that Frost, controlled by a Special Branch 'authority figure', crafted a false allegation[213] – and that he had obsessional motives for the offence linked to a personal fantasized agenda.[214] <u>Whatever</u> the truth, the youth's character was flawed in a manner disastrous to National Action.

Perry Whitehouse, aged 36 in 1991, murdered in April 1991, a fellow NA member, the gruesome details captured by an ASIO surveillance device.[215] A psychological report argued that Whitehouse was prone to ignore authority, had endured personal frustration and held resentments against his unemployment and for individual sleights, but no pathology

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[209] David Greason, <u>I Was A Teenage Fascist</u>, p. 270.

[210] <u>Jason Frost</u>, in <u>Transcript</u>, <u>R v Jason Roderick Frost</u>, Penrith District Court Registry File, No. 847/89, pp. 1–12.

[211] <u>Jane Saleam</u>, Interview, 1995, referring to Frost's excited perception of "Racist Signs Splattered Over Church", <u>Western Suburbs Courier</u>, October 26 1988, p. 1; Anna Grutener, "Holding Links Race Violence To Howard", <u>The Australian</u>, August 26 1988, p. 4 – and similar articles.

[212] His Honour Judge A.D. Collins, <u>Jason Frost Sentencing</u>, in <u>R v Jason Roderick Frost</u>, passim.

[213] James Saleam, <u>Submissions</u>, in <u>R v James Saleam</u>, NSW Court of Criminal Appeal Registry File, No. 60312/1991, pp. 1–4.

[214] <u>Bradley Flowers</u>, in evidence, <u>Transcript</u> in, <u>R v James Saleam</u>, District Court Criminal Registry File, No. 89/11/1795, pp. 350–400, passim.

[215] Gareth Boneham, "Court Hears ASIO Tape Of Alleged Extremist Killing", <u>The Age</u>, June 26 1991, p. 1.

was present.[216] This evidence has been complicated by further argument that Whitehouse had endured two years of Special Branch harassment and was facing a serious charge while a defence witness in the Saleam trial – when he took to alcohol.[217] His ultimate crime had a unique context.

Whether Frost and Whitehouse had personalities that approximated the authoritarian model is problematical. It seems more reasonable to argue otherwise. <u>Alienation</u> seems the key. When the sect presented as a combat group with particular rough-edged human qualities, the danger from the fringe character who could embarrass the group – was considerable.

7.   THE RADICAL-NATIONALIST 'TRADITION' SURVIVES PARA-STATE ATTACK 1989–95

As examined further in the context of the State's interaction with the Extreme Right (Chapter Nine), NA and ANM were equally subjected to multifaceted assault in 1989–91, their 'terrorist propensities' the causal factor.

National Action's ideological position held that Australia was a capitalist State resting upon a liberal civil society. Ironically in 1989–91, this power-nexus operated against the Extreme Right. A Federal government 'National Agenda' on Multiculturalism was promulgated in July 1989 while the National Inquiry Into Racist Violence heard witnesses assert the probable guilt of NA and ANM in assorted offences.[218] Ross Garnaut, a CEDA economist, argued that a prosperous Asian future for Australia was threatened by recalcitrant Australians.[219] Media asserted that criminal violence from the Extreme Right

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[216] Justice M. Allen, <u>Sentencing</u>, in <u>R v Perry John Whitehouse</u>, Supreme Court of NSW (Criminal) Registry File, No. 70 4/91.

[217] James Saleam, <u>Application To The Supreme Court Of New South Wales For Inquiry (Sect. 474 D/E Crimes Act) Into Convictions From The District Court Sydney 14 May 1991</u>, 1999. This document was yet to be filed at the time this Thesis was completed. A public version of this Application was retitled <u>Pardon Me: The Anatomy Of An Australian Political Trial</u>, Internet: http:/www.adelaide.net.au/~national/, April 1999.

[218] Human Rights And Equal Opportunity Commission, <u>Report Of The National Inquiry Into Racist Violence</u>, Canberra, 1991, pp. 220–240, 524–34.

[219] Ross Garnaut, <u>Australia And The North–East Asian Ascendency</u>, Canberra, 1989, pp. 2, 330.

was widespread.[220]   Sydney Special Branch struck at National Action arresting twelve members for various violence offences, while the Perth ANM leadership was imprisoned from August 1989.[221]   Other NA sections were pursued by police without additional prosecutions.[222]   Essentially, the Extreme Right was to be eliminated as a political threat to multiculturalism and economic Asianization.

In 1990, ASIO stated:

> The only discernible threat of politically motivated violence comes from the racist Right. This suffered serious setbacks in the past year with the arrest of a large number of leading members of the two most dangerous groups. Their capacity to recover … is yet to be shown. However, they appear to have established themselves as fairly durable political entities and will probably persist for some time …[223]

Sustained attack produced faultlines and the weakness of National Action was revealed. Its effectiveness rested upon a thin layer of leaders with its other cadres and members not versed in the methods of a suppression operation. The arrests stimulated a rift with two factions (Adelaide and Sydney) locked in dispute about various organizational problems.[224] Meanwhile, provocateur neo-nazis harassed the leaders some announcing to media that they were National Action.[225]

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[220] Some samples: Gerard Henderson, "Bigotry A Blight On Australian Politics", Sydney Morning Herald, December 11 1990, p. 15; Michael Greely, "Jail For Racists Under New Law", Sun Herald, September 10 1989, p. 5; Serena Williams, "The Ugly Face Of White Supremacy", The Adelaide News, September 19 1989, p. 12. See section 4 on the ANM case.

[221] Jim Saleam, We Accuse: The State Conspiracy Against National Action And The Australian Nationalists Movement, Sydney, 1990, pp. 6–7.

[222] Michael Brander, Folio Of Legal Papers: Detective Senior Constable Modra; Andrew Guild, for police investigations of Victorian National Action.

[223] Australian Security Intelligence Organisation, Report To Parliament 1989–90, Canberra, 1990, p. 60.

[224] Australian National Action, Folio Of Correspondence James Saleam – Michael Brander, 1990–91.

[225] Victorian State Committee NA, Media Release, January 22 1991.

The period 1989–94 was one of crisis in the Radical-Nationalist camp. In 1988, a well-funded paper The Bunyip Bulletin appeared. It was printed in 20,000 copies, and employed Arthur Smith who moulded its satire, cultural-nationalist line and anti-homosexual rhetoric. Bunyip Bulletin appeared on national newsstands,[226] but it folded broke in 1990. A National Republican Movement (NRM), partly based upon Melbourne NA cadre, formed in 1990. It was hoped to salvage resources from the besieged Radical-Nationalist camp. A hyper-nativist style was utilized,[227] but NRM (1990–95) never recruited beyond 100 supporters. In 1990 also, a group of Melbourne neo-nazi Skinheads inspired by a U.S. neo-nazi group, launched 'White Aryan Resistance'.[228] By 1993 it had 'denazified' – under the Eureka Flag (within a sunwheel) and a new title – 'White Australian Resistance' (WAR). Nationalist labour themes including nineteenth century anti-Asian cartoons appeared in its propaganda.[229] However, WAR had limited financial and human resources and remained weak.[230] The clandestine violence groups were a casualty, dispersing in 1989 once National Action as a symbolic point had been broken.[231] One extinction-through-exhaustion was the small 'National Credit' propaganda group, the National Technocrat Party, which operated on the fringes of rural populism as a National Action ally (Chapter Eight).

Any semblance of united purpose within the Radical-Nationalist camp was contingent upon a centralizing agent free of destabilization factors. Attendant negative publicity surrounding the NA/ANM arrests incited further division. One group, Phoenix Alliance formed by Perth small businessman Craig Bradshaw (aged 39 in 1989), was a break with ANM neo-nazism.[232] It took on the 'traditional' programme of the Radical-Nationalists

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[226] The Bunyip Bulletin, issues 1–6 examined; Arthur Smith.

[227] See NRM leaflets – January 26: The Anniversary Of European Settlement Day; The Eureka Stockade Anniversary – Australia's True National Day; Ginger Meggs cartoons, Blinky Bill posters and other paraphernalia, in author's possession.

[228] "Nation's Largest White Separatist Library", The White Separatist, Nos. 10/11, 1992, p. 17.

[229] From: use of nineteenth century anti-Chinese cartoons – The Ram, No. 5, June–July 1994, p. 1; The Ram, No. 8, January–March 1995, p. 1.

[230] Simon Dinsbergs, Interview, 1995. Dinsbergs was WAR's executive officer.

[231] Source: Confidential. Also: "National Action Out Of Action", Tribune, July 19 1989, p. 12.

[232] "Not Quite The ANM News", Daily News, September 29 1990, in Phoenix Alliance Members' Letter, undated; Craig Bradshaw, telephone conversation with author, 1996.

(independence, native identity and national-credit) but eschewed confrontationalism and violence for a propaganda-electoral method.[233]   Such tactics belied the 'rebirth' psychology implicit in its name, yet its survival as a sect testified to the dedication this political family inspires.

By 1995, Brander had effectively reintegrated the Radical Nationalist camp within a new environment on the Extreme Right. With Saleam jailed in 1991 for involvement in the Funde offence and the collapse of parts of the organization, Brander's National Action was an isolated rump competed against by other grouplets and by new Extreme Right formations – Confederate Action Party (CAP) and Australians Against Further Immigration (AAFI). As is argued in Chapters Seven and Eight, the CAP catered for radicalized conservatives chiefly in Queensland and particular rural areas, while AAFI in Melbourne and Sydney accustomed suburbia to 'anti-immigration voting'. Effectively, Radical-Nationalism was shut out of some geographic areas and social sectors by credible competitors.

Brander however, proved the durability of Radical-Nationalism through a policy of street agitation and confrontation with Left sects (1992–95) in Adelaide and Melbourne,[234] coupled with a localized successful agitation on issues such as the MultiFunction Polis,[235] Asian property investment[236] and 'anti-racial vilification legislation'.[237] National Action's Adelaide militancy 'closed' that city to other Extreme Right groups, providing Senator

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[233] Phoenix Alliance: Main Objectives, leaflet, 1991; "IMF Could Set Rules", The Patriot, March–April 1992, p. 4; "Iraq/U.S./U.N. Conflict", The Patriot, September–October 1991, p. 1; Phoenix Alliance: Our Method, leaflet, 1991.

[234] "Asian Community Call For Calm", Weekly Times Messenger, April 20 1994, p. 1; "A Powder Keg Ready To Blow", Sunday Mail, April 23 1995, pp, 1, 3; "Cops Protect Fascists In Melbourne", Australasian Spartacist, No. 153, Winter 1994, pp. 1, 3; "Widest Unity Answer To Fascists", Vanguard, April 6 1994, p. 12; "Nationalists Rally At Parliament House", Australian Republican, May 1995, pp. 1–2.

[235] Prominent journalist Greg Sheridan quoted from a radio broadcast in, "National Action Sank Japanese City: Journalist", National Action News, No. 24, March 1996, p. 2.

[236] "Malaysian Buy Up Of S.A. To Be Fought By National Action: More Pickets", National Action News, No. 18, September 1994, p. 5.

[237]"No Race Hate Laws", National Action News, No. 16, June 1994, p. 1.

Bolkus with a "crucible"[238] focal factor in that 'city of hate'.[239] National Action in Adelaide was able to reconsolidate a small electoral base as some voting figures show.

Table 5.12   National Action Voting 1995–6[240]

Seat	Election	Score
Taylor	1995 State by-election	921 (5.9%)
Boynthon	Federal 1996	1357 (1.93%)
Hindmarsh	Federal 1996	992 (1.29%)
Makin	Federal 1996	267 (.33%)

After trenchant media criticism,[241] Brander achieved a "complete image overhaul" by 1995,[242] ridding his 500-strong organization of the most tenuous links with the Skinhead or neo-nazi milieu and aggressively asserting the native-nationalist mythos.[243] The tenacity of the rebuilt structure was testified to by Isi Leibler's 1995 comment:

> I'm not saying you have to be put in jail for just saying what you do, but if you try to do anything about it in public, politically, then you should be dealt with … We've got to get rid of you people somehow – get you out of the country or something – just get rid of you.[244]

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[238] Senator Nick Bolkus quoted in, "Adelaide: Crucible Of What?", National Action News, No. 22, June–July 1995, p. 2.

[239] Penelope Debelle, "Adelaide: The Base For Extremists" and "In A State Of Hate", The Advertiser, October 10 1995, pp. 1, 5.

[240] Australian Electoral Commission, 1996 Election Statistics: Divisional Results, Canberra, 1996, pp. 73, 85, 93; South Australian State Electoral Department, District of Taylor Electoral Summary, 1995.

[241] Michael Pirrie, "The Politics Of Hate", Herald Sun, April 2 1994, p. 15; Australian National Action, News Video, a compilation of Adelaide television news reports, 1994–5.

[242] "Radical Action", The Advertiser Insight, April 29 1995, pp. 25–26.

[243] "National Action Keeping The Tradition Of Eureka Stockade", National Action News, No. 22, June–July 1995, p. 1; Eureka Day Rally, National Action leaflet, 1995.

[244] Isi Leibler at Bureau Of Immigration And Population Research Conference, Adelaide, February 24 1995 quoted in, "National Action Intervenes At Immigration Conference", National Action News, No. 20, January–February 1995, p. 3.

By the close of the study-period, Radical-Nationalism was part of a generalized Extreme Right fermentation and best approached in this integrated context, given that Brander built alliances with smaller Radical-Nationalist groups to provide a cadre factor in the evolution of the Extreme Right.

CONCLUSION

The evidence shows that the Radical-Nationalist 'tradition' initiated by National Resistance/ANA (1977−81) became a fixture on the Australian Extreme Right. Although the core organization National Action assembled a supporter-base from former 'anti-immigration' groups which arose episodically after the 1966 'putsch' against 'White Australia', it was simultaneously a new departure. This was indicated by the rally of a younger group of working class militants and the considerable energy the Radical-Nationalists demonstrated.

Various syntheses of ideas were developed to support radical action against a 'State' delegitimized as cosmopolitan and alien to Australian identity and independence. Here the proto-fascist tradition articulated in Chapter One was reproduced as ideology and propaganda. The process of radicalization produced 'Political Guerilla Warfare' with resultant contention.

Radical-Nationalist organizations attempted to fill a space in the 1980's available as a result of the intensity of the ALP government's drive to economic internationalization. Ultimately, failure was the reward. Nonetheless, State-internationalization and Extreme Right attack did break the Old-Left which failed to understand the dialectical inter-relationship of Accord-ism and New Right activism. Radical-Nationalism's success in intensifying the co-optation of the Left implied also that an internationalist Left was thereafter available for the 'besiege-ment' of any form of Right militancy.

The new capitalism did not require Right satellites but few conservatives radicalized. Effectively, therefore, the Radical-Nationalist family was isolated and forced upon its own resources. Determinative of its failure and subsequent place in the Right constellation was the responsive para-State attack launched against it in the period 1989–91 and the emergence of new Extreme Right formations with less dangerous presentations. The tradition, sidelined by other formations, could not achieve hegemony over the Extreme Right.

The general problems of Radical-Nationalism seem that of all ideologically motivated movements: the difficulty of acquiring political space, damaging incidents, lack of materiel and some fragmentation.

CHAPTER SIX

THE NEO-NAZI FACE OF THE EXTREME RIGHT

Chapter Two discussed the neo-nazis (1960–75) within the context of the Satellite Right (1945–75), as a specialized auxiliary armed with a peculiar militant-conservative 'false consciousness' which permitted manipulation by the para-State for the violent struggle against the Left.

The mass-targets of political-police attack had declined by 1975. The empowerment in the State of a determined liberal-internationalist capitalism did not mean that the relationship with the Nazi auxiliaries should be absolutely severed. This relationship might change and become obscured. Whereas the underground militias of the inter-war period yielded to the auxiliary structures of the post 1945 Satellite Right, the new order would require agents not for the disruption of the Left as much as for the marginalization of the Right. It has been observed that provocation was present in the National Front/Ananda Marga events. It is therefore reasonable to denote evidence which sustains the argument that security services maintained liaison with some neo-nazis for 'dirty tricks' operations against the Right.

Nonetheless, Australian 1980's neo-nazism achieved independence as a minoritarian Extreme Right trend inspirationally integrated with international neo-nazism. This Chapter provides case-study material on the Australian Nationalists Movement (ANM) whose politically motivated violence campaign was a shadow-struggle with State power (1988–90). A nazified Skinhead underclass movement also appeared. The Chapter lastly argues that neo-nazism survived the destruction of ANM and turned full circle: it returned as a mimetic cult attuned to racial violence and provocation, an ultra-fringe conditioned by neurotics, fantasizers and informers.

A scholarly literature on neo-nazism developed only recently. Generally, American and other neo-nazism had until the 1980's, rated the odd chapter in sensationalist or sub-

academic material on the international Right.[1]   Some 1980's researchers appreciated the

necessity to differentiate neo-nazism from other Extreme Right typologies.[2]   However,

while neo-nazism was distinguished as a particular palingenetic form of post-war fascism,

the nature of its 'vision' was not explored.   Griffin seems the first to have attempted a

classificatory system for the shades of neo-nazism.   He located: first, a 'Nostalgic Nazism'

necessarily German and the province of a passing generation, but which could disguise itself

for activist purposes; second, "crudely mimetic" structures in many countries which "turn

their back on any indigenous fascism".[3]   By implication also, Griffin has created two other

categories based on: the "assimilation of Nazism into all forms of white supremacist

ideology" and, the "conversion of a significant section of the international 'Skinhead'

subculture …"[4].   Unfortunately, no exposition was advanced of these ideal-type

categorizations – forms that, it is argued, offer innovative ideas most expressive of neo-

nazism's core.

Academic work upon the subject of neo-nazi 'terrorism' has value to this Thesis in the

interpretation of ANM's development towards violence and in explaining the singular

language of neo-nazism.[5]   Similarly, there is research on the Skinhead movement of

comparative value. There was William Schmaltz's biography of Rockwell, which was

confirmative of the author's hypothesis that Rockwell, a major source-reference for later

neo-nazis, may not have been ultimately, a neo-nazi at all (Chapter Two).[6]   This issue was

relevant to the occult character of neo-nazism which developed progressively out of

Rockwell's organization and which is a crucial issue in my analysis.   Some theoretical

examination of neo-nazism is attempted.   This Chapter shall apply recent seminal research

by Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke.   He has assessed the relationship of Ariosophy to Nazism

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[1] Jim Saleam, "American Nazism In The Context Of The American Extreme Right", p. 1, referred to Mark
Sherwin, The Extremists, New York, 1963; George Thayer, The Farther Shores Of Politics, New York,
1965, J. Harry Jones, The Minutemen, New York, 1970; William Turner, Power On The Right, Berkeley,
1971; Denis Eisenberg, The Re-Emergence Of Fascism, London, 1965; Leland V. Bell, In Hitler's
Shadow: The Anatomy Of American Nazism, Port Washington, 1973.
[2] See Chapter Three Footnote 39.
[3] Roger Griffin, The Nature Of Fascism, p. 164.
[4] ibid, p. 165.
[5] Tore Bjorgo (ed.), Terror From The Extreme Right, London, 1995, passim. See Chapter Nine for this
discussion.
[6] William H. Schmaltz, Hate: George Lincoln Rockwell And The American Nazi Party, Washington D.C.,
1999, pp. 57–58, 270–271, 304–305.

and the contribution of Savitri Devi to neo-nazism, and examined the continuing relevance of neo-ariosophical occultism to this ideology.[7] The author had previously recorded American neo-nazism's steady drift into theological forms but could not locate its ideological source.[8] This Thesis did discern Devi's centrality before Goodrick-Clarke's work was discovered.

1.   SPECIAL BRANCH NAZISM RESURRECTED 1976–84

Australian neo-nazism (1976–84) was congruent with weak post-NSPA groups operated by Robert Cameron. Until 1978, Nazis could damage Jewish war memorials or 'steal' Laurie Clapperton's pungent 'Stop The Asian Invasion' slogan and spray-paint it about Sydney, all without public impact.[9] Naturally, the falsely appropriated National Front label brought massive publicity but few recruits. Contacts would quickly have learned the group had little funding and no British ally. There was no progress.

In 1980, Cameron rechristened his group the "NSPA", threatened the life of Robert Hawke and expressed his cynicism:

> We're in the process of a revolution and there
> are a lot of unemployed who can be used and
> discarded … We want them to become young
> Blackshirts …[10]

Media provocation was carried over into the 'White Australia League' (1981) in association with ex-NSPA candidate Kevin Thompson and lastly, the 'White Australia

[7] Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, Hitler's Priestess: Savitri Devi, The Hindu-Aryan Myth And Neo-Nazism, New York, 1998; Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, Black Sun: Blood Gnosis And Esoteric Fascism, New York, is still in preparation.
[8] Jim Saleam, "American Nazism In The Context Of The American Extreme Right", pp. 116–7.
[9] "Smash Refugee Police Probe", Daily Mirror, June 19 1976. Edition unavailable for full citation. Copy of article without page number in author's possession. Ross May, informed the author of his arrest for malicious damage to the Holocaust Memorial at Rookwood Cemetery.

Movement' (WAM) (1982–4). These groups, indulged by particular journalists, announced they controlled ICA, National Front (Sisson), National Alliance and others.[11] An attempt to intimidate into silence the Progressive Nationalist Party[12] was unsuccessful. A claim of 2,000 members and a 'plan' to organize public rallies were credulously reported.[13] Justifiably, one sceptical reporter quoted membership as "four",[14] while Tribune disputed Cameron's claim of hegemony over the Extreme Right.[15] Nevertheless, a complaint to the Press Council made by this author, that Cameron enjoyed no substance, was rejected as irrelevant to the process of news reporting and the complaints system.[16]

Certainly, Cameron's supporters were involved in a western Sydney 'race riot' in October 1981,[17] which attracted a transient thug element, but participation in the Lowe by-election in March 1982 gave WAM only 115 votes.[18]

Two incidents pass sour comment upon Cameron's neo-nazism. First, Cameron and May played themselves in an underground film about the life of an Australian dwarf. Silent Scream (1983) showed the 'stars' as play actors.[19] Second, in June 1984 after further media reports that casually linked his activities with National Action, Cameron met secretly with NA to explain his withdrawal from politics – as "police pressure". The meeting eventuated a few days prior to the public announcement of an Inquiry into the convictions of the Ananda Marga Three.[20]

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[10] "Plot To Kill Bob Hawke", Truth, January 26 1980, pp. 1–2.

[11] "New Party Hits Out At Asians", Daily Mirror, October 15 1981, p. 13.

[12] Kevin Thompson, Letter To Progressive Nationalist Party, September 28 1981.

[13] "Blood In The Streets Over Asian Influx: Warning By White Australia Leader", Daily Telegraph, October 23 1981, p. 2.

[14] Geraldine O'Brien, "White Australia: The Threat Lives", Sydney Morning Herald, November 16 1982. p. 7.

[15] "Old Nazis In New Garb", Tribune, October 28 1981, p. 7.

[16] Executive Secretary Australian Press Council, Letter To James Saleam, November 12 1982.

[17] Malcolm Brown, "White Australia Movement Warns Of Violence: Racist Group Seeks Recruits In Mt. Druitt", Sydney Morning Herald, October 22 1981, p. 3.

[18] Australian Electoral Office, Division Of Lowe House Of Representatives By-Election 13 March 1982: Statement Of Results.

[19] Silent Scream, 1983, a 60-minute film, viewed courtesy of Ross May. No producer's details.

[20] Australian National Action, File: Cameron's Nazis, 1982–5.

Cameron's racist activism occurred during a time when neo-nazism became significant on the international Extreme Right. Militaria salesman Michael McLaughlin, built the British Movement into a lumpen-proletarian street force between 1975 and 1982. American Nazis shot down Maoists in North Carolina and paraded through U.S. cities. Neo-nazis bombed Munich's 1980 Oktoberfest while the Federation d'Action National et European (FANE) was banned in 1980 by French Presidential decree.[21] Australian neo-nazism had no connection with these forces nor apparently was one sought. Further, Cameron's leaflets, posters and news-bulletins published for 1976–84, revealed neither sophistication nor application to agitation.

Reasonably, Cameron knew that his media assertions of strength, activism and relationships with other Extreme Right groups, were untrue. His predictions of a "race war", threats to murder adoptees of Korean orphans and calls for violence,[22] angered and dismayed anti-immigration groups. Cameron reputedly enjoyed the media circus.[23] Considering Cameron's involvement in the NF/Ananda Marga operation, political police had an interest in the close management of their strawman and his propitious removal from 'activism'.

An optimistic 1984 National Action internal letter, reasoned neo-nazism to be "dead".[24]

2. JACK VAN TONGEREN REVIVES AUSTRALIAN NEO-NAZISM

(a) *Background Details*

A singular personality, Peter Joseph ('Jack') van Tongeren, a Dutch migrant born in 1947, chose as his mission the creation of a viable Australian neo-nazi movement. He appeared as a caricature complete with semi-military attire and beret;[25] he freely announced: "we

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[21] "A Wave Of Neo-Nazi Terror", Newsweek, October 20 1980, pp. 14–28; Paul Wilkinson, The New Fascists, London, 1982, pp. 77–8, 103, 124.
[22] Robert Cameron, Compendium Of Radio Interviews, Tape Recording, no other details.
[23] Source: Confidential.
[24] National Action Chairman's Letter, June 1984.
[25] Lyndall Crisp, "Harvest Of Hate", The Bulletin, April 4 1981, pp. 1, 42, 43.

intend to upbreed our people genetically".[26] However, simultaneously he could address the themes of Australian Right politics and act upon them.

Van Tongeren's personal development holds clues to his political orientation. In 1987 he admitted to Indonesian ancestory,[27] and in 1989 his mixed-race father disassociated from him.[28] His Australian mother wrote a syndicated article which concentrated on van Tongeren's ethnic background, his stressful youth and social alienation.[29] The ANM's magazine The Nationalist, wrote deceptively:

> Mr van Tongeren … born in the Netherlands …
> came [to] Australia with his parents when he
> was twelve months old … [his] mother, a fifth
> generation Australian is descended from settlers
> who came … during the Gold Rushes …[30]

The same magazine carried van Tongeren's curious article dealing with the cultural-Europeanization of a Javanese princess[31] – an allusion perhaps to his own inner tension.

The ANM explained its mission and understanding of Australia as

> an Aryan concept … only the Aryan is the true
> authentic warrior … Australia has the potential
> to host the great ingathering of the Aryan
> peoples … We stand poised on the brink of

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[26] ibid, p. 44.
[27] "Anti-Asian Crusader On Dole", The West Australian, August 12 1987, p. 1.
[28] "Racist Disowns His Father", The West Australian, May 15 1989, p. 3.
[29] Stella van Tongeren, "The Making Of A Racist", The Age Saturday Extra, October 20 1990, pp. 1, 6.
[30] "Editorial", The Nationalist, No. 2, August 1985, p. 1.
[31] Jack van Tongeren, "A Javanese Princess: Raden Adjang Kartini", The Nationalist, No. 2, August 1985, pp. 16–18.

> disaster or at the gates of a Golden Age … an
>
> Aryan Dawn …[32]

Upon Griffin's logic, this statement was one of palingenetic mythopoeia: the crisis, the redemptive-struggle, a new birth – and significantly a personal transcendence whereby the reborn-nation myth redeems the troubled individual.[33]

Jack van Tongeren's National Action critics maintained he held to a sincere, soldier's patriotism.[34] He had served in the Australian army in Vietnam with credit (1971) and worked and travelled throughout Australia. Van Tongeren's part-autobiographical, "The ANM Story: The Pre-Revolutionary Years 1970–1989", described a 1979–83 program of voracious reading which led him towards Holocaust Revisionism, League Of Rights conspiracy theory, Social Credit, German Nazi history and "the esoteric".[35]

The 'esoteric' was dominant in van Tongeren's thought. His Hellenism Versus Christianity argued for a rebirth of Greek philosophy to counter "semitic" Christianity and implied a gnostic search for hidden truth.[36] Van Tongeren dated years from the foundation of Rome and was fascinated with "Philosopher-Kings" like Marcus Aurelius, Indo-European folk-wanderings, lost civilizations, astral events, the vedas and runic lore.[37] These interests, as shall be shown, have similarity to occultist Ariosophy and related ideas. When he criticized National Action he argued his belief in the 'occult' forces:

> There is a primeval order to the Universe. A
>
> Natural Law governs the performance of all

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[32] Jack van Tongeren, "The Potential Of Australia", The Nationalist, No. 6, December–January 1985/6, pp. 1–2.

[33] Roger Griffin, The Nature Of Fascism, pp. 196–7.

[34] James Saleam, Letter To Queensland State Committee ANA, November 28 1988.

[35] Jack van Tongeren, "The ANM Story: The Pre-Revolutionary Years 1970–89" unpublished MSS, Perth, 1991, pp. 40–60, 106.

[36] Jack van Tongeren, Hellenism Versus Christianity, Sydney, 1984, pp. 1, 3, 16; this was a reprint of a 1982 edition.

[37] See: "The Sacred Oak Of The Celts", The Nationalist, No. 4, October 1985, p. 4; Jack van Tongeren, "Our Symbol And Motto", The Nationalist, No. 3, September 1985, p. 8; Julian Carloman, "Love And Hate", The Nationalist, No. 15, February–March 1987, pp. 6–10; Jack van Tongeren, "Early 1986: The Time Of The Comet", The Nationalist, No. 11, June–July 1986, pp. 1–3.

existence from the nature of mass and energy,

the motion of heavenly bodies to the growth

pattern of a forest … The organization that taps

into the natural law will also tap into that inner

strength … National Action does not have that

indefinable yet definite sense of strength … that

people can rally to and follow to the stars …[38]

Inside the new ANM, van Tongeren was "leader and guide",[39] a spiritual master like 'fuhrer' Adolf Hitler.

Van Tongeren's descent into the world of neo-nazism was direct. After a personally significant journey to Iceland ("Ultima Thule") in 1983, he travelled to Los Angeles where he conferred with the neo-nazi American Workers' Party.[40] Van Tongeren met with Matt Koehl of the National Socialist White People's Party (NSWPP), the leader-successor to Rockwell. Koehl, a key progenitor of neo-nazism was unimpressed by the self-possessed Australian,[41] but introduced him to the writings of NSWPP saint Savitri Devi and the U.S. neo-nazi theoretical material hereunder described.

Neo-nazism shall now be defined generally and as the ANM's rationale.

(b)   *The Ideological Core Of Neo-Nazism And Its Typological Variations*

Given its global context over a half-century, neo-nazism demands a comprehensive historical analysis. This study however is restricted to its ideological 'core' and typology.

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[38] <u>Jack van Tongeren</u>, Letter To Sydney National Action, December 23 1984.
[39] "Editorial", <u>The Nationalist</u>, No. 2, August 1985, p. 1.
[40] Jack van Tongeren, <u>The ANM Story</u>, pp. 67–72.

Various descriptions of neo-nazism's ideological and organizational characteristics are extant. For example, Billig concentrated on pathological anti-semitism as the essence of British 1960's/1970's neo-nazism.[42] Thurlow traced this obsession to Arnold Leese's Gothic Ripples circle of the 1950's.[43] Leese characterized Jews in manichaean terms, as a force for the miscegenation of the white race and the prime mover in the war against Hitler's Aryan-German renaissance. Leese's influence on the 1950's-schooled leadership of the later National Front was pervasive. As a major tributary to British neo-nazism, he taught the centrality of an anti-semitic conspiracy doctrine and a strict racial purism. His acolyte, the premier theorist of British neo-nazism Colin Jordan, harmonized Leese's legacy with the nordicist folkloric politics of the 'Northern European Ring'. This 'International' (1958–63) linked groups which saw in German Nazism the proof of nordic vitality.[44] Such traditions provided recruits for the new 1960's nazism.

This neo-nazism owed little to German nostalgics. Kurt Tauber's massive Beyond Eagle And Swastika: German Nationalism Since 1945, has established that an articulated neo-nazism did not emerge in Germany (1945–65), since the defeat released each component of the Nazi synthesis back into German Right politics.[45] The power-nostalgics were practical men who rallied to other Extreme Right parties. Rather, it seems settled that the catalyst for the growth of neo-nazism centred on American groups – initially James Madole's National Renaissance Party and particularly Rockwell's American Nazi Party.[46] Transferred from its natural terrain, Nazism would suffer in reinterpretation.

Analysis was slow to take up these issues. Rockwell's 1960's propagandistic vulgarity attracted some intellectual interest for its flamboyancy.[47] One 1988 exposé of British and Continental neo-nazi groups of the 1970's and 1980's described a madhouse of callow

[41] Ray Gillespie: as WUNS Representative 1981–3 Gillespie was told by Koehl that van Tongeren was a "man with a plan" (1983).
[42] Michael Billig, Fascists, pp. 164–190.
[43] Richard Thurlow, op. cit., pp. 85–90, 276–8.
[44] Jim Saleam, "British Neo-Fascist Politics 1960–75", pp. 7–8, 11.
[45] Kurt Tauber, Beyond Eagle And Swastika: German Nationalism Since 1945, Boston, 1967, pp. 466–7.
[46] Martin Lee, The Beast Re-awakens, pp. 89–91, 157–8.
[47] Leland V. Bell, In Hitler's Shadow, pp. 111, 116–119, 126.

youths, dress-up heroes, delusional racial violence, fragile leaders and Hitler worship.[48] These notions contained some truth. Paul Wilkinson made a vital observation. While noting the racist posturing, violence and marginality of 1970's neo-nazism, he dubbed its structures – "ideological religious cult movements".[49] The author had come to similar conclusions.[50] However, the mainstream academic discussion had avoided this interpretation until the advent of researchers associated with the Terrorism And Political Violence journal. One analyst described 1980's/1990's U.S. neo-nazi cultic traits, such as:

> … a Golden Age Myth, the perception of the
> Theft of a Culture, scriptualism, a manichaean
> world view, a conspirational view of history, a
> vision of the group as an 'elect' … and finally an
> apocalyptic or chiliastic analysis of society …[51]

Logically, neo-nazism had inherent deeply-rooted qualities which engendered these ideological expressions.

The existence of a post-1945 international movement derived of a delimited historical example represents a theoretical problem for analysts – and participants. Neo-nazis, commencing with Koehl's Adolf Hitler: German Nationalist Or Aryan Racialist?, have resolved their problem through ahistoricism, arguing that Hitler established neither a German Nationalist nor Pan-Germanic movement, but a "political racial-nationalism".[52] As Jordan amplified, this was "no transient political scheme".[53] Koehl's universalized Nazism

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[48] Ray Hill and Andrew Bell, The Other Face Of Terror: Inside Europe's Neo-Nazi Network, pp. 121–2, 207–8, 272–6.

[49] Paul Wilkinson, op. cit., p. 9.

[50] Jim Saleam, "American Nazism In The Context Of The American Extreme Right", pp. 115–6, 160, 164–5.

[51] Jeffrey Kaplan, "Right Wing Violence In North America", in Tore Bjorgo (ed.), op. cit., p. 46. This work drew on the efforts of Terrorism And Political Violence.

[52] Matt Koehl, Adolf Hitler: German Nationalist Or Aryan Racialist?, Arlington, 1974, pp. 7, 31.

[53] Colin Jordan, "National Socialism: A Philosophic Appraisal", National Socialist World, No. 1, 1966, p. 6.

explained Hitler's nationalism and Germanicism as tools for Aryan renewal, a project untruthfully presented as <u>not</u> anti-Slavic.[54]

While Jordan's 1960 <u>Northern European</u> differentiated National Socialism and Fascism because of the latter's "Mediterranean mind" – which rendered it poor dietary fare for Nordics[55] – Koehl's <u>Some Guidelines For The Development Of The National Socialist Movement</u> concluded that Nazism was not a variety of fascism as only Nazism contained a "transcendent racial ideal".[56]

Koehl's 1972 pamphlet <u>The Future Calls,</u> cultized Hitler's role in the promulgation of Nazism, using direct religious imagery to announce him an Aryan Christ who brought a "race saving message", a providential gift to a race "standing at the abyss".[57] Koehl's "Hitlerism: Faith Of The Future" described an Aryan alternative to Christianity, – "a new dispensation" – and neo-nazis as a faithful retinue to witness Nazism's resurrection.[58] Harold Covington, another American neo-nazi whose activities ranged the period of this Thesis, referred to Hitler's "living spirit" inspiring white racial rebirth.[59]

A welter of writing, from the erudite to the illiterate, gave Nazi Germany as the quintessential <u>model</u> of the 'National Socialist State' and its 'heroic war' as proof of vitality. Whether the Nazi state's errors and excesses were admitted or denied, neo-nazis appeared captivated by its drama – and its religious ritualism.[60]

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[54] Matt Koehl, <u>Adolf Hitler</u>, pp. 13, 15, 21–26; for the actual nature of Nazi anti-Slavism: Heinz Hohne, <u>The Order Of The Death's Head: The Story Of Hitler's SS</u>, London, 1969, pp. 460–470.
[55] Colin Jordan, "Fascism And National Socialism", <u>The Northern European</u>, No. 2, August–September 1960, pp. 1, 3.
[56] Matt Koehl, <u>Some Guidelines For The Development Of The National Socialist Movement</u>, Arlington, 1969, pp. 10–11.
[57] Matt Koehl, <u>The Future Calls</u>, Aarhus, 1976, pp. 5, 11.
[58] Matt Koehl, "Hitlerism: Faith Of The Future", <u>The National Socialist</u>, No. 4, Spring 1982, pp. 12, 16.
[59] Harold A. Covington, "Adolf Hitler: A Living Spirit", <u>The New Order</u>, No. 13, April–May 1978, p. 7.
[60] Colin Jordan, <u>Victory In Europe: Whose And For What?</u>, Harrowgate, 1985; "Leon Degrelle And the Crusade For Europe", <u>National Vanguard</u>, No. 67, March 1979, pp. 13–16, for a U.S. neo-nazi mythologization of Hitler's war. <u>BP Productions Catalogue</u>, Clywd, 1980, for nazi memorabilia, wartime histories.

Bluntly, Nazism's history provided boundless vistas for mythmaking. First, the international network, the New European Order, advanced a 'National European' ideology; delineated first in the 1950's, it doctrinized the wartime 'New Order' as the charter-myth for a revitalized Europe.[61] Second, Nazism was held to possess the racial 'Phoenix spirit'; this coloured the 1980's apocalyptic eschatological rhetoric of U.S. neo-nazi sects and 'Christian Identity' groups directed at America's "Zionist Occupation Government" (ZOG).[62] Third, the Waffen SS and Hitler Youth has inspired with their uniforms and titles Detroit's reborn fetishists of the 'SS Action Group'.[63] Fourth, drawing upon traces of perversion, a Jewish author stretched the truth to postulate that 1990's German neo-nazis expressed a brutal sexual fetishism[64] – although for some it did encourage 'warrior-homosexuality'. Potential examples are unlimited.

Neo-nazi groups generally placed race at the centre of their world-view and relegated socio-economic questions to a subsidiary place. Over decades their propaganda has arranged races into a hierarchy[65] and, in contradistinction to Le Pen's Front National, the German Republikaner, the Nouvelle Droit and other 'fascist' trends, declined to argue 'difference'.[66] If 1990's German neo-nazism was representative, a fine line divided the ideology of racial superiority from anti-immigrant violence. The 'racial-enemy' the Jew, has also remained a vital target. Whether Historical Revisionist tracts were distributed[67] or cemeteries desecrated, the fixation has motivated Nazis even where, as one American Jewish civil libertarian conceded, they served no purpose other than to assist Zionist

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[61] For the New European Order's ideology, see Kurt Tauber, op. cit., pp. 212–3; and Courrier Du Continent: Bulletin Du Nouvelle Ordre European, No. 208, March 1977, for the European project.
[62] Blood In The Face, Right Thinking Productions, New York, 1991, broadcast ABC Television January 23 1996. A documentary which recorded verbatim a U.S. neo-nazi conference 1986.
[63] Michigan Briefing, Vol. VII, No. 21, May 1986, passim.
[64] Yaron Svoray and Nick Taylor, In Hitler's Shadow: An Israeli's Journey Inside Germany's Neo-Nazi Movement, Melbourne, 1994, pp. 24–26; its cinematic sequel – The Infiltrator, HBO Pictures, 1994, popularized neo-nazi 'sadism'.
[65] Anon, Why I Am A Racist?, Perth, 1983.
[66] The differentialist view from: Jean Marie Le Pen, Pour La France: Programme Du Front National, Paris, 1985, pp. 110–124; Actes Du XV Colloque National Du GRECE: La Cause Du Peuples, Paris, 1982, passim; Werner Olles, "Racial Hatred Versus Multiracialism: Time For Another Choice", Scorpion, No. 9, Spring 1986, p. 11.
[67] Michael McLaughlin, For Those Who Cannot Speak, Southam, 1977; Richard Harwood, Did Six Million Really Die?, 1976; Richard Harwood, Nuremberg And Other War Crimes Trials: A New Look, Southam, 1978. These pamphlets popular in Britain, would be complemented by the extensive Ernst

fundraisers who traded on 'never again'.[68] The lack of critical faculty sometimes led to an intense anti-communism whereby the new 'SA' would defeat the 'Red Front'.[69] That this Reaganist preoccupation intensifed 1980's Cold War 2 isolation was recognized by Paul Riis-Knudsen. This Danish neo-nazi criticized Russophobic anti-communism agreeing with West German neo-nazi chief (1977–91) Michael Kuehnen, who had also urged neo-nazis to oppose Europe's 'Americanization'.[70]

The ANM kept abreast of neo-nazism's disputes, activism and ideological developments. In 1988, a direct personal link with Kuehnen was made by ANM 'Deputy Leader' Peter Coleman when he visited Germany. Through a book-service, Coleman imported for re-sale the widest array of international neo-nazi literature.[71] The ANM was therefore ecumenical in its appreciation of neo-nazism and could be innovative to opportunity.

To afford Griffin's contrast of the crudely mimetic groups and the stylistic and ideological innovators the status of typological variation, would be appropriate upon the following logic: if different self-descriptive ideological terms, symbols, uniforming, alliances and degree of integration into or concession towards other forms of Extreme Right discourse, are manifested.

To overcome any objection that the hypothesized variation implies the constructive types are truly divorced, three representative witnesses can be called: Notre Europe renamed as Le Flambeau Europeen, issued by FANE and its successor group, 1978−83; CEDADE, issued by the Spanish Circle Of The Friends Of Europe, 1975−80's; WAR, issued by White Aryan Resistance (U.S.), 1985−92. These publications reported a plethora of groups as members of the one broad neo-nazi church whether the members were 'National

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Zundel 1980's Holocaust revisionist material arising from his trial in Canada for Holocaust-denial. Various items in the author's possession.

[68] Aryeh Neier, Defending My Enemy: Skokie, American Nazis, And The Limits Of Freedom, New York, 1979, p. 34.

[69] See: Against The Red Front, British Movement poster featuring a stylized stormtrooper, 1980. Smash Communism, sticker of the Irish National Socialist Workers' Party, date unknown.

[70] Paul Riis-Knudsen, National Socialism: A Left-Wing Movement, Aalborg, 1983, pp. 17–18; Christopher T. Husbands, "Militant Neo-Nazism In The Federal Republic Of Germany In The 1980s", in L. Cheles, M. Vaughan and M.Ferguson (eds.), Neo-Fascism In Europe, London, 1991, p. 11;

[71] Viking Books Price List, Waterloo, 1988.

Socialists', 'National-Europeans', or 'White Nationalists', used swastikas, other runic representations or phoenix emblems, wore brown uniforms, other uniforms or no uniforms, slavishly adopted German Nazi motif or integrated it into a different style.[72] Typologically, neo-nazis share a <u>fused</u> set of ideological interests: Indo-Aryan pre-history, white race internationalism, Rudolf Hess's martyrdom, Holocaust-denial, Jewish-conspiracy ideology, Second World War historical revision, a Hitler-cult.[73]

It is clear that the mimetic groups ("National Socialists", brown uniforms, swastikas) were <u>chiefly</u> products of the 1960's and the innovative groups of the 1970's, although mimetic groups continued to make appearances. The innovators took advantage of a fading public awareness of Nazism's reality, and of the academicization of its ideological nature, to assert a spiritual–revolutionary reinterpretation of German Nazism.

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[72] Representative <u>Notre Europe</u> and <u>Le Flambeau Europeen</u> articles quoted from the 28 numbers 1978–83 in the author's possession: "Echec Au Regime", No. 26, August 1980, p. 1: a cartoon which shows the various runic symbols together; "Nouvelle De L'Etranger", No. 31, January 1981, pp. 9–14: various groups; "Nouvelles De L'Etranger", No. 37, July 1981, pp. 10–16; "Nouvel Ordre Europeen", No. 35, May 1981, p. 13, for National-European congress.
Representative <u>CEDADE</u> articles quoted from the numbers 1975–82 in the author's possession. "Revolucion En Occident 4", <u>CEDADE</u>, No. 73, December 1976, passim. This magazine was part of a 4-part series which also reported on neo-fascism generally with perhaps the idea of cross-fertilisation; "Unidad National Revolucionaria", <u>CEDADE</u>, No. 63, October 1975, pp. 7–8. These pieces mix emblems, organizational forms and self-descriptions.
Representative <u>WAR</u> articles quoted from the 10 numbers 1985–92, in the author's possession. "Aryan Youth Celebrate Uncle Bob's Birthday", <u>WAR</u>, Vol. 8, No. 1, undated: photograph links together runic symbols; "Video Tapes/Audio Tapes", <u>WAR</u>, Vol. 6, No. 2, undated, p. 12: National Socialist, Klan, Christian Identity, <u>CEDADE</u>, Odinist and Skinhead material.
[73] Representative articles from each publication include:
<u>Indo-Aryan Prehistory</u>: "Il Y A 52 Siecles … Le National Socialism", <u>Notre Europe</u>, No. 22, April 1980, p. 3; "The Viking", <u>WAR</u>, Vol. 8, No. 1, p. 4; "Raza Y Poesia", <u>CEDADE</u>, No. 151, June 1987, pp. 36–41.
<u>White Race Internationalism</u>: "Un Race Un Combat", <u>Combat: Supplement To Notre Europe</u>, January 1980, p. 4; David Lane, "Alien Night", <u>WAR</u>, Vol. 7, No. 6, p. 11; "Europa Y El National Socialismo", <u>CEDADE</u>, No. 149, April 1987, p. 25.
<u>Rudolf Hess's Martyrdom</u>: Each edition of <u>Notre Europe</u> had a front page notice concerning how many months of captivity had been endured by Hess; "Mitin Pro Libertad De Rudolf Hess", <u>CEDADE</u>, No. 107, May 1982, pp. 4–5; <u>Rudolf Hess Prisoner Of Peace</u>, WAR broadsheet, provided with WAR in 1986.
<u>Holocaust Denial</u>: "Wiesenthal Bientot Condamne Pour Escroquerie", <u>Notre Europe</u>, No. 49, November – December 1982, pp. 14–15; "Zundel Wins In Canada", <u>WAR</u>, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1987, p. 3; "Zundel Vendecor: Holocausto Mentira", <u>CEDADE</u>, No. 150, May 1987, pp. 14–15.
<u>Jewish conspiracy ideology</u>: Michel Leloup, "J'accuse Le Sionisme", <u>Notre Europe</u>, No. 21, March 1980, pp. 1–2; "Thoughts From Europe", <u>WAR</u>, Vol. 10, No. 2, undated, p. 7; "El Kahal De Neuva York", <u>CEDADE</u>, No. 63, October 1975, p. 4.
<u>Second World War Historical Revision</u>: "Churchill, Un Criminiel Du Guerre", <u>Notre Europe</u>, No. 41, November 1981, p. 17; "El Caso De Kurt Waldheim", <u>CEDADE</u>, No. 148, March 1987, pp. 8–10.
<u>Hitler Cult</u>: "Rock Opera: Hitler Superstar", <u>Notre Europe</u>, No. 19, January 1980, p. 12 (title in English); "La Repression En Allemagne", <u>Notre Europe</u>, No. 23, May 1980, pp. 13–14.

Goodrick-Clarke recently argued that the end of economic security in the 1970's, the tendency to mythologize Hitler in mainstream history as an out-of-life character, the revival of interest in the occult dimension of Nazism and an increase in fictional accounts of Nazi revival, inspired neo-nazi activism.[74] A new typology became possible. What Koehl and WUNS pioneered, others developed.

No less than Griffin's first principles, the suggested typology for neo-nazism inferred empirically a core dynamic. Goodrick-Clarke's description of German Nazism's relationship with Ariosophy provided essential logic.

This fantastic racial-theosophist mysticism conjured by Lanz von Liebenfels, Guido von List and others, first appeared in Austria–Hungary. It discussed lost Aryan civilizations and knowledge, secret runic messages and announced the age one of Aryan debasement at Jewish hands. It favoured selective breeding, grandiose anti-Slavic imperialism, the war of Aryan Light against Jewish Darkness and a new knightly-priestly order.[75] Hitler absorbed its precepts during 1908–12. This Ariosophy entered Germany through the 'Germanenorder' and the Thule Society, which supplied early recruits to Nazism.

Essentially, the NSDAP merged in 1920, the German Workers' Party (DAP) and the Thule circles. Whereas,

> … the DAP line was predominantly one of
> extreme political and social nationalism and not
> based on the Aryan racist-occult pattern of the
> Germanenorder ...[76]

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[74] Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, "La Renaissance Du Culte Hitlerien: Aspects Mythologiques Et Religieux Du Neo-Nazisme", Politica Hermetica, No. 11, December 1997, pp. 188–192.
[75] Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, The Occult Roots Of Nazism: The Ariosophists Of Austria And Germany 1890–1935, Wellingborough, 1985, pp. 2, 5, 31, 44–52, 56, 90–104.

[76] ibid, p. 150.

– the new NSDAP syncretized two palingenetic systems in the singular moment of Germany's agony. The fascist 'core-molecule' was created corrupt. The NSDAP retained a duality; it expressed 'nationalist-socialism' but its racist irrationality, fanaticism and inability to transcend these limitations (especially when a Euro-nationalism and national-liberation method in the Slavic USSR might have won the war), indicated the presence of programmatic Ariosophy and the continued input of similar ideas. Ideological-political disputes within the Nazi movement (Strasser/Hitler 1925–6; Black Front/NSDAP 1930–33; Rohm/Hitler 1934; Waffen SS/official Eastern Policy 1941–44), become clarified.

Clear testimony exists that in the post-1945 world, some on the Extreme Right appreciated Nazism on the basis of its ariosophical racism. The theosophy-attuned American National Renaissance Party (1949–80) did so, and developed some new occult preoccupations of a New Atlantis in America.[77] A former Chilean diplomat Miguel Serrano, followed the "magician", "Luciferian" Hitler, "the collective unconscious" of the Aryan race.[78] His "esoteric Hitlerist" position was broadcast through a 1960's/1970's Chilean affiliate to the WUNS.

Whereas Rockwell did not share this occult commitment, Jordan his partner in WUNS and Koehl his deputy, were moved by Savitri Devi whose significance for neo-nazism is discussed shortly. Koehl's 1970's/1980's attempt to render Nazism "a new religion" was ultimately opposed by others like Knudsen, although the latter defended his position on the basis of a 'nature-philosophy' of ancient-aryan inspiration.[79] Through the 1980's and into the 1990's an array of occult-nazi journals appeared in several countries.[80] A prominent

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[77] Kerry Bolton, Phoenix Rising: The Epic Saga Of James H. Madole, Paraparaumu, 1996, passim.
[78] Miguel Serrano: Esoteric Hitlerist, edited interview, Paraparaumu, 1995, pp. 4–6, 13.
[79] Paul Riis-Knudsen, National Socialism: The Biological World View, Aalborg, 1987, pp. 10, 15, 24.
[80] Insignia, published in Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania – for Norse cosmology, Atlantean myth; The Ravenborn, published in English, Athens – for Heathen-Satanic synthesis; Balder, published in Reading (U.K.) – 'Nature-Magik', runic lore; Fenrir, published in Shrewsbury (U.K.) – a "Journal of Satanism and the Sinister"; The Flamming Sword of the New Zealand Black Order 1993–5. It is acknowledged other such publications exist and this list is not exhaustive.

British 'cosmic-nazi' fantasized about "Galactic" nazidom and described Nazism as "practical alchemy".[81]

Apparently some neo-nazis not only referred deliberately to the old Ariosophy but produced variations upon the occult tradition. Arguably neo-nazism is organizationally ariosophical. Given its logic that Nazism was the application of the ancient Aryan wisdom, it might stand opportunistically ready to cross-fertilize white racist ideologies in the same way as the original Ariosophy did to German nationalist-socialism. Here we can detect the mimetic and innovationist typologies: one draws upon the Nazi German experience as essential to the ariosophical heritage and may posit it the old Aryan religious faith reborn; the other develops upon neo-ariosophical ideas to internalize the German Nazi mythos and attempts to fertilize unwary sections of the Extreme Right.

By the 1980's as van Tongeren emerged, the WUNS was near-fiction and neo-nazism devoid of any centralized 'International'. However, this fragmented hyper-internationalized community stayed capable of attracting a percentage of those whom Griffin argued are amenable to palingenetic urges. Rather than form cadre for neo-fascist or "hybridized neo-fascist/national populist organizations", such persons rally to a "demi world of ideologues, Walter Mittys and psychopaths".[82]

Neo-nazism's synthetic nature, drawn of the occult, the essential fascist 'core' and its modern ideological typology allowed it to opportunistically approach Extreme Right groups for 'takeover' or manipulation. Once van Tongeren internalized the neo-nazi synthesis, he sought leverage through existent groups.

(c)   The ANM: Foundation Strategy

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[81] David Myatt, Occultism And National Socialism, York, undated (poss. 1992/3), pp. 7, 10–11.

[82] Roger Eatwell, Fascism: A History, p. 225. For more on 'national populism': Chapters Seven and Eight.

Van Tongeren's political debut occurred in 1981−2 in Tasmania through the conservative Anglo-Saxon Keltic Society (ASKS). He dreamed an ASKS influence with senior Liberals conducive to Tasmanian secession.[83] Later domiciled in Perth, he founded in 1983 with contacts drawn from the LOR, a publishing group 'Tides And Time'. Its logo resembled that of the Germanenorder.[84] He desired to reorient the League towards activism. Van Tongeren's attraction to the LOR probably involved more than shared ideological interests. He may have recognized a common mythic core eschatology, and only <u>later</u> understood that neo-ariosophy and social-Christianity were irreconcilable.

Meantime, attracted by the physical propaganda of National Action, van Tongeren brought his group into the Perth organization and acquired control. Van Tongeren and his confidant, Serb anti-semite Alexander Mladenovich, saw NA as a vehicle:

> … [We] decided to team up with them, with
> certain reservations … they were too narrowly
> anti-Asian … they always wished to avoid
> taking on the main problem in Australia and …
> the world – Zionism and Freemasonry …[85]

As NA's 1984 Senate candidate in Western Australia, van Tongeren approached Eric Butler and Jeremy Lee for assistance but was rebuffed. Convinced he could out-poll the 1983 Christian Alternative Movement-Immigration Control Council candidates, a disappointing 861 votes demonstrated a stagnant local anti-immigration constituency. Electoral failure was chiefly ascribed to the rejection by conservatives of the labour-nationalist style whereby NA was denied an electoral base.[86]

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[83] <u>Open Letter From The National Committee Of National Action To All Perth Members And Supporters Concerning The Split-Away Of Jack Van Tongeren etc. 25-5-85</u>, p. 2.
[84] See: <u>They Want The Earth Plus Five Percent</u>, Perth, 1983, p. 1.

[85] Jack van Tongeren, <u>The ANM Story</u>, p. 82.
[86] <u>Jack van Tongeren</u>, Letter To James Saleam, December 23 1984<u>; Jack van Tongeren</u>, Letter To Peter Coleman, December 12 1984.

With little further to be gained temporizing with NA, van Tongeren revealed his strategy. In early 1985, he approached Perth's World Anti-Communist League branch, the 'Army of Men', Victorian RSL President Bruce Ruxton, the Henry George League and mining magnate Lang Hancock for a new political arrangement to be realized that year.[87] At NA's 1985 conference, van Tongeren argued "solid citizens" were partisans of the "national flag". Coleman, hitherto a covert neo-nazi, asserted that the Eureka Flag was "the banner of Jew poofters" and praised Bjelke-Petersen "who knows how to handle the boongs".[88] These rhetorical forays did not convince National Action to bloc with the Conservative Right. Van Tongeren wrote later of this conference's aftermath:

> I personally talked with Bruce Ruxton … that
> was the reason for the quick departure. He is
> now keenly observing our actions … There is
> much at stake here … I could not risk things by
> telling the Sydney crowd …[89]

With a new "National Socialist" programme, the ANM was founded in Perth on Hitler's birthday – April 20 1985. A 'runic' Celtic Cross was employed alongside the national flag. The ANM hoped for:

> … big money from the very wealthy people
> who observed our Federal election campaign
> … we need better people and big money …
> Jim Saleam and his coffee shop commandoes
> and brick throwing yahoos simply turn off better

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[87] Mark Ferguson, Interview, 1996; Open Letter.
[88] Australian National Action, Taped Record Second National Conference Of ANA, April 1985.

[89] Jack van Tongeren, Letter To Darryl Wallbridge, April 12 1985.

people … [and] … big money … People like

Bruce Ruxton are potentially very valuable …[90]

The Nationalist reprinted Ruxton's Toorak Times columns and endorsed the British connection.[91] Van Tongeren berated Saleam that his purpose "is not revenge and destruction", but "love of our race, culture, nation …".[92]

The ANM assiduously attempted the Right regroupement project, publishing extensively on League economic and conspiratology themes and liaising with the named groups. Tenuous links existed with some Special Air Service personnel connected to a strike-breaking company employed in the mining industry, and whose directors were WACL supporters.[93]

After some 16 months ANM's scheme to regroup the Right had fizzled. Banned from LOR functions and after a faction seceded as the "Caucasian Society", the ANM seemed finished. At that moment, brothers John and Wayne van Blitterswyk brought in new followers, and Coleman introduced the new strategy contained in The Turner Diaries.

(d)   The ANM And Political Violence: Mystic Roots

In 1986, Coleman produced a pirate-edition of The Turner Diaries for ANM distribution. Searchlight called the book a

blueprint for genocide … the story of a
clandestine neo-nazi 'organization' [led by a

[90] Jack van Tongeren, Letter To Andrew Guild, February 22 1985 – for further comments on Ruxton's course see Chapters Seven and Eight.
[91] See: The Nationalist, No. 5, November 1985, pp. 5–6, 1–4.
[92] Jack van Tongeren, Letter To James Saleam, May 22 1985.
[93] Open Letter; Wendy Bacon, "Have Guns Will Travel", The National Times, June 10–16 1983, pp. 20, 22, 24, deals with the WACL group which must have been van Tongeren's contact in 1984–5.

pseudo-mystsic 'order' of obviously Odinist

bent] which takes on a corrupt multi-racial

system and is eventually – and apocalyptically-

triumphant.[94]

Erroneously also, as shall become apparent, some academic opinion linked The Turner Diaries to the pagan Odinist revival in U.S. neo-nazi circles.[95] Pseudonomously written by Dr. William Pierce of the U.S. 'National Alliance' in serial form in 1974–8, the book has since been printed in over 100,000 copies to become the representative text of 1980's/1990's international neo-nazism.

By 1986, van Tongeren shared both Pierce's scepticism concerning the public's desire to right tyrannical wrongs and his faith in minoritarian revolutionary action.[96] The Turner Diaries anticipated a radicalization induced by firearms confiscation and state authoritarianism. Urban guerilla violence was described, which increased in brutality through to the acquisition and usage of nuclear weapons by "The Organization". Integrative terror against its own people would herald 'rebirth'. The Turner Diaries ultimately promised the nuclear-chemical genocide of all non-Europeans, an all-white world.[97]

The Turner Diaries' neo-nazism was a brutal doctrine of race, a cult of the "Great One" (Hitler) shorn of any social-economic scheme, a philosophy of right expressed in scientific murder. It demonstrated Pierce had no mass-mobilizing formula. The book's cunning lay in inspiring a minority ideologically – and tactically. Pierce wrote:

Fiction can reach and move great numbers of

people who are immune to other forms of

propaganda … People who have no serious

[94] "Blueprint For Genocide", Searchlight, No. 129, March 1986, pp. 1, 10–11.
[95] Tore Bjorgo, "Introduction", in Tore Bjorgo (ed.), op.cit., p. 15.
[96] "The Spirit Of '75: Reprinted From Attack!", The Nationalist, No. 26, December 1988–March 1989, pp. 7–9. Attack! had been Pierce's newspaper; this article appeared in May 1975 implying ANM was very familiar with the corpus of Pierce's work.

> ideological interests … can be swept away by
>
> the subliminal message in a novel …[98]

The book contained ideas-for-action: car bombs, counterfeiting and underground disciplinary methods. At a time when the ANM languished, and van Tongeren awaited Halley's Comet and conducted sun-ceremonies,[99] The Turner Diaries came as a psychodynamic revelation.

The genesis of the book went back to 1966 when Pierce, as editor of Rockwell's National Socialist World reviewed and exerpted, The Lightning And The Sun by Savitri Devi.[100] Goodrick-Clarke found this Greco-English woman (1905–1982) with a Doctorate from Lyons University and married to a Brahmin Nationalist, the crucial force for the neo-nazi assertion of Hitler's aryanism.[101] Koehl ensured the overt spread of Devi's doctrine throughout his WUNS network. By 1980, FANE's book service would offer Devi's Souvenirs Et Reflexions D'Une Aryenne alongside The Lightning And The Sun.[102] In 1980, WUNS waxed:

> Nowhere does the flame of what she herself
>
> calls the 'Hitler faith' burn more brightly … No
>
> one is more a eloquent and passionate advocate
>
> of pure National Socialism … If … [it] … were
>
> a religion … Savitri Devi would be its priestess
>
> …[103]

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[97] Andrew Macdonald, The Turner Diaries, pirate edition, pp. 205–211. Hereafter William Pierce is given as the author.

[98] National Alliance Bulletin, April 1978, p. 1.

[99] Mark Ferguson.

[100] Savitri Devi, "The Lightning And The Sun", National Socialist World, No. 1, Spring 1966, pp.13–90; this article was extracts of the book with Pierce's introduction. It seems this was Devi's debut for the WUNS.

[101] Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, Hitler's Priestess, pp. 7–8, 22, 71–72, 211–232.

[102] Untitled sections in, Notre Europe, No. 14, August 1979, p. 16; Notre Europe, No. 19, January 1980, p. 16; FANE Service Libraire, leaflet, 1980.

[103] "Who Was Adolf Hitler?", The National Socialist, No. 4, Spring 1982, p. 26.

In 1982, Koehl acquired Devi's ashes and maintained a shrine. Pierce's permanent occult commitment to Devi was demonstrated in his <u>Serpent's Walk</u> (1991), a tale of the aryanist struggles of a hero married to an Indian woman during the downward chaos-phase of the Kali Yuga.[104]

Devi's essential doctrine was a cyclical theory of human history centring on three "extra-historical beings" – Akhnaton, Genghiz and Hitler. Man's original state of nature had degenerated, she reasoned, through egoistic anti-naturalism. Akhnaton who lived "outside time" could not restore the Golden Age; Genghiz who lived "in time", came to hasten decay while Hitler with Akhnaton's "sun" (idealism) and Genghiz's "lightning" qualities (destruction), would rage "against time". Hitler's Indo-Aryan cosmology was eternal and with his passing, the avatar Hitler re-entered the Hindu spirit world.[105]

In the SS order, a regenerative racial force, "the physical and moral elite of awakening Aryandom … around which the yet unborn race of gods on earth … will take shape"[106], was forged. Devi believed that "National Socialism – or to be more precise – Hitlerism … [survived] … after the disaster of 1945".[107] A new cosmic truth leader would take aryandom "into the sunshine of the new Golden Age" only through wars of extermination.[108]

The ANM proudly affirmed its loyalty to Devi's esotericism. ANM proclaimed that National Socialism's capacity to "constantly re-emerge" demonstrated "mystical identity", a guarantee of future eugenic breeding and "racial health":

> National Socialism is a return to the true Aryan
>
> civilization. It grew out of the theories of Hegel,

[104] Randolph D. Calverhall, <u>Serpent's Walk</u>, Hillsboro, 1991, pp. 92–3, 428, 435–6, 449. 'Calverhall' is a pseudonym for Pierce.
[105] Savitri Devi, <u>The Lightning And The Sun</u>, Paraparaumu Beach, undated, pp. 14–16, 35–36, 44, 76–8; Savitri Devi, "Hitlerism And The Hindu World", <u>The National Socialist</u>, No. 2, Summer 1981, pp. 8–12, described Hitler's politics as linked to "orthodox Hinduism".
[106] Savitri Devi, <u>The Lightning And The Sun</u>, Calcutta, 1958, pp. 374–79, 382–83.
[107] Savitri Devi, <u>The Lightning And The Sun</u>, Paraparaumu Beach, undated, p. 80.
[108] ibid, p. 83.

> Schopenhauer, H.S. Chamberlain, Alfred Rosenberg and Savitri Devi …[109]

Pierce's code was understood and his career was within van Tongeren's purview.

In 1970, after leaving the NSWPP, Pierce joined the neo-fascist National Youth Alliance, nazified it and renamed it National Alliance.[110] Although he built alliances with some Extreme Right groups, Pierce's ideological agenda dictated he build the esoteric core. Goodrick-Clarke theorized of Pierce's politics:

> The religious sentiments of election, demonology and an inevitable apocalyptic battle between Aryans and the Zionist-led forces of darkness dominate Pierce's thinking …[111]

However, he reasoned:

> While Pierce's political vision embraces quasi-ariosophical demonology and millenarianism, there is little in his published writings [as far as I know] to suggest a first hand acquaintance with the actual texts of List and Lanz … [he] may owe much more to the Aryan wisdom–tradition and the Hitler cult of Savitri Devi …[112]

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[109] "What Is National Socialism?", The Nationalist, No. 21, February–March 1988, p. 17.

[110] For the steady nazification of NYA see: National Alliance Bulletin, February–March 1978, pp. 1–7, an official 'history' of NYA–NA; Devi wrote of NSDAP: "It has since 1945 ceased to exist … even if it be one day, destined to rise again under its own name and everlasting sign will it never be restored exactly as before. Cannot be for it belongs to time and in time, nothing is even restored. Should not be for restoration would mean stagnation whence incapacity to face new circumstances …" Oddly this foreshadowed the NSWPP/NYA, or mimetic versus innovative division in neo-nazism.

[111] Dr. Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, Letter To James Saleam, October 23 1997, p. 2.

[112] ibid; recently however in National Vanguard Catalogue No. 17, Pierce offered for sale Guido von List's The Secret Of The Runes.

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This Thesis contends that 'Aryan-wisdom' and Devi's 'Hindu cosmology' are neo-ariosophical in the post-1945 context because they represent a racist-cultic-mystery-revelation. Such ideas should not be taxonomically separated from Ariosophy. Even so, there are five indications Pierce has imbibed and encrypted the <u>original tradition</u>.

First, the revolutionary 'Organization' described in <u>The Turner Diaries</u> was controlled by a core <u>Order</u> whose nature was hardly Odinist. Upon the book's timeframe, the Order predated the Organization and was 68 years old in 1993;[113] one 'Order' founded in 1925 was Himmler's Ariosophy-influenced – 'SS'. Second, National Alliance purchased in 1980, parts of the NSDAP archive – books on "European pre-history", "ethnology", "racial hygiene" and "ideological fiction" – material which reasonably recounted ariosophical themes.[114] Third, the hero of <u>The Turner Diaries</u> participated in the Order's 'Rite Of Union' ceremony complete with chants, robes, solemn oaths, rituals similar to the ariosophist New Order Of The Templars.[115] Fourth, while Pierce was serializing <u>The Turner Diaries</u> he authored a set of 'Monthly Messages' in his <u>Action</u> bulletin directed at a National Alliance 'order' – 'The Cosmotheist Community'. These Messages pondered "God's will" for white race survival through "a new creed which must sustain and guide us" whereby "the forces of Light … (can) … prevail over the forces of Darkness".[116] Pierce believed in the 'One Purpose' not a "personal father-figure in the sky" – to achieve immortality.[117] The Jew, a "sub-human bacterium", was restraining the Aryan march towards the Creator.[118] Aryan man contained the life-affirmative 'urge' and, to become consciously aware of it, "we must learn to read the runes".[119] The race was a biological unit of creation to be guarded from "symbolic difilement" such as "sexual intercourse with a

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[113] William Pierce, <u>The Turner Diaries</u>, pp. 73–4, 203–4.
[114] <u>National Alliance Bulletin</u>, October 1980, p. 2.
[115] William Pierce, op.cit., pp. 203–4; Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, <u>The Occult Roots</u>, pp. 129–130; Pierce's 'Cosmotheist Community' by the 1990's practised similar rites. See: Brad Whitsel, "Aryan Visions For The Future In The West Virginia Mountains", <u>Terrorism And Political Violence</u>, Vol. 7, No. 4, Winter 1995, p. 130.
[116] "A Message From Dr Pierce", <u>Action: Internal Bulletin Of National Alliance</u>, No. 45, November 1975, pp. 1–3. (Hereafter '<u>Action</u>').
[117] "Monthly Message iii", <u>Action</u>, No. 47, January 1976, pp. 5–6.
[118] "Monthly Message v", <u>Action</u>, No. 49, March 1976, pp. 2–3.
[119] "Monthly Message vi", <u>Action</u>, No. 50, April 1976, pp. 2–6.

negro or a Jew".[120] "The Cosmos is the Whole" and the Aryan was upon the Path of higher realization.[121] Fifth, Pierce was influenced by Dietrich Eckart's <u>Bolshevism From Moses To Lenin</u>, republishing it in <u>National Socialist World</u> and referring to him in <u>The Turner Diaries</u>.[122] Eckart's patron-role with Hitler was important; but he was initially a supporter of the Thule Society and his <u>Bolshevism</u> reflected intense manichaean anti-semitism. Reasonably, Pierce's new synthesis justifies the label of neo-ariosophy.

The new simplified revelation, <u>The Turner Diaries</u>, was given to each ANM recruit. It was ranked with <u>Mein Kampf</u>.[123] Significantly however, the book produced disaster in the United States where Robert Matthew's 'Order', recruited primarily out of the Aryan Nations/Christian Identity movement, exhausted themselves in death and imprisonment after acting out <u>The Turner Diaries'</u> basic precepts.[124] This 'Order' was overwhelmingly blue-collar. It wanted the role of fer-de-lance for the neo-nazi political groups[125] and Matthews, an enthusiastic National Alliance member,[126] understood the need for large-scale criminal funding and effective co-ordination of the 'politicals'. In contrast, the ANM would attempt to capitalize directly upon its own criminality and violence.

(e)   The Construction And Destruction Of A Neo-Nazi Organization 1987–89

The ANM did not rush into violence, nor is there any evidence illegal actions were contemplated once the Right regroupment strategy was abandoned. Rather, the ANM

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[120] "Monthly Message vii", <u>Action</u>, No. 51, May 1976, p. 1.

[121] "Who We Are", <u>National Vanguard</u>, No. 60, May 1978, pp. 5–7, 13 – a racialized version of the Messages and which purported to be history.

[122] Dietrich Eckart, "Bolshevism From Moses To Lenin", <u>National Socialist World</u>, No. 1, Fall 1966, pp 13–33; <u>The Turner Diaries</u>, p. (iii).

[123] Australian National Action, <u>Folio Of ANM Clippings</u>: David Humphreys, "Movement Had Terror Plan, Court Told", <u>The Age</u>, August 10 1990; "Neo-Nazi Text Outlines Plan For Genocide", <u>The Advertiser</u>, August 21 1990. Hereafter unpaginated clippings quoted come from this File. For brevity <u>ANM Folio</u> shall be quoted only. The Folio is in the care of the author.

[124] Kevin Flynn and Gary Gerhardt, <u>The Silent Brotherhood: Inside America's Racist Underground</u>, New York, 1989, pp. 46–68.

[125] ibid, pp. 4, 6, 306–7.

[126] <u>National Alliance Bulletin</u>, November 1981, pp. 1–3.

demonstrated the power of repetitive sloganeering in the most intensive bill-pasting campaign in Perth's political history. Some 400,000 posters appeared between 1987 and 1989,[127] making ANM universally known for its opposition to Asian immigration and causing various prominent persons to condemn "racism" and "incitement".[128]

Van Tongeren reasoned that 'success' for ANM would follow prominent bill-pasting drives as it supposedly had for the French Front National and Melbourne NA in 1982–4.[129] ANM posters were photocopies and crude: No Asians; White Revolution The Only Solution; Coloured Immigration: Trickle Is Now A Flood; Asians Out Or Racial War.[130]

The ANM announced Perth was its "storm centre".[131] Here it would provoke a public reaction and State panic, simultaneously building a racist organization controlled by a neo-nazi core. The reinvigorated ANM also demonstrated via 'line' change, the slippery nature of neo-nazi politics. First, ANM relaxed its 'anti-marxism' stating that immigration was not a Fabian but a CEDA/state-capitalist conspiracy.[132] Second, although the national flag was still used, van Tongeren praised the "Eureka spirit", plagiarizing 1970 NSPA writings;[133] Rockwell's 1960 In Hoc Signo Vinces, which argued for the swastika to attract non-conservative fighters, was re-worded to accommodate the Eureka Flag.[134] The ANM's new hard position towards the conservative groups indicated radicalization.

In the 1987–9 period, ANM intertwined with Skinhead groups and developed cells outside of Perth. Yet, despite extensive national publicity and hundreds of enquiries, not more than

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[127] Mark Ferguson.
[128] ANM Folio: Mark Thornton, "Stepping Beyond Black And White", The West Australian, August 6 1987; "Hill Calls For Report On Anti-Racism Law", The West Australian, August 5 1987: these articles referred to Police Minister Gordon Hill, Professor Laskini Jayasuriya, Doron Ur, Jewish community leader.
[129] Jack van Tongeren, The ANM Story, p. 75.
[130] Copies of these and other posters in author's possession.
[131] Jack van Tongeren, op.cit., p. 82.
[132] Jack van Tongeren, Crucial Issues For Australia, Perth, 1985, pp. 3–6, 22, 43, argued the Fabian marxist case; the new position: "Behind Australia's Immigration Policy: Bureaucrats, Mega-Bucks, Mendacity", The Nationalist, No. 16, April–May 1987, pp. 1–6; Julian Carloman, "Immigration To The Land Of Immigrants", The Nationalist, No. 20, December 1987–January 1988, pp. 1–9; one National Action text was copied directly: "AICS: Acquired International CEDA Syndrome", The Nationalist, No. 21, February–March 1988, pp. 10–11.
[133] Jack van Tongeren, "The Spirit Of Eureka", The Nationalist, No. 15, February–March 1987, pp. 3–4.

150 members were actually recruited.[135] The new members were political novices, usually male, self-employed or manual workers, of average education and inclusive of some European migrants.[136] By mid-1989, there were 100 members in Perth but no structured organization. The ANM had no formalized Committee or Rules and held irregular meetings.[137] All authority rested with a leader, an important factor in the case-study development of neo-nazi group-violence overseas.[138]

In early 1988, ANM then proudly bonded with international neo-nazism, chose to publish posters denying the Holocaust, featuring aggressive caricatures of Jews and blaming Zionists for Asianization.[139] An anti-semitic propaganda campaign implied ANM's commitment to international neo-nazism, regardless of media criticism from multiculturalist advocates or public indifference. This course also alienated the more 'anti-Asian' recruits. Jim King, an ANM Skinhead stalwart, advised National Action:

> Jack has gone off the rails with his campaign …
> There is an extremely large anti-Asian sentiment
> in Perth which I know can be seized on …
> Unfortunately, Jack has put a lot of people off
> by ranting about the Jews, the Holocaust and
> Freemasonry …[140]

For ANM, Holocaust-denial was a challenge to both media and State. In Perth, van Tongeren reasoned, the 'Holocaust lie' would crash to earth.[141] This campaign did have a

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[134] ibid, pp. 3–4.

[135] Mark Ferguson; Minutes Of The 1989 Australian National Action Conference, Day Two.

[136] James Saleam, conversations with Wayne van Blitterswyk, John van Blitterswyk, Mark Ferguson, Perth, February 1989.

[137] ibid; "ANM Badly Led-Defendant", The West Australian, September 6 1990, p. 3.

[138] Ehud Sprinzak, "Right-Wing Terrorism In Comparative Perspective", in Tore Bjorgo (ed.), op.cit., p. 40.

[139] Jack van Tongeren, The ANM Story, pp. 166, 363; Jews Are Ruining Your Life, ANM poster, 1988. The caricature was from German Nazi propaganda.

[140] Jim King, Letter To National Action, December 14 1988; Jim King, Letter To James Saleam, January 14 1989.

[141] Jack van Tongeren, The ANM Story, pp. 171, 186.

broken-relevance: 1988 was the period of intense Jewish pressure for 'war crimes legislation', which angered East European migrant groups. The ANM, already in liaison with News Digest International, sought support – generally unrewarded –from anti-communist communities.[142]

By mid-1988, ANM reached a critical-mass phase conducive to a politically motivated violence campaign. This Thesis will subsequently argue that this campaign fell short of terrorism. However, it is not denied here that ANM intended this campaign would be illegal.

With a neo-nazi core inspired by The Turner Diaries, a populist focus on Asianization as a capitalist conspiracy and conditional friendships with Skinheads and conservatives, a network for action was formed. Later, ANM calculated some electoral opposition to Asianization could be generated.[143]

While the ANM had become a volatile entity, particular intra-Right factors fuelled the push for action. In the wake of Liberal criticism of multiculturalism in July–August 1988, the ANM concluded that anti-immigrationists were radicalizing, weakening the constraints on action imposed by conservative groups.[144] Privately, ANM also noted National Action's militancy and anti-Establishment style which it wished to outbid, but also approximate.[145] To eliminate Radical–Nationalist competition for control of the 'future' mass opposition to Asianization, the long-running smear campaign against National Action's 'leftist' leadership[146] was intensified.

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[142] See advertisements for News Digest International, in The Nationalist, numbers 20, 21, 23, 24.

[143] Western Australian Electoral Commission, 1989 Helena District Results. Van Tongeren: 375 votes, 2.11%.

[144] Julian Carloman, "Asianization Under Fire", The Nationalist, No. 24, August–September 1988, pp. 1–4; Jack van Tongeren, "The Fighting Business", loc.cit., pp. 12–14.

[145] Mark Ferguson.

[146] "Meanwhile: About Those Who Wish To Defame NA", Ultra, No. 48, January 1988, p. 2.

Last, specific internal conditions encouraged crime and violence. In February 1988, a member's home was arsoned as an insurance fraud.[147] The ANM had never been flush with cash and the appetite was whetted. Trial evidence later given by John van Blitterswyk, explained that van Tongeren was under pressure from mid-1988 by a mysterious "inner circle" in the eastern states, to show results in order to earn massive funding.[148] In 1990, the author published 'common-knowledge' material that stated Coleman had pushed ANM into The Turner Diaries scenario.[149]

The ANM chose to arson Asian-owned businesses, to create a crisis in race relations and damage Asian trade and investment. ANM desired to panic Asian migrants, and in The Turner Diaries style precipitate them eastwards where new ANM cells funded by well-wishers and illegal operations would induce a revolutionary situation.[150] Although this was fantasy, ANM did engender community discord. As the restaurant burning campaign unfolded between September 1 1988 and May 25 1989 (five were arsoned, the last also bombed), the ANM's psychological warfare drew blood. Race Discrimination Commissioner Irene Moss, stated:

> The racist poster campaign had an adverse
> effect on business and tourism … from Asia …
> the W.A. government's business migration
> promotion failed to attract a single migrant …
> [whereas before] … the extensive coverage it
> received in Asia, enquiries were running … at
> 40 per week.[151]

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[147] ANM Folio: "Arsonist Afraid Of Group, Judge Told", The West Australian, April 5 1990.

[148] "White Supremacists Claim VIP Backing", The Australian, September 4 1990, p. 6; "Nazis Had $20M Offer, Court Told", Daily Telegraph, September 4 1990, p. 16.

[149] Jim Saleam, We Accuse: The State Conspiracy Against National Action And The Australian Nationalists Movement, Sydney, 1990, pp. 21–22.

[150] ANM Folio: Roy Gibson, "Riots, Anarchy Aim Of ANM Leaders: Informer", The West Australian, August 11 1990; "Movement Had Asian Terror Plan, Court Told", The Age, August 1990; The Turner Diaries, pp. 153–4.

[151] Irene Moss, "The National Inquiry Into Racist Violence", Without Prejudice, No. 1, September 1990, p. 12.

ANM posters incited racial fights in Perth schools;[152] Asian martial-arts trained security men threatened the ANM and paraded to protect Asian businesses.[153] Western Australian police conceded ANM had incited Asian vigilantism.[154] In 1991, the Department of State Development noted long-term damage to Asian investment from the ANM's campaign.[155]

Van Tongeren was keen to construct the ANM through massive illegal fundraising. Inspired by The Turner Diaries, a series of daring warehouse burglaries in 1989 netted over $800,000 in convertible goods.[156] Chequebooks were stolen and cheques uttered under the auspices of 'treasurer' Russell Willey, a petty criminal who helped himself to ANM's hauls.[157] Whatever the flaws of the ANM's strategy, and allowing for the unprofessional and occasionally comical aspects of the ANM's crimes (as described in evidence by John van Blitterswyk[158] and in The ANM Story),[159] it had demonstrated an aptitude for the politics of tension and directly encouraged, without intention, the Western Australian parliament to pass 'anti-racial vilification legislation'.[160] The ANM punished the 'anti-racist Left' through violence, bashing one activist during an ANM-Skinhead home invasion.[161] There was no retaliation.

By early 1989, the ANM's propaganda impact made it a target for State action. Inevitably, the Western Australian government sought criminal prosecutions. The mode of detection of ANM's criminality however, has remained obscure. Journalistic reports said that "dedicated detective work and a tip off",[162] from "another criminal",[163] brought police

[152] ANM Folio: "School Plastered In Racist Posters", The West Australian, May 23 1989; "Violence Feared In Poster War", The West Australian, May 8 1989.
[153] ibid: "Ninjas To Combat Racism", The West Australian, May 11 1989; "Ninjas V. Racists", Sunday Times, May 28 1989.
[154] "Police Chief Urges Asians To Join Force", Daily News, December 13 1989, p. 1.
[155] Caroline Lacy, "Racist Tag Hurting W.A.", South Western Times, July 4 1991, p. 1.
[156] ANM Folio: Roy Gibson, "Operation Jackhammer", The West Australian, September 22 1990.
[157] ANM Folio: Roy Gibson, "I Was Led By Greed, Informer Tells Court", The West Australian, August 21 1990.
[158] ibid: "Witness Tells Jury Of 'Mr Magoo' Tactics", The West Australian, September 4 1990.

[159] Jack van Tongeren, The ANM Story, pp. 216–218.
[160] ANM Folio: Steven Loxley, "Dowding To Check Race Law", The West Australian, May 16 1989.

[161] ibid: "Skinhead Jailed For Gang Raid On House", The West Australian, July 13 1989.
[162] Roy Gibson, "Operation Jackhammer, op.cit.
[163] Kate Evans, "Racist Bomber! Now He Lives In Fear", New Idea, September 21 1991, pp. 42–3.

to a house used to store ANM's stolen goods. The arrests of Willey and John van Blitterswyk were affected on July 5 1989. Willey accepted an offer of immunity to become an informant-investigator, and through to the arrests of the ANM leadership and others on August 14 1989, police collected damning audio-taped evidence. This account, although accepted by Wayne van Blitterswyk who confirmed shoddy security,[164] is largely the official version. In fact, police suspected the ANM of the first arsons and newspaper speculation was rife thereafter.[165] Producer David Bradbury who highlighted Willey's indemnified labours in Nazi Supergrass (1993), claimed inside information that ASIO had knowledge of ANM crime before the Willey rollover.[166] In 1991, ASIO maintained:

> Last year's Report commented on the upsurge
> of violence from racist right groups in Australia,
> reflected in a large number of arrests and
> prosecutions. During 1990–91, ASIO
> achieved considerable operational success
> against racist right groups.[167]

Naturally, given ASIO's clandestine mode of operation, whatever "operational success" ASIO enjoyed against the ANM failed to be recorded in even the most guarded way during any phase of the ANM trial process. "Operational success" should be understood within ASIO's brief as a victory over organized politically motivated violence. ASIO's public statement places Bradbury's allegation in another dimension. This Thesis asks two questions: had the NSW Special Branch recruited Peter Coleman as an informant?; is this how ASIO learnt of ANM's 'guilt'?

At the Royal Commission Into The NSW Police Service, and under compulsion, Superintendent Ireland detailed his informant "CC18". This male was offered, and refused,

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[164] Wayne van Blitterswyk, Letter To James Saleam, September 17 1997.
[165] Jack van Tongeren, The ANM Story, p. 220; ANM Folio, "Racist Theory On Bombing", West Australian, May 24 1989.
[166] David Bradbury, quoted in, Ean Higgins, "Soldier Of Misfortune: The Making Of A Neo-Nazi", Weekend Australian, June 19–20 1993, p. 7.

telephone and vehicle expenses. Ireland and CC18 regularly conversed by phone and met periodically.[168] Most of the contact was by telephone[169] and CC18 was trusted sufficiently to phone Ireland at home at an agreed regular time.[170] CC18 was recruited "very close" in time to another informant with three codes – "CC17/CC17a/CC20" – who came on board in May 1989.[171] For some reason CC18's actual Special Branch code-name was chosen to infer why the Informant's Book recorded regular payments being made.[172] Possibly the code-name was "Cabbie", which appeared in the June 3 1989 entry in Ireland's 'Duty Book'.[173]

On November 22 1990, Ireland gave Committal evidence against Saleam. He described his relationship with Coleman as one of "interest" in the ANM; he had spoken with Coleman on the telephone but never met him before this day; Coleman had provided "gossip" about National Action. Ireland then committed a deceptive perjury. He denied Coleman was an informant, but rather a "contact".[174] In fact, 'contact' was the Special Branch term for informant.[175] Coleman also testified. He said Ireland had asked him questions by phone about the ANM and "this and that" but denied meeting him until that day.[176]

In the period 1988–91, Ireland worked almost exclusively on NA and ANM matters. The Royal Commission caught Ireland for stealing large sums from the Informants' Fund as

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[167] Australian Security Intelligence Organisation, Report To Parliament 1990–91, Canberra, 1991, p. 37. See also Chapter Five, Footnote 223.

[168] Neville Ireland, in evidence, Transcript Of The Royal Commission Into The New South Wales Police Service, pp. 37034, 37035, 37036. 'CC18' was a Royal Commission code.

[169] ibid, p. 37089.

[170] ibid, p. 37091.

[171] ibid., pp. 37070, 37090.

[172] ibid., p. 37089.

[173] Neville Ireland, Duty Book, June 3 1989, photocopy, held in James Saleam, Application To The Supreme Court Of New South Wales. Cabbie's information seemed to relate to Jason Frost (see Section 3).

[174] Neville Ireland in evidence, Committal Transcript, in R. v. James Saleam, District Court Criminal Registry File, No. 21/90/1725, pp. 11–15, 21–22.

[175] New South Wales Parliamentary Privacy Committee, The Special Branch: Criminal Records In N.S.W., Sydney, March 1978, pp. 4–7.

[176] Peter Coleman in evidence, Committal Transcript, op.cit., pp. 46, 49.

supposed payments to CC17/17a/20 and CC18.[177] Inferentially, CC18 was significant enough to have 'received' substantial payment. The other informant was code-named 'Catherine'. 'Catherine' told the author that Ireland had information on NA which could only have come from Coleman. She said Ireland indicated in 1989 that he had met Coleman. 'Catherine' was vital in the National Action prosecutions. Her description of Ireland as a blackmailer, liar and bully was implicitly endorsed by Royal Commission evidence.[178]   The mysterious CC18 would have been intimidated into supplying information.

Suspicious traces abound. Coleman was never directly investigated by police despite his prominence in ANM.[179] In 1989–90 he persuaded right-wing groups not to forward money for van Tongeren's legal expenses or mount campaigns concerning 'irregularities' in his prosecution.[180] Ireland told 'Catherine' in May 1989 that he had knowledge of Jason Frost's possible involvement in the Funde shooting. Frost's interest in South African affairs was known to Coleman.[181] Coleman had Ireland's home phone number[182] and knew the whereabouts of ANM-accused arrested in Sydney in August 1989.

The combination of formal testimony and circumstantial information strongly suggests that Coleman was a Special Branch informant, but whether and when he informed on the ANM's violence campaign must remain a tantalizing possibility.

The Bradbury allegation leaves disturbing questions: did ASIO know of ANM's violence?; was it before the May 1989 bombing or after?; did ASIO wish to deepen the extent of ANM criminality by allowing its crime spree to continue? By doing so, ASIO would have gained time to orchestrate an allegation that ANM was involved in terrorism and not the

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[177] Transcript Of The Royal Commission, pp. 37029–37035.
[178] Catherine; Transcript Of The Royal Commission, March 11, 12, 13, 1997, passim.
[179] Michael Brander, reporting conversation with Coleman. The author was told this personally by Coleman on December 12 1989 during a discussion about the ANM arrests.
[180] James Saleam and Michael Brander, Folio Of Correspondence, 1990–1; Mark Ferguson.
[181] Catherine.
[182] Confidential.

lesser 'politically motivated violence'[183] – and produce a 'racist terror trial'. Certainly as Chapter Nine argues, ANM received a political trial as a terrorist organization.

It is hazardous to argue backwards. However, correspondence with the Western Australian Attorney General concerning Coleman's knowledge of the violence campaign and informer status, drew official disinterest. The Attorney General declined any investigation because, as is usually argued in political cases, such detail was "irrelevant" to the original case at trial.[184] The broad questions canvassed here will remain in shadow. Seemingly, the Deputy Leader of the 'terrorist' ANM was an informant; those who draw anti-racist moral lessons from the courtroom victory over ANM should accept that a manipulated prosecution may have occurred.

After the August – October 1990 ANM trial, draconian sentences were passed: van Tongeren - 18 years; J. van Blitterswyk - 15 years; John Bain - 6 years; W. van Blitterswyk - 10 years; Chris Bartle - 6 years; M. Ferguson - 3 years. Two men who murdered another ANM rollover were jailed for life. Other lesser sentences accrued. A "guerilla war against the public"[185] was over, an unrepentant van Tongeren denouncing at sentence the trial process and the State.[186]

3. POST ANM NEO-NAZISM 1989–95

Australian neo-nazism continued on after the ANM's courtroom denouement, as a series of localized mimetic and Skinhead groups, neo-ariosophical circles and criminal gangs.

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[183] Australian Security Intelligence Organisation, Report To Parliament 1986–7, Canberra, 1987, p. 15; ASIO once recognized the theoretical difference.

[184] Hon. Peter Foss Q.C. M.L.C., Attorney General For Western Australia, Letter To James Saleam, May 15 1998.

[185] Judge D. Hammond, Sentencing Of Jack Van Tongeren, September 20 1990, p. 68.

[186] Jack van Tongeren, Statement At Sentence, September 20 1990, passim.

This Section records the retreat of neo-nazism into a bizarre underworld of provocation, confrontation, underclass lifestyle and petty violence.

(a)   *Mimetic And Non-Skinhead Neo-Nazism 1989-95*

In the post van Tongeren period, the non-Skinhead neo-nazis demonstrated the phenomenon at its most ethereal.

On April 21 1990, Sydney electrician David Palmer, 52, and Coleman, founded the 'National Socialist Defence Of Australia Party' (NSDAP). Characterized by swastikas, brown uniforms and German ranks, it recruited some 30 persons between 1990–95.[187] A tape recording secretly made by an opponent, revealed a fantasy group catering to former psychiatric patients and cranks.[188] Nonetheless, thanks to Coleman's extensive militaria business, the 'NSDAP' served as a vortex for literature distribution and information exchange with other neo-nazis.

The 'NSDAP' disrupted the Sydney Right. Palmer organized harassment of National Action during the period when political police were keen to suppress it and claimed untruthfully membership of NA and other Right groups.[189] The 'NSDAP' went on to infiltrate AAFI (1993–4), where it caused minor upsets.[190] Ultimately in 1995, Palmer appeared in a nationally syndicated article, announcing that "nationalist saboteur groups" would wreck the 2000 Olympic Games.[191] Throughout the 1990–95 period, the relationship between Superintendent Ireland of Special Branch and Coleman quietly continued, which implied 'NSDAP' newsmedia 'activism' was actually State provocation.

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[187] Personal computation based upon discussions with: <u>David Palmer</u> in 1997–8; <u>Ross May</u>; other persons with connections to Sydney's neo-nazi underground or persons who had conversed with them.

[188] <u>Tape recording: David Palmer Telephone Conversation</u>, 1994. In author's possession, a tape recording with the voices of David Palmer and a person who wished to remain anonymous.

[189] "Preaching The Politics Of Hate", <u>Daily Telegraph Mirror</u>, July 2 1991, pp. 10–11.

[190] <u>Peter Krumins</u>, Interview, 1996. Krumins was AAFI's NSW Secretary in 1995–6.

In 1990, a branch of the American 'Church Of The Creator', a neo-ariosophical cult of importance to the neo-nazi underworld in several countries, appeared.[192] Noted for its rhetoric about "mud races" and "racial holy war",[193] it remained insignificant. Another occult grouplet, 'The Black Order', operated in Brisbane in 1994–5. A participant said it was "satanic" and "mystical", connected to an international body, and momentarily attractive to " 'death-metal' Skinheads and other Nazis".[194]

Last, the neo-nazi comity was contaminated by criminal and drug gangs like 'White Power' in Adelaide in 1994–6 and the 'reactivated' Melbourne remnants of the 'Citadelle' bankrobbing gang of the 1980's;[195] but firm evidence is lacking for assessment.

With no leader-figure like van Tongeren, whose ANM also lived a shadowy half-life in Perth, non-Skinhead neo-nazism could only have involved sixty persons.[196] While occultism provided a solid base for international neo-nazism,[197] and van Tongeren integrated it into his system, these groups practised as secret circles. Unsurprisingly this wing of neo-nazism was played out by 1995.

(b)   *Skinhead Neo-Nazism*

Despite longevity and a vibrant history of 1990's activism, there is little historical or sociological analysis of the Australian Skinhead 'movement'. This Thesis provides further detail and discusses the 1990's Skinhead lifestyle and activism within the context of underclass theory.

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[191] Jacqueline Lunn, "Loose Cannons", Daily Telegraph, November 11 1995, pp. 36–37.

[192] Richard Masey, "The Taxi You 'Sieg Heil' For Racism", Sydney Morning Herald, July 20 1990, p. 7.

[193] For COTC doctrine: Ben Klassen, Nature's Eternal Religion, Otto, 1974; for Klassen's likely Jewish ancestory: Harold Covington's Resistance, Nos. 2, 4, 6, 7 (1990–91).

[194] Rod Smith, telephone conversation with author, September 1997; Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, Hitler's Priestess, pp. 221–2, for discussion of the international 'Black Order'.

[195] Geoff Wilkinson, "Iceman Died As He Lived: Violently", Herald Sun, February 2 1996, p. 8.

[196] Personal computation based upon the discussions with participants. See also Note 187.

[197] Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, "Les Magiciens En Chemise Noire", Le Nouvelle Observateur, November 1996, pp. 92–94.

Skinheads, inspired by the British example, appeared in 1979–80, the movement growing slowly throughout the 1980's. Skinheads maintained political contacts with National Action and later the ANM, although few were formal members of either. A National Action broadsheet in 1988 argued that Skinheads, if they were sympathetic to "Nationalism", should operate an independent self-policed movement, and only those who wanted a higher loyalty should join National Action. This admonition was a recognition of the electric tension which then existed in the Skinhead milieu between the apoliticals, the neo-nazis and the 'nationalists'.[198]

Internationally, the relationship between the Skinheads and Extreme Right organizations varied. Coles recorded that 1990's German Skinhead neo-nazism was generally denied 'space' by activist Extreme Right parties.[199] The detailed review of Eastern European cases conducted by Hockenos, confirmed that a militant ideologically structured neo-fascist/nationalist movement, would shut all neo-nazism out of the market place.[200] The American situation was different, since from 1985 onwards, the White Aryan Resistance functioned precisely to mobilize Skinheads as the hard-core of political racism.[201]

The Australian case showed that National Action in particular, by virtue of its activism, visibility and 'radical' ideology, had restricted space for neo-nazism until 1989. It is arguable that ANM in the period 1988–89, and neo-nazi Skinheads generally, viewed this competition with disdain. Reasoned comment by some NA cadre confirmed the "joy" felt by Skinhead neo-nazis both at the eclipse of National Action after 1989[202] and media reports of rising German neo-nazi activism.

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[198] Jim Saleam, Skinheads And National Revolution, NA leaflet, 1988. Personal observation forms the basis for this assessment of tensions in the Skinhead milieu.
[199] Vanessa Coles, op.cit., pp. 55, 63.
[200] Paul Hockenos, Free To Hate: The Rise Of The Right In Post-Communist Eastern Europe, New York, 1994, pp. 46–49, 89, 216–223.
[201] Jeffrey Hamm, American Skinheads: The Criminology And Control Of Hate Crime, Westport, 1993, pp. 51–58, 72.
[202] Andrew Guild; Shane Rosier.

A number of Skinhead neo-nazi groups have been identified. First: the Southern Cross Hammer Skins (SCHS) operated in Sydney between 1990–95. Its Southern Hammer criticized "Jews" and "deviant poofter-trendy-dyke-commie experts" who debilitated art and music.[203] The SCHS Melbourne band 'Fortress', became prominent on the European music scene.

Second: a Brisbane Skinhead push grew in 1990, attracting the attention of the Police 'Suspect Generation Unit'.[204] Some, inspired by Britain's Blood And Honour gangs, fought racial brawls and smeared graffiti.[205] In 1994, Brisbane Skinheads established the Australian National Socialist Movement (ANSM). Its twenty members practised with firearms, damaged a synagogue and published against Australia's "ZOG".[206] A link existed with Combat 18,[207] whose British Special Branch informer-controller disrupted the British National Party.[208] In similar mode, Adelaide ANSM-Skins rampaged in 1994,[209] while pretending a link with Brander's NA.

Third: Skinheads were strongly implicated in a 1993 Perth Asian restaurant arson and other harassments.[210]

However, Melbourne was the centre of Skinhead activism in the 1990's, the ranks growing to about 200 in 1993. Groups such as White Aryan Resistance (1990–3) with its American affiliation, recruited 'Die Hard' Skinheads into attacks on Jewish property. WAR's fanzine White Separatist boasted wide international contacts and a strong internal music-band-centred 'political' life. A provocateur 'National Action' meanwhile went on a

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[203] Southern Hammer, No. 1, 1990, pp. 4–8.
[204] "Government Forms Police Unit To Tackle Violent Gangs In Inner-City", The Courier Mail, May 23 1990, p. 1; "ASIO Warning On Terror: Extremist Neo-Nazi Groups on Rise", The Courier Mail, May 22 1990, p. 1.
[205] "Skinheads Urge Curfew: Welcome Racist Guidance", The Courier Mail, May 21 1990, p. 2.
[206] National Socialist Voice Of Australia (Official Newsletter Of The Australian National Socialist Movement), No. 2, April 1995, passim.
[207] Simon Dinsbergs.
[208] "Combat 18: Press And T.V. Exposures Prove We Were Right", Spearhead, No. 351, May 1998, pp. 12–13.
[209] "Neo-Nazis Bash Five In Rampage", Daily Telegraph, March 28 1994. (Actual edition unavailable for full citation. Article in possession of author.)
[210] Katherine Glascott, "Asians Fear Nazi Persecution", The Weekend Australian, March 27–28, p. 7.

"two-year campaign" against Jewish targets (1990–2) and another grouplet targetted Left groups in street confrontations in Northcote (1993–4).[211]

Melbourne Skinheads demonstrated self-organization, daubing slogans, bashing Left paper sellers, damaging Asian and Jewish property and leafletting Social Security offices. Their particular attitudinal, social and criminological traits raise the questions: were Skinheads members of a rightist 'counter-culture' or an <u>underclass fragment</u>?; and how did their 'culture' interact with their politics?

It is noted that the idea of 'underclass' remains subject to ongoing debate. Concepts which may be useful here include discussion of the culture of "illegitimate births, violent crime … (and) … males who choose not to take jobs".[212] The underclass male exhibits hedonism, demonstrates violence as a measure of strength and retaliates for acts of disrespect.[213] The family units from which the children emerge are generally unstable and sustained by social welfare.[214] The sense of social citizenship disintegrates and the group feels "a stigma and loss of pride".[215]

It is not argued that all Skinheads were products of a family environment where impoverishment was both physical and psychological-cultural. Obviously also, the act of becoming a Skinhead is voluntary. Further, some youth who are neither 'underclass' nor working class, have freely chosen the Skinhead lifestyle. However, the evidentiary strands suggest a symbiotic pattern: marginalized background compensated for by conduct which intensified underclass status.

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[211] "Neo-Nazis In Northcote", <u>Australia–Israel Review</u>, 23 November – 6 December 1993, p. 6; See Chapter Five; Peter Fray, "Neo-Nazis Blamed For Attacks On Jews", <u>The Sunday Age</u>, July 7 1991, p. 9.

[212] Charles Murray, "The Emerging British Underclass", in Ruth Lister (ed.), <u>Charles Murray And The Underclass: The Developing Debate</u>, London, 1996, p. 37.

[213] Charles Murray, "Underclass: The Crisis Deepens", ibid., p. 121.

[214] D.J. Smith, "Defining The Underclass", in David J. Smith (ed.), <u>Understanding The Underclass</u>, London, 1992, p. 5.

[215] Lydia Morris, <u>Dangerous Classes: The Underclass And Social Citizenship</u>, London, 1994, p. 55.

The Skinhead lifestyle was connected through 1980's empirical observation to young male alcohol-conditioned violence.[216]   Simon Dinsbergs, WAR's director, said that the film Romper Stomper "reasonably accurately" portrayed Skinhead life and its alcohol and racial-violence mores.[217]   The ANSM frustratedly characterized many Skinheads as

> … a bunch of drugged out pisspots,
> backstabbers, traitors, cowards, time wasters,
> fantasizers, big mouths and in general anarchists
> … who refuse to take orders.[218]

The milieu was obviously volatile and unstable.

A mixture of academic, journalistic and Extreme Right observation provided other basic data. Melbourne's Skinheads tended to be young (15 − 24 years) with older leaders from the 1980's period.   They lived long-phases of unemployment or had lowly paid work. Males predominated.   Members had little formal education and were usually from poor families.   Communal living quarters and 'squats' existed[219] from whence Skinheads might sally forth on political or scavenger raids. While not all Skinheads joined the neo-nazi grouplets, the music 'gigs' provided an organizational and ideological focus.   A conformative terror operated to ensure political discipline. The 1991 murder of 'Pommy Dave' Noble by Dane Sweetman, 22, and Martin Brayston, 27, seemed an act designed to enforce Skinhead rules and occasioned by men from abusive and depressed backgrounds.[220]

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[216] David Moore, "Drinking: The Construction Of Ethnic Identity And Social Process In A Western Australian Youth Sub-Culture", British Journal Of Addiction, Vol. 85, October 10 1990, pp. 1265−1278.

[217] Simon Dinsbergs, Interview, 1995; Romper Stomper, Seno Films, 1992.

[218] ANSM, Letter To James Saleam, October 6 1996.

[219] Kelly Ryan, "Born To Hate", Sunday Herald-Sun, December 15 1991, p. 21; Paul Robinson, "The Right's Rough Edge", The Sunday Age, October 24 1993, p. 11; Judith Bessant, "Political Crime And The Case Of Young Neo-Nazis: A Question Of Methodology", Terrorism And Political Violence, Vol. 7, No. 4, Winter 1995, pp. 106−113; Simon Dinsbergs; Andrew Guild.

[220] Kelly Ryan, op.cit.; Peter Gregory, "Court Told Man Killed For Hitler", The Age, December 13 1991, p. 17.

In line with underclass theory,[221] Skinheads defined their 'identity' as one outside of traditional society. They had an appreciation of their poverty and their different cultural attitudes. Bessant's criminological review maintained that Australian Skinheads sought 'internal' belonging and directed 'external' hate.[222] In this sense their anti-Asian and anti-Jewish offences were rituals rather than clear ideological statements. Coles reasoned Skinhead music and dress style, in tandem with certain political action, sustained a pseudo-warrior consciousness.[223] The provision of 'action' was seemingly the function of the actual neo-nazi groups which operated within the milieu. The quality of this violence needs careful assessment before its character is ultimately determined.

American criminologist Jeffrey Hamm considered American Skinheads terrorists. After reasoning that Skinheads use violence as "their signature trademark because it is part of sub-cultural style", he went on to say that this violence was "for the explicit purpose of promoting political change by instilling fear".[224] Although this was clearly beyond the U.S. movement's capability, Hamm stated that individual Skinheads were terrorists, if

> they … joined their group to fight for the
> survival of their race … they must have engaged
> in one or more fights in which … at least half
> were against members of another race .. thus
> satisfying the operational definitions of terrorism
> and hate crime…[225]

Whereas Jenny Hocking has shown that Australian Intelligence pushed throughout the 1980's for a broad definition of terrorism as "any violence wrought for political reasons",[226] there was one suggestive Special Branch (NSW) statement that Australian Skinheads were being viewed in the manner described by Hamm. In early 1990, the Branch referred to

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[221] Ruth Lister, "Introduction" in Ruth Lister (ed.), op.cit., p. 3.
[222] Judith Bessant, loc. cit., pp. 96, 109–113.
[223] Vanessa Coles, op.cit., pp. 8–9, 94–5.
[224] Jeffrey Hamm, op.cit., p. 62.
[225] ibid., pp. 109–110.

them as potential NA recruits for a "campaign of terror"; 'terror' was then confused with "violence and thuggery".[227]

The author had some dealings in the 1980's, with Skinheads who were the prime movers of the 1990's. To assess the Melbourne groups' violence as anything other than random and spontaneous, with the additive of ritualization, would entail a search for documentary or oral evidence to prove the existence of strategic-tactical planning. This Thesis found no such evidence and the author's personal observation indicated a lack of this faculty in the Skinhead leadership.

Two inter-related aspects of the Skinhead experience were implicit in the lyrics of two popular songs:

> We will never fade or die whatever you try to do.
> We're the first of today, and the last of tomorrow.
> Skinheads not a fashion, it's a way of life.[228]

Here was the protest of the disinherited determined to endure; but there was also the cathartic symbol of rebirth:

> The streets are still, the final battle has ended. Flushed
> with the fight, we proudly hail the dawn.
> See over the streets, the white man's emblem is waving.
> Triumphant standards of a race reborn.
> Hail The New Dawn![229]

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[226] Jenny Hocking, "An Analysis Of Australian Counter-Terrorism Strategy, 1972–86", PhD Thesis, University Of Sydney, 1988, pp. 178–9, 337.

[227] "Radicals Recruit Skinheads As Thugs", Daily Telegraph, March 26 1990, p. 12.

[228] "Skinhead", Combat 84 Lyrics Sheet, copy in author's possession.

[229] "Hail The New Dawn", Skrewdriver Song Book, no publishing details, p. 21.

The struggle to maintain a group identity via German Nazi 'race ideology' enshrines vivid images of a racial palingenesis. Underclass theorists point to the feeling of a lack of political efficacy amongst the new disinherited.[230] Certainly this may encourage violence. However, political defeat follows because of the circular nature of the new faith. The neo-nazi symbolism of destruction and rebirth is publicly unmarketable which excludes the Skinheads from being the fighting vanguard that they supposedly wish to be. Isolation is inevitable, and with no financial resources and an internal culture of alcohol consumption, there is no possibility of genuine political action.

During 1995, Skinhead neo-nazism imploded. The revival of National Action and AAFI's voting scores could have been factors which undermined the Skinheads' media worthiness and pretense. Incidental factors (group breakdowns, imprisonments, burnouts) induced decline. Skinhead grouplets nonetheless, continued to function. If we label the Skinheads as an underclass phenomenon, a working hypothesis for their lack of utility for Extreme Right activism, is available. Their group-identity and the ideological-political forms necessary for group solidification and transcendence, conflicted with Extreme Right needs.

CONCLUSION

This Chapter defined neo-nazism as an international movement equipped with a neo-ariosophical mythic core and a typological set of ideological concerns. This description deciphered Australian neo-nazism where, at the lower levels of participation (especially Skinheads), the mythic core was neither understood nor necessary in the encouragement of political action. Although the weakest current on the Australian Extreme Right, it was a persistent, embarrassing and destabilizing influence. A special rancour was reserved for the Radical-Nationalists who were perceived as competitors for a notional radical market supportive of the 'rebirth' of White Australia.

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[230] Anthony Heath, "The Attitudes Of The Underclass", in David J. Smith (ed.), op.cit., p. 37.

The key figure was van Tongeren whose violence campaign disrupted trade and investment, and received a harsh and cunning State reaction. The ANM adapted the doctrines of international neo-nazism and participated in that movement. At the most charitable, van Tongeren was a latterday F.C.B. Vosper, that Federation-era radical who wanted Western Australia Asian free[231]; more soberly, he was an unstable but frenetic activist whose syntheses of ideas for action showed fractured talent.

There were identifiable genesis-points for neo-nazism: random conversions; conversions derived from the literature distributed by the LOR and Historical Revisionist book services; the impact of the overseas movement, particularly the Skinhead music scene; the contribution of prior breeder networks. All these factors remained operative.

The division of the Chapter into three phases – Special Branch Nazism, independent ANM neo-nazism and mimetic/Skinhead neo-nazism – was an ideal typical one which allowed for different qualities to emerge during different periods. The political-police role in neo-nazi politics was recurrent. Pliable cranks and strawmen were duly manipulated.

The intensification of Extreme Right activism after 1993 (CAP, AAFI, NA), ensured neo-nazism's retreat to the underground from whence neither underclass violence, nor provocation, nor pseudo-spiritual invocation, could redeem it.

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[231] Manning Clark, A History Of Australia Vol. 5, Melbourne 1981, pp. 109–111.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE POPULIST-MONARCHIST FACE OF THE EXTREME RIGHT

This Chapter analyses the third face of the contemporary Australian Extreme Right – populist-monarchism.

It groups together those 'freedom' organizations, represented chiefly by the Confederate Action Party (1990–5), which shared a common ideological belief – that the Australian Constitution contains a populist-democratic sub-text and the de-personalized Monarchy incarnates the popular will.

It is argued that the populist-monarchists emerged out of the <u>crisis of confidence</u> experienced amongst especially Queensland Conservative Right organizations during the late-1980's. Ultimately, some conservatives rejected the auxiliary loyalty shown towards the National Party and in responding to official corruption favoured the moralization of politics. This Chapter applies into the contemporary period the logic of Chapters One and Two. Independence of conservative norms therefore is conceived as retaining a tension, <u>despite</u> the creation of electoral and activist organization with new social bases, and <u>especially</u> after the conservative-auxiliaries received independence from the State.

This Chapter begins by differentiating the satellite conservatives from the New Right which, while it did utilize some traditionalist iconography and inspire many Nationals, expressed an internationalist liberal-economic ideology. Other analysis has muddled together the Conservative Right, Extreme Right and New Right. Once this confusion is cleared away, my analysis of populist-monarchist politics can be compared with models of foreign populist Right parties as discussed in academic literature.

Last, the Chapter will answer particular questions:

- How did the Satellite Right prepare the ground for populist-monarchist organization?

- How was this new phase of Extreme Right independence expressed politically?

- How were the populist-monarchist groups organized and who joined? What was their impact?

This Chapter advances an interpretative narrative to illustrate where appropriate the labrynthine inter-relationships of the Right family.

1.   THE NEW RIGHT MUDDLE

The vocal 1980's 'New Right' impressed the Australian Left as extremist and racist and bonded to the requirements of aggressive capitalism.[1] Moore generally accepted this critique; he endorsed Paul Spoonley's book which linked the international New Right and the 'Extreme Right'.[2]

Yet Spoonley could not distinguish between New Right economic rationalism, 'Thatcherism' and 'Reaganism' and the French Nouvelle Droit – which rejected the notion of 'economic man'.[3] Senator John Woodley's <u>Fascism Fundamentalism And The New Right</u> compounded this error.[4] Nouvelle Droit's subterranean links with the Front National, which after 1978 advanced policies of a New Right character (Atlantic Alliance, deregulation, 'economic liberty'),[5] convinced them of the New Right's subversive, racist and fascist essence.[6] After ignoring the Front National's ideological complexity,[7] and drift

[1] Laurie Aarons, <u>Here Come The Uglies</u>, pp. 80–91; Richard Brass, "Think Tanks And The New Right Offensive", <u>Tribune</u>, October 23 1985, p. 9.

[2] Andrew Moore, <u>The Right Road?</u>, pp. 127–135, 145, 156.

[3] Paul Spoonley, <u>The Politics Of Nostalgia</u>, pp. 14–231, 252–3; Alain de Benoist, "La Religion D'Europe", <u>Elements</u>, No. 36, Autumn 1980, pp. 5–20, Alain de Benoist and G. Faye, "La Religion des Droits De L'Homme", <u>Elements</u>, No. 37, January 1981, pp. 5–22 for Nouvelle Droit's critique of globalism, economic man, capitalism.

[4] John Woodley, <u>Fascism, Fundamentalism And The New Right</u>, Brisbane, undated, pp. 42–9.

[5] Piero Ignazi and Colette Ysmal, "New And Old Extreme Right Parties: The French Front National And The Italian Social Movement", <u>European Journal Of Political Research</u>, Vol. 23, No. 1, July 1992, pp. 111, 116 for the strength of 'liberal economics' support at the 1990 Front National conference; for the origins of these Front National views and its 'revolutionary nationalist' critique: Charles Culbert and Pierre Terrin, <u>Non Au Liberalisme</u>, Paris, 1979, passim.

[6] John Woodley, op.cit., p. 48.

after 1986 towards working class and ex-communist voters, and its anti-Americanism,[8] Woodley proceeded by adopting a discredited view of historical fascism's external eclecticism:

> … to pin down Fascism to a final doctrinal statement is impossible. Rather than a consistent philosophy, Fascism is an amalgam of bits and pieces pitched together from other and even contradictory philosophies …[9]

Consequently, it became easy to confuse New Right social-economic 'restructuring' with the marxian model of Extreme Right or fascist integrative violence:

> .. those movements of the extreme right which are experiencing a revival … should be described as fascist rather than conservative … they don't stand for progressive reform within a framework of traditional institutions … there is little difference between the objectives of the New Right and the totalitarian control exercised by the classical fascists … The 'individual' of right-wing ideology can achieve his freedom … only if the rights of the poor, of the workers, of the unemployed and other 'out-groups' are ignored or suppressed …[10]

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[7] Paul Hainsworth, "The Extreme Right In Post-War France: The Emergence Of The Front National", in Paul Hainsworth (ed.), The Extreme Right In Europe And The USA, London, 1992, pp. 49–54.

[8] Michalina Vaughan, "The Extreme Right In France: 'Lepenisme' Or The Politics Of Fear?" in L. Cheles (ed.), Neo-Fascism In Europe, Harlow, 1991, pp. 220, 225–6, records the Front National's penetration of working class areas after 1986; Jean-Gilles Malliarakis, "Strategie D'Une Avant-Garde Alternative", Revolution Europeene, No. 28, November 1990, pp. 18–28, for the radical Troisieme Voie's assessment of the shift in the Front National towards anti-Americanism and 'anti-system' politics.

[9] John Woodley, op.cit., p. 237.

[10] ibid., pp. 233, 243.

This interpretation overlooked the New Right's 'globalism', 'multiracialism' and its non-violent organizational character.

Of relevance here, Frankel discerned the political cleavages on the 1980's Australian Right in the new international environment. Tracing this development out of the Fraser period, he argued:

> Anti-communism was not sufficient in itself to paper
> over the deep cracks which … divided racists in the
> League Of Rights from non racists in the DLP …
> [National Civic Council]… [11]

He observed both the old conservatives and the New Right shared some enemies: "multiculturalists", "environmentalists" and "the larger egalitarian and modernist cultural tendency"; however, they were sharply divided on nationalism, protectionism and race.[12] Prominent New Rightist and mass-immigrationist Greg Sheridan, understood the Australian New Right as a streaming together of market-liberals, Santamaria's anti-communist moral philosophy and the pro-American conservatism of the Quadrant school.[13] Sheridan had little time for true-believer conservatives or Extreme Rightists. His liberal positions on immigration made him a continual, indefatigible opponent of racist nationalism.[14] Sheridan, and others such as John Hyde,[15] Katherine West[16] and Hugh Morgan[17] epitomized the

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[11] Boris Frankel, From The Prophets The Deserts Come: The Struggle To Re-Shape Australian Political Culture, p. 130.

[12] ibid, pp. 147, 159, 161, 244.

[13] G. Sheridan, "The New Split In The Right", The Weekend Australian, September 21–22, 1991, pp. 27–28; some conservatives in NCC/Quadrant have questioned aspects of the New Right but were "complementary" (see: Pam Stavropoulos, "Reappraising The Right: The Challenge Of Australian Conservatism", The Australian Journal Of Politics And History, Vol. 39, No. 2, 1993, pp. 177–179.

[14] Greg Sheridan (ed.), Living With Dragons: Australia Confronts Its Asian Destiny, Sydney, 1995, pp. xix–xxi.

[15] For John Hyde's Perth 'Australian Institute For Public Policy' – Tim Duncan, "New Right Crusaders challenge The Labor Line", The Bulletin, 2 October 1984, pp. 28–33; John Hyde, "Why Population Growth Is Environmentally Sound", The Australian, June 1 1990, p. 9.

[16] For Katherine West's significance: "Editorial", The Optimist, No. 9, July–August 1986, p. 3. For her activism: John Stubbs, "Joh Warns: It's Me Or Howard", Sunday Telegraph, February 8 1987, p. 5.

[17] Tim Duncan, "Western Mining's Messiahs Of The New Right", The Bulletin, July 2 1985, pp. 61–70 for Morgan's labour-busting and 'patriotism'.

liberal-conservatism which in dialectical tandem with Labor 'Accord-ism' pushed immigration and the 'economic restructuring' of the 1980's.

The early study of Marian Sawer (1982) averred that the New Right was a philosophic and energetic assertion of hypercapitalist principle whatever its connection (like its American cousin) to moralist, pro-family, Christian fundamentalist and anti-feminist groups.[18] This overlap was recognized by the LOR[19] and enthusiastically endorsed by Urbanchich Liberals in New South Wales as expressive of common intent.[20] However (as below), with the exception of Bjelke-Petersen, no substantive alliance was ever sought by the Australian New Right with the conservatives.

Nonetheless, some scholarship has maintained that New Right ideology contributed to the growth of the Extreme Right parties in various countries – by legitimizing them.[21] This theory suggested migrant-assimilationist, anti-socialist and individualist propagandizing opened some sort of new political space which, rather than being occupied by 'traditional' parties, was seized by "Extreme Right" parties such as the Front National, the German Republikaner and the Austrian Freedom Party. No example of this 'process' in Britain or the United States could be advanced which is significant, given these countries provided the New Right with prominent champions. This theory seems to unite marxists, some liberals and official-conservatives in a worried and blame-casting framework.[22]

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[18] Marian Sawer (ed.), Australia And The New Right, Sydney, 1982, passim.
[19] On Target, September 12 1986, p. 3.
[20] Sam Harris, op.cit., pp. 21, 22. Harris as 'chief of staff' to Urbanchich was in a good place to make judgments. "Thatcher and Reagan had been elected on unashamedly radical conservative platforms identical to … (Spectrum) …" Also: "Sydney Conservatives Honour Sir Joh", News Digest International, No. 3, 1987, pp. 45–46 – praised his dry economics anti-socialism, Constitutionalism, at a Dinner for Bjelke-Petersen who attended.
[21] Piero Ignazi, "The Silent Counter-Revolution: Hypotheses On The Emergence Of Extreme Right Parties In Europe", European Journal Of Political Research, Vol. 22, Nos 1–2, 1992, pp. 18–25; Andrew Moore, The Right Road, p. 134.
[22] Michael Minkenberg, "The New Right In Germany", loc.cit., pp. 55–81; Hans Georg Betz, "Political Conflict In The Post Modern Age: Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties In Europe", Current Politics And Economics Of Europe, No. 1, 1990, pp. 11–27; Robert Manne, "Our Delayed Reactionaries", The Australian, May 12 1997, p. 13. Manne refers to European political cynicism, personal insecurity, xenophobic tendencies as fuelling a new 'populism'; parties which began as Thatcherite neo-liberals "did not prosper" and became 'extremist'. The Democratic Socialist Party still argues 'legitimization': Sam Wainwright, "Le Pen: Pauline Hanson's Big Brother", Green Left Weekly, June 4 1997, p. 15.

Possibly the Extreme Right was 'legitimized' <u>only in a very limited way</u>. However, neo-liberal economics does not mobilize a cross-class and youth movement and notably, 'successful' European Extreme Right parties had moved away from these 'legitimizing' ideas by the close of the 1980's. Nonetheless, two 1980's Australian New Right positions <u>did</u> figure in some later Conservative Right and Extreme Right propaganda: first, an hysterical opposition to the Aboriginal Land Rights movement and second, an anglomorphic assimilationist attitude to migrants.[23]

2. THE CONSERVATIVE RIGHT: FROM SATELLITE STATUS TO INDEPENDENCE 1975–90

(a) Bjelke-Petersen's Satellites

By the close of the 1980's two inter-related events had occurred on the Right: first, the last links which bound auxiliary conservatism to the capitalist state were broken and second, from the conservative soil an Extreme Right developed. These occurrences shall be reasoned as largely derivative of Queensland's political exceptionalism.

Interestingly, conservatives and liberals provided a clue to understanding the process. Each considered Bjelke-Petersen in a dialectically similar way: one had him defending traditional Australia against change; the other pilloried him as a hold-out against social liberalization. Significantly, his authority rested upon the developmentalist capitalism of the mining and rural-export entrepreneurs who provided the financial means to maintain his croneyist politics.[24] Here, the development of Australian capitalism could be seen as uneven.

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[23] Frank Knopfelmacher, "The Case Against Multiculturalism", in Robert Manne (ed.), <u>The New Conservatism In Australia</u>, Melbourne, 1982, argued a case adopted by Geoffrey Blainey and others. See David Barnett, "How The Bloated Ethnic Industry Is Dividing Australia", <u>The Bulletin</u>, February 18 1986, pp. 58–62, which demanded migrant "education" on Common Law, ANZAC, Westminsterism, monarchy but <u>no</u> ethnic exclusiveness and support for refugee intakes.

[24] Robert Catley and Bruce McFarlane, op.cit., p. 184.

Consequently, earlier modes of political method and official ideology could survive in a nook partly sheltered from the economic direction and problems of the other states.[25]

This materialist causation applies when we note also that Bjelke-Petersen's Queensland developmentalist regionalism was placed in conflict with the Fraser-Hawke 'national' models for integration with the global market. Inevitably, the Bjelke-Petersen system would have had direct usage for reliable satellites that preached a states' rights constitutionalism, which proclaimed the Queen monarch of each state, and thereby asserted an independent Queensland interest. The contradiction lay in the fundamentally internationalist nature of capital and the degree of mobilization the isolated Queensland system required for its maintenance against the pressure of 'liberal' Australia.

After 1975, the NSW Liberal Party conservatives and the National Australia Association, had tried to reanimate Menzies's conservatism to roll back Fraser's new liberalism. By the late 1970's, this had become a Herculean task. While the Liberal Party (NSW) struck at the 'Uglies', the NAA dissolved and the LOR become a pariah. For the Satellite Right only Bjelke-Petersen provided an anchor.

The satellites supported Bjelke-Petersen for a number of reasons. While he did not support 'White Australia',[26] Bjelke-Petersen's anglomorphic assimilationism and faith in Flag and Crown, evinced loyalty. Although characterization of Bjelke-Petersen as a 'totalitarian' with a paranoid Hitleresque anti-marxist programme was excessive,[27] he certainly loathed the Left. Conservatives applauded anti-Left repressive legislation and Special Branch activity. Adeptly, Bjelke-Petersen mobilized the Christian fundamentalist pentacostal, reconstructionist and charismatic sects, using his Lutheranism as proof of

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[25] Frank Stilwell, Cities And Regions: Landscapes Of Capital Class And State, 1992, pp. 113–4; Ross Fitzgerald, From 1915 To The 1980's: A History of Queensland, St. Lucia, 1984, pp. 250, 252, 632.
[26] "Asians Here Are Good People – Joh", The Courier Mail undated, clipping reproduced, quoted in, Audacity, No. 22, July 1984, p. 4.
[27] Deane Wells, The Deep North, Collingwood, 1979, pp. 35–6, 60–1, 63, for the statement of the 'totalitarian' case.

piety.[28] Activist satellites outside of the National Party could organize public opinion and intimidate opposition.

An overview of satellite conservatism chiefly in Queensland shows those ideas which became available to the subsequent Extreme Right, how the auxiliaries aided the Bjelke-Petersen-regime and why the bond was broken.

First, a National Party branch official, Jacki Butler, organized in 1979 in Brisbane Women Who Want To Be Women (WWWW); this organization pushed philosophic and moral objections to feminism and homosexuality.[29] Butler was pivotal also to the Council For A Free Australia (CFFA) whose patron was Liberal Aboriginal Affairs Minister Sir Charles Porter.   The Council set up in 1980, produced Queensland First, thence Wake Up!, around each election in hundreds of thousands of copies to urge a National vote for "constitutionally restrict(ed) … government".[30] In line with LOR principles, Wake Up! argued that Federation in 1901 established a limited sovereignty, antithetical to centralism, with the Monarch Queen of each state.[31] Butler was also closely bonded with Rona Joyner whose criticism of evolution theory, morals education and "alien cultures" in school life, earned both activists attention as morals' oracles.[32]

Second, the CFFA co-operated with Dr Rupert Goodman's Australian National Flag Association (ANFA). Goodman, a former Reader in Education at Queensland University, also interlinked with Butler on morals issues.   He was connected to the LOR and

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[28] John Harrison, "Faith In The Sunshine State", pp. 129–137, 472, 529.

[29] Save Our Children, WWWW leaflet, 1980; Jacki Butler, telephone conversation, 1996. Mrs Butler declined interview but agreed she saw her activities as an adjunct to National Party politics. She was no longer active following a car accident.

[30] Queensland First, October 1980, p. 8.

[31] National Action offered a full analysis of Wake Up! See: "A Word With Conservatives", Audacity, No. 20, November 1983, pp. 4–5.

[32] John Freeland, "Class Struggle In Schooling: MACOS And SEMP In Queensland", Intervention, April 12 1979, pp. 29–62; Glen Milne, "Rona Fights On", Telegraph, February 2 1984, p. 3.

conservative Bruce Ruxton.[33]   The RSL sponsored Flag groups in all states in 1983–4.[34] These groups were publicly supported by the LOR, the Patriotic Lobby and others.

Third, the LOR continued to enjoy an intimate relationship with the Nationals. This included convivial links between the Cilento and Bjelke-Petersen families, a message of support from the Premier to an LOR conference and LOR assistance in the NP's branch organization.[35]   Earlier in 1975, Jim Hobson, manager of the LOR's Conservative Bookstore, told the author that League mailing lists were vetted by Special Branch so "infiltrators" could not destabilize the League,[36] implying the organization was to be both protected and rendered subservient. This networking continued. In 1983, Dr John Dique was told by "League officials" and "Special Branch" his Immigration Control Association should restrain its "criticism" of the Nationals. He loyally complied.[37]

Fourth, a symbolic example of Bjelke-Petersen's 'co-ordination' of the conservatives in anticipation of a possible 'National Conservative Party', was the "Australia In Crisis Rally: For Faith, Family And Constitution" held at Brisbane Town Hall on 22 July 1984.[38]   Here, Bjelke-Petersen recreated the 1960's–1970's state-auxiliary bloc. Bjelke-Petersen's platform was shared by Goodman, Ruxton and New Right 'constitutionalist' Professor Lachlan Chipman. The rally was authorised and attended by − Citizens For Freedom, Big Brother Movement, Vietnamese Community, National Civic Council, Country Women's Association, Right To Life, Captive Nations' Council and Christian Outreach Centre along with other smaller groups.[39]   This alliance stayed alive and later enjoined New Right groups

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[33] Rupert Goodman, telephone conversation with author, June 1997; Rupert Goodman, Secular Humanism And Australian Education, Bullsbrook, 1982. (This document was a published address to the Toowoomba LOR 'Conservative Speakers Club').
[34] "Foundation Of ANFA (Qld)", Newsletter Of The Australian National Flag Association Of Queensland, May 1996, pp. 3–4; The Australian National Flag, ANFA leaflet, Sydney, undated. The RSL link was acknowledged.
[35] "The Australian League Of Rights", in Social Responsibility Section, Queensland Synod, The Uniting Church In Australia, Kit On: The Logos Foundation And The Australian League Of Rights, May 1989. The Kit did not mention Lady Bjelke-Petersen's subscription to Ladies Line, League assistance with 'How To Vote Cards' and electoral propaganda.
[36] Jim Saleam, Never In Nazi Uniform, p. 11, discussed the subject generally.
[37] John Dique, conversation with author, 1985. The ICA used the same postal address as several LOR fronts.
[38] "Conservative Folly", Audacity, No. 23, November 1984, p. 10.
[39] Australia In Crisis: Public Meeting, leaflet, 1984.

like Centre 2000 and Council For The National Interest, in the 1986–7 ill-fated 'Joh For Canberra' push, which ultimately precipitated the crisis of the system and the collapse of the satellite arrangement.

The 'Joh For Canberra' push presented the New Right with two choices: to encourage on a national level the Bjelke-Petersen style of free-enterprise developmentalism and patronage, with its supportive conservative satellites or to follow the internationalist line of Greg Sheridan and Gerard Henderson which linked through to the Committee For The Economic Development Of Australia and its nexus with the Federal Labor government in the 'restructuring' of the workplace, tariffs, banking and foreign investment.

After failing to gain hegemony over the New Right, Bjelke-Petersen's regime was then compelled to endure the 1987 revelations of corruption issuing from the 'Fitzgerald Inquiry', conduct which involved the Premier personally. In November 1987, Bjelke-Petersen was overturned as Premier by a NP revolt.

If materialist causation is applied to explain this change, the Hawke Labor model of internationalizing development, with its appropriate 'liberal' ethos, provided the superior path for Queensland capital. Dangerous National Party alliances with conservative auxiliaries could be ditched.

(b)   Independent Conservatism

The Conservative Right in Queensland had independence thrust upon it. However, a surgical procedure was undertaken to limit conservative reaction. In March 1988, Sir Robert Sparkes, President of the Queensland NP, urged all National politicians to collect information on LOR activities pending intra-party action.[40] One body blow was the attack on the League Of Rights by Senator Ron Boswell in April 1988. As a Queensland National, he was neither 'tainted' by the Victorian Labor government's attack on the

League in 1984[41] or the 1988 Federal Labor threat of a parliamentary inquiry.[42] Boswell struck out to exclude the LOR from the Nationals. He admitted to previous links but now criticized it as subversive, anti-semitic and a threat to democracy.[43]

'Desatellitization' was not simple. The state sanction of Christian fundamentalism relaxed, but the network of religious-conservatives inside and outside of Queensland had been too long encouraged by Bjelke-Petersen to quietly disperse. Indeed, their moral-political hysteria, given their biblical inspiration, meant they were permanently mobilized. In 1981–2, Bjelke-Petersen employed the International Council Of Christian Churches to pronounce Aboriginal Land Rights struggles as pagan or marxist.[44] Throughout the 1980's, Western Australian Aboriginal reverend Cedric Jacobs, and his One Australia Movement, denounced funds' wastage, nepotism, alienation of national sovereignty and communism as aspects of the new Aboriginal activism.[45] The Toowoomba Logos Foundation found the liberal 'new class' enthroning secular humanism, threatening to change the national flag and debase morals, all as part of an anti-Christian rite.[46] Logos founder and 'reconstructionist' theologian, Reverend Harold Carter, penned a defence of 'limited government' and free market principles,[47] which put him in a 1987 alliance with the CFFA in a last-ditch defence of the old system. Finally he spent massively in a vain 1989 effort to re-elect the National Party government.[48]

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[40] Peter Morley, "Nats Boss Tackles League Of Rights", The Courier Mail, March 11 1988, p. 1.

[41] Philip Adams, "A Catalogue Of Wrongs From The Right", The Weekend Australian Magazine, November 3–4 1984 (for "anti-semitism", Butler's 'wartime disloyalty'); this piece followed Victorian and Federal Labor claims that the LOR stymied Land Rights Bills. See: Jeremy Lee, "Fair Reporting – Or Stone Throwing?", Intelligence Survey, Vol. 33, No. 11, November 1984, pp. 3–6.

[42] Alan Griffiths, M.P., "League Of Rights Dilemma", Weekend Australian (letters), October 29–30 1988, p. 6.

[43] Senator Ron Boswell, The League Of Rights: Speech In The Senate, Wednesday April 27 1988, pamphlet form.

[44] J. Bjelke-Petersen, "Violence And The Church Council Visit", South Burnett Times, July 8 1981, p. 3. (This paper was owned by a League Of Rights supporter.); John Mackenzie, The World Council Of Churches, Adelaide 1981. The ICCC denounced World Council Of Churches forays into 'Aboriginal rights'.

[45] One Australia For All Australians, leaflet, undated.

[46] "An Open Letter From Howard Carter", in Kit On: The Logos Foundation And The League Of Rights.

[47] Howard Carter, "The Structure Of Government", Restore, November–December 1986, pp. 4–5; John Woodley, op.cit., pp. 106–7 describes reconstructionism as "amillenarianism" whereby Christians control the world before the apocalypse through energetic struggle.

[48] L. Apps, "Media Coverage Of The Queensland Election", Australian Journalism Review, No. 11, 1989, pp. 145–6.

The religious core of diverse groups like the Logos Foundation, Christian Identity (Cardwell) and It's Time newspaper (Nanango) all of which demanded godly government, was in one way or another, millenarian. This logic would explain the destabilizing politics of the extensive Christian conservative organizations.

A credible American literature has defined the impact of Christian millenarianism upon conservative and Extreme Right politics. It has separated the 'pre-millenarians', who observed a biblically-periodized prophecy of 'Christ's return' whereby action would precede the Kingdom, from the post-millenarians who practised political quietism laced with propagandistic 'witnessing'. This literature transposes directly upon the Queensland Christian scene which was, as Neville Buch has revealed, strongly influenced by American pre-millenarian Protestant forms.[49]

The LOR, well in decline by the mid-1980's was post-millenarian, but other 'righteous remnants' were willing to crusade against the satanic, humanist world government forces; as in America, this Christianized style permeated the Conservative Right thoroughly influencing even 'secular' activists.[50] Queensland especially saw new conservative leaderships in noisy 'last days' activism. Retired businessman Alan Gourley, started the gnostic First And Last publishing group and built it into Sydney's Constitutional Heritage Protection Society (CHPS) which he launched in 1988.[51] Its eschatology considered the Australia Act (1986) as the formalization of the Fabian "humanist", United Nations oriented, republican dictatorship.[52] The CHPS sanctified the Constitution and delegitimized the State as illegal and frenziedly asserted monarchical loyalty. John Grover's The Hellmakers, praised by Gourley at mass meetings, sounded the 'last days' tocsin to rescue

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[49] Neville Buch, "American Influence On Protestantism In Queensland Since 1945", PhD Thesis, University of Queensland, 1995, pp. 70–73, 151; Michael Barkun, "Millenarian Aspects Of White Supremacist Movements", Terrorism And Political Violence, Vol. 1, No. 4, Winter 1987, pp. 410–411.
[50] Jeffrey Kaplan, "The Contest Of American Millenarian Revolutionary Theology: The Case Of The Identity Church Of Israel", Terrorism And Political Violence, Vol. 5, No. 1, Spring 1993, pp. 48–50; Michael Barkun, op.cit., p. 427; Neville Buch, op.cit., pp. 423–438.
[51] Alan Gourley, How To Avoid The Looming Catastrophe, Sydney, 1985 – was the group's manifesto; First And Last Discussion Bulletin (undated, but 1985) on gestation of CHPS.
[52] Alan Gourley, Democracy And Treason In Australia, Sydney, 1988.

children from satanic secular brainwashing.[53] The CHPS networked with the Australian Constitutional And Common Law Defence Association (Brisbane), the League For Commonwealth Friendship (Sydney) and People For A Free Australia (Perth).[54]

Soothsayers and false prophets made the message propagandistically immediate. Peter Sawyer, a sacked Social Security employee, became an oracle. Sawyer rose to fame upon insisting a conspiracy existed at the 'Deakin Centre' to use super-computer departmental linkages to re-formulate the 'Australia Card'.[55] In 1987 he predicted Aboriginal revolution:

> The real weapons for the Great Black Revolution
> arrived quietly in WA some months ago. 7,000
> AK47 Russian assault rifles, plus ammunition.
> These were shipped in on false documents prepared
> by Fuller Firearm Group of … Sydney. Transfer of
> funds was arranged through Mr. Laurie Connell's
> Merchant Bank, Rothwells and they are currently
> … stored … around various warehouses owned by
> Mr. Alan Bond.[56]

Panic was recorded in some rural centres.[57] Sawyer drew large audiences in many Queensland towns[58] and was vociferously endorsed by Sydney radio personality Brian

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[53] Alan Gourley, Speech At The Presbyterian Hall, Sydney, 1987 (notes taken by author who attended); John Grover, The Hellmakers, Sydney, 1986.
[54] Craig M. White, Directory Of Conservative, New Right, Anti-Socialist Organizations, the author, 1988.
[55] For an account of Sawyer's rise to prominence: "On The Inside With Peter Sawyer", Take A Closer Look, Vol. 9, No. 3, March 1988, pp. 14–23 covers his timetable for totalitarian rule: wild interest rates, national strikes, universal video surveillance and collapse of financial institutions 1988–9.
[56] Peter Sawyer, Inside News, No. 2, October–November 1987, p. 11.
[57] Andrew Biggs, "Righting The Course Of Australia", The Courier Mail, January 26 1989, p. 9; "Right Wing Groups Predict Black Uprising", The Sunday Mail, March 13 1988, p. 1.
[58] Peter Sawyer And Jeremy Lee Speak At Nanango, February 1988, video recording, Ravensbourne, 1988; Jeremy Lee, who referred to meetings in Rockhampton, Gold Coast, Toowoomba.

Wilshire, who subsequently authored 'conspiratology' books himself.[59] Sawyer suggested black revolution was a plot of the United Nations to permit <u>military intervention</u> in Australia.

Sawyer's wild tales utilized ex-CPA member Geoff McDonald, whose <u>Red Over Black,</u> described 'Land Rights' as a communist/United Nations conspiracy.[60] 'Pro-mining' McDonald, who had been patronized by Bjelke-Petersen, Ruxton, the LOR and Liberal-National branches, travelled throughout Australia during 1979–85, predicting violence.[61] Nonetheless, Sawyer's star-gazing outdid McDonald and even Eric Butler, who denounced him.[62]

In 1988–90, the LOR tried selling its own 'alienation-of-sovereignty' campaign whereby World Heritage wilderness was threatened with "foreclosure" by the international banks[63]. Rev. Jacobs was 'activated' by the LOR to travel Queensland in 1989 with this warning, but he could not draw the Sawyer crowds.[64]

The LOR was also pressed by the Citizens' Electoral Councils which arose to take up LOR themes such as voters' veto and Citizens' Initiated Referenda.[65] A CEC candidate took Bjelke-Petersen's seat (Barambah) in 1988 but soon returned to the Nationals when CEC began to recruit followers of American cult-politician Lyndon La Rouche.[66] CEC

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[59] Brian Wilshire, <u>The Fine Print</u>, Sydney, 1989; the author has listened to Wilshire's 2GB broadcasts occasionally 1987–95.

[60] Geoff McDonald, <u>Red Over Black</u>, Bullsbrook, 1984, pp. 92–98.

[61] Geoff McDonald, ibid..; the flyleaf carried <u>testimonials</u> from Charles Porter who launched the book, Lady Cilento, Tony McGillick, Premier Bjelke-Petersen. The book carried an Introduction by Bruce Ruxton. McDonald's follow-up, <u>The Evidence</u>, Bullsbrook, 1984, included a fascinating 'concession': "While advancing CPA strategy to use land rights claims <u>as the device to stop mining of minerals and other free enterprise initiatives …</u>" Two chapters were entitled: "The Anti Free Enterprise Mining Offensive Continues" and "Opposition To Mining Is Also To Establish Apartheid". In this way the New Right could use the Old Right.

[62] "The Eric Butler/On Target Issue", <u>Inside News,</u> No. 3, January 1988, pp. 14–15.

[63] Jeremy Lee, "World Heritage, Boswell And The Bankers", <u>Enterprise</u>, No. 71 (Supplement), June 1988, pp. 1–3; "Power Maniacs Exploit Conservation Issue", <u>Intelligence Survey</u>, Vol. 38, No. 2, February 1990; David Thompson, <u>The Green Hoax</u>, Bullsbrook, 1989.

[64] <u>Dynamic Speaking Tour: Rev. Jacobs</u>, LOR leaflet, 1989; <u>Jeremy Lee</u>.

[65] Eric D. Butler, "Australia Can Be Saved", <u>On Target (Supplement)</u>, September 5 1988, pp. 1–2 – a grudging acknowledgement of CEC activism in South Burnett.

[66] La Rouche himself suggested cultic style: Lyndon La Rouche JR, <u>The Power Of Reason</u>, Washington D.C., 1987. John Koehler and Morris Hetherington, <u>Sovereign Australia: An Economic Development Programme to Save Our Nation</u>, Kingaroy, 1990.

thence parodied LOR financial principles and appealed to farmers-in-distress.[67] Because of difficulties with the Jewish community, attention was lavished upon it and calls were made for public inquiries.[68] This Thesis declines further comment on this organization save in one area: Jewish community internal politics which dictated a reaction to CEC's cultic attraction for Jewish youth.[69]

The 1980's Conservative Right also perceived its 'Anglo-Celtic Australia' under attack. Tasmanian public servant Reg Watson formed the 'Anglo-Saxon-Keltic Society' (1980) and worked with Maina's Patriotic Lobby, the ICA(Q) and the LOR.[70] Other 'Anglo-Celts' such as John Bennett, Victorian civil libertarian, solicitor and 'Holocaust Revisionist', utilized his respected annual publication, Your Rights, to demand immigration restriction, defence of 'traditional' culture and free speech on multiculturalism.[71] The thrust of conservative perceptions of Australia's character involved the British legacy − "common law", "Westminster government" and the decentralized liberty supposedly inherent in the Constitution.[72] Under the impress of enforced multiculturalism and multiracialism,

[67] "The 'Big Battle' And The Great King O'Malley", The New Citizen, Vol. 3, No. 12, April–June 1995, pp. 8–9.
[68] Scott Coomber, "MPs Seek Inquiry Into Racist La Rouche Cult", The Australian, February 7 1996, p. 2; Martin Daly, "Families Fight Back", The Age, January 30 1996, p. 13 − all pointed to cult conduct, financial frauds, harassment of Jewish community leaders.
[69] Chip Berlet and Joel Bellman, Lyndon La Rouche: Fascism Wrapped In An American Flag, Internet, December 10 1990, pointed to Jewish members. This document was provided to the author in 'hard copy' and is in my possession; David Greason, "Lyndon La Rouche Down Under", p. 5 − referred to a large number of anti-semitic Jews; Michael Sharpe, Interview, May 1995. Sharpe as CEC leader, insisted the Jewish community feared "defections".
[70] Andrew Maythier, Letter To J. Saleam, November 19 1982, for ASKS/PL contacts; For the pattern of 'conservative' interlinkage: "General Meeting", Australia First (Newsletter of the Patriotic Lobby), February 1983 − Ruxton to speak to PL; "General Meeting", Australia First, April 1983, McDonald to speak to PL; The ASKS sponsored 'Australian Heritage Society' which unified ASKS, the LOR front, the 'Concerned Voters Association' (Tasmania) and PL and National Flag Association (Tasmania). See Topical, No. 5, November 1988; "Jeremy Lee Wins Australia Day Award", Topical, No. 6, February 1989, p. 7, suggested unity of view amongst Ruxton, Dique, Bennett and League Assistant Director Lee.
[71] John Bennett, Your Rights 1988, Melbourne 1988, pp. 86–89, 93–94. For 'prejudiced' reaction to Bennett: Bill Rubinstein, "John Bennett: Profile", Without Prejudice, No. 2, February 1991, pp. 47–51: "widely regarded as a cross between a freak of nature and a squalid nuisance".
[72] "The Fabian Role In Destruction Of Representative Government", Intelligence Survey, Vol. 36, No. 1, January 1988, pp. 4–6. The LOR concurred with Gourley and others. One key progenitor of this creed was Liberal parliamentarian and LOR founder Arthur Chresby; See: Your Will Be Done, Brisbane, 1979.

conservative Australia was hurting,[73] but its traditional political culture precluded a shift towards either Radical-Nationalism or van Tongeren's neo-nazism.

Opposition to State ethnic-policy increased contemporaneously with declining interest in anti-communist propaganda campaigning. Yet again, the logic was torturous. Most conservatives gradually abandoned agitational anti-communism and their defence of laissez-faire capitalism. That is apparent from the literature, the tendency growing more marked from the mid-1980's when the Fabianism of the Hawke government and the humanist globalist 'socialism' of the United Nations became the essential enemies.[74] The collapse of communism (1989–91) finalised the issue, confirming the independent condition of the Conservative Right: there was not the slightest basis for a satellite relationship. While some groups had contact with newly emergent 'populist' groups (Chapter Eight) and hence ground in tendentious reality, others were crusading organizations alternately ignored or vilified in the mass media.[75]

This Thesis cannot identify any Conservative Right strategy to fight "World Government", the anonymous 'humanists' and Fabians. The fundamental sense of threat to Australia's 'British Identity and Constitutional freedom' was possibly too overwhelming for more than strident protest against a State which was committed to internationalism.

Interestingly, the conservatives identified issues of national significance (cultural change/challenge; national independence versus United Nations treaty obligations) but many understood politics as the 'last days' workings of satanic conspiracies. Through the prism darkly, the Conservative Right possessed a 'false consciousness'.

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[73] Various examples of Conservative discontent would be: columns of the Toorak Times 1984–8 featuring Ruxton, Jenny McCallum, Bennett, Paul Madigan 3RRR compere; the various resolutions passed at RSL congresses against multiculturalism; Geoff Blainey's critique of multiculturalism; John Howard's 1988 attack on multiculturalism.

[74] Arthur Tuck, The Australian Revolution (3rd edition), July 1984. Tuck said: "… The Humanist knows if the family is destroyed, Christianity, the enemy of humanism will be weakened …" Tuck rose through the LOR: "New Times Dinner And League National Weekend Another Spiritual Feast", The New Times, Vol. 57, No. 11, November 1993, pp. 1–2. In 1991–2, Tuck tried to obtain private prosecutions of republicans for treason; Neville Buch, op.cit., p. 427.

[75] Sally Loane, "How The Right Gets It Wrong", The Age, October 21 1988, p. 11.

(c)   *Generalizations*

Some generalizations on the transformation of Queensland politics during 1975−90 and the State severance of the satellite conservative link, provide a framework to assess populist-monarchism thereafter.

First, Queensland conservative politics had been continually mobilized in various anti-socialist/anti-centralist campaigns since the 'State Of Emergency' of 1971 which began Bjelke-Petersen's authoritarian phase. This mobilization ensured Right satellitization in a continually tense atmosphere which obscured and furthered the system's developmentalism. Reasonably, Bjelke-Petersen's fall was traumatic for conservatives who had put their faith in his character and system. The National Party was destabilized.

Second, the various Conservative Right organizations were sizeable groups which had agitated for a moralized Christian politics inside a stable Constitutionalist order. Many people, not just Queenslanders, had heard this message. Conservative groups also preached various apocalyptic millenarian messages of dictatorship, invasion and revolution. The sudden freedom of these auxiliaries from the National Party meant that previously tamed ideas of popular sovereignty and populist-economics could surface. The CEC victory in Barambah and the crowds drawn by Sawyer suggested a crisis of confidence in Queensland politics.

Third, in 1989 the Queensland National Government of 32 years fell from office, just as discredited as its type of capitalism. Yet as Queensland joined liberal-Australia, the networks that had vociferously fought socialist-humanism were confronted by the dreaded Labor 'socialism' in power. A cluster of new 'conservative' parties, founded by ex-Nationals, signalled the crisis (mainly) of the National Party across Australia. An 'Australian Conservative Party' was formed in late 1989 with Bjelke-Petersen's tacit support; a New South Wales 'Country Residents Party' formed around Marulan to protest their abandonment by the NP; a 'New Conservatives' party formed in Canberra in 1991 to

criticise the Liberal leadership's "arrogance"; a 'New Country Party' in Western Australia, demanded attention to rural infrastructure.[76] These groups apparently expressed a generalized nostalgia for a strong rural lobby placed in the government. However, the National Party had long pledged itself to economic rationalization and internationalization. These conservative groups faded leaving many ordinary National voters angry, and available for new experiments.

Last, there was an intangible. East European communism was disintegrating. Allowing the Conservative Right had already exchanged communism for humanist-socialism as its agitational axis, there was now an opportunity for a new Extreme Right to mobilize upon Karl Leibneckt's maxim: 'the main enemy is at home'.

3.   THE CONFEDERATE ACTION PARTY: FOUNDATION, GROWTH, CRISIS AND DECLINE OF POPULIST–MONARCHISM

(a)   Foundation

On July 20 1990, the Confederate Action Party of Australia (CAP) was founded by six persons in a trucking office near Ipswich.[77] The foundation circumstances and histories of CAP's initiators have become shrouded in myth. For example, Don Vietch formerly of ASIO and the Citizens' Electoral Council, constructed a fanciful tale about CAP's first leader, Perry Jewell:

> Perry Jewell arrived from Africa in the last decade
>
> and had been a comrade of Brigadier Frank Kitson
>
> … he worked for a Jewish community leader as a

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[76] Dean Jaensch and David Mathieson, A Plague On Both Your Houses: Minor Parties In Australia, St. Leonards, 1998, pp. 108–111.

[77] Agenda And Minutes Of The Inaugural Meeting Of The Confederate Action Party Of Australia, July 20 1990.

hotel manager … Many claim he was responsible

for … [CAP's] destruction …[78]

A related version by second CAP President, former Australian commando John Jarvis, had Jewell "trained under Colonel Crispen", an African mercenary leader.[79] In fact Jewell, an Ulsterman who lived in Kenya and South Africa, arrived in Australia in 1972; he was a soft-spoken, South African army-trained, 'hard' character, who denied any knowledge of or contact with Kitson, the master of counter-insurgency warfare.[80] As a new man in politics his background lent itself to the vituperative rumour-mongering which engulfed CAP in 1993–5.

The foundation meeting adopted A Promise To The People Of Australia, a leaflet-programme of almost fifty policy points. How this document was formulated implies the CAP was conceived as a populist response to elitist politicians. Jewell maintained that his programme was the result of late night conversations with customers at a petrol station; he informally polled thousands of persons on the various planks over an 18-month period.[81] For CAP, the Promise was to be a non-negotiable instrument of policy and intent.[82] It announced CAP's intention to ensure a society which drew "immigrants from traditional and Christian countries", guaranteed national independence from U.N. conventions and rebuilt "pride in our Nation and the Flag". Gun owners, small business people, farmers and retirees would benefit and criminals would suffer. The "Aboriginal Affairs Department" would be abolished. Citizens' Initiated Referenda and Commonwealth Bank interest-free credit, were featured.[83]

The founders had met through the transport business and had little prior political involvement and had tenuous contacts with organizations either of the Conservative Right or

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[78] Don Vietch, Hansonism: Trick Or Treat?, Melbourne, 1997, p. 172.
[79] John Jarvis , Letter To The Electoral Commission Queensland, August 10 1993, p. 2, in Electoral Commission Queensland, File: Registration Of Political Parties: Confederate Action Party EL 38, Part 2. (Hereafter the Commission is recorded as ECQ.)
[80] Perry Jewell, Tape Recorded Interview, November 1997.
[81] ibid.
[82] Anon, Confederate Action Party: Philosophy, Platform, Promise, Ipswich, 1992, pp. 21–23.
[83] A Promise To The People Of Australia, CAP leaflet, undated.

Extreme Right.[84] Their coalescence matched the formative stages of other Extreme Right organizations examined in this Thesis: personal contacts, formation of ideas and a will to act, and the generation of organization initially unconnected to other structures on the Right. The CAP leaders had financial means – as truckers, small businessmen and sales representatives – to fund their party.

An initial strategy was designed. The CAP desired membership sufficient to register as a Commonwealth Electoral Act 'party'.[85] The choice of the term 'Confederate', although quickly damned by media as 'wild-west',[86] was meant to symbolise the organic compact of people and government and a plan to overcome the splintering of patriotic efforts in the gentle union of a grassroots party[87], in opposition to fascist-communist command-party models and the establishment "triad" of "ALP/Lib/Nat" manipulation-politics.[88] The CAP's password would be freedom. This moral tone accommodated those influenced by Queensland's extensive Christian activism or angered by corruption. It was decided to direct mail to people who wrote 'patriotic' letters to newspapers and turn to pools of personal contacts and approach potentially-interested organizations.[89]

(b)   Growth: 1990-93

In mid-1993, the CAP counted about 2,500 members in Queensland and about 800 elsewhere,[90] most recruited in a growth spurt in 1992–3. The CAP was thence larger than the contemporary Left. The founders' dedication had delivered this result. The CAP's

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[84] Perry Jewell, Interview, October 1997; Paul Hildebrand, Interview, October 1997. Hildebrand was a founding member.
[85] Agenda And Minutes Of The Inaugural Meeting Of The Confederate Action Party.
[86] "Freedom Fighters Opt For The Death Penalty", Sunday Mail, March 17 1991, p. 8.
[87] "A Confederate Action Credo", in Confederate Action Party Philosophy, Platform, Promise, pp. 23–25; Perry Jewell, Dear Fellow Australian, CAP form letter, undated.
[88] "If It Has To Be, Then It's Up To Me", CAP members leaflet, June 30 1992, p. 1.
[89] Paul Hildebrand. Perry Jewell.
[90] Figures computed from: Kevin Polzen, Letter To The Qld. Electoral Commission, August 4 1993, in ECQ, Registration Of Political Parties, Confederate Action Party Of Australia, File EL38/Part One; Perry Jewell, Letter To All Branches CAP, April 20 1993, p. 2; Bill Murray/Robin Murray, Interview, October 1977: the Murrays were key officials in the NSW Branch 1993–4; Joe Ross, Chairman Qld State Council, Letter To Electoral Commissioner, September 6 1993, on branch strengths, in ECQ, Registration Of Political Parties, Confederate Action Party, File EL38/Part Three.

propaganda was spread from truck-stop to truck-stop by carriers connected to CAP founder, Warren Woodford.[91] In 1991−2, Perry Jewell motored through Queensland coastal towns leafletting,[92] giving interviews on local radio stations and speaking at local halls to explain The Promise. Although Jarvis later claimed Jewell "has never been known to chair a meeting and evidently is lacking in general office procedure",[93] his activism was undeniable. Jewell's near-bumbling oratory, delivered with sincerity,[94] won new members in the smaller towns.

It took CAP two years to reach its 500-member level for Commonwealth and Queensland party registration. Don Pinwell, an Australia First Party leader, said that initially, other organizations on the Right ignored CAP, perceiving it just 'another' patriotic organization.[95] Experienced cadre was scarce, since Extreme Right militancy in 1980's Queensland was ineffective. A small National Action branch, Skinhead groups, an ANM cell and Pash's grouplets amounted to little. None had penetrated the countryside where the LOR maintained a presence, nor been active in the coastal 'industrial-rural' towns. Therefore no legacy of activism could hamper or assist CAP expansion. It is noted also that the 'radical-populist' groups described in the following Chapter – Australians Against Further Immigration (AAFI) and Enterprise, Freedom and Family (EFF) – did not offer any competition in Queensland during the take-off period. The CAP could unrestrictedly expand its reach organizationally and electorally, as described below.

The CAP absorbed supporters from the pre-La Rouche Citizens' Electoral Councils (CEC) which, through its Hervey Bay newspaper The Citizen, popularized the idea of a "grassroots" electoral mobilization.[96] After its editor was tried on a sexual assault charge in 1990−1, a drift in support in the Wide Bay area brought forth a strong CAP branch centred in Maryborough.

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[91] Paul Hildebrand; Perry Jewell.
[92] Paul Rackemann, Letter To James Saleam, August 21 1995. Rackemann was a Rockhampton member.
[93] John Jarvis , Letter To The Electoral Commissioner, p. 2.
[94] Confederate Action Party, Meeting In Bundaberg , Video Recording, 1992.
[95] Don Pinwell, Interview, October 1997.
[96] For early CEC ideas, see: First Inverell Forum Summary , June 1988; Second Inverell Forum: Programme 13, 14 August 1988; Citizens' Electoral Councils Programme , 1990. Essentially, CEC ideas

Its leader was Tony Pitt, a pensioned-off airforce officer, whose capacity for hard work has made him a nationally known Extreme Right activist. Pitt's political evolution demonstrated that some Extreme Right militants adopt their position through an involved process of progressive alienation from mainstream politics. In a May 1991 circular, Pitt explained how he entered politics as a founding-Australian Democrat after rejecting the 'socialist' Labor Party; but here too he detected machine-manipulators:

> I will not bore you with my sojourn with the
> Nationals, my return to the Liberals, my betrayal,
> my remorse … Now I seek revenge. I want to get
> rid of the whole lot of the bastards … Time is short.
> The socialists have started to move against the
> activists …[97]

Other CAP cadre felt this sense of alienation. Dawn Brown joined, at age 58 in 1991, from the National Party:

> I joined CAP out of frustration with [the] major
> political parties. Candidates of the major parties do
> not represent their electorates. I demand
> representation.[98]

Her Ingham branch included several ex-Nationals. Tom Little, Chairman of the Nanango branch, joined in 1992 at age 45, because the "major parties ignored the ordinary person".[99] Bill May, a Childers grazier, CAP candidate and organizer, cited "frustration"

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of 'independent' candidates controlled by citizens, was unremarkable compared to similar forces (see Chapter Eight).

[97] A.R. Pitt, A Proposal For Co-Ordination Not Amalgamation, CAP circular, May 2 1991.

[98] Dawn Brown, Questionnaire, 1997.

[99] Tom Little, Questionnaire, 1997.

amongst his branch members who had "very good Christian values", out of place in the ruling parties.[100]

It may be reasonably concluded from the official reaction of the Queensland National Party, that CAP's cadre were not the only people alienated from the main parties. In June 1992, the NP(Q) issued a campaign booklet to counter CAP's inroads. With branches in 33 Queensland centres and its alarmist propaganda[101] about Land Rights claims, gun confiscation and Indonesian invasion,[102] the rising CAP earned the rebuke of prominent National, Russell Cooper:

> It would be a tragedy if people in country
> Queensland were to be seduced by the false
> promises of a fringe group whose only effect would
> be to split the conservative vote.[103]

The September 1992 Queensland poll delivered CAP a startling success. Although listed on ballot papers as 'independents' (electoral registration was delayed), CAP candidates in 12 electorates beat the Liberals for third place as the table shows:

Table 7.1   General Tabulation Of CAP Result[104]

Party	Votes	Percentage
Independents	7162	3%
Liberal Party	19049	8%
Labor Party	81829	35%
National Party	94707	41%
CAP	23510	10.13%
Others	1354	–

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[100] <u>Bill May</u>, Questionnaire; <u>Bill May</u>, Interview, October 1997.

[101] T. Livingstone, "Nats Take Action Against New Party", <u>Sunday Mail</u>, June 21 1992, p. 57.

[102] T. Livingstone, "Gun Lobby Fires Election Shots", <u>Sunday Mail (Review)</u>, January 10 1993, p. 47, described CAP propaganda over preceding months.

[103] <u>Russell Cooper</u>, quoted in, Tess Livingstone, "It's All Uphill For Joan", <u>Sunday Mail</u>, June 14 1992, p. 49.

[104] "Queensland Election Results", <u>The Confederate Action Party Newsletter</u>, October 1992, p. 3.

| Informal | 4493 | – |
| TOTAL | 232104 | – |

All seats were outside of the Brisbane metropolitan area. The high percentages – Callide 15.7%, Lockyer 11.4%, Mackay 18.3%, Maryborough 15.9%, Mirani 14% – indicated the potential of CAP. The sources of CAP votes could be decided since the official election statistics record the distribution of second-preferences from the unsuccessful CAP candidates:

Table 7.2   CAP Preferences To Major Parties[105]

Labor Party	Liberal Party	National Party
2910	2945	7532

(Note: Many CAP second preferences went to independents or were "exhausted")

The momentum achieved by CAP induced a mini-stampede of rightist support. A Western Australian 'Confederate Party' established in 1991[106] began to haemorrhage into CAP. The branch would stay weak (it had 100 members in 1994) but it was active.[107] Throughout 1992 branches were established in New South Wales thanks largely to Jim Perrett, a farmer from Warialda.[108] A rural/country town network (Coffs Harbour, Dorrigo, Kempsey, Moree, Taree, Gunnedah and Gloucester) was operational by September 1993.[109] However, it was in Queensland that CAP built upon particular interest groups in the lead-up to the 1993 Federal Poll. Ron Owen, editor of the nationally circulated firearms magazine Lock, Stock And Barrel, became a CAP supporter in Gympie, lending lustre and bringing supporters.[110] Bob Doring, a Sunshine Coast gun

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[105] Electoral Commission Queensland, Details Of Polling At General Election, Brisbane, March 1993, pp. 47, 50, 77, 79, 82, 85–7, 92, 109–110, 112.

[106] Constitution Of The Confederate Party (Inc.), June 1992, Confederate Party (C.P.) Inc. leaflet, 1991.

[107] Alan Rossiter, An Open Letter To All Western Australian Members Of CAP, June 5 1994; Alan Rossiter, Letter To Western Australian State Council CAP, August 8 1994.

[108] Jim Perrett, Interview, 1997.

[109] Confederate Action Party (as at 30/9/93), leaflet, 1993.

[110] Ron Owen, Interview, 1997.

dealer and major gun owners' rights advocate, swayed many into CAP.[111] Kevin Polzen, whose 'National Country Party' preferences had won Barambah for the CEC in 1988, was a Christian farmer in Wondai when in late 1992 he entered CAP; with Polzen came an extensive local network of anti-bank activists.[112]

The CAP campaigned hard to project itself as an 'alternative' to Labor/Liberal 'socialism'. Pitt editorialized in his Fight newspaper:

> For years right-wing extremists have been telling me and people like me that the bad guys have a plan to ruin our economy and … our ability to defend ourselves. I am finally convinced. There is a plan to destroy us by taxing the middle class out of existence, by subversive education of our children, by entering such foreign treaties …[113]

However, it was Jewell who succinctly expressed the populist-monarchist programme in Like A Hole In The Head, his 1993 Federal Election manifesto:[114]

> .. that's how badly we need another political party in Australia. And yet the Confederate Action Party is the party that Australia had to have … Our Nation has need of salvation – from political party dictatorship, from political chicanery, corruption … People ask of the … [CAP] … 'Are you left-wing or right-wing, socialist or capitalist?' We are none of those. We are simply pro the people of Australia

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[111] "The Faces Of The True Believers: Bob Doring", Sunday Mail, May 19 1996, p. 4; Ron Owen, for background on Doring in CAP.

[112] Kevin Polzen, Telephone Conversation With Author, May 1997. Mr Polzen provided some information but declined interview.

[113] Tony Pitt, "Editorial", Fight, unnumbered, February 1993, p. 2.

[114] Perry Jewell, Like A Hole In The Head, CAP leaflet, 1993.

and pro a Genuine Democracy … We want the right to dismiss representatives if they fail us. We want Citizens Initiated Referendum and Recall … We want British Common Law as our inherited entitlement not some United Nations bill of non-rights. We want to be our own Nation and not the multicultural vassal and servant of some New World Order. We want … [to oust] … world monetary forces.

This manifesto was the platform for 33 CAP House of Representatives candidates, (24 out of 25 Queensland seats were contested, 8 in New South Wales, 1 in South Australia) and Senate candidates for Queensland, New South Wales and Western Australia.[115] The Queensland result gave CAP 51,565 lower-house votes (2.89%).[116] Expenditure returns for those candidates for Dawson, Hinkler, Wide Bay, Groom, Maranoa and Kennedy who exceeded the four percent public funding barriers, gave electoral outlay at $72,487.20.[117] While other costings were not available, it is certain the CAP campaign was the most expensive waged by any Extreme Right organization, demonstrating that it had achieved considerable financing. Although it had not duplicated its Queensland poll success, it had brought Extreme Right voting to tens of thousands, maintained its base in areas where strength was previously demonstrated and shown other Extreme Right fractions that it was a leading force. Unknowingly, the CAP had reached its zenith.

(c)   *Crisis Of Strategy In CAP: Divisions And Disruption*

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[115] Confederate Action Party Of Australia: Candidates In The 1993 Federal Election, CAP Media Release, undated.
[116] Australian Electoral Commission, Funding And Disclosure Entitlements To Election Funding – House of Representatives 1993 Federal Election, p. 15.
[117] ibid., page number unknown; pages out of order. (Document in possession of author.)

In the six months following the March 1993 poll, the CAP was riven with division. Jewell's National Executive moved to expel Pitt;[118] the party's National Council passed a 'no confidence' vote in Jewell.[119] Jewell's Executive deregistered the CAP federally, but amidst membership-protest failed to achieve Queensland deregistration;[120] Jewell's faction launched a new 'CAP' (Consolidated Australia Party) in Mackay in September.[121] The CAP restructured itself under Jarvis who was based in Caloundra. It would be tempting to dismiss the splintering of CAP as a case of stereotypical Extreme Right personality-politics, except that strong evidence exists of a deep internal debate on strategy and organization, illustrative of Extreme Right structural weakness.

As CAP expanded it had made tentative friendships with those rural 'radical- populist' and conservative organizations which met annually at the 'Inverell Forum' (Chapter Eight). Since 1991, Pitt had argued for a united front with all anti-Establishment organizations, holding out the lure of "co-ordination" and tactical alliances rather than outright amalgamation.[122] As editor of Fight, he had issued over 700,000 individual papers by mid-1993 (about one million by late 1994)[123] and overseen the production of another million recruitment documents. With such a prodigious output, Pitt concluded CAP could be hegemonic in any united front, but in tune with CAP's grassroots philosophy would not impose its programme upon its allies.[124] Jewell was more hard-fisted. In an April 20 1993 letter to CAP branches, he commented upon the organizations which gathered at the 'Inverell Forum':

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[118] National Executive Secretary CAP, "To Branch Secretary", Form Letter Memo, July 11 1993.
[119] "Minutes Of Inaugural Meeting Of The National Council Of The Confederate Action Party of Australia, RSL Club Nambucca Heads, July 17 1993 at 5.00 pm", ECQ, Registration Of Political Parties: Confederate Action Party Of Australia: File EL38 Part 4.
[120] "Memorandum To Electoral Commissioner 28/9/93", ECQ, Registration Of Political Parties: Confederate Action Party Of Australia: File EL38 Part One.
[121] Consolidated Party Of Australia, Form Letter, September 27 1993. The intention was obviously to keep the letters "CAP".
[122] Tony Pitt, Letter To James Saleam, April 4 1991.
[123] Cec Clark, Apathetic: Calling All Partisans, CAP leaflet, August 4 1994; Fight: Don't Let Australia Down, circular, undated.
[124] Tony Pitt, Telephone Conversation, June 1997, Pitt's views on united fronts, see: Tony Pitt, Situation Assessment And Suggested Action Statement, CAP Circular, March 25 1993.

Some of the facts that should be considered by CAP members … [are]: Since registration in 1988 Enterprise Family and Freedom [EFF] has only built membership to about 850. The Australian Independent Alliance had only 180 members last year, the Phoenix Alliance a few hundred maximum and the CP Western Australia about 200 members … Most of these organizations have been around for years … I believe the correct procedure would have been to go to the next Inverell Forum to look, listen and discuss …[125]

In refusing to be pressed, Jewell bared the concealed contradiction between populist politics and democratic organization. Jewell recognized the need for party discipline particularly when negotiating with potential supporters. Whereas the NSW State Council noted "problems with the name 'Confederate'"[126] in dealing with the Inverell bloc, Jewell insisted on the integrity of CAP's Promise and Constitution.[127] He had noticed certain conservatives like Jeremy Lee who had influence with Inverell Forum posed a "stumbling block" towards both a deepening radicalization of its constituents and a principled unification.[128]

These discussions were potentially of great importance to the regroupement of a number of serious and activist groups. At the coalface of activism, the populist- monarchists and the radical-populist groups (Chapter Eight) were not far different; CAP's particular belief in the popular-democratic potential of the constitutional monarchical heritage should not have precluded unification. A national Extreme Right party was constructively possible.

[125] Perry Jewell, To All CAP Branches, CAP Internal Memorandum Censure Motion Of Tony Pitt, April 20 1993, p. 2.

[126] Minutes Of The Meeting Of The NSW State Council Of The CAP Of Australia Held At Tamworth, April 18 1993.

[127] Report On The State Council Meeting, June 19/20 1993, p. 2.

[128] Minutes Of National Executive Meeting CAP, March 29 1993.

However, Jewell was undermined before these hypotheticals could gain substance. The NSW State Council reported in February 1993:

> Slur campaign against Perry has started. Was editor of a communist paper. Was a South African Police Mau Mau terrorist when he was 10 years old. CAP financed by MI-6.[129]

This smearing of Jewell was connected to his alleged leadership style. A retrospective summation was provided by Polzen, who argued:

> … the CAP executive was dictatorial … P. Jewell was attempting to impose a particular philosophy on the members of CAP which it opposed to ideas allowing the rank and file to set policy.[130]

The very success of CAP brought an influx of untried members attuned to electoral work; the open nature of membership and the grassroots branch-based principle. combined with the hysterical Fight which warned against "dictatorship" in principle, made founder-leader Jewell's position untenable. The two-monthly state conferences became mechanisms for "powerhungryness" and "egoistic gratification"[131] by persons who would not recognize the need for authority and encadrement. Pitt's testimony against himself could explain much about CAP's organizational anarchism:

> As far as wanting to be President … I have no ambition. In fact I wouldn't even be in a party. I recognize that I've always been a lone ranger. I don't work well in a party, that's a problem I've

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[129] Minutes Of The Meeting Of The NSW State Council Of The CAP, Armidale, February 14 1993.
[130] Minutes Of NSW State Council CAP, October 10 1993.
[131] Warren Woodford And Others, Letter To The Electoral Commissioner, Commissioner in ECQ, Registration Of Political Parties, File EL38/Part 2.

always had. I don't go out of my way to aggravate

the other party members;   however, I find

committees abhorrent. I've worked with them for

ages and I just find they retard things and delay …

So you know I am not well suited for team work,

and that was the psych's assessment of me in the

Air Force.[132]

Other CAP officials considered their protest against government-party authoritarianism extended into a generalized rejection of discipline from a party centre.[133] With their enthusiasm unrestrained, some leaders were willing to negotiate CAP out of existence, exchanged for a broad leaderless party. In this manner the unity discussions were mixed with the question of organization. The resultant fragmentation of the CAP invalidated it as a suitor for the Inverell groups.[134]

The split had another element. When Jewell's Executive penned Your Party Is In Peril, they assumed that the split with Pitt's faction had grown from a dispute over placements on the 1993 Senate ticket which, fanned by personalist disputation, intersected with a resentment experienced by new members with an un-elected leadership.[135] Pitt's faction demanded internal democracy and benefited from the tide of vilification directed at Jewell. Both factions knew that a jealous CEC had smeared Jewell's background and motivations.[136] However, the destabilization of CAP was far-reaching and many members told the author of their pet-theory of its source. Anonymous mail, phone calls and faxes arrived at the branches; petty plots were hatched at conferences;[137] threats of violence

[132] Tony Pitt quoted at meeting of the CAP Executive, April 18 1993, in Frank Hurt, Letter To Alan Rossitter, Chairman WA CAP, June 6 1994, p. 2.

[133] Kevin Polzen, "Comprehensive Assessment Of Confederate Action Party Present Problems", in ECQ, Registration of Political Parties, File EL38/Part 4.

[134] "Right's New Hope Falters", Gold Coast Bulletin, July 1993, no other details, in op.cit.

[135] Perry Jewell, Warren Woodford, Michael Blades, Your Party Is In Peril, CAP Open Letter, July 5 1993.

[136] Minutes Of The Meeting Of The NSW State Council Of CAP, op.cit.; Perry Jewell.

[137] David Croft, Chairman, Buderim Branch, Letter To John Jarvis, June 27 1993, in Australian Electoral Commission, Party Registration – Confederate Action Party, File 93/923. Hereafter: Australian Electoral Commission given as AEC.

were aimed at the Executive. Some members accused the National Party, other party "agents", and political police agencies. The truth cannot be determined. The vehemence of seemingly rational people that some 'agency' disrupted CAP weighs for its possibility.

(d)   The Decline Of Populist-Monarchism 1993-95

The schism in CAP permanently divided the ranks of populist-monarchism. At least nine CAP branches in Queensland (out of 53) defected to Jewell's Consolidated Australia Party[138] which rechristened itself the Conservative Action Party in November 1993. After criticizing the former CAP's Constitution which 'encouraged' factionalization and the "destructive faction" which compelled the deregistration actions, Jewell's Executive condemned the Confederates:

> They are the ones who want to reduce the Promise
>
> to some 23 wishy-washy same-as every-other-
>
> party's policies and to inflame racial tension by
>
> telling the Aborigines to go to hell instead of treating
>
> them as citizens …[139]

Although Jewell's group failed to prosper and finally disintegrated by late 1994 into a Toowoomba committee for 'A New Political Party',[140] the shift in Confederate ranks had been observed. Policy change was obvious. First, CAP's new immigration policy became: "Migrants must not be selected on the grounds of race, colour or creed" but "only on the basis of value to the Nation"; "We are One Nation and all people must be assimilated …"[141] Second, Aborigines were to conform to Australian Law and their Land Rights claims were dismissed:

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[138] Joe Ross, Chairman Qld State Council CAP, Letter To The Electoral Commissioner, ECQ, Registration Of Political Parties – Confederate Action Party Of Australia File EL38/2.

[139] National Executive CAP, Please Read The Following, Conservative Action Party Members' Letter, undated, in AEC, Party Registration – The Confederate Action Party File 93/923.

[140] A New Political Party, leaflet, January 1995.

[141] Confederate Action Party: Constitution Policy, Activities, Brisbane, 1994, pp. 15–16.

> The belief that sacred status devolves upon an area
> of Australian earth is rooted in mythology, tradition
> and folklore and cannot stand against intelligence
> and scientific knowledge.[142]

The softer immigration position and the hardened anti-Aboriginal stand[143] were probably designed to mobilize conservative National Party rightists into CAP. Jewell had sought to move the conservatives towards grassroots action. The new CAP leaders wanted to win conservatives for an electoralist programme.

Sure signs of change came after falling membership caused the replacement of Jarvis (undermined by Pitt) by Polzen.[144] In September 1994, Polzen invited Bjelke-Petersen to address Kingaroy CAP and praised him as a "great leader".[145] The CAP had already contacted the "211 loyal organizations" warning that "Keating will go to the polls early … (to) … get rid of the flag, Constitution, the States, the Senate and Democracy".[146] The party's criticism of the Prime Minister's multiculturalism, pro-Land Rights stand, and United Nations "sycophancy" held these views as violations of Westminster tradition and the inherited rights of Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights (1688).[147] The new 'promise' was one centred on acquiring seats in Parliament, not "to make new history in Australia … [but] … to reinstate Constitutional Monarchy and Magna Carta based on democratic representation …"[148] The programmatic tensions between reforming parliament and creating popular authority, and organizational disputation between electoral work and grassroots activism, were not extinguished.

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[142] ibid. p. 17.

[143] See CAP advertisement "Aborigines Hard To Find", Geraldton Guardian, March 11 1994, p. 5; Report Of The Activities of WA State Council Administration, June 18 1994; Saving Australia For All Australians, CAP Leaflet, 1994.

[144] Paul Hildebrand, Exit Tony Pitt, January 23 1995; John Jarvis, Fax To Queensland State Council CAP, February 5 1994; Reg Murray.

[145] Minutes Of The Queensland State Council Meeting Of The CAP, Maryborough, October 8–9 1994; "Wondai Man Takes Over CAP Leadership", South Burnett Times, August 16 1994, p. 3.

[146] Tony Pitt, Situation Assessment And Suggested Action Statement, March 25 1994.

[147] Tony Pitt, To All Groups Interested In Saving Australia, leaflet, May 15 1994; The Last Train Out Of Australia, CAP leaflet, undated.

[148] Kevin Polzen, Minutes Of The Meeting NSW State Council CAP, October 10 1993.

In March–April 1995, CAP ruptured again between Pitt and Polzen, some 1200 members dividing into successor groups. Pitt's deradicalized 'The Australians' argued for "good government … by ensuring the … re-establish(ment) of Westminster …"[149] while Polzen's 'Correct Australian Parliaments'[150] sought mechanisms to compel loyal adherence to Westminster rules. These appeals to old-satellite and conservative-National supporters had hitherto only partly deconstructed that bloc. The 1996 election of a new Liberal government was required to complete the process of their disillusionment with mainstream 'conservatism'. A new leader was necessary to proclaim conservative independence. The foundation of the One Nation Party by Pauline Hanson, in April 1997, would strongly indicate the entry of independent conservatism as an electoral player and the division of populist-monarchist forces between ONP and Graeme Campbell's Australia First Party (Chapter Eight), the ultimate resolution of the "tension" with conservative ideology and politics.

4. THE MEMBERSHIP, ORGANIZATION AND POLITICS OF POPULIST-MONARCHISM

This Thesis has argued that populist-monarchism was a radicalization of longstanding Conservative Right ideology. With the 'independence' of satellite conservatism and the crisis of National Party authority over its voter-periphery, a window of opportunity opened for an Extreme Right breakthrough. Yet such a mobilization may draw in new forces as the paradigm indicates. This Section asks: who held membership and directed populist-monarchist organizations?; how was the chief force, the CAP, organized?; how can populist-monarchist politics be analysed?

(a) *Membership And Cadre*

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[149] "Confederate Action Party Or The Australians?", In The National Interest, No. 1, undated, p. 13.
[150] Kevin Polzen.

Considerable membership and organizational data was available on the CAP and successor organizations. As a result of the dispute concerning the 'deregistration' of CAP as a Queensland and Federal party, the respective Electoral Commissioners maintained extensive files. These files contained membership forms, internal documents (as quoted above) and correspondence from members to the Commissioners. Some rank and file members provided information about their motives and ideas. From these files a list of 299 members with addresses was constructed.[151] While this was valuable, it was considered more rewarding to research CAP through its <u>cadres</u>, those who led it and best articulated its ideology.

Fortunately, the CAP published a 1994 branch list and two extensive organizers' lists (September 1993, March 1994) featuring almost 400 phone numbers.[152] Some 171 addresses were thence realized and that number of questionnaires was dispatched. Thirty replies were received.[153] Provision had been made for the respondents' anonymity but some provided their names. Interviews then took place by telephone or in person.

The membership and cadre data permits several generalizations relevant to defining the character of populist-monarchism.

First, the available information showed CAP membership and cadre to have been overwhelmingly 'Anglo-Celtic'. Of the 299 noted members, only 21 had Continental-European surnames. While of course surnames do not decide ethnic derivation (and most members and cadres were 'native-born'),[154] it was suggestive. Similarly, of the 400 organizers, only 23 had Continental-European surnames. Since the CAP emphasized the

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[151] <u>List Of Rank And File CAP Members</u>, in author's possession, self-titled. Valid August–September 1993. This <u>list</u> was a compilation from the several Federal and State Electoral Commission files.
[152] <u>Confederate Action Party (As At 30/9/93)</u>, members' leaflet; <u>The Confederate Action Party Is Nationwide: Organization As At 12/3/97</u>, members' leaflet; <u>Branch List: CAP</u>, loose sheets provided by Reg and Robin Murray, NSW Branch officers (in author's possession).
[153] <u>Questionnaires: CAP</u>, in author's possession. Hereafter: general conclusions from the questionnaires will not be cited but referred to directly in the text. See Chapter Ten for further analysis.
[154] <u>Perry Jewell</u>; <u>Paul Hildebrand</u>; <u>Jim Perrett</u>.

British Common Law heritage, Monarchy and Flag, a predominantly Anglo-Celtic membership was predictable.

Second, although CAP operated metropolitan sections, its membership was drawn from the rural and smaller city populations. According to Robin Murray, CAP Secretary (NSW), her section was "80% rural" and "20% Sydney – Newcastle".[155] Party conferences were invariably organized in non-metropolitan cities and plans unfolded to purchase a headquarters in Toowoomba.[156] The spread of CAP into western and northern Queensland was notable, although the Queensland bias was towards the south-east quarter with strong sections in Hervey Bay, Lockyer, Logan and Maryborough. Inevitably, the membership would reflect the values of country Australia (particularly country Queensland) in contradistinction to the internationalized mores of the metropoli.

Third, the membership was disproportionally older. While the Constitution described a "Young People's Forum", members under 30 were rare. Retirees on the Gold and Sunshine Coasts were common.[157] Jewell said that CAP's plan was to mobilize numbers and he "accepted" an initial generational limitation.[158] The average age of organizers who answered the Questionnaire was 54.5 years at time-of-joining.

Fourth, CAP leadership cadre had a particular social-occupational distribution. The organizers' sample (25 responses) (all non-metropolitan) listed seven farmers, one grazier, four engineers, five self-employed, one journalist, two company directors, one property-manager, one manager, one salesman and, two pensioners and one factory worker. This limited sample showed active participants (property owners and/or professionals) in country economic life. Further, the biographies published of CAP's 1994 Queensland 'State Council' nominees, listed a shire chairman active in the Cattleman's Union, an official of the Plastic And Rubber Institute, and a surveyor.[159] It seems intentional that CAP

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[155] Robin Murray, Interview, October 1997.
[156] CAP Calen Branch Form Letter, May 19 1993.
[157] Paul Hildebrand.
[158] Perry Jewell.
[159] Confederate Action Party: Nominations For Queensland State Chairman, October 8 1994.

sought to replicate Jewell's foundation cadre. Indeed, one advertisement for CAP candidates called for "those who have shown ability to run a business".[160]

Membership qualities related closely to issues of politics and organization. The CAP, by working amongst farmers, retirees, small-business, gun-owners, sugar workers (whose livelihood was threatened by tariff negotiations during 1991−3),[161] truck-drivers and owners, and led by a cadre recruited from small business and by areas of country life, represented a type of embryonic people's party not unlike 'Poujade-ism'. In smaller cities and country districts, this strategic formula was reasonable. The CAP with its red-white-blue propaganda documents extolling "One Flag, One Nation"[162] approached and won enthusiastic converts from the named target groups. However, much of the instability that wracked the organization came from its cadres. Why?

Three CAP organizers (Bill May, Dawn Brown and Tom Little) offered a social interpretation of CAP fractiousness. They said that many organizers were newly politicized people who considered themselves the "productive" element of society. They tried to transpose onto politics their professional or business skills whether self-assertion, competitiveness or huckstering. Cadres clashed with each other, assumed results should follow "outlay" and, as individualists, repudiated Jewell's centralism and thereafter, any form of party discipline.[163] This interpretation of cadre-weakness was plausible.

It is reasonably estimated that over 4,000 persons held CAP membership (and hundreds more joined 'successors' like Conservative Action Party, Correct Australian Parliaments, Australian Right To Bear Arms Association and The Australians). This established populist-monarchism as the largest Extreme Right family in the study period. The capacity to attract older membership and cadre, with a non-metropolitan bias and an Anglo-Celtic character, meant the CAP produced the logical clientele for its ideology. With these

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[160] Newspaper cutting in, AEC, Party Registration: The Confederate Action Party of Australia: File No. 92/360.
[161] Dawn Brown; A.R. Pitt, Dear Friends, March 31 1991, p. 1.
[162] One Flag: One Nation, CAP leaflet, undated.
[163] Dawn Brown; Tom Little; Bill May.

specific social target groups fielding members and votes, CAP had moved beyond the ex-satellite milieu.

(b)   *Organization*

The CAP directly stated that it sought a mass membership. The Constitution was geared for a top heavy structure of national executive, state councils and state council meetings to oversee a grassroots branch system built around federal electorate boundaries.[164] Jewell favoured centralism and his successors local control, but constitutional arrangements do not display these alternatives. The energy necessary to maintain the constitutional structure was considerable. Bill May, Tom Little and Kevin Polzen as branch officials, reported time lost in paperwork and conference participation. They recorded the "inevitable frictions" generated by intermidable conferences.[165]

The engine for growth and influence was the branch. CAP published an Activities Manual of importance to this Thesis as it defined both branch activities and the ideological-political reference points of populist-monarchism. Branches were to be formed in a "private home" and "preferably" meet there.[166] Meetings should "preferably" open in "silent prayer".[167] The branch was to integrate its members socially, through wine and cheese nights, picnics, bushwalks, movie-nights, country dances and performance nights,[168] and politically through "house groups" which after a function for the four or five members and families would discuss tactics, "democracy" and ideology.[169]

There was agreement amongst interviewees that CAP functioned in the ways formulated in the Manual, but that the post-1993 CAP and successor groups progressively lost this grassroots dynamic.[170] The participatory style was favoured by at least some members

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[164] Bill May; Tom Little; Kevin Polzen.

[165] Confederate Action Party: Activities Manual, Ipswich, 1992. For the ideological issue see sub-section (d)(iii).

[166] ibid., pp. 4, 8.

[167] ibid., p. 9.

[168] ibid., p. 11.

[169] ibid., pp. 17–18.

[170] Questionnaires; Robin Murray; Dawn Brown. This was also Perry Jewell's opinion.

who were moved to write about it.[171] The Manual provided that branches could compel policy discussions by higher echelons[172] and here the system varied from the CPA's democratic centralism although the branch system approximated communist organization.

The branches took advantage of the CB radio, the fax and the truck-driver message system to communicate. Branches were active, organizing leaflet drives, talk-back radio publicity and street stalls.[173] Members participated in community groups and controlled the Australian Right To Bear Arms Association. Efforts were undertaken to have members join trade union branches and win trade union support.[174]

The branch organization was democratic with an elected chairman and other officers subject to "rotation".[175] Here the potential for chaos was obvious and this compounded the other cadre problems in CAP. It seems one of the ironies of populist organization is that it requires more than "shepherding" from the centre[176] (that is gentle guidance that all branches conform with the rules), lest its centrifugal quality disrupt it. The CAP's short life did not allow the two qualities to synthesize in a way that might have made CAP into a formidable organization.

(c)   The Politics Of Populist-Monarchism

This Thesis argued that populist-monarchist politics can be considered an antipodean version of European 'national populism' albeit with two qualifications: we must choose appropriate argument from various theoretical constructs and appreciate the specifically Australian historical origins of our subject.

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[171] Allan and Vivienne Wardrope, Letter To The ECQ, August 16 1993 and Lorraine Elliot, August 4 1993, in ECQ, Registration Of Political Parties: Confederate Action Party Of Australia EL/38 Part 1.
[172] Activities Manual, p. 8.
[173] Bernie Clark (Chairman, Nundah Branch CAP), Members' Letter, January 12 1994; Joe Ross (Chairman, CAP Queensland State Council), Fax To Branches, August 18 1993.
[174] Queensland State Council CAP, Form Letter, addressed to all sections of the trade union movement, January 5 1995.
[175] Activities Manual, p. 22.
[176] ibid. The use of the term 'shepherding' was curious and no further light could be shed on its origin. Possibly it was a religious reference.

The debate over New Right influence on conservative and Extreme Right politics retained practical significance. Kitschelt considered "free market appeals" issued by particular 1990's European parties which espouse ethnocentrism, the <u>reason</u> for their success. He contrasted these 'New Right Radicals' ('Progress parties' in Denmark, Norway, Austria) with "populist anti-Statists" in the "post-industrial welfare states" (Republikaner, Lombard League), the former supposedly more likely to achieve mass influence.[177] Betz however, while noting the anti-tax, anti-bureaucratic anti-regulationist appeals of the "neo-liberals", concluded that the 'national populists' (Front National, Republikaner, Vlaams Blok) <u>articulated a deeper collectivist sense of resentment</u> of globalization, industrial decline and loss of cultural-community identities; increasingly, 'free market' groups yielded to a less neo-liberal social-economic approach,[178] that is, to "populist anti-Statism" by Kitschelt's definition.

One scholar argued a veritable "war of words" surrounded questions of neo-populist typology noting also the need for differentiation between "political style and ideological feature".[179] Another scholar observed populism's "negativity and its breadth", "opposed to the system and those who run it", an "anti party ideology" fed by those with an "indignation at their exclusion from political life."[180]

The Confederate Action Party certainly espoused the worth of private property and economic individualism but it tempered this with programmatic protectionism, welfare, cheap credit and a cross-class appeal. The early CAP had an underlying commitment to an armed populace empowered by popular democracy. The specified Australian origins of populist-monarchism caused a tense 'intra' and 'inter' organizational relationship with Conservative Right politics as argued above. This tension might also be seen as the neo-

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[177] Herbert Kitschelt, <u>The Radical Right In Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis</u>, Ann Arbor, 1995, pp. (viii), 21–22, 160, 166, 226; Footnote 672.
[178] Hans Georg Betz, <u>Radical Right-Wing Populism In Western Europe</u>, Basingstoke, 1994, pp. 109–110; Hans Georg Betz, "The New Politics Of Resentment: Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties In Western Europe", <u>Comparative Politics</u>, Vol. 25, No. 3, 1993, pp. 413–427, passim.
[179] Cas Mudde, "The War Of Words: Defining The Extreme Right Party Family", <u>West European Politics</u>, Vol. 19, No. 2, 1996, p. 231.

liberal and national populist strains in struggle for dominance, particularly since the former position did move some traditional National Party and ex-satellite conservative activists.

Empirically, populist-monarchism grew out of the ex-satellite milieu. For example: one CAP candidate conceived his party as the one "that Peter Sawyer spoke about years ago";[181] strong CAP branches emerged in the Sunshine Coast where Nexus and Exposure, conspiracy journals of the Conservative Right, were influential;[182] the CAP's Activities Manual, in an admission of the source of its social-contract doctrine, advised its 'house groups' to study Alan Gourley's Democracy And Treason, Saving The Future and Assault On Childhood, and LOR founder Arthur Chresby's Your Will Be Done;[183] the Activities Manual also specifically recorded branch 'codes' for members won from the National Party, CEC and Christian Outreach Centre, meaning they were 'targets' for recruitment;[184] a NSW conference urged the recruitment of John Grover[185]; and Fight mourned the death of News Digest International stalwart, George Turner.[186]

Polzen described the internal struggle between those who desired "a revolt to overthrow the government" and "the Moderates" who "joined the party for its Christian ethics". He argued: "These two factions have been at odds since the early days of the party."[187] This fight was essentially won by "the Moderates" with Jewell's removal, the 'national populism' of the party in retreat towards a familiar conservative approach with Bjelke-Petersen-style liberal economics.[188] This analysis notes opposition to this course with the attempt to mesh populist-monarchism with radical-populist forces. The 1994 proposal to stabilize the CAP's electoral presence by a united front with AAFI, EFF and the Wollongong 'Rex

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[180] Paul Taggart, "New Populist Parties In Western Europe", West European Politics, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 36, 37, 39.

[181] Jeff Gehrmann, Letter To Perry Jewell, April 24 1992, in ECQ, Registration Of Political Parties: Confederate Action Party, File EL/38 Part 2.

[182] John Howell (Nundah Branch CAP), 'Discussion Letter', 1993, for 'use' of Nexus in crafting propaganda.

[183] Activities Manual, pp. 17–18.

[184] ibid., pp. 13–14.

[185] Minutes Of The Meeting Of The NSW State Council Of CAP Of Australia, April 4 1993.

[186] "George Turner", Fight, No. 9, undated, p. 10.

[187] Kevin Polzen, CAP Members' Letter, undated (1995), in ECQ, Registration Of Political Parties: Confederate Action Party, File EL/38 Part 4.

[188] See: "Small Business Australia" and "Wanted: A Real Accord", In The National Interest, August 1995, p. 9.

Connor Senior Labor Party'[189] – although rejected – indicated continued internal support for the national populist course.

The inherent danger CAP represented as a national populist party, may be understood in the terms of Eatwell's analysis of Extreme Right "electoral breakthrough".

He drew upon 'rational choice theory', and added those factors which "explain the individual embedded in much wider social structures, both meso and macro" not simply in "individualistic-economist" routines. Here individuals seek community normalization and personal "identity" and "meaning". Electoral breakthrough occurs if "rising personal efficacy" encourages the belief that action is utile, if "insurgent group legitimacy" develops "respectability" and if "declining system trust" fuels radical dissent.[190] In this way the CAP concretized the 'prediction' of Connell and Gould (Chapter Two) that a section of conservatism might develop a radical system-critique, and act militantly.

Reasonably, the CAP moved beyond advocacy and fulfilment of protest voting. Although further research is certainly warranted, it would seem that populist-monarchism in Queensland (1992–3) had provided a rationale for action with the resultant first electoral breakthrough by the Extreme Right.

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[189] Sue Hammond, Confederate Action Party Discussion Paper: The Development Of A Political Strategy, September 15 1994, passim.

[190] Roger Eatwell, "Un Nuovo Modello Di Fascismo Generico", introduction in English to a forthcoming book, pp. 14–15, 19. (Copy provided by Eatwell; in author's possession.)

CONCLUSION

The evidence established that populist-monarchism emerged from a crisis of confidence in Queensland's exceptionalist politics. The New Right Bjelke-Petersen system collapsed, and its conservative satellites received 'independence'. It was shown that a section of the National Party electorate defected to the new Confederate Action Party which also mobilized new pools of discontent. The CAP functioned during 1990–1993 as an embryonic 'people's party', organized in a novel grassroots branch system.

Populist-monarchism possessed particular attributes. Its membership qualities and geographic distribution told of an 'Old Australian' protest at the advent of a multiracial-multicultural order. This grassroots non-metropolitan response by groups which conceived that their status in Australia had changed was however symbiotically wrapped in an iconography and heritage derived of satellite-conservatism. This genesis-point signified further that populist-monarchism's delegitimization of the State was never complete; in practice populist-monarchist organization would be ideologically-politically weak, unsure of how far to go in challenging State power and uncertain as to the proper relationship between parliamentarist action and grassroots mobilization.

Yet if the CAP is seen as an opportunistic event, it is concluded that Extreme Right breakthrough could occur at weak points in the political order and that certain forms would be linked to the temporary availability of that space. The CAP case indicated that only further radicalization might have extended the gap before it was closed by the National Party and a new independent conservatism.

Populist-monarchism appeared as an ally for other radical-populist forces in rural areas and the new metropolitan anti-immigration electoral organization AAFI. But CAP's fragmentation largely precluded opportunities for a united national-populist front. It was

clear that an audience had become available to Extreme Right politics. The issues raised –
immigration, gun ownership, CIR, industrial-protection – indicated the existence of areas of
public concern that could not be accommodated by the bourgeois parties.

It is concluded that the populist-monarchist concept of democracy would pass into
currency as a continuing legacy to inspire new organizations.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE RADICAL-POPULIST FACE OF THE EXTREME RIGHT

This Chapter examines the fourth face of the contemporary Australian Extreme Right –
radical-populism. This family partitions neatly into two sub-categories.

The first sub-category was a predominantly rural/country town phenomenon which
appeared from the early 1980's particularly after the advent of a Federal Labor
government. Its 'freedom' agenda was derived from the needs of people burdened by
indebtedness and the State bureaucracy, and who saw in popular democracy, gun
ownership and grassroots activism, a chance for resistance and empowerment. The
breadth of the movement was clear. Representative structures such as Enterprise,
Freedom and Family (EFF), Inverell Forum, Australian Community Movement (ACM),
and others, will receive attention.

The second sub-category was urban and emerged after 1988 with a non-racist cultural and
environmentalist argument against the immigration/multicultural policies of Labor and 'the
new class'. Organizations such as Australians Against Further Immigration and Reclaim
Australia Reduce Immigration articulated the trend, while politician Graeme Campbell and
Rex Connor (Jr) gave the cause new depth in the Labor populist vein.

This Chapter interlinks the two sub-categories through their common placement on the
tripartite paradigm and their common populist underpinnings.

This Chapter also develops the ideological discussion advanced in Chapter Seven. The
'tension' between radical-populist politics and conservative politics will receive treatment.
This tension does not express itself in debates over interpretations of monarchical-
constitutional power, but in discussions at the level of grassroots action especially over
legalism and political methods.

Both particles of radical-populism catered to new constituencies whose availability signalled a deeper malaise in Australian economic and political life. Clearly, the needs and attitudes of these new groups could not be accommodated by the bourgeois parties. Specific research questions to be addressed include:

- What new political market opened for the Extreme Right? Who joined radical-populist organizations and what was their impact?
- What were the issues addressed?
- How did radical-populism articulate a radicalization against dominant liberal institutions and values?

Together, populist-monarchism and radical-populism indicated the potential for 'national-populist' politics and the possibility of a deeper radicalization. Necessarily the Chapter provides interpretative narrative on the inter-relationships within the broad Right family.

1. RURAL/COUNTRY TOWN RADICAL-POPULISM 1975–1995

(a) *Special Definitions And Criteria For Group Selection*

This Thesis has employed the term 'populist' to describe ideologies and organizations.

Canovan's study of historical populism's "exceptionally vague" nature broke it into a "rural radicalism" and a phenomenon more 'moral' than programmatic, an activist protest of the alienated, disinherited and 'small man'; both sometimes featuring the call for a direct democracy and exalting an ethnically defined 'people'.[1]

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[1] Margaret Canovan, <u>Populism</u>, London, 1981, pp. 1, 8–10, 290–92, 294.

Scholarship dealing with the new 'national populist' parties was referred to in Chapter Seven. The populist-monarchists were discussed with reference to this literature, but whereas they radicalized within a particular framework and mobilized an electoral clientele chiefly drawn from the bourgeois parties, the radical-populists shall be shown as responsive to issues which supposedly affected the lives of the common person, but were ignored by liberal elites and government. One European study advised:

> The most important distinction to be made is between trust in the political system as such [regime support] and trust in the incumbent authorities and their policies.[2]

Here we witness the refusal to trust such authorities. The more serious situation arose mainly in Radical-Nationalist and neo-nazi groups in the 1980's/1990's; however, as has been observed in academic discussions concerning "Hansonism", there was an ongoing right-wing reaction against "the social movements" and "globalization" from the 1980's.[3] In addition, the "catch-all" State parties, differentiated minimally, could not assimilate all Australians during the years of Accord-ism/New Right 'reform'. Protest from the Right demanded new organization.

The Australian environment after 1975 had encouraged some disengagement from mainstream structures ("anti-politics"), a similar process occurring in most 'democracies'.[4] The evidence shows that radical-populist groups (like the Extreme Right generally) perceived the new internationalized order as another aspect of political sleaze.[5] Certainly

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[2] David Hine, "Elite-Mass Linkages In Europe: Legitimacy Crisis Or Party Crisis", in Jack Hayward (ed.), Elitism, Populism And European Politics, Oxford, 1996, p. 145.
[3] Carol Johnson, "Pauline Hanson And One Nation", in Hans Georg Betz and Stefan Immerfall (eds.), The New Politics Of The Right: Neo-Populist Parties And Movements In Established Democracies, New York, 1998, p. 216.
[4] Andraes Schedler (ed.), The End Of Politics: Explorations Into Modern Anti-Politics, Basingstoke, 1997, passim.
[5] See: There Is Something You Can Do, Australian Community Movement pamphlet, undated, p. 4; The Rip Off Factor, EFF election leaflet, 1988; CAP official Cec Clark's appeal to the "freedom movement" for unity, was couched in these very terms - To All Freedom Loving Organizations, Open Letter, January 6 1995.

also, political corruption has been endemic in Australia.[6] A radical-populism with electoral-mass action methods, appealing to a dispossessed people who incarnate sovereignty and virtue, against the liberal elites and parties, was bound to have some minority appeal.

In fact, there were significant organizations whose patterns of action and propaganda showed their place in this camp. To construct a working list of these organizations required detective work. Four key documents became available which recorded hundreds of possible candidates: Directory Of Conservative, New Right And Anti-Socialist Organizations (1988), A Directory Of Organizations (1986) and two lists of "loyal organizations" (1992) (1995) issued by Tony Pitt.[7]

By applying the tripartite paradigm, most of the groups fitted precisely into the Conservative Right category (Australian Family Movement, Christians Speaking Out, Party To Oppose The Petrov Conspiracy and many groups discussed as ex-satellites in Chapter Seven), while some were New Right groups or adjuncts of the old Satellite Right (People Against Communism, Baltic Council). Left over were about 50 possible radical-populist organizations.

Questionnaires were dispatched and 10 replies received.[8] Some of the groups (Committee For Integrity In Government, Australians For Commonsense Freedom And Responsibility and A Better Compassionate Australia Movement), were in fact conservative. It was clear that many of the circularized groups, were defunct. This had some significance. Groups were founded as localized 'oppositions' to liberal or State economic policies, enjoyed a flurry of activity and then died. This suggested a fertility on the Right and an audience, but limited opportunities for most groups to move out of the fringe. Barrett's Canadian analysis of a number of 'Fringe-Right' single issue or local or marginal groups beyond the limits of

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[6] Note could be made of affairs surrounding: Sir Robert Askin; the Queensland Fitzgerald Inquiry (Chapter Seven); the 'West Australia Inc.' Royal Commission 1991 ff; the misuse of police powers provides references too numerous to cite.

[7] Craig M. White, Directory Of Conservative, New Right And Anti-Socialist Organizations, the author, 1988; Conservative Action And Victory Fund, A Directory Of Organizations, Maitland, 1986; Loyal Organizations, Confederate Action Party leaflet, 1992; Untitled List Of Organizations, Confederate Action Party leaflet, 1995.

[8] As discussed hereunder. In author's possession.

mainstream conservative parties and auxiliaries, and Spoonley's similar review of New Zealand rightists, noted occasional blurring between radicals and conservatives;[9] this situation was paralleled in the Australian cases where for some the process of radicalization was, as shall be shown, similarly incomplete.

How far this activist discontent could mobilize was contingent upon resources and opportunity. How the new forces developed ideologically, politically and organizationally shall now be examined.

(b)   Radical-Populist Activism

It is a precept of the 'accepted' theory of the Extreme Right that rural Australia has periodic crises, during which extremism waxes with its populist economic policies involving cheap credit, debt reduction or orderly-produce-marketing. The focus is on particular 'extremists' who are beaten back by National Party 'hicks' who essentially keep the liberal-capitalist faith. [10]   Because rural Australia is a bastion of 'Old Australian' cultural mores with their British-Australia overtones, this criticism can draw on modernist prejudice which both lampoons and fears the countryside. Nonetheless, like all propaganda, there is some truth in the presentation.

The rural crisis of 1967–70 (Chapter Two) was overcome economically and politically. Prices improved, and the new National Party asserted control over the farmers' organizations. Further, the Bjelke-Petersen 'system' revamped the Satellite Right and after the defeat of Labor socialism in 1975, the reinvigorated capitalism of the Liberal Party promised a new prosperity.

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[9] Richard Barrett, Is God A Racist? , pp. 9, 28–30; Paul Spoonley, The Politics Of Nostalgia, pp. 16–18, 69–70.

[10] See: David Greason, "Bullets And Ballots", Rolling Stone, No. 489, November 1993, pp. 39–40; Gerard Henderson, "The Great Conspiracy To Enslave Australia", Sydney Morning Herald, June 22 1993, p. 13.

In 1979, Prime Minister Fraser endorsed the foundation of the National Farmers' Federation (NFF). This organization would prosecute a class struggle. Tom Connors's study of the NFF, showed it a blend of patrician 'pastoralist' graziers (who voted Liberal and favoured a free market) and a less homogenous farmer group (which voted Country Party and favoured orderly marketing and protectionism); the graziers achieved control.[11] By 1984, the 'pastoralist' faction found an aggressive New Right leadership in Ian McLachlan and Andrew Robb, both later prominent Liberals. These New Rightists sought an artificial rural unity aggressively directed at "costly industrial anarchy".[12] One inside commentator wrote, that the scheme was to

> create an atmosphere favourable to the types of
> economic reform a labour government would not
> normally be able to contemplate.[13]

The vigorous NFF attack upon state-regulated labour during 1985−87 concealed other aspects of the deregulationist NFF agenda: to undermine 'protection', to promote agribusiness and international and local 'competitiveness'. Certainly, the Hawke government's own agenda moved in tandem with the New Right, whatever its public antipathy to its aggressive liberal-capitalist rhetoric.[14]

The circumstances which prefaced the birth of radical-populist organization, lay in the years of drought (1980−83), which induced hardship across rural Australia; thereafter, an orgy of bank lending followed the breaking of the drought and the deregulation of the financial industry. By 1985, rural indebtedness had soared.[15] Rising mortgage rates (correctly)

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[11] Tom Connors, <u>To Speak With One Voice: The Quest By Australian Farmers For Federal Unity</u>, Kingston, 1996, pp. 3–4, 140–141.

[12] Rod Metcalfe, "Costs Must Be No Bar To Victory: NFF Leader", <u>The Land</u>, August 1985, in <u>File: NFF Fund</u>, in <u>National Farmer's Federation-Fund Box</u>, in, <u>The Land Archives</u>.

[13] Don Jones, "A Giant Step Forward For Agriculture", <u>The Land</u>, July 13 1989, op.cit.

[14] Tom Connors, op.cit., pp. 240–243; See the following for ALP's dispute with means not ends: Michael Grattan, "Hawke Hits 'Lunacy' Of New Right", <u>The Age</u>, August 29 1986, p. 1; The Hon. J.S. Dawkins, MP, <u>The False Patriots Of The New Right</u>, Sydney Speech, January 26 1986, pamphlet form (no publishing details, in author's possession).

[15] Peter Austen, "Banks' Secret Agenda Behind Debt Blow Out", <u>The Land</u>, October 6 1988", in <u>Finance Banks Futures Box</u>, in <u>The Land Archives</u>.

convinced indebted farmers that they had been the <u>victims</u> of fraudulent bank-contracts.[16] While the NFF attacked the unions in the period 1985–7, mass actions broke out particularly in New South Wales, directed at indebtedness and openly critical of the process of credit-creation.

The protests grew in intensity. Robyn Tiffen and Peter Ryan of the Canowindra Rural Reform Committee formed in 1985, led the way. Farmers' strikes, wheat dumping in conjunction with the Livestock and Grain Producers' Association, and town meetings were organized. The NFF affected to critically support protest, but tried to channel it into lobbyist activity.[17] The attitude of various anti-bank groups, 'rural-action' committees and others thence became critical of the NFF.[18] Simultaneously, a weakening of the National Party was underway, the NFF's aggressive 'industry' role progressively undercutting the NP's function, just as its repudiation of the old McEwan protectionist principle challenged traditional wisdom.[19]

The 'accepted theory' of the Extreme Right suggests that rural people are prone to extremism when 'pressured', although the theory does not explain the ease by which the angry masses return peacefully to their farms with the passing of immediate crisis. Obviously, the quick return to normal life indicated that the majority of graziers and farmers and country-town people had never radicalized, although some endorsed protests against perceived ills.[20] The crucial point is that discontent did not lead to a significant sector breaking from bourgeois politics in the 1980's period.

Allan Jones's 'National Credit Co-Ordinating Committee' (NCCC), part of his small 'National Technocrat Party', was one propaganda group which tried to deepen the protest

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[16] "Deregulation Began A Long Road To Crisis", <u>The Land</u>, April 18 1991, in <u>Finance Banks Futures Box</u>, in <u>The Land Archives</u>.

[17] David Petrukas, "NFF 'Not Going For Throat' – Militants", <u>The Land</u>, undated (but 1986), <u>National Farmers Federation-Fund Box</u>.

[18] Vernon Graham, "'Canowindra Seven' Plans To Make Farmers Revolutionaries", in <u>Rural Crisis 1986–1988 Box</u>, in <u>The Land Archives</u>.

[19] Tom Connors, op.cit., pp. 59–61.

[20] Vernon Graham, "Old Timers Back Protests – If They're Legal", <u>The Land</u>, February 2 1986, <u>Rural Crisis 1986–1988 Box</u>, in op.cit.; Vernon Graham, "Farm Militancy Has Grass Roots Support", <u>The Land</u>, June 5 1986, ibid.

movement. Jones's group developed upon the residue of such Social Credit networks as the Eyre Peninsula grouplet, the 'Rockhampton Anti-Inflation Group' and others. Ideologically, Jones's idea of 'National Credit' relied upon Frank Anstey and Commonwealth Bank governor Denison Miller, criticized Social Credit as utopian and consumerist but advocated debt-free credit, 'new technology' and sustainable 'green' farming.[21] Jones liaised closely with Tiffen and Ryan, but when Wagga Wagga employed a community shutdown in April 1986, Jones warned the Canowindra group against backsliding towards the NFF and New Right activists like Katherine West and placing hopes on Bjelke-Petersen's Nationals.[22] His prompts gained significance in the later foundation, by the assorted rural-action committees, of the Union of Australian Farmers in 1987,[23] and a new round of anti-bank demonstrations in New South Wales. This section of farmer opinion thence branded the NFF as linked to Westpac Bank and Elders-IXL, putative agents of rural distress.[24]

These years of destabilization also brought forth militant posturing. The 'Australians United For Survival And Individual Freedom Scouts' were formed by millionaire Cobar district grazier, Ian Murphy. A tease for liberal journalists in the period 1987–95,[25] the Scouts purported to be an armed militia (an auxiliary to the Army which would be ready to oppose the inevitable Indonesian invasion) and a Christian moral force.[26] Despite intense ASIO interest in 1995, which focused on Scout links with a Christian militia active in the Defence Department,[27] no evidence existed that the Scouts were – in the study period – engaged in violence. An initial influence from Lyndon La Rouche soon yielded to traditional

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[21] Allan Jones, The Enemy Behind Your Enemies, Concord West, undated (but 1986), pp. 21–25; A. R. Jones, Beyond Economic Treadmill, Concord West, 1986, pp. 55–71.

[22] A.R. Jones, The Eureka Message, broadsheet pamphlet, 1987, p. 1, for opposition to system parties; for Bjelke-Petersen/New Right nexus, see: "Grass Roots News: What Really Happened At Wagga", The Optimist, No. 12, January–February 1987, pp. 10–11.

[23] Vernon Graham, "Fighting For The Family Farm", The Land, July 23 1987, in Rural Crisis 1986–1988 Box, in The Land Archives.

[24] Tim Powell, "More Anti-Bank Protests Likely", The Land, July 9 1987, in Rural Crisis 1986–1988 Box, in The Land Archives.

[25] Andrew Byrne, "Outback Militia On 'War' Footing", Sydney Morning Herald, May 5 1995, pp. 1, 7; various television reports 1990–5 on video, in author's possession.

[26] Who Are Aussie Freedom Scouts?, leaflet, undated.

[27] "Hunt For Extreme Rightists", Sydney Telegraph-Mirror, May 5 1995, p. 4; "Freedom For 'Scouts' Is Right To Bear Arms", Sydney Morning Herald, May 5 1995, p. 7.

conservative concerns centred on the influence of Fabian Socialism's attack on the family farm.[28] While the Scouts opted for 'training' and Christian prayer, they attracted in 1990, the patronage of Brigadier Ted Serong, former commander of Australian troops in Vietnam. Serong had LOR connections, and his critique of defense unpreparedness and New World Order dictatorship, favoured also by some radical-populists and the populist-monarchists, showed how the Conservative Right and Extreme Right categories could blur. This was a matter of relevance to political formation in the 1990's (as below).

By 1988, the sense of immediate rural crisis had eased with rising livestock/grain prices and downward interest rates. However, the political climate had changed through the richness of the anti-bank protest movement and crucial external events. First, whereas most farmers sought only a better deal from financial institutions,[29] some had questioned State policy and the private monopoly of credit creation. The mass groups built on efforts to reform State and bank policy receded, leaving discontented grouplets to campaign for various forms of the National Credit/Social Credit argument. Second, a tradition of localized militancy had emerged with a pool of people familiar with populist messages; but rather than 'popular' protest, there was now the option of populist organization. Third, the Queensland National Party had pushed 'de-satellitization' (Chapter Seven) after Bjelke-Petersen's fall, and its commitment to New Right internationalist deregulation alienated some traditional supporters. Similar processes outside Queensland led to an opening for new organizations. Fourth, Left-influenced commentators reasoned that the 'devastation' caused by New Right rural policies was assisted by populist action. Here we witness the traditional Left view of the Extreme Right as a troubleshooter for capitalism;[30] but this ignores the fact that the 'anti-bank' groups came up against New Right opposition. Last, some commentators have recorded the 1980's–1990's decline of rural Australian towns and farms as an important social division of contemporary Australia, the veritable creation of 'two nations',

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[28] Ian Murphy, "Letter To The Editor", untitled document (in author's possession); AUSI Freedom Press Release, undated (in author's possession).

[29] Richard Piggot, "Bank Bills Could Cut Interest Rates", no other details, in Finance-General Interest Rates Box, in, The Land Archives; "Demand Mounts For Farm Interest Relief", The Land, March 20 1986, op.cit.

[30] Brian Aarons, Here Come The Uglies, pp. 87–89; Andrew Moore, The Right Road?, pp. 134–5.

and a factor later relevant to the emergence of the One Nation Party.[31] Reasonably, some country people felt this process intensely. This crisis produced cult-heroes like Charlie Kerr (1986–ff.), a farmer bankrupted by banks[32] which refused to understand the culture of farm life, and the Muirhead family driven to advocate fantastic "secession" from Australia to avoid losing their "racial identity" and Marlborough property.[33] Out of this background emerged the first major organization of radical-populist action, Independent Enterprise, Freedom And Family (EFF), founded by Joe Bryant in September 1987.

Bryant, born in 1934, was a long-time resident of western Sydney, a successful business and property owner, and deputy mayor of Blacktown. His business activities brought him into contact with other small-business operators who shared his resentments of petty regulation and 'unfair' taxation.[34] A manifesto authored by Bryant, set out the EFF's formative ideas and purposes which included that partial delegitimization of the State that characterizes the 'Extreme Right':

> Myself and associates have been actively lobbying
> for common sense for some five years. This
> lobbying evolved … to the Ballot Box, as we did in
> 'Rockdale' resulting in the Unsworth win of only 28
> votes … and [on] … from there. It has become
> quite apparent that when governments refuse to
> hear, or listen, or see what the average Australian
> hears and sees, lobbying even carried to the ballot
> box produces little … We have been forced from
> deligation (sic) to Ballot Box action and now to

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[31] For the 'two nations' discussion, see: Antony Green, "Nationals Face Threat From New Breed Of Independents", Sydney Morning Herald, March 20 1999, p. 11; Paul Sheehan, "Angry Bush Set To Spark A Revolution", Sydney Morning Herald, March 22 1999, p. 17.

[32] Don Jones, "Indebted Farmers Face A New Twist", The Land, August 9 1990, in Finance Banks Futures Box, in The Land Archives.

[33] G.A.R. and S.S. Muirhead, Secession: Benefit, Duty, Necessity, Tanah Merah, 1993, pp. 12–13, 56. On the Muirhead struggle, see below.

[34] Lee Masters, "Bryant Sickened", Blacktown Advocate, October 21 1987, in Blacktown City Council Personal File BR0019/1 Joseph Bryant; Joe Bryant, Telephone Interview, June 1999; Joe Bryant, Fellow Australian, Open Letter, August 1987.

direct action, due solely to the constant refusal of

those in power to hear or see.[35]

Initially, EFF was Sydney based. Its Platform which involved the limitation of workers' compensation, voluntary unionism, elimination of unemployment benefits and flat tax[36] was petty bourgeois, and echoed positions taken by New Right Centre 2000 with which Bryant was − like some farmers − initially connected. However, Centre 2000's deregulationist economics poisoned the relationship soon enough.[37] Although Bryant sought a country clientele, those opposed to Liberal and Labor "socialism" and alienated from the "wishy-washy" Nationals,[38] he did not consider the labour movement as the enemy.

Whereas Conservative Right doctrine argued for the absolute independence of their fairyland parliamentarians from party direction, the EFF insisted on a party to elect a "group" of independents committed to core policies.[39] This idea would pass through to Campbell's Australia First. The new party would be a staff and a nucleus, an agitational force, not simply an electoral organization.[40]

Bryant possessed a capacity for showmanship. Bryant reputedly brawled at a Blacktown Council meeting, lending colour to his activism.[41] In early 1988, he constructed "Effie", a large metal Trojan Horse, and parked it at Sydney's Parliament House, as a protest. In 1988−89, "Effie" toured country New South Wales, painted in slogans demanding Citizens' Initiated Referenda (CIR) and reductions in interest rates.[42] It was the "people's

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[35] Joe Bryant, Fellow Australians, Open Letter, January 11 1988.

[36] The EFF Platform, leaflet, September 1987.

[37] See Bryant's artwork used in The Optimist, No. 15, July − August 1987, p. 1; Joe Bryant.

[38] "New Political Party To Start In Central West", Western Advocate, August 1 1988, in Australian Electoral Commission, Party Registration - Independent Freedom And Family File No. 88/00495.

[39] Joe Bryant, The Reasons For Independent EFF, EFF pamphlet, January 1988.

[40] About Independent EFF, leaflet, 1988.

[41] Megan Timmins, "Censure Motion Over Council Brawl", Daily Mirror, October 23 1989, in Blacktown City Council Personal File BR0019/1 Joseph Bryant.

[42] See: "Mall Hosts Trojan Horse", The Advocate (Coffs Harbour), August 6 1988, p. 1; "Trojan Horse", West Wyalong Advocate, July 26 1988, p. 3; New Campaign For Trojan Horse", The Northern Star, August 12 1988, p. 6; People's Trojan Horse, Tour Of New South Wales, EFF leaflet, undated (1989).

weapon" to 'bust' party politics.[43]   Through to 1995, the Trojan Horse appeared at farmers' rallies,[44] a 1993 cavalcade through Brisbane for 'Freedom' from unrepresentative government,[45] and at Marlborough as the Muirhead family fought a bank-obtained eviction order.   Bryant, the "Prime Minister of the Principality of Marlborough" became a provocative advocate of farmers' rights,[46] the Muirhead saga winning supporters across Australia.

The EFF's history fitted into the Extreme Right category in the paradigmatic model advanced in this Thesis. In 1990, EFF brought conservatives George Turner and Alan Gourley onto its NSW Senate ticket under the slogan "Sack A Politician, Elect A Representative"[47] and subsequently Bryant remained friendly with conservative groups like The Strategy circle[48] and the LOR. He sought their co-optation into his freedom front; but these forces were suspicious of his ambivalence about the monarchy. In 1993, Bryant told Lock, Stock And Barrel of his particular interpretation of Citizens' Initiated Referenda:

> The CIR I support is required to replace the long
> advocated duty of the monarch.[49]

He would stay ambivalent, ending as a de facto republican, but also a supporter of Pauline Hanson.[50]

The EFF served as a mobilizer. It built sections across Australia. For example, South Australian co-ordinator Doug Giddings, described participation in a series of conservative

[43] Joe Bryant, quoted in Graeme Johnson, "Keating Cool On Trojans", The Sun (Melbourne), May 28 1988, p. 9.
[44] The Trojan Horse Story, leaflet, undated.
[45] "Freedom Rally", Lock, Stock And Barrel, No. 12, October–November 1993, pp. 26–31.
[46] "Interview With Joe Bryant", Lock, Stock And Barrel, No. 15, April–May 1994, p. 45.
[47] Sack A Politician: Elect A Representative.
[48] See: The Strategy's reports on the Federal Parliament 'demonstration' by "Effie": August 1995, pp. 1, 7; September 1995, pp. 1, 3.
[49] "Interview With Joe Bryant", loc.cit., p. 46.
[50] In 1999, as a contribution to Australia's 'republic debate', Bryant produced Alternative Three: Draft Proposed Constitution Of The Commonwealth Of Australia, St. Mary's, 1999 and The Alternative Three Constitutional Review: Your Say, Your Future Freedom, St. Mary's, 1999, which defend the

groups prior to his Freedom Foundation's association with EFF.[51] He attacked the politics of New World Order capitalism as a cause of the rural economic crisis.[52] The EFF also fielded candidates across Australia. Some initially favourable New South Wales results were not built upon:

Table 8.1   EFF Electoral Results[53]

1988	NSW Legislative Council	72955
1990	NSW Senate	63378
1991	NSW Legislative Council	49077

The EFF continued to field candidates throughout Australia.   Although results were unsubstantial, they inferred the availability of a basic clientele for a populist economic-political platform.

The EFF was in hindsight a sort of drummer for a wider movement. Bryant was quick to appreciate the potential in the new anti-immigration groups in the cities but he remained "painfully aware" of the disunion in the country movement and the confusion over strategy and personalities.   Nonetheless, Bryant maintained that rural distress could also breed clarity in the activists.[54] One example was Ross Provis, an Inverell farmer with a facile pen, who participated in the farmers' protests (1984–7). Provis's account of his political evolution explained how he was drawn into an association with Keith Coulton, trustee for leftover funds belonging to the dissolved 1950's/1960's New England New State

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Common Law inheritance – without the Monarch; John Pasquarelli, The Pauline Hanson Story: By The Man Who Knows, French's Forest, 1998, pp. 134–5.

[51] Doug Giddings, Interview, October 1997.

[52] Australian Freedom Foundation: Truth In Time, AFF pamphlet, undated.

[53] State Electoral Office, New South Wales Legislative Council Election, 1988, p. 141; State Electoral Office, New South Wales Legislative Council Election, 1991, p. 136; Australian Electoral Commission, Senate Election: New South Wales: Statement Showing The Result Of Scrutiny Of First Preference Votes, p. 2.

[54] Joe Bryant.

Movement and President of the 'Grains Council'. Both men were converts to the idea of CIR and lobbied that it be adopted as Farmers' Association Policy.[55] In 1988, they founded the 'Inverell Forum'.[56] The first six Forums (1988–9) brought hundreds of participants to discuss the idea of a 'freedom movement', organized in grassroots structures, to defend the rural community. The EFF, 'Voters' Veto' and South Australian 'Groundswell' were all actors in the inter-change of views.[57] However, there was continual input from the LOR which argued against political party activity, and from Michael Darby who had unsuccessfully challenged Robert Sparkes for the leadership of the Queensland Nationals, and who led the Forum into divisive debates about Peter Sawyer for whom he organized.

In September 1989, out of the Forum's chaos, Provis established the 'Australian Community Movement' (ACM), "a political party that's not a party".[58] A manifesto articulated the Extreme Right countryside consensus, with demands centred around ending immigration, "strong tariffs", support for the family unit and a moratorium on farm foreclosures. 'Get Big Or Get Out' was expressly condemned.[59] The "dictatorial control" of the "party-ocracy"[60] was part of a system of "crime, graft and corruption".[61] It was to be challenged not just by electoral candidates, but by successful resistance which empowered participants. According to Provis, ACM helped farmers secrete goods against their seizure by re-possession agents, picketed banks and generally tried to create a climate of opinion favourable to the country cause. He also remained aware of the limitations imposed by the absence of an allied urban movement. The ACM did build a working relationship with EFF which had metropolitan activists and continued to organize country-town CIR meetings until 1994,[62] when it fizzled through lack of finance.

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[55] Ross Provis, The Inverell Forums: A Unique Page In Australian Politics, the author, undated (but 1990), pp. 1–2.

[56] First National Independent Conference Program, June 1988.

[57] Second Inverell Forum Program, August 1988; Minutes: Second Inverell Forum, August 12 1988; Ross Provis, Interview, May 1999.

[58] The Australian Community Movement: The Party That's Not A Party, ACM leaflet, undated.

[59] The Rural Crisis Is A Grave National Crisis, ACM pamphlet, Inverell, 1990.

[60] What Is ACM? ACM Is You, ACM pamphlet, Inverell, 1990.

[61] Australian Community Movement Policy Guidelines, Inverell, 1991, p. 3.

[62] Taree Action Conference, ACM invitation, 1994.

The tempo of EFF, the Inverell Forum and ACM was sustained by a certain optimism arising from a base of continuous action. The 'Rural Action Movement' (RAM) appeared in two states (Victoria and Western Australia) in 1991; it sabotaged rail lines, organized radio protest discussions and truck-convoy demonstrations.[63] RAM leaflets proclaimed the value of direct action outside of parliamentary parties.[64] The group attracted a 'protest' membership, but the leadership was more radical. This pattern also existed in groups such as the Queensland 'Australian Right To Bear Arms Association' where Ron Owen's populist-monarchist 'The Constitutionalists' provided both the idea that the right to bear arms was a 'right' derived of the 1688 Bill Of Rights, and protest organizers.[65] Some oral evidence was given by Owen and Provis that 'freedom' militants were active in mainstream urban and country gun organizations during 1990–5, with the line that gun ownership was an attribute of national defence strategy and the ultimate sanction against bad government.[66] This 'market' was potentially a large one which often overlapped with urban groups, and farmers active in anti-bank protests who believed access to guns was a normal social rule. One semi-urban example was the 'Unite Australia Party' (UAP) which operated in Picton and Thirlmere where it conducted a public campaign around the aforementioned themes.[67] Was the increasing 1990's clamour for 'gun control' a para-State driven reaction to countryside radicalization? It is impossible to determine that, but there were definite limits upon political radicalization.

The conservative structures competed with the gamut of Extreme Right effort and were not 'overwhelmed'. In one of his appeals to the 'freedom movement' for an alliance, Tony Pitt described the division of organizational method between the populist parties and the conservatives in a manner apposite to the argument of this Thesis:

> To those who seek change by educating the people,
> I would point out that Jeremy and Eric have been

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[63] Ken Edwards, "Nasty Turn On The Land", <u>Time</u>, December 9 1991, pp. 54–5.
[64] <u>The Family Farm Is Australia</u>, RAM leaflet, undated.
[65] <u>The Constitutionalists</u>, leaflet, undated; <u>Ron Owen</u>.
[66] <u>Ron Owen</u>; <u>Ross Provis</u>.

[67] <u>Australians!</u>, Unite Australia Party, leaflet, 1995.

educating for 25 years … but education without action is a waste of time. To those who would pressure existing politicians, I would point out that Arthur Chresby and his associates wrote My Will letters for 25 years. The politicians put them in the bin … Independents don't work either. The voters want to see a party under one name in all states with sensible policies. They do not care that the word party is unacceptable to the purists who hate parties and call themselves foundations, forums, leagues, societies etc. Those who want to be non-political will never fix anything …[68]

Ross Provis and Joe Bryant told the author that they generally concurred with Pitt's view.

Lee dissented, having told Lock, Stock And Barrel that 'anti-freedom' initiatives such as the 'Australia Card' "required neither new parties nor candidates".[69] In one major pamphlet, Lee reproduced The Horsham Declaration, a statement issued as a result of a country people's rally in Horsham in April 1991.[70] The document 'typically' called for re-regulation of banking, a debt-moratorium, orderly marketting of rural products, the abolition of sales tax and a freeze on immigration. Lee argued that this programme should be put to Liberal candidates who could be "threatened with a denial of votes until they take a stand".[71] Here was the rub. The EFF and ACM, along with RAM and others, attended the Horsham meeting and could endorse the Declaration, but not the LOR/Lee strategy.

Significantly, it was not only the LOR and Lee who temporized over strategy. The Strategy group provided direct evidence not only of strategic difference but also of the ideological variance between radical–populism and conservatism. Published in Bendigo by Ray Platt,

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[68] Tony Pitt, To All Groups Interested In Saving Australia, Open Letter, May 15 1994.
[69] "Interview With Jeremy Lee", Lock, Stock And Barrel, No. 12, October–November 1993, pp. 63–4.
[70] Jeremy Lee, The New World Order And The Destruction Of Australian Industry, Cranbrook, 1991, pp. 92–94.

The Strategy, founded in 1992, set out to provide a focal point for the independent conservatives (ex-National satellites and new groups) and a co-operative agency for the more radical groups. Essentially, The Strategy regularly advertized and networked the Christian Identity church (a quietist version of the U.S. group), the British Israelite groups, the Anglo-Saxon Keltic Society, Jeremy Lee, Christians Speaking Out, constitutionalist authors and the 'Monarchist Action Network' (below) which looked to revivifying the Liberal Party 'Right'. It sponsored the LOR-influenced Inverell Forum (after Provis's withdrawal) and worked with Australian Capital Territory Assembly representative Dennis Stephenson, who supported CIR.[72] The Strategy was not nationalist; rather it could support in the name of British-heritage preservation, the secession of Western Australia and Tasmania from Australia.[73] Identity was an abstraction, inherent in the exercise of 'rights' against centralist forces.

The Strategy was rapt in the American campaigners Jack McLamb and Jack Mohr, whose material on the New World Order was staple fare.[74] As Barkun observed in the case of writers such as McLamb, their conspiracy theory went beyond "simply an extreme form of economic determinism in which a wealthy elite seeks to further aggrandize itself", into a description of literal last-days Satanic politics.[75]

This Thesis must reason that the 1960's/1970's post-millenarianism of the LOR was replicated and developed by The Strategy's network. The application of such politics brought similar earthly results: that after first restricting political action and then lending support to Bryant, AAFI and Campbell, The Strategy and its network passed over into the One Nation camp, confirming actual paradigmatic place. Once parts of the Liberal–National 'Right' seceded into electoral independence, confusion about electoral-

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[71] ibid., p. 92.

[72] The list of The Strategy contacts etc. from a reading of all numbers 1992–1995.

[73] "Will Apple Isle Secede?", The Strategy, September 1994, p. 1; "Will Premier Court Take W.A. To Secession? Or Will The West Succumb To Centralised Government?", The Strategy, May 1995, pp. 1, 2.

[74] "Jack McLamb Is Coming", The Strategy, July 1995, p. 17; see also various booklists in The Strategy.

[75] Michael Barkun, "Religion, Militias And Oklahoma City: The Mind Of Conspiratorialists", Terrorism And Political Violence, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Spring 1996), pp. 55, 58.

activist-verses-pressure-tactics, vanished. Further, other groups which replied to my Questionnaire, those loyal to "one nation, one flag",[76] "freedom"[77] and critical of "new class" interests or changes to the civic culture[78] also pushed for a Liberal return to power prior to 1996. Their 'conservative' refusal to embrace independent politics confirmed the usefulness of my paradigmatic model.

The conservatives contested with the rural radical-populists for support; but they also sustained a moral climate which the Extreme Right could exploit. Nonetheless, it was clear the rural/country movement could not win its goals without urban allies.   Circumstances required an inclusive party which expressed a populist-nationalist programme. A nexus with urban anti-immigration organizations was one solution to isolation.

2.   ANTI-IMMIGRATION POPULIST ORGANIZATIONS

(a)   *The Foundation Circumstances Of Australians Against Further Immigration (AAFI)*

In May 1988, Dr. Rodney Spencer and his wife Robyn, founded 'Australians Against Immigration' in Melbourne, and advertized for members in the daily press.[79]

Victoria's anti-immigration forces had hitherto divided into two camps. As Chapter Seven discussed, Australian conservative groups understood that under the Hawke government, the pace of Asian immigration had quickened. After the so-called 'Blainey Debate' (1984), conservative groups such as the LOR and the ICA (Q) urged a strident defence of the 'Anglo-Celtic' British civic culture. The most prominent spokesman for this trend – Victorian RSL President Bruce Ruxton – never encouraged any form of activist politics.

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[76] R.F. Sherlock, Dear Concerned Citizens, A Better Compassionate Australia Movement pamphlet, Perth, February 1995.
[77] Charles J. Connelly, The Committee For Integrity In Government, leaflet, undated (Brisbane).
[78] J.M. Cooray, Common Sense On Immigration From An Asian-Born Australian Citizen, Australians For Common Sense Freedom And Responsibility pamphlet, Epping, undated.
[79] See: Australians Against Immigration, leaflet, 1988.

Even so, throughout the 1980's, 'Anglo-Celtic' propaganda was widely distributed and its general line-of-march culminated in the 1993 formation of the Ruxton-patronised Monarchist Action Network.[80]   In contradistinction, National Action's "war from the political jungle" claimed its Melbourne scalps, but it stayed politically isolated, recruiting just over 100 members in the city by 1989. With Skinhead gangs and the ANM cell the only other militant 'anti-immigration' forces in Melbourne, it may be reasonably concluded an opportunity was available for a tactically moderate, but activist organization.

There was thus a new approach. Evonne Moore, an Unley City councillor (Adelaide) and AAFI candidate, has analysed the growth of an anti-immigration impulse in the Australian environmentalist movement.[81]   She explained the development of a population debate within the Australian Conservation Foundation centred around Dr. Geoff Mosley.[82]   It occasioned a "dilemma", whereby some environmentalists believed they would be accused of 'racism' in pushing for immigration-restriction, and while employing rhetoric about "sustainability", they abandoned the field.[83] The gap was filled by 'Australians For An Ecologically Sustainable Population', 'Writers For An Ecologically Sustainable Population' (supported by poets Judith Wright and Mark O'Connor) – and 'Australians Against Immigration'. The former groups specifically repudiated any idea of racial preference. Dr Spencer's organization was equivocal. Its manifesto Australians Against Immigration, proclaimed the group was "open to all regardless of race or cultural origin except those who hold racist beliefs", but argued, "Australian culture is unique and worthy of continuing".[84]   The AAI's support for "sustainable" economic progress outside of the Establishment's free-market/mass-immigration ideology drew support from prominent Victorian academics, such as population-expert Dr. Bob Birrell and Dr. Katherine Betts, neither of whom could be considered 'racist'.   However, the group possessed an underlying dynamic.

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[80] Monarchist Action Network: Act Now, Defend A Free Australia, Heritage Society pamphlet, 1993.
[81] Evonne Moore, "A Sustainable Population For Australia : Dilemma For The Green Movement", Master Of Environmental Studies Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1990, pp. 59–61.
[82] Dr. Geoff Mosley, National Self-Sufficiency; Living Within Our Means: A Fundamental Solution To The Environment Crisis , Melbourne 1994, for a summary of his long-standing arguments.
[83] Evonne Moore, op.cit., pp. 59–62, 70–71.
[84] Australians Against Immigration, Armidale, 1988, pp. 10–11.

A Members' Letter described members as:

> … ordinary concerned citizens like you whose knowledge is imperfect … [but] Common people have common sense …[85]

Yet, the same bulletin issued a populist-nationalist clarion call:

> Only when the rich Japanese, Americans and Hong Kong residents start to play Monopoly on TV with nationally-known Australian streets, beaches and scenic country towns, will the majority of Australians, realise they have been disenfranchised for the sake of the greedy minority who hold our national capital and sovereignty as their stock in trade.[86]

Although the group was pioneered as a lobby force and propaganda organization, it was placed in a singular position. The synthesis of an environmentalist argument against immigration with a populist-nationalism directed at overseas economic forces and internal traitors (to whom liberal intellectuals were soon added) was inherently radical. Fortunately, the leadership was not cranky like the conservatives, nor tainted with violence like the Radical-Nationalists and neo-nazis. Dr. Spencer presented as a prosperous general practitioner in a stable middle class marriage and home.[87] Publicity could be generated and members acquired into a non-threatening structure. The name change in 1989 to Australians Against Further Immigration encapsulated the external moderation so far missing from the anti-immigration camp.

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[85] Australians Against Immigration, Members' Letter, undated 1988, pp. 1, 3.
[86] ibid. p. 2.
[87] Paul Heinrichs, "The Good Doctor Yearns For Those Old Values", The Age (Late Edition), March 28 1994, p. 1.

Unbeknownst to the Spencers, European 'national-revolutionary' organizations had already taken the 'green road'. The GRECE and The Scorpion had participated in European conferences on nationalist ecologism and the British National Front and other Third Way parties had published extensively[88] against the inter-relationships amongst the capitalist megalopolis, 'open borders', and unsustainable growth. The Australian Populist Movement had raised similar arguments. However, the Spencers and their new recruit, Dennis McCormack, a flamboyant intellectual who was fluent in Mandarin, were verbally effective in this approach and unburdened by participation in the neo-fascist tradition.

The AAFI's push towards activist and electoralist politics involved that partial delegitimization of the Australian State expressed in the 'lesser' delegitimization of governments and opinion makers. This process could be understood as the main characteristic of the Extreme Right paradigm. The 1990 AAFI Manifesto explained immigration as a disadvantage to wage earners compelled to compete, to the quality of life, and to the environment – all neglected by parties with a "disregard for public opinion".[89] There was also the threat of subjugation:

> The mass movement of people from third to first
> world countries will not solve third world problems
> but will create third world standards of living in the
> countries unwilling to resist such immigration. [90]

An insulated ruling class would emerge:

> The wealthy insulate themselves with their private
> facilities, pools, clubs, country and beach

[88] See: "Ecology: The Growing Dilemma", The Scorpion, No. 11, Summer 1987, pp. 3–15; "Harness Nature – Don't Destroy It", National Front News, No. 112, November 1988, p. 1; "Animal Rights", Third Way, No. 5, undated (1990).
[89] Australians Against Further Immigration Manifesto, p. 2.
[90] ibid., p. 3.

properties. Once again, the average Australian is

hardest hit …[91]

There was the idea of social-contract in the "institutional foundation of Australian life". Australia as established in 1901 was not "British" but unique, free of the "class system" of the old world as a consequence of mateship and egalitarianism.[92] The governments of the 1970's − 1980's had repudiated this vision and thus provided 'justification' for AAFI's campaign. The party would appeal to the common sense of the common Australian to defend an archetypal cultural identity.

The AAFI emerged less than half-way through the Hawke-Keating Labor era. The sporadic challenges to immigration/multiculturalism launched by Radical-Nationalists, neo-nazis and conservatives may well have encouraged government, business and liberal forces to intensify these programmes, while striking hard at such forces to maintain their marginality. This did not mean however, that there was not public disquiet at the pace of 'racial-change'. By 1991−2, a new genre of critical literature had come into being which challenged the costs, underlying economic-rationale and cultural assumptions of immigration.[93] This criticism could marry with the economic dislocations of rationalization-globalization. With this connection, the anti-immigration message won a suburban audience. How AAFI sought to mobilize a grassroots constituency and make an ideological and electoral challenge to immigration is now examined.

(b)   Electoral Breakthrough For Anti-Immigration Politics

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[91] ibid, p. 5.
[92] ibid, pp. 9−10.
[93] Stephen J. Rimmer, The Costs Of Multiculturalism, Bedford Park, 1991; Lionel Duncombe, Immigration And The Decline of Democracy In Australia, Canberra, 1992; Katherine Betts, Ideology And Immigration, Melbourne, 1988.

During the years 1991–5, the AAFI became a national organization, with some claim to minority-party status. With almost 2000 members by early 1995,[94] the AAFI showed skill in winning a degree of legitimacy through adaption to opportunity such that it influenced Australia's immigration debate. How was this achieved?

Essentially, AAFI's position on Australian population policy ensured it could mirror the policy of legitimate forces during its implantation phase. During Senator Coulter's leadership of the Australian Democrats, his party urged a population policy which would have restricted immigration;[95] and, as late as 1993, the Australian Conservation Foundation recommended zero net migration.[96] Australians For An Ecologically Sustainable Population stayed vocal, participating in government population policy discussions, and arguing against the "loss of biodiversity and deforestation" through population increase.[97] The AAFI played these cards, organizing seminar-like events where Birrell, Betts and O'Connor spoke alongside McCormack, to posit that immigration had become harmful to both the physical and cultural environment.[98] The pacific presentation of AAFI was such, that McCormack was considered suitable to address the Bureau Of Immigration Research's November 1992 conference, where he announced that "Australia is not a solution to any country's population problems" and called immigration policy a veritable cargo cult.[99] In the years to 1993, AAFI's electoral propaganda placed environmental maintenance as its central consideration.[100] Essentially, the AAFI achieved a national implantation before it was accused of 'racism'.

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[94] Dennis McCormack; Edwin Woodger; Peter Krumins; a reasonable computation when Electoral Files are considered.

[95] Australian Democrats Immigration Policy, leaflet, September 1995. This document was essentially a reprint of the earlier 1991 sheet.

[96] Population, Australian Conservation Foundation broadsheet, 1993, p. 4.

[97] "Australia's Carrying Capacity Inquiry – Final Report Of The Parliamentary Committee", AESP Newsletter, No. 25, March 1995, pp. 2–3.

[98] AAFI Sydney meeting invitation leaflet, November 2 1992.

[99] Denis McCormack, The Desirable Composition Of Any Migrant Intake, Speech At The Bureau Of Immigration Research Second National Immigration Outlook Conference, November 1992, p. 419.

[100] Keep Australia Liveable, leaflet 1993, "Immigration – Time For A Decision", in AAFI Sydney Members' Election Letter, February 1993; Vote 1: Australians Against Further Immigration, leaflet, 1993.

The AAFI was also energetic in use of media; regular press releases and letters to the editor of metropolitan newspapers were issued.[101] Members appeared at meetings of community groups and electorate gatherings. Although newspapers like Melbourne's The Age never referred to AAFI candidates before 1994 as other than 'independents',[102] the party name was still widely broadcast prior to organizational 'take off'.

Progressively and deliberately, the AAFI penetrated circles with anti-Establishment/anti-immigration perspectives.   In Adelaide, AAFI liaised with the 'Australian Patriots' Movement' a round-table discussion forum directed by Evonne Moore and Dr. Joseph Smith of Flinders University.   Smith condemned the idea of a "borderless world", a "Universal Empire" constructed by agencies like the Trilateral Commission; for Australia it meant the "decadence of Australian culture, materialism, individualism and consumerism"[103] amidst environmental degradation.   Eventually from mid-1994, Moore provided local leadership for AAFI. Peter Crawford, a personal friend of NSW Labor Premier Bob Carr and ex-Labor M.P. for Balmain, became a Sydney committee member in 1992; he lobbied for a strong environmentalist position.[104]   However, in 1992–4, AAFI developed very different associations, accepting speaking invitations to League Of Rights seminars. This shift, which demonstrated the anti-Establishment quality of populist politics, alienated Birrell and Betts, but it encouraged a new supporter base.   In 1994, the "racist" National Reporter group in Sydney affiliated,[105] and former National Action members joined. The differing sources of support sent different public messages; although 'anti-racist' resistance now crystallized, AAFI was henceforward armed with additional aggressive cadre.

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[101] See: press cuttings leaflet in possession of author; this AAFI NSW 1994 leaflet featured Melbourne Herald-Sun, March 3 1993 election article, and a The Age letter.

[102] Rodney Spencer, "A Party Against More Migration", Letter To The Editor, The Age, March 3 1993, p. 12.

[103] Joseph Wayne Smith, The Remorseless Working Of Things: AIDS, The Global Crisis: An Ecological Critique Of Internationalism, Canberra, pp. 67, 89–90.

[104] Debra Jopson, "Anti-Immigration Party Pitches Case At Jobless, Greens", Sydney Morning Herald, December 2 1995, p. 29.

[105] Andrew Silverberg, "We're Not Racist, But … ", Sydney Morning Herald, April 15 1994, p. 11.

The AAFI cultivated a most valuable link with Graeme Campbell, whose parliamentary speeches against immigration often relied on McCormack's research.[106] In 1994, he openly campaigned for AAFI candidates,[107] which assisted in building a public image of legitimacy. In turn, Campbell could point to AAFI's struggle as indicative of community feeling in an age of big-party bipartisanship and as a credible opposition to the "social engineering" which threatened to turn "our country into a nation of tribes".[108]

The AAFI participated in electoral politics during 1990–93 in order to focus its organizational talents and gain public attention. The otherwise insignificant vote-tallies did not reflect the publicity won and the steady achievement of name-recognition. The early results were:

Table 8.2   AAFI Election Results To 1993[109]

1991	Menzies By-Election	6.84%
1992	Wills By-Election	0.9%
1993	NSW Senate	0.67%
1993	Victoria Senate	0.69%
1993	South Australia Senate	0.38%
1993	A.C.T. Senate	0.21%

Thereafter, in a series of 1994 by-elections, AAFI produced results which suggested a 'breakthrough' for the urban Extreme Right. These results were:

Table 8.3   AAFI 1994 By-Election Results[110]

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[106] Graeme Campbell; Dennis McCormack; "Australians Against Factual Information", Australia–Israel Review, June 1–14 1994, p. 11.
[107] Graeme Campbell, Put Australia And Australians First, electorate letter, March 10 1994; Innes Wilcox, "The Backbencher Who Bites Back", The Age, April 4 1994, p. 13.
[108] Graeme Campbell, Put Australia And Australians First.
[109] "Menzies By-Election", in Australian Electoral Commission, 1990–91 Annual Report - Appendix H - Table 2; "Wills By-Election", Election Newsfile, No. 24, April 1992; Australian Electoral Commission, Statistics: Result Of Count: Senate House Of Representatives, Canberra, 1993, pp. 8, 10, 18, 21.

January 29	Werriwa (NSW)	7.24%
March 19	Boynthon (S.A.)	6.82%
March 26	Mackellar (NSW)	8.16%
March 26	Warringah (NSW)	13.54%
November 19	Kooyong (Vic)	7.91%

Nick Economou's analysis of the early-year results[111] referred to various factors in each contest: absence of a Democrat (one case) which could have delivered protest votes; the absence of Labor candidates (two cases) which probably encouraged interest-voting; there was a 'tradition' of anti-major party voting in Werriwa. He argued that interpretation was difficult, a theme taken up by some journalists.[112] However, there was a contrary view which reasoned that in Werriwa, AAFI campaigned successfully, proving to voters how immigration "was not a single issue", but one of generalized social impact; it had popularized intellectual arguments and also won some non Anglo-Celtic voters.[113] The later strong result in Kooyong tended to confirm that AAFI had mobilized a new constituency.

The immediate concrete result of by-election participation was wide media attention, and thence the steady increase in AAFI membership which grew to about 800 in Sydney by early 1995. With that came an appetite to break into the New South Wales Legislative Council courtesy of its proportional voting system.[114] Electoral successes brought the party to a crossroads. Its officially 'non-racist' stand (AAFI's Constitution excluded holders of "racist views" from membership)[115] and its melding of environmental and cultural concerns, revived an anti-immigration consciousness that neither neo-nazi underclass

[110] Australian Electoral Commission, "By-Elections, Werriwa, Boynthon, Mackellar, Warringah, Kooyong", from Internet, www.aec.gov.au/EXTERNAL/results/by-elections/October 19 1999.
[111] Nick Economou, "A New Constituency Or A Glitch In The System? A Note On Recent AAFI Federal By-Election Results", People And Place, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 30–35.
[112] Kate Legge, "Closed Door Politics", The Weekend Australian, March 26–27 1994, p. 24; Innex Wilcox, "Bolkus Hits 'Misleading' Poll Policies", The Age, March 29 1994, p. 7.
[113] Lyle Allan, "Immigration And The Werriwa By-Election", People And Place, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1994, pp. 53–56.
[114] "Political Campaign For Next Seven Months", Australians Against Further Immigration Members Letter, September 1994.
[115] Australians Against Further Immigration Constitution, p. 1.

violence nor marginalized Radical-Nationalist activism (1991–4), had achieved. The AAFI's new usage of the term 'nationalist' alongside an aggressive condemnation of "Asianisation",[116] meant it was defining its political direction; here, AAFI would occupy political space for interest-voters, those who voted for principles and policies, without reference to class, geographic location, or age. It could theoretically defuse any challenge from Radical–Nationalists for space and move towards Campbell's Labor populism or other Extreme Right forces. However, events soon showed that AAFI had not developed a consistent strategy which bound its leadership.

Sue Hammond, who served AAFI briefly as New South Wales chairperson in mid-1995, was in CAP when she first advocated a new Extreme Right political and electoral front.[117] Other leaders like Terry Cooksley and Peter Krumins had argued that too,[118] but the new members who demanded electoral action and the New South Wales leadership around Edwin Woodger who were also keen on subordinating ideological development and cadre development to electoral contest, considered AAFI alone could alter the political climate on multiculturalism and immigration by a major electoral campaign. While AAFI failed to elect Woodger to the Legislative Council in 1995, it did illustrate 'breakthrough' into a potentially stable new anti-big-party 'nationalist' constituency.

A full analysis of the March 1995 returns was completed for the AAFI executive by Warwick Tyler, candidate for Blacktown.[119] While seat by seat discussion is not appropriate here, Tyler's close attention to detail, permitted this Thesis to offer overview: the total vote over twenty electorates was 38,016 or 5.9 per cent on this sample; a limited survey in Blacktown showed considerable variation (2 per cent) between manned and unmanned polling booths; AAFI polled better in 'Labor areas' (Campbelltown, Blacktown, Ermington, Davidson) than in 'Liberal areas'; Labor/Liberal preferences split 26 per cent/28 per cent but 36 per cent of AAFI voters gave no preference; AAFI

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[116] Vote 1 Robyn Spencer, AAFI leaflet, March 1994; Dennis McCormack, quoted in Alan Ramsey, "A Wilderness Voice We Can't Ignore", Sydney Morning Herald, March 1994, p. 31.
[117] Chapter 7. Note 124.
[118] Terry Cooksley; Peter Krumins.
[119] Warwick Tyler, AAFI Election 1995 Report.

received one-eighth of Green preferences and a smattering of small party preferences; AAFI polled well in Myall Lakes (Taree) and The Entrance (7.5 per cent and 6.2 per cent respectively), benefitting perhaps from urban-flight voters.

The organizing dynamo in this campaign was the Secretary - Woodger - who saw "spectacular results" in the achievement.[120]   Unfortunately, the truism that electoralism breeds opportunism in radical politics, should be applied to AAFI's post-election chaos. Briefly: most of the candidates, drawn chiefly from petty bourgeois backgrounds and many members too, had favoured Woodger's broad thrust over Dr Spencer's plea for concentration on key seats. Nonetheless, after the poll, and with the party in debt, some rallied back to his faction (see next Section) and clashed with Woodger over future directions. The organization had grown 'too fast' in Sydney. The AAFI was weak in Western Australia and Queensland, weaker than National Action in South Australia and insignificant elsewhere, but from its Melbourne stronghold, it was in Spencer's grip. According to some credible participants the Sydney section was in 1994–5, too preoccupied with posing as a 'popular alternative' to assess the party's human and material resources soberly and develop organization in depth.[121]

The AAFI's crisis came as Australia's public debate on race and identity was souring. The Right was definitely combative. For example, National Action clashed on the streets of Melbourne and Adelaide in May–July 1995 with the Left 'anti-racists'; the mayors of Port Lincoln and Port Augusta became strident critics of multiculturalism, and in early 1996 Mayor Joy Baluch (Port Augusta) denounced some Asian migrants as "scum" while advocating a vote for AAFI.[122]   The party, now obviously the anti-immigration darling of most Extreme Right and Conservative Right forces, was "endorsed" by The Strategy newspaper[123] and served as a magnetic pole for those who saw it as a key player in a general regroupment on the Right. That appeared to be Campbell's view. Some

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[120] Australians Against Further Immigration, untitled members bulletin, April 1995.
[121] Terry Cooksley; Peter Krumins.
[122] David Penberthy, "Some Asians Scum: Mayor", The Adelaide Advertiser, February 28 1996, p. 3; Rick Holden, "Mayors Unite To Back Anti-Migration Party", The Adelaide Advertiser, February 27 1996, p. 1; "New Call For Mayor To Resign", The Adelaide Advertiser, March 1 1996, p. 8.

momentum had been lost in schism and the 1996 federal election results were only in the 'fringe-party' 2-3 per cent range. Even so, AAFI was still a major player on the Extreme Right and as opportunity presented, ready to take a "co-operative" role in a new alliance.[124]

(c)   Splits and Division

The 1995 splits in AAFI, which created a Federal 'Reclaim Australia Reduce Immigration' (RARI) and an independent 'AAFI' in New South Wales, further clarify Extreme Right politics and organization, particularly as a prelude to the foundation of Australia First and One Nation.

Following the ALP's defeat in the March 1996 poll, Paul Keating resigned from his Sydney seat of 'Blaxland', an electorate centred on cosmopolitan Bankstown. A by-election conducted on June 16 1996, without a Liberal candidate, produced a shock result: Peter Krumins (AAFI), 8759 votes (13.63 per cent); John Hutchison (RARI), 5771 votes (8.98 per cent).[125]

Although accepted by Labor's candidate as a barometer of public opinion on the multiracial society,[126] and seemingly a major breakthrough for the Extreme Right, the result occurred at the tail end of an AAFI/RARI internecine 'war' which, according to Krumins's inside view, had already weakened his party in the Federal poll in New South Wales and elsewhere, and limited his branch's ability to capitalize on sensational results.[127]

The 1995 ruptures in Sydney AAFI created two factions – one loyal to Woodger and another to Spencer. Personal rancour occurred, of a sort which suggested some cadre

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[123] "A Vote For The Future: Australians Against Further Immigration", The Strategy, March 1996, pp. 1–2, p. 4.

[124] Australians Against Further Immigration Newsletter, October 1996, p. 7.

[125] AEC, House Of Representatives By-Election Blaxland: Result Of Scrutiny Of First Preference Votes, July 15 1996.

[126] Philip Cornford, "Anti-Migrant Vote No Surprise", Sydney Morning Herald, June 18 1996, p. 9.

treated their party as a club. The feud, fought between January and July, showed a lack of ideological depth. The issues seemed to be whether 'Sydney' would be run by 'Melbourne' and whether Woodger was a "dictator".[128] It was Spencer who offered an analysis of the NSW branch's 1995 electoral campaign which led into broader issues of ideological-political function:

> In 1993 NSW Senate AAFI obtained 23,000 votes or 0.69% … In 1995 NSW Legislative Council … 56,000 votes or 1.65% … In 1995 NSW Lower House … 38,000 votes or 5.4% in 21 seats … In 1994/5 by-elections [Federal] averaged 8% … [We conclude] … 1. People will vote where they find AAFI in a small field, but not in … the Legislative Council 2. Lower House votes do not translate into Upper House votes.[129]

In another document, Spencer said:

> AAFI uses the electoral system, but our function is far wider. We must have an organization … people capable of debating issues, researching information … media presentation and … (inter-group liaison) …[130]

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[127] Peter Krumins, Interview, July 1996.

[128] Take Over By Melbourne: Attempt No. 3, AAFI (Woodger) Letter, undated; E. Woodger, De-Registration Last Week: Calls For Party Split This Week. Spencer Attempts To Destroy Your Party, May 31 1995; E. Woodger, Letter From E. Woodger Secretary NSW State Party AAFI, August 1995; "Unfortunate But Necessary – Removal of Secretary Woodger Explained", AAFI News, October 1995, pp. 5–6.

[129] Rodney Spencer, Letter To NSW Members From the Federal Executive, undated.

[130] Rodney Spencer, The Need For New Leadership In NSW, undated.

Spencer was planning for the long-haul. In reply, Woodger argued for a "nationalist" party with "broad" public appeal but thoroughly organized around electoral contests.[131] Woodger's supporters apparently excluded ideological contest from their method. The NSW State Electoral Office eventually recognized the 'State' AAFI under Woodger as the legal entity;[132] however, there is no real doubt that both this group and its federal equivalent the RARI, were splits from the Spencer organization.

An examination of the Electoral Office file showed correspondence which testified to the tensions in the party. Once again, as with CAP in 1993, allegations of 'conspiracy' were raised by some leaders. Party Secretary, Janey Woodger, told the author of a 1994 visit from Kay Whitty, a corrupt police officer from the State Intelligence Group, who aggressively advised AAFI against "contact with extremists";[133] perhaps this showed para-State concern that AAFI could become more militant. One disruptive person, "Wayne Robinson", used a friend in the Federal Police to forward misleading fax messages; he addressed open letters to the membership and waged factional warfare, before dropping from the scene.[134] Some members received anonymous threats and "peculiar" phone calls[135]. The 'NSDAP' infiltrated meetings and offended members.[136] This Thesis cannot make any firm conclusion as to a 'dirty tricks operation' although the possibility exists. The disruption in the NSW branch had the effect of wasting resources and energy. The AAFI schism produced weakness at the critical moment Campbell chose to build a new Extreme Right party, and as Pauline Hanson entered Federal Parliament. We might conclude that the topography of Right politics in the following period was affected by incidental factors which occasioned a certain demobilization of AAFI towards electoral politics only.

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[131] Edwin Woodger, Takeover By Melbourne Attempt No. 3, RARI/AAFI Members' Letters, undated (but September 1995).

[132] Crown Solicitor's Office, "Letter To The Electoral Commissioner", February 6 1996, in NSW State Electoral Office, Parties: Australians Against Further Immigration File 96/856.

[133] Janey Woodger, Interview, July 1996. For Whitty's 'corrupt' character, see: Royal Commission Into The New South Wales Police Service, Transcript, pp. 21191-21196.

[134] Edwin Woodger; Janey Woodger; Peter Krumins; Terry Cooksley; Wayne Robinson, Dear Fellow Member, January 27 1995 (in author's possession). Other Robinson texts are in the State Electoral Office file on AAFI.

[135] Peter Krumins.

[136] See Chapter 6, Section 3(a).

(d)   *A New 'Labor' Populism: Rex Connor (Jr) And Graeme Campbell*

The possibility of a 'nationalist' split from mainstream Labor politics was a longstanding Extreme Right hypothesis.[137]   Its ultimate advent centred on Reginald (Rex) F.X. Connor, son of Whitlam government Minister Rex Connor, and Graeme Campbell, Federal Member for Kalgoorlie (1980–98). No personal connection between the men is known.

The 1988 foundation of the 'Rex Connor Senior Labor Party' (RCSLP), resulted from personal and ideological considerations derivative of factional and parliamentary pre-selection brawling in Wollongong-area Labor branches in   1986–8.[138] Connor was sidelined by the ALP machine and made a personal enemy in Stewart West, a Minister in the Hawke government. Expelled from the ALP in early 1988, Connor was followed by 200 disgruntled Laborites.[139] Sure he could win West's seat of 'Cunningham', a party was registered which could draw on residual community goodwill towards Connor Senior. This old-style nationalist's "buy back the farm" policy, was thereafter contrasted to Hawke-Keating internationalism and 'deregulation'.[140]

The evidence showed the RCSLP failed to capitalize on any other disquiet in Labor ranks outside the Illawarra, but it could be reasonably characterized as a response of some members to the party's 'new' 1980's direction. Connor's re-statement of former Labor Party policies was stridently expressed in the RCSLP Constitution; it demanded:

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[137] J. Saleam, Australia's Road To National Revolution, pp. 7–8; drawn from different Australian People's Congress papers: "A New Left", National Vanguard, August–September–October 1985, p. 1; "A New Left", The Green March, No. 1, February–March 1986, p. 1; "Broad Left Conference", The Green March, No. 4, August–September 1986, p. 5.

[138] Rex Connor, Address To Chairman/Members Of The Commission, p. 2, and "Connor Makes Move For Federal Seat", Illawarra Mercury, February 15 1989, in Australian Electoral Commission, Party Registration – Rex Connor Snr Labor Party File 89/146.

[139] "Rex Connor Snr. Labor Party: One Nation, One Future", Illawarra Mercury, April 11 1989, in AEC, op.cit.

[140] Rex Connor, "Selling Off More Of The Farm", advertisement, Administrative Appeals Tribunal - Australia Labor Party - Party Registration. Rex Connor Snr Labor Party File 89/743.

> The establishment of a planned and regulated
> economy, the absolute protection of Australia's …
> industries … a sane and selective immigration policy
> … price and cost controls …[141]

Connor's political 'radicalization' mirrored Tony Pitt's, validating the existence of the 'Extreme Right' category in my tripartite Right model. Pitt wrote that the 'rot' in Australia (economic decline, over-regulation, 'socialism') set in with Whitlam after 1972. Both major parties lost their compact with the public, whereas the 'conservative' parties broke faith with him.[142] Connor has stated that Labor lost its natural path when Whitlam repudiated his father's economic nationalism.[143] He gave his *raison d'etre* as:

> … this once great political party has turned its back
> on its origins and is slowly betraying those … who
> fought … almost 100 years ago … Truly it must
> and will be said, no one has left the Labor Party, for
> the reality is, that the Labor Party has deserted
> us.[144]

Neither Pitt nor Connor rejected the monarchical state, but both published against the legitimacy of traditional party loyalties and government policies.[145] Although opposed to each other about planning and regulation, they shared opposition to foreign banks, land sales and 'de-industrialization'.

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[141] Rex Connor (Snr) Labor Party Constitution in AEC, Party Registration – Rex Connor (Snr) Labor Party File No. 89/146.

[142] Tony Pitt, A Proposal For Co-Ordination But Not Amalgamation, Open Letter, May 2 1991.

[143] "West Bags Connor For Riding On Dad's Name", Illawarra Mercury, February 23 1990, p. 2; Rex Connor, Address To Australian Electoral Commission, in AEC, Party Registration – Rex Connor (Snr) Labor Party File 89/146.

[144] Rex Connor, Media Release, November 13 1988.

[145] Rex Connor, Statement Of Concern About The Grave Social And Economic Situation Within Australia, Daily Telegraph, July 13 1989, in AEC, op.cit.; Tony Pitt's commentary in Fight was effusive. For example: "There Is Alternative", Fight, No. 6, February 1993, p. 1.

The RCSLP was registered on July 14 1989 over the stringent objection of the ALP which carried on administrative action until 1991.[146] There was probably concern that Connor could un-seat West, and considerable bitterness between the parties – which bubbled over into actual physical violence at polling stations during the March 1990 election.[147] Although the RCSLP maintained energy throughout the Illawarra, in its use of traditional campaigning methods (the purchase of radio time, newspaper advertizing and regular meetings), it could not expand its electoral appeal beyond fixed limits. Its results in the 1990 and 1993 Federal elections, were:

Table 8.4   Rex Connor (Snr) Labor Party Election Results[148]

1990	Rex Connor: Cunningham	7947 votes: 13%
1990	J. Doyle: Eden Monaro	330 votes: .47%
1993	Rex Connor: Throsby	7083 votes: 10.48%

The continuing evolution of the RCSLP indicated convergence with the 'national populism' of the CAP, AAFI and other Extreme Right groups. The RCSLP warned against Labor's New World Order government "conspiracy",[149] the "absurd proposition of multiculturalism",[150] the multi-function polis and defence unpreparedness.[151] The ultimate renaming of the party in 1994 as the "Advance Australia Party"[152] saw the creation of a Platform And Policy which was 'soft-green', decentralist, "opposed to the policies of multiracialism, multiculturalism and Asianisation", and against the culture of "internationalism, dependency and cosmopolitan sameness"; it supported gun ownership

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[146] Seventieth Meeting Of The Australian Electoral Commission, July 14 1989, in AEC, Administrative Appeals Tribunal - Australian Labor Party - Rex Connor Snr Labor Party File 89/743.

[147] Helen Thew, "Voters Confused By Two 'Labors'", Daily Telegraph, March 27 1990, p. 8.

[148] Australian Electoral Commission, House Of Representatives Election: New South Wales, 1990, Canberra, 1990, Table 3, pp. 6–7; AEC, New South Wales House Of Representatives Election 1993, Canberra, 1993, Table 3, p. 35.

[149] Rex Connor, "Selling Off More Of The Farm".

[150] Rex Connor, A Point Of View, transcript of talk on Radio 2VOX FM, February 4 1991, p. 4.

[151] "Whither Australia", RCSLP advertisement, Daily Telegraph, June 8 1990, p. 9.

[152] AEC, Party Registration – Advance Australia Party (AAP) File No. 95/724.

and "traditional family values".[153]   Indeed as Chapter Seven observed, the RCSLP was considered part of the Extreme Right family by other constituents – like the CAP.

Connor was addressing 'the people' dispossessed of decision-making power and the bearers of democratic authority and the native identity: "One Flag, One Nation, One Future".[154] This populist commitment, common to old Labor and the new Extreme Right organizations, was obviously a key aspect in the RCSLP's drift towards these new movements.

Graeme Campbell's trajectory led to a similar position. As 'Member For Kalgoorlie' (ALP), Campbell represented for 18 years (1980–98) the largest electorate in the democratic world,[155] earned the sobriquet of "maverick", won an Aboriginal following and was a 1980's critic of Labor policy. After assisting Keating in his 1990 leadership 'coup' against Prime Minister Hawke, Campbell took to opposition towards internationalization.

Between 1991 and 1994, Campbell authored a set of ideological texts which signalled his rupture with ALP politics. In Immigration And Consensus (1991), which sparked a mini-immigration debate,[156] Campbell condemned Labor's bourgeois leaders who "regard the Australian working class with derision … (because) … the working class is most resistant to their agenda". They pushed high immigration to break Labor's privileges and pursue "integration into Asia". The "working class" and the "middle class" possessed "common sense" in the struggle against "the schemes of big business" and the "intellectuals".[157] Then, in Industry Policy: Directions For Growth (1992), Campbell denounced "Adam Smith" anti-protection principles and urged an economic "Australian nationalism".[158]

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[153] Advance Australia Party Platform And Policy, Wollongong, undated.
[154] Advance Australia Party, leaflet, 1995.
[155] Don Pinwell, An Introduction To Australia First, Kingaroy, 1986, p. 5.
[156] Brad Crouch, "White Australia Was Right: MP Pushes For Change To 'Gutless' Stand", Sunday Telegraph, January 26 1992, pp. 14–15; Jason Alexander, "MP Slams Immigration Policy", The Kalgoorlie Miner, May 18 1991, p. 3.
[157] Graeme Campbell, Immigration And Consensus: A Discussion Paper, Canberra, June update 1992, pp. 28, 10, 63–64.
[158] Graeme Campbell, Industry Policy: Directions For Growth: A Discussion Paper, Canberra, August 1992, pp. 3, 20.

His book, <u>Australia Betrayed</u>, was first published in 1992. This manifesto, which also made an impression on the Right, criticized liberal media, multiculturalism, deregulation, new elites, "Asianization" and Australia's economic internationalization; these evils were cast as a system which corrupted both major parties.[159] Was Campbell a Radical-Nationalist in National Action's mode?

Campbell set out the limits of his ideological and tactical radicalization in a speech, <u>The Struggle For True Australian Independence</u> (1994). He said:

> … the country's biggest battle will be won or lost at home … fought between groups with two broadly conflicting views of how Australia should … secure its future and the skirmishes have already begun. One view can be described as basically nationalist and the other broadly internationalist. Naturally, both sides will attract extremists, but it is the moderates with coherent visions and a commitment to democracy who will determine the outcome.[160]

To certain liberal and Jewish opinion, Campbell <u>had</u> taken the 'extremist' road. Campbell told the author that the "Jewish lobby", by concentrating on his decision to address the October 1993 League Of Rights national seminar, smeared him with anti-semitism and extremism.[161] Campbell insisted his democratic ideals and commitment to a Constitutional Monarchy precluded that.[162] While this Thesis could say this was sound when placed upon an ideological paradigm, his critics would scarcely concur.

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[159] Graeme Campbell and Mark Uhlmann, <u>Australia Betrayed: How Australian Democracy Has Been Undermined And Our Naïve Trust Betrayed</u>, Victoria Park, 1995, pp. vi–viii.

[160] Graeme Campbell, <u>The Struggle For True Australian Independence</u>, University of New England, Armidale, September 2 1994 (Speech at Drummond College), p. 9.

[161] David Greason, "Graeme And The Kernels", <u>Australia–Israel Review</u>, Vol. 18, No. 18, October 12–25 1993.

[162] <u>Graeme Campbell</u>, Telephone Interview, June 1997. See LOR praise for Campbell: "Behind The David Greason Affairs" and "Zionist Jewish Lobby Financing Both Australian Parties", in <u>New Times</u>, August 1994, pp. 6–7, which quoted criticism from Campbell of particular Jewish community lobbying.

The 1990's were years of aggressive Jewish community agitation favouring anti-racial vilification legislation,[163] for action on war crimes prosecutions and for anti-racist political mobilization. An overview of the Australian Jewish News and Australia–Israel Review revealed continuous attention to issues such as German neo-nazism, multiculturalism and 'Holocaust revisionism'.[164] Yet, Isi Leibler in his The Israel–Diaspora Identity Crisis: A Looming Disaster (1994), provided evidence of a different agenda concerned with "alarming" rates of Jewish inter-marriage, and the "Holocaust cult", which 'educated' gentiles, but ignored "Jewish education". He also said candidly:

> … anti-semitism can no longer be relied upon as a
> strengthening element of Jewish identity … [it] has
> virtually been eliminated …[165]

Anti-semitism was endlessly 'located' by Jewish publicists in the CEC and the LOR.[166] Moreover, the swirling Right vortex around Campbell appeared even more threatening. Greason attempted to persuade Campbell against talking to the LOR;[167] Jewish writers reasoned that AAFI was 'racist', LOR-connected and possibly anti-semitic.[168] In August 1995, Australia–Israel Review uncovered a video of Campbell addressing the LOR; his words, that Paul Keating's "state funeral" would be his best contribution to Labor's

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[163] "Ministers Differ Over Race Law", Australian Jewish News, June 3 1994, Section 1, pp. 1–2, for views of Executive Council Of Australian Jewry; "Racists Must Face Jail", Daily Telegraph, May 31 1994, p. 14, for view of Mark Leibler of the Zionist Federation; Peter Costello M.P., Speech To The 36th Biennial Conference Of The Zionist Federation Of Australia, Melbourne, May 29 1994, transcript version, passim.

[164] The author consistently read Australian Jewish News 1990 ff. and examined near-all numbers of Australia–Israel Review 1990 ff. in reaching this conclusion.

[165] Isi Leibler, The Israel–Diaspora Identity Crisis: A Looming Disaster, broadsheet, 1994.

[166] "Cranky Cranks", Australia–Israel Review, December 7–31 1993, p. 6; see Chapter Three, Notes 3, 4, 5 and 6; Irene Nemes, "Anti Semitic Hostility" in Chris Cunneen, David Fraser, Stephen Thomsen, op.cit., pp. 64–65 which quotes other Jewish sources.

[167] David Greason, "Graeme And The Kernels"; Graeme Campbell.

[168] "Simply La-AAFI-ble", Australia–Israel Review, 10–30 August 1994, p. 11; Andrew Silverberg, "Who's In League With The 'AAFI'?", Australia–Israel Review, 13–24 April 1994, p. 11.

fortunes, occasioned Labor dismay. Campbell's ultimate sin was to address a November AAFI conference, which brought his expulsion from the ALP.[169]

In early 1996, Campbell commenced approaches to the 'gun lobby' around Victorian Sporting Shooters' Association President, Ted Drane; through his 'Friends Of Graeme Campbell' he organized meetings to prepare for an 'Australia First Party'.[170] His 'Labor' nationalism and protectionism, and the enviro-cultural anti-immigration stand of his AAFI allies, also attracted Queensland recruits from the 'direct democracy and local branch' faction of the CAP.[171] The pace of these developments elicited counter-reactions from Australia–Israel Review, which lobbied to alienate the shooters and sow disputation.[172]

Whereas Connor and Campbell were pale versions of Langite nationalism, they could be seen in that tradition. The essential fluidity of their Labor politics easily produced positions akin to AAFI and CAP. Indeed, Campbell spoke of CAP as a kindred spirit and averred not to repeat its errors;[173] but as his followers penetrated the Queensland rural networks, Campbell came up against the 'conservative' side in CAP's internal rows. Noticeably after the 1996 federal poll, came the 'radicalization' of the conservatives of the Liberal/National party electorate. Although potentially a factor in Campbell's favour (and symbolised best by Hanson's election to parliament and the "support groups" which championed her), it represented a challenge for national organization. Campbell's difficulties with Drane's gun lobby (thereafter the Reform Party),[174] a bad press and AAFI's split, combined to limit opportunity. Reasonably, these circumstances contributed to the ONP occupying his political space. Campbell had predicted the "demise of the

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[169] Michael Millett, "Defiant MP Refuses To Apologise To ALP", Sydney Morning Herald, August 2 1995, p. 4; Paul Chamberlain and Michelle Grattan, "Rebel MP Campbell Axed By ALP Executive", The Age, December 1 1995, p. 1.

[170] An Australia Day To Remember Media Release, January 1996; Australia First, leaflet, 1996.

[171] Don Pinwell; Dawn Brown: see Don Pinwell, op.cit., pp. 10–12, where CAP themes were recounted.

[172] David Greason, Australia First: Third Reich, Fourth Force, Fifth Column, document in possession of author; Michael Shannon, Campbell's First Flops, document in possession of author.

[173] Graeme Campbell, paraphrased from Robert Keating, "Campbell Guns For The Nationals", The Strategy, September 1996, p. 3.

[174] "Secret Birth Of Hatchet Jobs", The Strategy, August 1996, pp. 1,3; Mike Steketee, "Tingle Snubs Campbell Party Overture", The Australian, June 25 1996, p. 4.

National Party",[175] but the volatility of the Queensland Right served as a springboard for conservative pseudo-charismatic Hansonism, not activist organization and politics.

3.   THE MEMBERSHIP, ORGANIZATION AND POLITICS OF RADICAL-POPULISM

As discussed in this Chapter, radical-populism grew from source pools in both rural and urban Australia. Because of the post-1987 crisis of confidence in the National Party (with the Queensland environment favouring the formation of the Confederate Action Party), and continuing New Right deregulation policies which engendered discontent and confusion, an opening for new organizations was available. Further, the ALP's aggressive high-immigration and enforced multiculturalist policies and strident economic internationalism, encouraged an urban opposition, willing to function outside mainstream politics. This section asks: who held membership and directed radical-populist organizations?; how were the groups organized?; allowing for their different foci, what features permit the named groups to be catalogued together?

(a)   Membership

Significant membership and historical data were available on the EFF, AAFI and RCSLP from those files maintained by the Australian Electoral Commission and the NSW Electoral Office. Due to particular requirements, names of organizers were generally eliminated from AEC files; no membership lists were accessed. Fortunately, the NSW files on the EFF and AAFI contained membership information. Of course, other-states detail was not held in these files, and it was consequently necessary to blend participant interviews and media reports to build the composite all-Australia picture. Membership data on other radical-populist organizations was patchy, and collected from organization-questionnaires, publications and interviews.

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[175] Graeme Campbell, quoted in, Lenore Taylor and Mike Steketee, "Australia First Opens Fire In Favour Of Political Home For 'Patriotic Majority'", The Australian, June 1996, p. 2.

The Independent EFF demonstrated a membership increase to a peak of under 1000 around 1992, a growth contiguous to that of the CAP.[176]

In 1988, EFF presented the NSW Electoral Office with a membership list to meet state party-registration requirements. The entire File was provided to the author by administrative mistake; while a list of members' occupations was made,[177] a subsequent request for access so that an 'ethnic derivations' list could be constructed – was declined. There were 265 members.

The EFF was initiated in Sydney before its gravity shifted westwards; hence, the initial membership was largely metropolitan. Using the same occupational categories employed in the National Action discussion, we observe:

Table 8.5   EFF Membership By Occupational Category

Unskilled	Skilled Manual	White Collar Employees
56	68	56

Students	Professionals	Business
2	47	29

(seven were unlisted)

There were clusters of housewives, shop assistants, milk vendors and secretaries, which suggested a particular linear recruitment through friends and business acquaintances. As EFF grew however, it gained rural/country town members scattered in many locales. Membership was reputedly derived of diverse occupations[178] and consequently not restricted to any obvious single sector; older than average persons predominated.

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[176] EFF Letter To The AEC (unsigned), June 20 1991, in AEC, Party Registration – Independent Enterprise Freedom And Family (EFF) File No. 92/0088; see also Note 125 in Chapter Seven.
[177] Drawn from: Register Of Membership Independent EFF, in NSW State Electoral Office, Policy File: Parties: Independent EFF No. 96/775.
[178] Doug Giddings, Interview, October 1997.

The AAFI showed steady membership increase throughout the study period. Figures available in AEC files indicated 631 members in November 1989 when AAFI applied for party registration,[179] rising to almost 2000 members in 1995. The NSW File contained membership details on 349 persons and I compiled a list of names/addresses.[180] Unfortunately, there was no occupational data; but the ethnic-surname check revealed some 317 'Anglo-Celtic' and 32 Continental-European names.

The leaders of AAFI perceived that party membership was attractive to a layer of older, economically secure native-born Australians (including many women), a pattern operative in all branches;[181] the leadership involved some professional and otherwise educated persons whose vision for the party went beyond electoral contest and the provision of a culturally-homogenous retreat-structure for those angered by multiculturalism. The organization of this Spencer-McCormack agenda was rewarded by recruitment of members in universities, academia and the professions, thereby replicating the foundation cadre which granted the party a certain intellectual vitality.

As some leaders observed, AAFI suffered tension between the 'intellectual' push inspired by enviro-cultural nationalism, and the "ordinary members" who pursued the electoralist method as a technique to mobilize 'voter materialism' around themes such as unemployment, education, health and transport services.[182] In a democratic, non-vanguardist organization, membership quality and strategic-tactical perspective, could and did become related volatile issues.

The RCSLP had, as of June 22 1989, a membership of 563 persons.[183] Membership was maintained throughout the study period.[184] The resignation of some 200 ALP members in

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[179] "Minute Paper: Party Registration Australians Against Further Immigration, 14 February 1990", in AEC, Party Registration – Australians Against Further Immigration File 89/1008.
[180] List Of NSW Members Of AAFI 1995, self-titled, in NSW State Electoral Office, Parties: Australians Against Further Immigration File 96/856.

[181] Dennis McCormack; Peter Krumins; Edwin Woodger.
[182] Drawn from: Vote For Australians Against Further Immigration And The People Of Werriwa Will Achieve, AAFI Leaflet, 1994.
[183] "Meeting With President And General Secretary Of The Rex Connor (Snr.) Labor Party, Canberra, June 22 1989", in AEC, Party Registration – Rex Connor Snr. Labor Party File 89/146.

the greater-Wollongong area to join the Connor party[185] set its tone as a 'working class' organization. Shirley Connor told the author that the initial members, who were generally active trades unionists, turned to friends and contacts to recruit additional members.[186] This enhanced the 'working class' quality of the organization, as much as its campaign themes ensured it via linear recruitment.

One election leaflet issued in 1990, was authorised by 102 persons who could be understood as party members.[187] As completed elsewhere, a breakdown of surnames revealed sixty-six 'Anglo-Celtic' and thirty-six Continental-European names. The strong 'Euro' representation implied an appeal beyond the old Anglo-Celtic working class. Shirley Connor told the author these proportions held good in the organization generally.[188] Reasonably, the RCSLP membership was 'homogenous' by class and political origins and united across 'Old-New' Australian lines by a recitation of the nativist prescription of national identity born from Labor tradition. The ultimate attempt to broaden the party's appeal as the 'Advance Australia Party' merely confirmed (despite RCSLP's overwhelmingly working-class aspect), the populist quality of the labour heritage.

The other groups such as Australian Community Movement, Inverell Forum and Rural Action Movement were country organizations, while the Unite Australia Party operated on the urban fringe near Wollongong. The anecdotal evidence affirmed that the country groups attracted poorer farmers, truckers and rural labourers;[189] the ACM described its supporter base and recruitment targets as: "farmers, small-business proprietors/managers, truckies, fishermen, shooters, monarchists, Christians, pro-flag supporters, tax reformers, bank victims and pro-defence groups …",[190] with some hundreds recruited.[191] Doug Giddings, who operated both Australian Independent Alliance and Australian Freedom

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[184] "Minute Paper, October 12 1993", op.cit.
[185] "Advertisement, Illawarra Mercury, April 11 1989", op.cit.
[186] Shirley Connor, conversation with author, May 1990.
[187] Rex Connor: Candidate For Cunningham, RCSLP leaflet, 1990.
[188] Shirley Connor.
[189] Doug Giddings; Ron Owen.
[190] Ross Provis, Dear Concerned Australian, Open Letter, undated (but 1993).
[191] Ross Provis .

Foundation in addition to his EFF role, reported "less than three hundred members"[192] for both, drawn from those categories referred to here; some supporters were from Adelaide although cross-penetration of old LOR and Social Credit networks in the Eyre Peninsula, Whyalla and Port Lincoln occurred, ensuring the non-metropolitan emphasis. Therefore the country groups were inevitably 'Anglo-Celtic' or native born, and of the late-middle-aged/older generation.

The membership data when generalized, showed the predominance of the 'productive class' of populist mythology or 'the middle class' and 'working class' – something which encouraged a general electoral appeal. The radical-populist organizations, upon a tabulation of the figures, involved about 4000 persons in the period 1988–95.

That membership interest in the political issues of these groups was sustained over a decade, as confirmed by the rapid implantation of the Campbell and Hanson parties in 1996–7, and the recruitment of their then-present <u>and</u> inactive cadres and members.[193] Membership quality presented some radical-populist groups with a difficulty, since the older and less educated would restrain progress through their preference for external moderation, loose organization and interminable internal debate, leaving organizational achievement to the scarce 'dynamic' cadres.

(b) *Organization*

Unlike other forms of the Extreme Right, the radical-populists seem <u>not</u> to have produced any key blue-print document for the conduct of politics and organization. Nonetheless, attention applied to what the organizations <u>did</u> would explain organizational methods and quality.

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[192] Australian Freedom Foundation/Australian Independent Alliance, <u>Questionnaire</u> (in author's possession).

[193] For a general confirmation see: Mike Steketee, "Messiahs Of The Right", <u>Weekend Australian</u>, May 3–4 1997, p. 22; Gerard Henderson, "Hanson's Truth: Nothing But", <u>Sydney Morning Herald</u>, April 29 1997, p. 11; Brian Woodley, "Fellow Travellers", <u>Weekend Australian</u>, May 31 - June 1 1997, p. 25.

The significant groups (EFF/AAFI/RCSLP) were electoral 'parties'. They were organizations open to the general public by subscription fee and subject to normal rules.[194] The structures of these three bodies were different. While EFF membership was widely scattered with weak metropolitan cells, the RCSLP was geographically concentrated; but both were the possession of dominant personalities. Only AAFI produced a genuinely national structure albeit with constitutional imperfections (as above), with definable state leaderships and a tentative system of local organizers.[195] Whether the structure of the groups favoured individual or collective responsibility seemed incidental.

The smaller and non-electoral groups were loosely organized. The ACM united CIR activists and farmer-protesters in north-west New South Wales electorates, without having a disciplined centre.

The RAM in Victoria and Western Australia, despite its country town demonstrations, produce dumping, and its stated programme of 'challenge' to the National Party and the NFF, retained the features of a media-oriented propaganda organization; but it kept networks alive and sustained the militant activist psychology.

None of the radical-populist movements functioned with public shops and offices but there were many near-full-time activists paid from their own pockets.[196] Generally, groups were run from private homes, formally met in rented halls and communicated by direct personal and electronic contact.[197] Like the CAP, the radical-populist groups often used home meetings, social events and outdoor picnics to bond membership.[198] The election campaigns or specialized protests, as described in the other sub-sections, united the memberships in action.

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[194] Independent EFF Rules, September 12 1987; Australians Against Further Immigration Constitution, 1988; Rex Connor (Snr.) Labor Party, Membership Form, undated.

[195] See organizers' list for Sydney in, AAFI Members' Letter, August 27 1995.

[196] Edwin Woodger; Dennis McCormack; Doug Giddings; Ross Provis; Shirley Connor; Joe Bryant.

[197] Drawn from: a series of AAFI meeting invitation forms 1989–95 (Melbourne and Sydney), in author's possession; Minutes Of Advance Australia Party Meeting, May 23 1995; Joe Bryant; Ross Provis.

[198] Ross Provis; drawn from a number of Sydney sub-branch AAFI social gathering invitations, in author's possession.

The radical-populist experience of organization involves flexibility, but the serious groups too, do not appear to have been intensively mobilized. Although there was no model for the achievement of power, electoral or counter-hegemonic (either at the ideological or social-economic level), their electoral and activist achievements were clear, and signified a certain capacity for Extreme Right 'electoral breakthrough' on a scale beyond AAFI's impressive scores and the 1992–3 surge of the CAP.

(c)   *The Politics Of Radical-Populism*

Chapter Seven's discussion of populist-monarchism as an 'antipodean version' of European national populism should be recalled here, since populist-monarchism and radical-populism shared a similar place in the typology; each argued for the partial delegitimization of the State, and mobilized beyond the Conservative Right boundary. Whereas the populist-monarchists and their reactive radical interpretation of constitutional-monarchical power was a narrower focus, the radical-populist family articulated oppositionist ideology in a superficially more modern, yet still culturalist, reaction <u>at several points</u>: to rural crisis and decline, the perceived displacement of Euro-Australians by non-whites, and the alienation felt towards the political and social elites. The mythic Australian 'way of life' was challenged and many publications argued for its defence.[199] Jon Stratton who projected this same impulse onto Pauline Hanson, defined this culturalist discourse:

> One unforeseen consequence of the major parties'
> consensus to support non-discriminatory migration
> and the policy of multiculturalism, has been that
> there has been nowhere to go for those with
> economic and social concerns … during the Hawke
> - Keating ascendency, … large numbers of people

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[199] <u>Australia For Australians</u>, Unite Australia Party leaflet, undated; Dennis McCormack, <u>The Desirable Composition Of Any Australian Migrant Intake</u>, passim.

were increasingly hurting economically … the socio-economic transformation of Australia appeared to be intimately bound up with their economic impoverishment.[200]

Stratton's idea of alienation has a complement in the European scholarship of Right extremism which centres on those 'losers' in the process of modernization who critique the system's legitimacy.[201] It is confirmed by Carol Johnson's interpretation of the ONP 'losers' and Australian conservatism which articulated grievances and resentments against globalist economics and the visible population change.[202] Certainly, the late-middle-aged and older generation memberships recalled an 'earlier' Australia of 1950's/1960's prosperity and Euro-homogeneity; more succinctly they were the opponents of internationalization. As 'nationalists' they desired to cut across Left/Right political and social divides to unite the disenfranchised Australian and empower the individual.

The typology of radical-populism indicated this. First, the country gun-owners groups which inter-linked with more 'mainstream' urban bodies, demanded the right to bear arms by Common Law right and as a defence mechanism against usurpation of government by New World Order forces.[203] Second, the principles of Citizens' Initiated Referendum, Veto and Recall, once principles of the Australian Labor Party,[204] were central political planks, presented as necessary adjuncts to Parliaments which should represent the people, not the party system.[205] Like the populist-monarchists, an "anti politics" is contained within the programme; but the 'Queen' and 'Westminster' were not the focal points they were for the populist-monarchists. The talk was more of a sovereign people exercising direct

[200] Jon Stratton, Race Daze: Australia In Identity Crisis, Sydney, 1998, pp. 212, 214.
[201] Bettina Westle and Oskar Niedermeyer, "Contemporary Right-Wing Extremism In West Germany: 'The Republicans' And Their Electorate", European Journal Of Political Research, Vol. 22, No. 1, July 1992, pp. 6, 11, 19, 23; Michael Minkenberg, "The New Right In Germany: The Transformation Of Conservatism And The Extreme Right", loc.cit., pp. 67, 70, 77.
[202] Carol Johnson, op.cit.
[203] Australian Right To Bear Arms Association, leaflet, 1993 (untitled).
[204] Geoffrey Walker, Initiative And Referendum: The People's Law, St. Leonards, 1994, p. 20.
[205] Bruce Chapman, Electors' Initiative And Referendum: Why We Need It: How It Works, Gympie, (undated); Ross Provis, The Question Of Standing Candidates, Inverell, 1988, passim; Gympie Elect CIR, Public Participation And Direct Democracy In North Sydney Municipality, Gympie, 1990.

power. Third, usually conceived around protest, the groups generally advocated a debt-free 'National Credit' system, "re-regulation", protection, small private enterprise and Australian independence against globalization. The political Left had abandoned this field, leaving the Extreme Right to 'defend' farmers and the urban poor, against the capitalist order. Fourth, around the issues of immigration and multiculturalism, there were ultimate defences of Australian identity and independence, and a capacity to mobilize younger memberships.

The new typology had that synthetic quality drawn from historical Australian Left and Right heritages. It inspired strident propaganda focused on <u>issues</u> of public concern. This radical-populist politics favoured protest and electoral action, not confrontation, and unlike Radical-Nationalism, did not delegitimize the historical-political basis of the State which would have permitted republicanism and contestation with the State's ideological and repressive apparatuses. Lastly, Spoonley's 'petty bourgeoisie' argument about the essence of the Extreme Right's politics might deserve some reconsideration, just as far as leadership cadres were concerned; there was certainly a rebellion against the new 'elite' middle class, but also that uncertainty of how far to go in undermining the mainstream parties through a more aggressive conduct. Only towards the end of the study period were there signs of radicalization in National Party voters and indications of a real urban potential around the gun movement[206] and 'racist' voting, which together could have supported deeper radicalization.

CONCLUSION

The radical-populist family of the Extreme Right was not conditioned by a central formation which established its quality. Rather, it was diffuse, with core values rather than external labels, demonstrating populist character.

These core values were: a belief in an Australian cultural identity that was neither 'British' nor exclusively 'Euro-nativist'; a culturalist position not absolutely exclusive of non-white input; a commitment to the idea of a common sense Australian people secure within an economic system serving their interest and organized against bureaucracy, big business and the banks; an idea of direct democracy, firearms ownership and common law derived individual rights.

The radical-populist organizations emerged at different political points as opportunity presented. They emerged from ongoing rural-country town decline, from the environmentalist movement unable to accommodate populationist argument, from disquiet in Labor ranks at the pace of immigration and globalization, from suburban Australia under assault from immigration-multiculturalism and economic instability.

Yet this extra-systemic crisis-response was an incomplete radicalization conformative to the Extreme Right model advanced here. It used electoralism and built cadres and education structures, but avoided violence and confrontationism. There were strong electoral showings which mobilized memberships. Specific clienteles appeared for each form of the phenomenon, with leaderships and cadres expressive of their concerns.

Together with the populist-monarchists, the radical-populists represent a national-populist phenomenon, broadly similar to European movements of the Extreme Right. While the radical-populists denied space to the Radical-Nationalists, neither they nor the populist-monarchists could disintegrate the conservative structures in their favour (despite some inroads), nor fracture support for the New Right National Party. The chances for a national Extreme Right party, lost first in 1993 with CAP's disintegration, and again in the misfired Campbell movement of 1995–6, prefigured a new phase of independent conservative mobilization and the birth of 'One Nation' in 1997.

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[206] Kevin Meade, "Campbell Finds Audience In Nats Heartland", <u>The Australian</u>, June 7 1996, p. 2; Bernard Lagan, "Bushwhacked: The Nationals In The Breach", <u>The Sydney Morning Herald</u>, June 1 1996; "Gun Rage", <u>The Sun Herald</u>, June 2 1996, pp. 1, 2.

PART III:
EXPLAINING 'THE OTHER RADICALISM'

CHAPTER NINE

THE STATE AND THE EXTREME RIGHT

This Chapter has a theoretical and empirical aspect. The 'rough beast' Australian State[1] confronted the Extreme Right after 1975 just as it once aggressively confronted labour and the Left. This Chapter queries:

- Why did the State confront the Extreme Right?
- What was the State's response?
- Did both sides delegitimize each other? With what results?

This Chapter utilizes academic and critical literature to provide a 'working appreciation' of the Australian State in the years 1975−95. This State differed in form from its predecessors described in Chapters One and Two; its ideological and practical liberal-internationalism caused it to develop a new power core which afforded no room for a Satellite Right arrangement.

This Chapter argues that the new State has not simply administered capitalism but rather has attempted to radically alter Australia's demographic-cultural and economic-social terrain. Necessarily, it changed the political discourse, proscribing opinions which objectively denied the worth of the new order and creating for some power-core, allied and client groups, new sets of inspirational 'visions' and 'illusions'. In this way, the Extreme Right could be marginalized and internationalist activism mobilized.

Justification was thence available to manage the Right by para-State and 'legal' action. This Chapter analyses this shadow contest which defines the Extreme Right as the 'new radicalism', and State measures as similar qualitatively to the anti-Left secret police and political-process activism of earlier periods.

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[1] See Chapter One, Note 60, for this descriptive term applied to the 1920's Australian State.

It followed that liberal-internationalism could engage with the Left; this Chapter develops particular arguments on Left-satellitization and explains how the State reproduced the management-of-dissent conditions described in Chapter Two.

The Australian State experience with Extreme Right politics was not unlike the international experience. New forces of Extreme Right politics have progressively arisen in every western country; once some Right movements repudiated 'anti-communism' as the basis of activism in the 1970's the chains which bound them to taking a side in East/West politics were broken, and the possibility of deeper radicalization actualized. These challenges were confronted. At several points, this Chapter detects an almost preventative strategy at work in State agencies, something certainly derived from overseas experience. The Extreme Right fought for political space; the State intended that it be denied.

1.   THE INTERNATIONAL CAPITALIST STATE 1975–1995

The empirical evidence contained in Part Two of this Thesis indicated distance, not convergence, between the Extreme Right and the ideological and political structures of the Australian State 1975–95. The character of the State had changed from its form of the 1945–75 period. A new liberal–internationalist ideology was empowered: capitalism was building transnational political and economic structures; new social and political forces were being mobilized into a revised State power core bloc. These developments signified why the State confronted the 'other radicalism' and why the Extreme Right delegitimized the State or challenged State policies.

Linda Weiss has counselled against the idea that states are "powerless" in the face of "globalization". Weiss reasoned that while any state is not a unified organization but a power exercised unevenly across policy areas, and given globalization of the economy was partial only, it was in tune with the evidence to conclude State measures existed to

harmonize the internationalized and the 'national' economic components of the new order.[2] This cautious view of the actual <u>impact</u> of economic "globalization" upon various states, serves to base the idea that coercive state measures were everywhere necessary to realize the 'Myth'. Catley has analysed Australian State 1980's/1990's actions conceived to "create a competitive market situation".[3] Marquand continued this approach and concluded that state power was used in the 'Anglo-American'-styled liberal states to "uproot collectivist values" and posit New Right values as expressive of higher State-interest.[4]

Undoubtedly, the Australian State was similar in construction to these 'western' states. It was a player in a constellation of states which 'adhered' to liberal–capitalist–internationalist ideology, and which acted in some degree of concert to further the development of a globalized marketplace. Demonstrably, the New World Order scheme was hardly the "world government" of Conservative Right propaganda, since many states remained outside the system. Nonetheless, within the 'western' bloc, a pervasive propaganda asserted that globalization would bring a political-economic nirvana, with established parties organized to best-manage the process.

An application of a marxist argument concerning the contemporary 'western' state, and an adaptation of the logic of Australia's political-economy school to the characterization of the Australian State assists this Thesis to generalize a 'working appreciation' of the Australian State at this time.

The critical assessment of the Australian State as the executive of the comprador bourgeoisie allied to the transnational corporation, that "executive committee of the international bourgeoisie",[5] might distort the precise relationship of the marketplace (global and national) and the state, but it does indicate the intertwining of the local and the

[2] Linda Weiss, <u>The Myth Of The Powerless State: Governing The Economy In A Global Era</u>, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 2, 28, 209.
[3] Robert Catley, <u>Globalising Australian Capitalism</u>, Oakleigh, 1996, p. 65.
[4] David Marquand, <u>The New Reckoning: Capitalism, States And Citizenship</u>, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 163–4.

international in the exercise of power. This interpretation would become more effective by restating basic marxist principle: that the modern state represented the congealed violence of the dominant class, a coercive and psychologically-manipulative ensemble of institutions and processes which combine to manufacture public consent.[6]

Some academic work about the Right, as quoted in this Thesis, has parodied the Imperial-State as hopelessly reactionary and the American client-State as conformity-at-home and support-for-imperialism-abroad. There is however, both academic silence and caution in determining where the impact of internationalism, the New World Order and the assorted implications in the breakdown of national boundaries, placed the Right on the political continuum.[7] After the period of Left-criticism of the Fraser government, the equally internationalist-capitalist Labor government defused the weakened Left; it blurred the nature of ideological contest, as it pursued a managed New Right agenda in social democratic language.[8] As Wheelwright noted, an opposition to "racism" was part of the transnational corporations' programme,[9] and logically, economic internationalization and deregulation could be presented as stepping stones towards universalism. Nonetheless, a 'Left-nationalism' arose from the late 1970's, organized around the political-economy group and residual Old Left activists. A 'national' interest was asserted as valid against economic-political internationalization. As Section Four further explains, the presence of the global vision in the transnationals' political discourse disarmed and charmed the majority on the Left, those who thereafter analysed 'Left-nationalism' as Extreme Right in substance.[10]

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[5] Greg Crough and Ted Wheelwright, Australia: A Client State, p. 173.

[6] Bob Jessop, op.cit., pp. 147, 193−199; Boris Frankel, Beyond The State? Dominant Theories And Socialist Strategies, London, 1982, pp. 29, 31, 184.

[7] Andrew Moore, The Right Road?, pp. 138−144; Moore's conclusions on the history and practice of the Right say nothing of these matters; Hal Colebatch, op.cit., pp. 291−298, placed the Radical-Nationalists on the 'Left' White Australia tradition, but his Thesis did not concern the present question; Boris Frankel, From The Prophets The Deserts Come, pp. 64−70, 244−254, did not view 'populism' as a radical option to these and related issues although the questions were covered in a general way.

[8] Rob Watts, "Laborism And The State: Confronting Modernity", in Paul James (ed.), The State In Question, St. Leonards, 1996, pp. 62−63. See also Chapter Five of this Thesis.

[9] Greg Crough and Ted Wheelwright, op.cit., p. 79. In discussing the work accredited to members of the political-economy group, I shall mention Wheelwright as the chief bearer of its precepts.

[10] See for example: Rob White, "Immigration, Nationalism And Anti-Asian Racism", in Chris Cuneen, David Fraser and Stephen Tomsen (eds.), op.cit., pp. 15−16, 36−41.

Chapters One and Two described the essential characteristic of the Australian State during 1919–1975 as a certain inter-active dependency upon two dominant foreign powers: the British Empire and the United States of America. Each phase relied upon specific State power cores and an appropriate ideology: first, imperial-patriotism and then, democratic anti-communism. The State operated coercive auxiliaries and propaganda structures to achieve hegemony that the domestic capitalist order be preserved inside the prevailing international system. The progressive transformation of capitalism during the last two decades into a neo-Kautskyist 'inter-imperialist' system which favoured the transnational corporation and international bank, over national capital, had decided effects upon the conduct of Australian politics. Leslie Sklair described the new dynamic:

> The transnational corporation is the most important institutional force for economic globalisation, the transnational capitalist class [TCC] for political globalisation and the culture-ideology of consumerism for cultural-ideological globalisation.[11]

Wheelwright had already discerned the impact of internationalizing capital upon Australia, as:

> a kind of national disintegration … [the] … partial global integration of its advanced corporate sectors, hierarchical relationships within those sectors between metropolis and satellite …[12]

The class which sustained the emerging Australian (dis)order could also be described in a new way. Wheelwright identified a division of labour within the

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[11] Leslie Sklair, "Who Are The Globalisers?: A Study Of Key Globalisers In Australia", <u>Journal Of Australian Political Economy</u>, No. 38, December 1976, p. 2.
[12] E.L. Wheelwright, <u>Radical Political Economy: Collected Essays</u>, Sydney, 1974, pp. 38, 41.

class between a business and political elite.[13] Further, Sklair described the transnational capitalist class:

> [it is] not made up of capitalists in the traditional marxist sense … Direct ownership of capital is no longer the exclusive criterion for serving the interests of capital.[14]

Its class 'values' were new. This class does not "identify with any foreign country or … the First World, or the white world or the western world …"; its interest was reconceptualized in the global capitalist system.[15] This Thesis would adopt Wheelwright's description of this class: the executives of the transnational corporations and large domestic corporations and financial institutions; senior public servants particularly those in Defence, Foreign Affairs, Trade, Commerce, Science and security areas; mass media corporation owners and executives; some journalists; some professions with service roles; higher education staff and sections of the trades union bureaucracy.[16] An under-researched Australian example of this class defining itself, and acting for itself, could be the Committee For The Economic Development Of Australia.   The CEDA's forums, academic publications, foreign and 'Australian' corporate and executive memberships, and its ready access to political leaders who commission its documents and appear at its functions, sum to an effort to integrate the political and economic elites within the transnational capitalist class. The CEDA's international focus and membership sought to manage Australian politics to realize the globalist myth.[17]

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[13] Greg Crough and Ted Wheelwright, op.cit., pp. 175–6.

[14] Leslie Sklair, Sociology Of The Global System (2nd edition), Hampstead, 1995, p. 70.

[15] ibid., p. 134.

[16] Greg Crough and Ted Wheelwright, op.cit., pp. 187–8.

[17] Drawn from a comprehensive review of CEDA documentation.
See: for CEDA's Immigration policy intervention and its integration with State agencies and politicans:
N.R. Norman and K. Meikle, Immigration: The Crunch Issues For Australia, Sydney, August 1984, and Ross Garnaut, op.cit.;
for CEDA's self-definition, "strategy" and plan to integrate business and 'political' members of the class: Anon, Think Tanks And The Political Environment: CEDA's Evolving Role, Sydney, September 1985; its structure in A Concise GuideTo CEDA: What It Is, What It Does, pamphlet, Sydney, 1990;
for CEDA's massive research based publications list from the 1960's – 1980's: CEDA Publications List Melbourne, 1986;

The Australian State during the period 1975–95 existed in a global environment underpinned by radical changes which can be described as: the continuing technological revolution; the increasing world population and resultant labour shifts via immigration into the 'First World'; economic globalization; since the close of the 1980's, the collapse of communism and the broker-role for the United States in the creation of the New World Order.[18] Over three decades, inter-connected and fundamental shifts in Australian State policy unfolded: the post-1966 destruction of the immigration-control aspect of the 'National Settlement' of 1901; Fraser's putsch which favoured international capital and struck at labour; the Hawke government's recognition of industrial protectionism's limitations amidst the Asian economic 'boom' and the drive to locate Australia's future within the Pacific Rim Economic Order.[19] To highlight these factors, the political-economy school warned by the end of the 1980's of a new period for capitalism, in which the Asian ruling elites would play a major role; but for Australia, there would be the sale of national assets and businesses and Third World immigration which could create a cheap-labour underclass.[20] This prognostication followed upon the long-term forecast that Australia as "a valuable piece of real estate" governed by the "agents" of foreign capital and "cowed by security services", could "degenerate into a form of sub-fascism."[21] The aggressive character of Australian internationalist capitalism stands out very clearly. Its willingness to subvert constitutional process (1975), and its eventual use of the State's coercive machinery to achieve the deregulation of the labour market and financial institutions, and to organize the rationalization of the rural economy, could be characterized as the practice of class war. That the process engendered countryside discontent and created pools of blue-collar and Old-Australian political-cultural alienation was the collateral damage which

for CEDA's political, academic and business membership: CEDA Annual Report(s) 1985, 1989, 1992;

a useful anonymous National–Left interpretation: The Committee For The Economic Development Of Australia: Or Friends Of The Trilateral Commission, undated, in author's possession.

[18] Lester C. Thurlow, The Future Of Capitalism: How Today's Economic Forces Shape Tomorrow's World, St. Leonards, 1996, pp. 8–10.

[19] Robert Catley, op.cit., pp. 194–5.

[20] Abe David and Ted Wheelwright, The Third Wave: Australia And Asian Capitalism, Sutherland, 1989, pp. xv, 164–175.

[21] Greg Crough and Ted Wheelwright, op.cit., p. 219. The definition of fascism employed here would be a marxist one.

fueled the Extreme Right's organizational efforts. There appears to be a dialectic in the inter-relationship.

How should the new State power-core be understood? Standard marxist analysis would re-identify the army, police, parliament, courts, para-State organs and the civil service.[22]. These structures function as institutions which empower, socialize and mobilize the human beings who staff them. However, the proposition of a 'power core', develops Weiss's idea that a state is a power-across-policy-areas, into the notion that the writ of power is exercised also by the individual and organized members of the transnational capitalist class who manage aspects of the civil society. As veritable 'representatives-on-mission', class members when not serving directly in State institutions, manufacture capitalist ideological-political hegemony and otherwise regiment the population into the capitalist system.[23] Logically also, the power-core included not simply the class but other lesser State servants who willingly perform their integrated administrative function. Further, in a replication of conditions described in Chapter Two, a new system-loyal migrant sector, largely drawn from Asian countries in steadily increasing numbers, augmented the ranks of the transnational capitalist class, while simultaneously performing functions congenial to the internationalization of Australian capitalism. It followed too, that the party-system with its two minimally-differentiated machines working in tandem on 'bipartisan' issues, with a 'rightist' National Party to blunt conservative protest and a 'leftist' Australian Democrats party to subsume progressive-politics, brought other Australians into the power-core.

The reconstructed State remained secure and legitimated, but as previously, there were political and security fears. We now turn to the question of the liberal hegemony and how political space was denied to the Extreme Right.

2. THE POLITICS OF EXCLUSION: DENYING SPACE TO THE EXTREME RIGHT

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[22] Philip Abrams, "Notes On The Difficulty Of Studying The State", Journal Of Historical Sociology, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1988, p. 71.

This Thesis does not characterize the international capitalist State as 'progressive' or 'reactionary'; but it was revolutionary in that it re-shaped the political dialogue, and set out to alter the sociological character of Australia, both to reflect its values and sustain its power. The Extreme Right therefore functioned in this period of decisive change. This Section argues that the Extreme Right was constrained in its quest for political space by a series of ideological, political and social obstacles which excluded it from the mainstream political debate.

As Chapter Two observed, the Fraser mobilization in 1975 made use of the Satellite Right and the new Extreme Right in the anti-Left struggle. From 1976, the non-European immigration intake and the Vietnamese refugee quota increased, and 'multiculturalism' became the official method for the management of racial-cultural change. Progressively, liberal politicians discussed the new national identity of the country as an Asian-Pacific one, and pushed immigration amidst economic deregulation and internationalization in order to demonstrate this commitment (1975–95). Whatever the degrees of opposition to State 'race-policy', reflected in 'Opinion Polls' and expert-criticism[24] at any point in the study period, there was evidence that the architects of the new order never intended to allow the public to freely choose the scope of any possible change.[25] It was to be imposed.

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[23] Robert Bocock, Hegemony, Chichester, 1986, pp. 34, 37, 94, assists this conclusion.

[24] For an accurate survey of opinion polls in an otherwise partisan source, see "Appendix Six Immigration Opinion Polls", in Chris Anderson, The Asianisation Of Australia: An Exposure Of The 'Asian Future' Being Forced Upon Australia, Melbourne, December 1996, pp. 48–53; for the public's wariness of immigration levels: Katherine Betts, "Immigration And Public Opinion In Australia", People And Place, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 9–20; essential immigration criticism contained in, Katherine Betts, "Refugee-Status Procedures And The Boat People", People And Place, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 9–15. And other material by Bob Birrell consulted for this Thesis and published in People And Place, has been generally ignored by multiculturalist advocates.

[25] Bob Hawke, on major parties "ahead of the electorate", quoted in Dan McDonnell, "Hawke Reveals Political Pact", Herald Sun, May 25 1993, p. 4; the journalist-commentators were honest: see Greg Sheridan, Living With Dragons, pp. 5, 15–16; Peter Robinson, "Australia's Asian Destiny", Sun-Herald, December 12 1993; Peter Robinson, The Future Of Australian Capitalism, Sydney, 1978; the deceptive early 1970's policy is recorded in a biased source: John Dique, Immigration: The Quiet Invasion, Bullsbrook, 1985, pp. 164–6.

The issue of racial change has been stressed throughout this Thesis as the crucible for the reinvention of Australia. Certainly, the universalist vision of a multi-racial Australia, with citizenship contingent upon the recognition of the plural worth of individual cultural values and persons, has a particular compulsion; further, the idea extended to an 'economic' world without frontiers, trade barriers and chauvinisms, and perhaps peopled by a standardized human type, offered an utopian goal. Such a prophetic myth will inspire a negative political response, when recalcitrant forces (in this case the Extreme Right and a sullen section of the population), refuse to adopt its precepts.

The inter-relationship of state vision and Extreme Right resistance has been discussed in a way useful to the analysis of the hegemonic liberal project. The Sprinzak/Bjorgo "split-delegitimization" model of right-wing (usually neo-nazi) political violence inadvertently led to a model which clarified the exercise of liberal hegemony in the contemporary 'western' state.

Basically, Sprinzak conceived that Euro-American racist organizations opposed to the presence of non-white immigrants within European societies, found themselves 'fighting' "two opposing entities", the illegitimate "alien" and the regime which was "primarily not challenged", although it protects the "illegitimate community";[26] but after the "regime involved has failed to support their platforms", the state was delegitimized in an "uneven process"[27] in relation to the invader. Bjorgo concluded that the Right perceived the state as a multi-dimensional composite, ultimately merging government and liberal society as an amorphous enemy:

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[26] Ehud Sprinzak, "The Process Of Delegitimization: Towards A Linkage Theory Of Political Terrorism", Terrorism And Political Violence, Vol. 3, Spring 1991, p. 52.

[27] ibid., p. 64; Ehud Sprinzak, "Right Wing Terrorism In Comparative Perspective", pp. 31–2.

Table 9.1   The 'Split Delegitimization' Model[28]

	Government/Establishment Enemies	Non-Government/Non-Establishment Enemies
Ethnically in-group	Officials; Politicians; Journalists; Experts; Intellectuals	Communists; Anti-Racists; Leftists; Women Activists; Homosexuals; (Drug Addicts*)
Ethnically out-group	Jews; 'Zionists'	Ethnic Minorities; Immigrants; Asylum Seekers; Muslims; 'Foreigners'

This projection of the Right's analysis, produced in an international theoretical journal which served security-services' requirement and western state policy necessities, is re-interpreted as a distorted mirror projection of the exercise of liberal ideological hegemony.

The new Australian international capitalist State attempted a high degree of political-social integration. By simply recasting Table 9.1, a non-exhaustive but still descriptive, roll-call of activist State power core components, allies and clients, can be given:

Table 9.2   A Model For Liberal Hegemonic Action

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[28] Tore Bjorgo, "Introduction", in Tore Bjorgo (ed.), op.cit., p. 7; *Given here as a 'right-wing target', this group is hereafter excluded from the discussion of political contention.

	Government/Establishment Core Components	Non-Government/ Non-Establishment Allies And Clients
Ethnically in-group (Old Australians/Euro-migrants)	Officials; Politicians; Journalists; Experts; Intellectuals	Communists; Anti-Racists; Leftists; Women Activists; Homosexuals
Ethnically out-group	Jews; 'Zionists'	Ethnic Minorities; Immigrants; Asylum Seekers; Muslims; 'Foreigners'

The interest groups cited were equipped with specific agendas (as below) which sharpened the ideological contest with Old Australian cultural values. The Australian State by debate surrounding legislative enactments and via politicians' statements, described the Right's enemies in the terms of Table 9.1; the corollary was that the same forces could be assembled in the defence of the State (Table 9.2). A consistent liberal ideology sewed together the various fractions, whose collective behaviour might be labelled no less than the function of an Althusserian 'Ideological State Apparatus'.

Cathcart's indictment of "multiculturalism" as a State ideology which inspired a partitioned political discourse, is relevant to the present discussion.[29] Enforced in academic literature, political propaganda and in journalism, the new weapon was effective against the Extreme Right.

The liberal conceived himself as inclusive, tolerant, modern and successful. As a global citizen, the liberal saw nationality as an encumbrance and Australian history as a story of hatred, genocide and insularity. The "Nazi" genocide of Aborigines invalidated national sovereignty, and the future of Australia was both 'Asian' and part of a universal political system. Opponents of liberal ideas were denounced as racist, exclusivist, intolerant,

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[29] Michael Cathcart; Defending The National Tuckshop, p. 125.

hateful, backward, redneck 'losers', dangerous, neo-nazis, fearful, mistaken individuals, 'blokey' and anti-women/anti-gay, obscene, evil − and should be imprisoned.[30]

The irony which attached to the prescription is that the delegitimization of the anti-liberal (or non-liberal) view permitted only <u>political closure</u>. The dehumanization of the anti-liberal forces is no less potent than the thought-process of actual racists, although the protagonist of 'anti-racism' or 'multiculturalism' would not perceive it that way. The power of this discourse which was announcing the 'superiority' of 'liberal man', implied intellectual discipline. This brings forward the vexed issue of whether "the new class" was the articulator of liberal doctrine.

The conceptualization of the "new class" is contentious. Denounced as an "absolutely fictitious" descriptive label (by a self-interested multiculturalist),[31] the term was misused by Pauline Hanson to identify a caste of haters-of-the-masses akin to the Nietzschean intellectual leadership of historical fascism.[32] The "new class" has been given a paint-brushed characterization, as "a community of elite, professional and managerial (groups) … with little sense of civic or moral virtues … arrogant internationalists".[33] In that vein, the term could apply to members of the transnational capitalist class who provide their intellectual or cultural talent, not capital, as the membership requirement of that entity. In the analysis developed by Katherine Betts, the focus was an intellectual elite which repositioned the immigration and Australian historical debates around an agenda shaped to achieve the shift in Australian demography and cultural-social values towards a

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[30] A view distilled from: Professor Richard Bosworth's "Introduction" to Gianfranco Cresciani, <u>Fascism, Anti Fascism And Italians In Australia</u>; Robert Manne (ed.), <u>Two Nations: The Causes And Effects Of The Rise Of The One Nation Party</u>, Melbourne, 1998, various authors of longstanding 'anti-racist' pedigree, pp. 20, 21, 35, 45, 57–8, 92–3, 114–122, 174–5; HREOC, <u>Report Of The National Inquiry Into Racist Violence</u>, passim; Graeme Campbell, "The National Inquiry Into Racist Violence", <u>The Record</u>, Spring 1993, pp. 39–46; from the citations in this Thesis concerning Gerard Henderson, David Greason and <u>Australia−Israel Review</u>; Mark O'Connor, "Immigrationism, Racism And Moral Monopoly", in John Tanton, Denis McCormack and Joseph Wayne Smith (eds.) <u>Immigration And The Social Contract: The Implosion Of Western Societies</u>, Avebury, 1996, pp. 126−132.
[31] Bligh Grant, "Introduction", in Bligh Grant (ed.), <u>Pauline Hanson: One Nation And Australian Politics</u>, Armidale, 1997, p. 16.
[32] Pauline Hanson, <u>Pauline Hanson: The Truth</u>, Ipswich, pp. 89−90.
[33] Tom Dusevic, "Democracy Under Siege", <u>The Weekend Australian (Weekend Review)</u>, April 8 1995, p. 6.

cosmopolitan and liberal 'de-genderfied', 'anti-racist' and permissive order.[34] Max Teichmann has endorsed that criticism, arguing that the "new class" articulated in the 1980's a new formula for a civic identity around sexual politics, "feminism, multiculturalism, the republic" and opposition to racism[35] – with the inference the "new class", often involving former 1960's Left militants, was not content to merely propagandize, but to act.[36] This argument was also contained in Michael Thompson's analysis of Labor Party history, where these new middle class intellectuals and professionals were seen to have taken charge of a working man's party to pursue these objectives.[37] Former advocate of Australia's 'Eurasianization', Bill Hayden, has argued this case, and generally affirmed the contemporary influence of the 'class',[38] but suffered the inevitable vilification.[39]

However imprecise sociologically the "new class" idea may be,[40] the new middle class could be conceived as integrated at its 'higher' degrees into the power core, and otherwise as a key subordinate ally of the core bloc. The State was thus served by an ideological apparatus which as McGuinness concluded, had proclaimed its values universal and moral.[41] Through academic and professional inter-linkages, the "new class" had an 'identity' no less than the 'forgotten people' who served Menzies's bourgeois ascendancy.

At a distance from the power-core, "new class" intellectuals could also connect with the marxist milieu. Criticism of the New Right's multiracialist, but anglomorphic assimilationist vision of Australian cohesiveness, was expressed in a classic work written by academic multiculturalists including Bill Cope; the argument was for a "community without nation", a stepping stone to a transnational identity.[42] This muddled vision which later won over most

[34] Katherine Betts, <u>Ideology And Immigration 1976–1987</u>, pp. 118–119.

[35] Max Teichmann, "Whatever Happened To Labor?", <u>News Weekly</u>, July 17 1999, pp. 14–15.

[36] Max Teichmann, "The Via Dolorosa Of The Left", <u>The Adelaide Review</u>, October 1996, p. 16.

[37] Michael Thompson, <u>Labor Without Class: The Gentrification Of The ALP</u>, Leichhardt, 1999.

[38] Bill Hayden, "New Class, Now Problems" How Labor Got Into The Wrong Hands", <u>Sydney Morning Herald</u>, August 7 1999, p. 8s.

[39] Gerard Henderson, "When The Pen Isn't Mightier", <u>Sydney Morning Herald</u>, August 24 1999, p. 17.

[40] Boris Frankel, <u>From The Prophets The Deserts Come</u>, pp. 114–125, 142–5.

[41] Padraic P. McGuinness, "The Left Right Beat Of The Hanson Drum", <u>The Age</u>, May 3 1997, p. A29.

[42] Stephen Castles, Bill Cope, Mary Kalantzis and Michael Morrissey, <u>Mistaken Identity: Multiculturalism And The Demise Of Nationalism In Australia</u>, Leichhardt, 1988, pp. 72–73, 96–98, 128–134, 148.

Australian political leaders, was acceptable to marxists. Indeed, in one example (among many) of career mapping, Cope was involved in 1988 with Chris Cuneen in the "socialist" Education Links, a network of teachers which tried to push "anti-racist education" in schools. This group focused on a history "revision" program to alter the language and content of the subject in school curricula.[43] Cuneen's Faces of Hate, quoted elsewhere in this Thesis, bonded homosexuals, particular migrants, and the Jewish community as victims of hate crime, confirming the validity of the paradigm and the existence of the partitioned discourse.

Yet it was 'on the ground' that the battle to reshape Australia in the 1980's and 1990's was fought, where action occurred such that 'Old-Australian' cultural values and social norms were contested and overcome, although left to survive in social pockets.

This project to reshape Australian culture and society through a rewriting of the 'racist' historical past,[44] also meant that an emphasis would be placed upon 'correct' language and information as employed in higher education. It is reasonable to conclude through empirical observation, that the Extreme Right was shut out of the university environment with few academics or students active at all. Further, as the staff or advisers to State agencies including the Human Rights And Equal Opportunity Commission and 'Anti Discrimination Boards', "new class" theorists could guarantee that 'Human Rights' became the byword for the rights of those who were State allies and clients.

This Thesis does not differentiate in terms of practical effect the organizations of New Right thought and agitation, and the structures which in assorted ways proselytised for 'anti racism' and cosmopolitanism. The combination is understood here as hammer and anvil.

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[43] Education Links, No. 33, Autumn 1988, passim; Education Links was not the only 'anti-racist' effort. See: Phil Carswell, "An Activities Course In Human Rights", The Victorian Teacher, August 1984, pp. 35−36; Caroline Lees, "Attacking Racism Early", The Bulletin, August 16 1988, p. 24. Changes in school history, government, social studies courses, to accommodate cultural sensitivities etc are often subjects of the daily press.

[44] Jon Stratton, Race Daze: Australia In Identity Crisis, pp. 91−3; see the works of Andrew Markus, Ann Curthoys, Kath Cronin, Kay Saunders, Ray Evans, Verity Burgmann, Mary Kalantzis, Stephen Castles, Judith Brett, Henry Reynolds, Robert Manne, as cited in this Thesis; the black armband view of history has been referred to by no less than Prime Minister John Howard and Geoffrey Blainey and requires no further exposition here.

The satellite idea of independently funded and staffed organizations, mobilizing new layers of people outside of the main parties, to sustain, defend and popularize the new order, is applicable.

First, groups such as the Institute of Public Policy, Sydney Institute, Tasmania Institute, Centre For Independent Studies, H.R. Nicholls Society, Council For The National Interest and Centre 2000, could be assessed as New Right forces which fought the 1980's class war.[45]   These satellites also misdirected into union-bashing some 'populist' forces, particularly in the countryside, which were open to Extreme Right recruitment (Chapter Eight). Their new value system based on economic rationalism and internationalism kept the loyalty of sections of the Liberal and National parties' clientele which might have 'radicalized' earlier than they eventually did (Chapters Seven and Eight).   The new contempt of the working class featured in a desire to increase Asian immigration because such people were 'understood' not to favour unionism.[46]

Second, the new 'anti-racist' satellites were active throughout the 1980's and 1990's as key structures which articulated internationalist ideology. When appropriate, these groups lobbied against the Extreme Right and were occasionally confrontational. As adept propagandists, the anti-racist satellites could ensnare the Extreme Right into media traps that exposed 'racism' and 'neo-nazism'.[47] The cluster of anti-racist satellites included the Movement Against Fascism and Racism, Anti-Apartheid Movement, South African Support Campaign, Combined Unions Against Racism, Community Aid Abroad, People Against Racism, Campaign Against Racial Exploitation, Coalition For Multicultural And Democratic Rights, West Australians For Racial Equality, Community Alert Against Racism And Violence, and sundry anti-racist action groups. Particular ethnic leaderships and refugee advocacy agents also worked with these satellites.

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[45] Andrew Moore, The Right Road? pp. 126–134; see Chapter Seven, Section 1 and Chapter Eight, Section 1(b) of this Thesis.

[46] John Hyde, "Why Growth In Population Is Environmentally Sound", The Australian, June 1 1990, p. 9. Hyde was a prominent New Right advocate.

[47] See: Australian National Action, News-Current Affairs Video, 1988–89 (various programs involving anti-racist satellites and NA); Australian National Action, News Video 1994–5 (Chapter Five) (describes Anti-Racist Action and other groups in Adelaide); Chapter Five Footnote 30 on Community Aid Abroad.   Articles also discussed pro-South African action groups.

The satellites of the international capitalist State varied in their specific programmes (as the satellites of the anti-communist State did). However, the combination of the politics of advantage and altruism was dynamic and showed in the pattern of State patronage of satellite action. For example, the New Right satellites were often led by persons who had links with the Liberal-National party leadership, while a group like Community Aid Abroad was patronised by Prime Minister Hawke. Anti-apartheid groups could liaise with the ANC and Pan-African Congress offices in Australia (which were encouraged by State foreign policy) and with security agencies. The circular linkages represented a degree of organization exercised against both the countryside and urban opposition to internationalization. Unions were broken, farms consolidated, and the multicultural system legitimated in action.

Beyond the satellite structures lay the State's clients in the "new social movements". First, this Thesis would suggest that the homosexual ('gay'/lesbian) community, through its implicit challenge to Australia's male culture (it is easy to agree with "new class" criticism that 'mateship' was a mythic sustained element of the archetypal 'Australian character'), was a force apt to be used to support the liberal hegemony. The enemies of internationalist capitalism included the labour movement, the small farmer and small-business community, those social categories which generally posited heterosexual models of authority and family as normative social values. In the chaos of deregulation and economic internationalization, mass immigration and cultural change, a partial disintegration of old patterns of social order was as inevitable as the corollary: the reconstitution of bourgeois order on a new basis. There was nothing really 'radical' about homosexual conduct and as one major overseas study of the politics of this social movement noted, co-optation by the state occurred in several national cases.[48] While lip service was paid by the State parties to the 'Australian family', politicians courted these new clients from the early 1980's, with 'anti-discrimination' legislation and other egalitarian enactments. The value of the new client force lay in the diffusion of tolerance as a social principle for an

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[48] David Rayside, On The Fringe: Gays And Lesbians In Politics, Ithaca, 1998, pp. 3, 308–312.

Australian 'diversity'. The connection between this "social movement" and demographic-cultural change was set out by Kalantzis and Cope:

> In a society with a post-nationalist sense of
> common purpose, all Australians need to know the
> processes of their moral and political becoming to
> be able to disentangle the multiple layers of their
> identities and political loyalties, and to be able to
> negotiate across boundaries: the boundaries of
> ethnicity and gender − of countries, the boundaries
> that divide the state from civil society.[49]

Second, this Thesis would refer to organized feminism, with its "new class" intervention, which corroded the 'legitimacy' of the Old Australian family and gender roles. Throughout the 1980's period of the vaunted 'political correctness', feminists enjoyed some success in imposing semantic style upon political discussion in the public service, education institutions and the trade union environment.

Although weakened by the 1990's, the campaign left residual formalised codes of behaviour within particular institutions. Basically, feminists maligned not only the traditional family, but also 'male culture', Australia's white male historical mythology, while favouring the cult of childlessness in a manner P.R. Stephensen might have characterized as 'decadence'. In establishing new family structures and new gender roles, the State was acquiring new clients who could reasonably oppose Right social values and extend the social principle of 'tolerance'.

Third, this Thesis notes that the white-liberal component of the Land Rights movement played an ideological function in amassing new State clients. In the discourse about the proto-Nazi extermination of Aborigines, the incomplete legal claim of the State to its

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[49] Mary Kalantzis and Bill Cope, "Republicanism And Cultural Diversity", in Wayne Hudson and David Carter (eds), The Republicanism Debate, Kensington, 1993, p. 234.

continental occupation and the plight of disadvantaged Aboriginal communities, ideological mechanisms were in place to delegitimize the European-Australian heritage. In what may ultimately pass as a fraud perpetrated against Aboriginal-Australia, intellectuals involved in the articulation of these ideological precepts (Andrew Markus, Colin Tatz, Brian Attwood, Robert Manne, Henry Reynolds and others)[50] refused by omission to address the future position of Aborigines in the Pacific Rim Economic Order. Yet all were strident supporters of non-European immigration which must eventually problematicize Aboriginal identity and Land Rights, no less than Asian capitalism's demand for Australian natural resources. In the short-term however, and particularly in country areas, resentments did build from the 1980's against both Land Rights activism, and against perceived Aboriginal privileges and welfare advantages, but this was balanced by the near-certainty that many Australians were neutralized against any movement which relied upon a Euro-racial description of Australian identity. The additional success of the inclusion of Aboriginal leadership structures in the multicultural system has shown that little awareness of racial change was present in the Aboriginal community. Generally, Extreme Right movements were neither interested in acquiring, nor able to affect, any Aboriginal interest. With the blunting of early New Right developmentalist criticism of Aboriginal land claims, the 'de-regulated' State could present itself as a moral actor in the resolution of those previous injustices grounded upon racist violence.

The sardonic achievement of an image of State moral rectitude could be viewed as partly contingent upon an activist media which took up the generalized theme of 'tolerance'; but the media's impact upon the Extreme Right's potential was much wider.

As an essential aspect of research for this Thesis, the author asked participants in the Extreme Right movements for their subjective opinion of the media's response to their efforts. Generally, all apprehended the power of the partitioned dialogue. For example, Michael Brander maintained that Adelaide's Channel Seven had throughout the 1990's pursued a vendetta against him, while newspapers would accuse National Action of neo-

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[50] Henry Reynolds, <u>Aboriginal Sovereignty: Three Nations; One Australia?</u>, Sydney, 1996, passim; Colin Tatz's work at Macquarie University on 'genocide' and media commentary in Australian National

nazism, 'hate' or involvement in crime including even the 1995 desecration of Jewish graves in Adelaide. Denis McCormack described journalistic condescension and attempts to link AAFI with 'extremism'. Tony Pitt wrote:

> The mainstream media will publish nothing, or they
> will tell voters we are Nazi, Fascist, Red Neck,
> Right-wing, Radical Ratbags.[51]

The author can provide direct testimony.

Media bias was obvious in a secretly tape-recorded 1993 conversation between the author and Sydney television producer Howard Gipps. Gipps dismissed with laughter and dissimulation my vehement denial of his report of my ideological connection to neo-nazism.[52] The Press Council was as accommodating, dismissing a complaint of "criminal libel" made against the Daily Telegraph; it had said:

> … Saleam is now out of jail and sources say
> National Action is once again gaining momentum.
> As the numbers grow, so will the violence.[53]

The author has met 'professionally' at least one hundred journalists; all but one were either aggressively or passively opposed to the views given. Similar hostility was aimed at the more credible Graeme Campbell who claimed that he was seldom reported accurately and often "connected" with extremists. As Chapter Eight observed, Jewish organizations and publicists were permitted to make regular media attacks upon Campbell, and they were not alone.

Action, File: Colin Tatz.

[51] Tony Pitt, The Fight/CAP Relationship, Fight newspaper subscribers' letter, November 8 1993.

[52] James Saleam And Howard Gipps, Tape Recording, June 1993.

[53] Jacqueline Lunn, "Loose Cannons", Daily Telegraph, November 11 1995, p. 37.

If the behaviour of media towards the Extreme Right in the period 1975–95 was unreasonable, media reaction to Pauline Hanson during 1996–98 was hysterical and abusive, which implied the existence of a long-standing bias against the Right.[54] Since the public's perception of the Extreme Right was considerably reliant upon the media, a hostile media would serve to delimit progress. While interviewees could not have hoped to use media as an open platform, they were seldom treated with objectivity, a conclusion supported from the footnoted citations adduced in this Thesis.

Noam Chomsky posits that western states rarely murder dissenters, but delegitimize their views, 'manufacturing consent' through the media; he argues that western media markets politics as the actualisation of the democractic ethos and not as the protection of capitalist privilege.[55] Further, this Thesis accepts Marcuse's logic that capitalist media merges 'news' and 'advertising' into an ideological product; and that capitalist advertising sells the virtues of the consumer system with its products.[56] R.W. Connell developed Marcuse's principle, observing that Australian 'conservatism' tied its future to prosperity and progress. Its managers and staff were "political functionaries" who employed media in "regular processes", "producing and reproducing an ideological interpretation of the world". Connell's discussion of "images" and "symbolic reassurances" promoted daily, remained appropriate.[57]

This Thesis has observed that within the study period Australian media produced certain messages and slogans which were staples for capitalist hegemony: the new power – 'the world economy'; the farmers compelled-with-sadness to modernize; the non-European faces of commercial advertising; the out-of-step union militant forced to 'accept' the Accord-cum-rationalization; the heroic refugee and friendly/successful "Asian migrant"; the suburban consumerism yielded to lifestyle acquisition within the global market; the 'loser' who is left behind by change; the commoditization of sex where personal choices

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[54] See Chapter 19 "Pauline Hanson Persecuted?", Your Rights 1999, Carlton, 1999. John Bennett's comments derive directly of media reporting.
[55] Noam Chomsky, as presented on Manufacturing Consent, SBS Television, December 15, 22, 29 1992.
[56] Herbert Marcuse, One Dimensional Man, pp. 8–12; Herbert Marcuse, Counter-Revolution and Revolt, Boston, 1972, pp. 17–23.

for happiness justified the mail-order-marriage-market, especially if the result could be 'Eurasianization'.[58] It is clear that the Extreme Right did not have the material resources to compete with media misrepresentation of its ideas and the processes of information distribution and advertising which normalised the internationalist order. It might be hypothesized that only in the country environment could more personal modes of communication overcome this deficiency; in the city the only viable option was 'political guerilla warfare' and few took that road.

With the Extreme Right organizations excluded from mainstream academic and media discussion, there remained only the various modes of physical action and the electoral path. The Australian political party and electoral system is briefly mentioned here as an institutional block constructed against any form of anti-system politics. There have been exceptional victories whereby alternative 'radical' candidates defeated the two party catch-all candidates, or used the Senate's proportional voting system to advantage.[59] However, within the study period (1975–95) only one Extreme Right candidate (Trevor Perrett of the CEC) achieved election to an Australian parliament (1988), while Graeme Campbell sat as 'Labor' until 1995. Despite extensive electoral campaigning, cynicism about politicians in the general community and some percentage point breakthroughs (CAP/AAFI), the Extreme Right was unable to "influence" the major parties which maintained a type of consensus politics and opposed Extreme Right themes. How these parties would have treated a major challenge was shown in their ultimate dealings with the

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[57] R.W. Connell, Ruling Class Ruling Culture: Studies Of Conflict, Power And Hegemony In Australian Life, Cambridge, 1977, pp. 195–197, 200.
[58] A composite overview taken from representative items: Millie Eden, "Ads For A Racial Rainbow", The Herald, December 10 1989, p. 29; Myer advertisements in The Sun, March 21 1985, p. 18, May 22 1985, p. 29 and Impressions On Wool, catalogue, 1985, p. 24; Phillip Adams, "Soapies: Washing Away The Barriers", The Bulletin, July 2 1985, p. 60; Greg Sheridan, "On Common Ground", The Australian (Asians In Australia Supplement), March 15 1994, p. 1; television reporting of the BLF, the 'Dollar Sweets' anti-union case; sundry articles from daily press (1985–95) on the 'existing challenges' of cross-racial/cross-cultural marriages, held in Immigration Folios, Parts 1, 2, 3, 4 (maintained by the author); a review of The Australian Financial Review and business sections of The Australian and The Sydney Morning Herald, for material on Australian farmers, globalization and economic 'losers'.
[59] Dean Jaensch and David Mathieson, A Plague On Both Your Houses: Minor Parties In Australia, St. Leonards, 1998, pp. 22, 182, 188–9, discusses such constraints on minor and ideological party electoral successes.

One Nation Party: parliamentary shunning, preference swapping deals, political attack.[60] The parliamentary-election-quest engaged in by the Extreme Right 'parties' could be understood as a trap. This strategy generally demonstrated a failure to assess the essential obstacles which were standing in the path of a genuine political challenge. First, the capacity of the major parties to marginalize challenge, or through the National Party to cater to some 'Right' concerns, was a simple fact of political life. Second, while electoral action brought membership and publicity, it did not create organization which could contest the liberal hegemony and fight the State parties.

The inverted interpretation of the 'split delegitimization' paradigm described 'Jews/Zionists' and migrant groups as factors in the maintenance of the liberal hegemony. While the latter were by their very presence, a quality which could regulate personal conduct, familiarize Australians with 'change' and neutralize others from reactive politics, the leadership of Australian Jewry was a dynamic and forceful participant in liberal activism as Part Two of this Thesis has, at different points, described.

Although credible Jewish opinion has rated anti-semitism in Australia as "slight background noise"[61] and contended that some anti-Jewish activity was basically ordinary anti-social conduct,[62] the official Jewish attitude demanded constant attention to supposed anti-semitic incidents and political groups.[63] The Jewish leadership also focused on Israel-Palestine issues, Soviet anti-semitism and Jewish emigration rights, the 1980's war-crimes legislation and anti-racial vilification legislation.[64] Further, by referring to the physical

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[60] From a mass of journalism (newsclippings) involving statements by Senator Richard Boswell, and parliamentarians such as Tony Abbott, Helen Sham-Ho, Jeff Kennett, John Howard, in Pauline Hanson Folio, Parts 1, 2 and 3, as maintained by author: see also: Robert Manne (ed.), Two Nations, pp. 85−88.
[61] Sol Encel, "Anti-Semitism And Prejudice In Ausralia", Without Prejudice, No. 1, September 1990, p. 40.
[62] Paul Gardner, "Anti-Jewish Harassment In Australia", Without Prejudice, No. 5, November 1992, p. 32.
[63] Racism And Anti-Semitism In Contemporary Australia Conference, leaflet and program, June 1994.
[64] See Chapter Eight, Footnotes 162 and 163; from a general overview of the Australian Jewish News, Without Prejudice and Australia-Israel Review.

suffering of the European 'Holocaust generation', Zionists ensured that a moral impetus operated in the anti-racist discourse of Anti-Racial Vilification Legislation (ARVL).[65]

The Jewish leadership used heavy-handed methods. In 1995, when Helen Demidenko (Darville) won an award for a novel which proclaimed the existence of a Jewish-Bolshevik nexus in the 1920's/1930's USSR, a media witchhunt was orchestrated, and critical books published to deny the existence of an utterly explicable historical fact.[66] It followed also that any 'criticism' of Jewish history or Zionist activism was racist and anti-semitic, and that all 'racism' was potentially anti-semitic.[67] It is uncertain if public opinion could appreciate the subtleties of these debates; hence the Zionist intervention in the articulation of liberal politics was always intimidatory.

The political, cultural and civil society blocks placed in the way of Extreme Right mobilization were not activated simply because the State power-core bloc and its allies and clients conceived that there was a political resistance of a threatening nature; but given that there was open public criticism of Old Australian cultural, trade union and ethnocentric attitudes, reasonably the international capitalist State considered that in the process of disintegration of the Old Australia, a 'new normality' hostile to any 'nationalist' opposition would indeed be constructed. The new degenderfied, sexually tolerant, multicultural-multiracial society expressed in practice the internationalist vision, and with the 'rewriting of history' and intensive media and satellite activism and propaganda, many (younger) Australians may have considered it the only conceivable society. With the promise and partial delivery of a 'consumer heaven', albeit one paid for by a deregulated labour market

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[65] Prime Minister Paul Keating and Senator Nick Bolkus referring to these issues before the Zionist Federation Of Australia conference, quoted in, "Ministers Differ Over Race Laws", Australian Jewish News, June 3 1994, p. 2.

[66] The Demidenko-Darville affair was covered in journalism such as: David Greason, "A Fraction Too Much Fiction", Herald Sun (News Review), August 26 1995, pp. 15–17; Michelle Gunn, "I Am Truly Sorry: Demidenko Comes Clean", The Weekend Australian (Review), August 26–27 1995, pp. 1, 4; Editorial "Demidenko Still Needs To Explain", The Weekend Australian, August 26–27 1995, p. 20. The four books on the 'affair' are not cited here. For the balanced historical nature of the 'Jewish-Bolshevik nexus' see George Katkov, Russia: 1917, London, 1974, pp. 88–107.

[67] The logic of Jacqui Seaman, "Racial Vilification Legislation And Anti-Semitism In NSW: The Likely Impact Of The Amendment", Sydney Law Review, Vol. 12, Nos 2–3, March 1990, pp. 597–615; Colin Rubinstein And Michael Kapel, "Racial Vilification Bill Is Crucial Test For Coalition", Sydney Morning Herald, November 1994, p. 13.

and free trade, any economic grievance which might have translated into dissent, was the province of minorities. The Extreme Right could scarcely locate political space which was not being perpetually encroached upon. Nonetheless, there were potential threats to the capitalist revolution which merited a para-State response.

3. POLITICAL POLICE AND POLITICAL PROCESS

(a) *Background*

Para-State intervention against the Australian Extreme Right was an emotional subject for those who claimed to be victims and something vexing for academic and critical literature. Jenny Hocking's work on the "Australian security state" reasonably described "terrorism masquerading as counter-terrorism", an ideology and practice at State command, ready for use against disfavoured political ideas;[68] but nowhere was there any analysis of Extreme Right 'violence' and para-State response. This omission was at least addressed by McKnight, who noted that the "racist and violent Right" had become ASIO's chief concern by the 1990's.[69] Meantime, Moore seemed uncertain of whether Extreme Right counter-allegations of para-State illegality directed at prominent groups, were accurate;[70] Greason merely scoffed.[71] The place of a political police amidst the mechanisms of the 'anti-racist State' would be taboo for many scholars and commentators who essentially approve of the disruption of 'nationalist' forces which oppose the liberal vision.

The evidence advanced in Part Two indicated that after 1975, security agencies maintained a watching brief on the Extreme Right, with some active forays such as infiltration of the Australian National Alliance, the Cameron operation and arrests of activists throughout the 1980's. Certainly, the Extreme Right warranted surveillance. For

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[68] Jenny Hocking, <u>Beyond Terrorism: The Development Of The Australian Security State</u>, St. Leonards, 1993, pp. 40, 177, 194.
[69] David McKnight, <u>Australian Spies And Their Secrets</u>, p. 300.
[70] Andrew Moore, <u>The Right Road?</u> pp. 124, 155.
[71] David Greason, <u>I Was A Teenage Fascist</u>, pp. 303–4.

example, Pash's Libyan adventures led to contacts with radical Aborigines,[72] precisely when Gaddafi's Vanuatu diplomacy drew condemnation from Foreign Affairs Deputy-Secretary, David Sadleir (later Director-General of ASIO).[73] ASIO fears of incipient violence were enhanced by National Action's early clashes with opponents (1984−5), and its 'provocative' propaganda materials which cited the 'anti-Australian State' for its use of violence, and the necessity of a counter-strategy of 'political struggle' to achieve "independence".[74]

The late 1980's change in ASIO from a 'watchdog brief' to a 'suppression operation' is discussed here, albeit with some limitations. There are no admissions from ASIO that a new 'Operation Whip' was underway, nor any exact statement concerning the strategy and tactics employed against target groups. Therefore, it is necessary to survey <u>what was done</u> to infer the existence of those mechanisms required to achieve the results.

With the termination of the Queensland Satellite Right arrangement (1987−8) which foreshadowed radicalization, the ANM's propaganda drives that caused community tension, National Action's 'political guerilla war', and the emergence of violence-cells, ASIO reported in 1989:

> … domestic groups on the extreme-right have
> shown a clear potential to cause distress to sections
> of the Australian community and perhaps threaten
> life.[75]

Security concerns connected with, and reflected, other interests. As Chapters Five and Six noted, 'racist organizations' were conceived by business/political leaders as a threat to the Asian market. Further, liberal groups had pushed for 'anti-racial vilification legislation'

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[72] Mike Seccombe, "Racist Whites 'Used' Mansell On Libyan Visit", <u>The Australian</u>, May 5 1987, p. 1; Pilita Clark, "Mansell Denies Link With White Supremacist", <u>Sydney Morning Herald</u>, May 5 1987, p. 6.
[73] George Wilson and Bruce Jones, "The Disciple Of Gaddafi", <u>The Sun Herald</u>, May 10 1987, p. 5; Patrick Walters, "Gaddafi To Be Told Of ABC Dingo Program's Slander", <u>Sydney Morning Herald</u>, May 13 1987, p. 2.
[74] Jim Saleam, <u>The Nature Of State Power</u>, pp. 12−13, 15−16.

(ARVL) continually after 1975, with a plan in 1984 for a tribunal with powers to imprison anti-immigration activists,[76] and finally they organized the 1988−91 National Inquiry Into Racist Violence. What changed in the 1988−89 period was the development of political will to cripple 'disruptive' organizations.

Historically, the Australian State has quashed threats to the established order. From the 1891 trial of the Queensland strikers,[77] the 1917 trial of syndicalist militants and the perjured informer evidence which caused the 1942 internment of Australia First members,[78] to the more sophisticated processes of Royal Commissions into Communism (1949−50) and Espionage (1954−5), a pattern of the 'political show trial' was set. More recently, the Ananda Marga Trial (1979), the Croatian Six Trial (1980), the Royal Commission into the BLF (1981−2) and the Hilton Bomb process (1989−91), showed themselves as State attempts to achieve political and propaganda victories over targeted villains[79] − and occasionally such that State crime could be concealed.

Security service intervention against overseas Extreme Right activism was established in the Canadian case[80]; British scholarship has used the term <u>management</u> for historical and contemporary phenomena in that country;[81] America's FBI dirty-tricks harassments of the Extreme Right, are near-legendary. The Australian case also involved specific legislation, informers and disruptions; but additionally, the Extreme Right was to be delegitimized through terrorism trials ("operational success"), 'managed' by imprisoning prominent

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[75] Australian Security Intelligence Organisation, <u>Report To Parliament 1988−89</u>, Canberra, 1989, p. 5.

[76] Human Rights Commission, <u>Proposal For Amendment To The Racial Discrimination Act To Cover Incitement To Race Hatred And Vilification</u>, Canberra, 1984, passim.

[77] Glen A. Davies, "'A Time Of Perceived Rebellion': A Comparison Of The Charters Towers And Rockhampton Showcase Trials Of 1891", <u>The Australian Journal Of Politics And History</u>, Vol. 38, No. 1, 1992, pp. 27−40.

[78] "Frederick Thomas's Statement" (untitled), in AA CRS A6119/78 Item 557 (Percy Reginald Stephensen).

[79] For the Ananda Marga and Hilton Bomb cases, see: Tim Anderson, <u>Free Alister Dunn and Anderson: The Ananda Marga Conspiracy Case</u>, Glebe, 1985; John Jiggens, <u>The Incredible Exploding Man: Evan Pederick And The Trial Of Tim Anderson</u>, Brisbane, 1991.

[80] Stanley Barrett, <u>Is God A Racist?</u>, pp. 70−71, 76−77, 184−5; Martin Lee, <u>The Beast Reawakens</u>, p. 487.

[81] Richard Thurlow, "State Management Of The British Union Of Fascists In The 1930's", in Mike Cronin (ed.), <u>The Failure Of British Fascism: The Far Right And The Fight For Political Recognition</u>, London, 1996, passim; Kenneth Lunn, "British Fascism Revisited: A Failure Of Imagination?", op.cit., p. 177. For the inside view, see the National Front production: Nick Griffin, <u>Attempted Murder: The State-Reactionary Plot Against The National Front</u>, Norwich, 1986.

activists and thereafter monitored by Human Rights agencies responsible for the creation of an 'anti-racist' institutional and cultural environment.

(b)   *The National Action Trials 1989-95*

The New South Wales government, after receiving various deputations from anti-racists who purported to be the victims of violence (November - December 1988), referred to Special Branch (SB) the task of investigation and prosecution of National Action. This corrupt agency[82] was ideally suited to co-operate with ASIO in a suppression operation. Upon Mark Findlay's analysis, SB was:

> … unique within the state's sphere of social regulation … its potential to achieve an orchestrated ideological victory in terms of a particular police investigation is significant … an essential conduit through which the 'independent' process of political intelligence is advanced.[83]

Neville Ireland, who figured in the Ananda Marga affair, and who was SB's 'ASIO-liaison', was an appropriate agent to conduct a twilight war with National Action.

Between April and October 1989, Ireland brought numerous charges against NA members, the centrepiece being the Funde prosecution against Frost, Michael George White, Saleam and Smith (Chapter Five). Statements taken from Frost and White alleged that Saleam and Smith gave them a shotgun, and the order, to discharge the weapon at Funde's home. The latter were charged on October 13 1989, co-incidently perhaps, some four weeks after Foreign Minister Gareth Evans hosted African National Congress

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[82] Police Integrity Commission, <u>Report To Parliament Regarding The Former Special Branch Of The New South Wales Police Service</u>, Sydney, June 1998, passim.

representatives in Sydney.[84]   Ultimately, at Saleam's sentencing in May 1991, the trial judge referred to "a naked act of terrorism conceived in the mind of the prisoner".[85]

The convictions rested upon the uncorroborated 'accomplice' evidence of Frost and White; there was no scientific, confessional or independent evidence corroborative of guilt and a number of defence witnesses who denied the prosecution case. A full analysis of the trial evidence prepared by the author for pardon-proceedings in the NSW Supreme Court,[86] highlighted the pandemic contradiction in the evidence of Frost and White (which indicated that these actual offenders had falsely accused others under pressure), and the extreme likelihood that the convictions resulted from Special Branch's receipt of intelligence from ASIO, courtesy of a transmitting device in the author's office. This unique circumstance permitted Special Branch to build on this intelligence and anticipate the defence's legal strategy and achieve a singular coup: the harassment and discrediting of a crucial 'surprise' defence witness, a friend of Frost who disputed his allegation that Saleam and Smith were involved in the crime. In fantastic style, the witness was harassed for weeks by telephone, and finally, illegally detained by anonymous men on the day he was due to give evidence. After this, the prosecutor addressed the jury, saying it was Saleam who was intimidating his own witness to testify falsely.   Only after the trial was it learned thanks to public proceedings against Whitehouse (Chapter Five), that ASIO at least, would have known about this witness. Special Branch became a suspect in this case of witness-tampering.

The Crown submissions on the Saleam Appeal (1993) rejected the notion of security services' conspiracy, accusing the author of "an obsession with spies and spying".[87] The

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[83] Mark Findlay, "The Justice Wood Inquiry: The Role Of Special Branch In The Cameron Conspiracy", in Kerry Carrington, Margaret Dover, Russell Hogg, Jenny Bargen and Andrew Lohrey (eds.), Travesty! Miscarriages Of Justice, Sydney, 1991, p. 41.

[84] "Isolate Apartheid, Support ANC", Tribune, September 20 1989, p. 1.

[85] Judge William Ducker, Sentencing Transcript, in R. v Saleam, NSW District Court Registry File 89/11/1795.

[86] James Saleam, Application To The Supreme Court of New South Wales For Inquiry, and James Saleam, Pardon Me, provide the information in this paragraph.

[87] Crown's Final Submissions, p. 13, in R. v James Saleam, NSW Court Of Criminal Appeal Registry File 60312/91.

Crown argued that because the defence had presented evidence to the jury concerning the harassment of the 'surprise' witness, and that the strategy of accusing police with then-minimal information had backfired, the convictions were sound – regardless of new information on offer. The rules of adversary procedure proclaimed jury-prejudice a "consequence" of a "deliberate" decision. The appellate court agreed.[88] It refused Orders to compel ASIO to disclose all taped material and what was done with it.

The intensity of Special Branch's methods crystallized in Ireland's dealings with 'Catherine', who in fifty meetings in 1989–90, provided Ireland with detailed intelligence on NA's attempts to avoid 'suppression'; but 'Catherine' was quirky, and the victim of a disorder which manifested in dual personality, and often misled Ireland, providing false information and tipping off National Action to Special Branch monitoring. Ireland intended to use 'Catherine' in a terrorism show-trial of about ten NA members which would be, according to the former, "bigger than the ANM case".[89] Although the Director of Public Prosecutions gave him advice in August 1990, the mass-arrests did not eventuate; the mercurial 'Catherine' who refused to perjure, changed sides.

While ASIO 'intelligence' seemed ultimately decisive in the Saleam prosecution, the rough boot of Special Branch was condoned by the reticence of State agencies and courts to cause any investigation into NA's allegations of conspiracy. The ideological victory over National Action was seemingly significant to State requirement and the development of para-State programs for the defeat of 'future' Extreme Right efforts.

The subsequent discrediting of Ireland/Special Branch by a Royal Commission, does not mean the 'terrorism' verdict against National Action will be surrendered.

(c)   *The ANM Trial 1989-90*

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[88] Judgement Of The Court Of Criminal Appeal, Record Sheet, p. 11, in R. v James Saleam, NSW Court Of Criminal Appeal Registry File 60312/91.

The basis for the arrests of the ANM leaders in 1989 has been described in Chapter Six. Although the trial process showed that those convicted were guilty of criminal acts, the State proclaimed them terrorists. The sentencing judge summed the offences together (and a further 'political' offence of conspiracy to drive Asian persons from Western Australia) and described them as a "terrorist campaign".[90]

The Prosecutor, Graeme Scott (later a Supreme Court Justice), used his 'terrorism' line to win draconian penalties. To succeed in producing this outcome, the ingredients of a political trial had to be, and were, manifest: the compliant media's denunciations of the accused;[91] the attribution of svengali qualities to van Tongeren; sensational recorded evidence added to by uncorroborated oral material from Willey; the publicised 'cleverness' of the watchful State cutting into the fabric of neo-nazism, racial violence and secret cells; a secured courtroom; a refusal to grant legal aid (other than in the advent of guilty pleas); and Willey's indemnity, granted despite his role as a substantive offender.[92]

To prove terrorism, the State alleged the following[93]:

- ANM had a para-military section - the Australian Aryan Army,
- a specifically constructed 'training camp' existed at Bindoon,
- paramilitary training took place at that property.

But the accused were not charged with operating a paramilitary organization, nor with the Commonwealth Crimes Act offence of "levy war against the Commonwealth". No evidence other than Willey's testimony ever established the existence of any 'Army'.[94]

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[89] Catherine; James Saleam, Pardon Me, Section 5.

[90] His Honour Judge Kevin Hammond, Sentencing Of Jack Van Tongeren, September 20 1990, p. 68.

[91] ANM Folio: Michael Sinclair-Jones, "Doctor Says Dead Son Was ANM Fanatic", West Australian, undated (August 1989); Sue Yeap, "No Bail For Man Accused In ANM Explosives Case", West Australian, August 26 1989; Debbie Kennedy, "ANM Leader Remanded On Conspiracy Charge", West Australian, August 16 1989; "Nazi Arms Cache Seized", Sunday Times, August 27 1989; John Mayman, "Six Accused 'Planned A Nazi State'", Telegraph, May 11 1990; "Bombs To Scare Asians", The Australian, August 10 1990. The sensationalist style came through in most articles.

[92] Wayne Van Blitterswyk, Letter To Phillip Adams, October 30 1997, pp. 2–4.

[93] Jack van Tongeren, Details Of The Injustice Inflicted Against John Van Blitterswyk And Jack Van Tongeren, no publication details, February 17 1995.

[94] Wayne Van Blitterswyk.

Evidence given by Willey and the police regarding the supposed use of a "watchtower", "bunker" and "firing range", has been demolished by a detailed description of the Bindoon site in material published by van Tongeren.[95] Verisimilitude is lent to his claim of the property's innocuous nature, by the refusal of the trial judge, the appellate court, and the W.A. Attorney General to inspect the property.[96] Then in 1992, the trial judge in another ancillary judgement, ruled the property might not have been a camp.[97] Other than occasional firearm discharge, no evidence of paramilitary training has been adduced outside of Willey's oral evidence. Suspicion hangs over this material when perjury prosecutions brought by van Tongeren against Willey and police about this issue, were quashed by the Director of Public Prosecutions in 1992.[98]

Was the ANM campaign 'terrorist'? The arsons, and the one bombing carried out by Willey, were all of free standing, unoccupied properties well distant from other property and persons. Certainly, the Court of Criminal Appeal upheld trial decisions, proclaiming terrorism as "force and violence to intimidate",[99] that loose idea of "politically motivated violence" (PMV) advanced by ASIO. However, terrorism is defined in the academic literature as a program of violence which involves killing, or the reckless endangerment of people, organized provocation and symbolic violence, which altogether terrorize the society.[100] By confusing terrorism with PMV and relying upon unsubstantiated evidence, the court system has acceded to ASIO's self-interested security program.

The script directed at this proclaimed "dangerous"[101] organization – and bearing in mind the strong suspicion of ASIO's 'foreknowledge' of ANM's ongoing campaign (Chapter

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[95] Jack van Tongeren, <u>The Nature Of The Bindoon Property Of John Van Blitterswyk And Judi Lyons</u>, no publication details, February 1 1996.

[96] Jack van Tongeren, <u>Circular Letter</u> forwarded to various persons seeking judicial inquiry, July 26 1994, pp. 3–6. In this letter, van Tongeren referred to a voluminous public correspondence.

[97] Judge Kevin Hammond, <u>Judgement On Crown Application MC91</u>, May 28 1993.

[98] Brian G. Tennant, <u>Folio Of Correspondence With W.A. DPP</u>, 1992, in author's possession. (Tennant was prominent West Australian law reform campaigner.)

[99] <u>Judgement Of The Western Australia Court Of Criminal Appeal</u>, Record Sheet, pp. 99–100, in <u>R. v John Van Blitterswyk</u>, WA CCA File 161/1990.

[100] Eric Morris and Alan Hoe, <u>Terrorism: Threat And Response</u>, Basingstoke, 1987, pp. 20, 24, 43, 65; Stephen Aust, <u>The Baader-Meinhoff Group: The Inside Story Of A Phenomenon</u>, London, 1985, pp. 320–322; Conor Gearty, "What Is Terrorism?", in Conor Gearty (ed.), <u>Terrorism</u>, Aldershot, 1966.

[101] Australian Security Intelligence Organisation, <u>Report To Parliament 1989–90</u>, p. 60.

Six) – suggests an ASIO strategy to stigmatize 'anti-Asia' political causes as terrorism and neo-nazism and to intimidate opposition that it conform with State policy. This was a rewarding strategy. Whereas any Commission of Inquiry would establish that ANM's actual deeds and Turner Diaries scheme fell short of terrorism, there is no State interest in that, leaving van Tongeren a de facto political prisoner.

(d)   *'Anti-Racist McCarthyism'*

The Commonwealth Attorney General's Department said of the 1994–5 ARVL proposal, and the National Inquiry Into Racist Violence (NIIRV):

> The legislation largely stems from the findings and recommendations of … [the NIIRV] … [and] … was motivated by a widespread community perception that racist attacks … were on the increase. During 1988, a number of church and community leaders and other prominent anti-racists were subjected to … a well organised campaign to intimidate and deter them.[102]

Curiously, an inquiry into racist violence was predicated upon claims of violence directed at Australian 'church and community' liberals. The Inquiry's Report confirmed that these liberals lobbied to establish it, and gave evidence before it. The Race Discrimination Commissioner, Irene Moss, chaired the Inquiry. Moss, a Chinese woman married to a banker, was a public supporter of ARVL and 'anti-racism'; she later wrote approvingly of "a broad Asianising of Australia as we recognize that our future lies in Asia".[103] Deputy

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[102] Attorney General's Department, Factsheet: Racial Vilification, Canberra, 1992, p. 2.
[103] Irene Moss, "Plotting A Path To Change", The Weekend Australian, May 30–31 1992, p. 21.

Commissioner Ron Castan, was more brazen; he 'predicted' the Inquiry's results in Australia−Israel Review[104], eighteen months before the Report was issued.

Pierre James commented upon the simultaneous push for ARVL in Western Australia:

> … 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 … 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.[105]

Moss's Inquiry, the Western Australian proposals, the passage of ARVL in the New South Wales Parliament in 1989, ASIO's public statements and NSW Special Branch actions, showed a pattern of State response to Extreme Right militancy.[106] Inquiry witnesses and officers played roles similar in function to the former Commissions into Communism and Espionage, whereby the McCarthyist star chamber atmosphere and the vilification of a new demon, was hidden by a public process designed to uncover racist violence focused at Aborigines, migrants and their 'supporters'. Rather, it was in the Inquiry's recommendations that an authoritarian impulse was revealed. The Report reviewed the ARVL proposition in the context of the Commonwealth sedition law and state laws on violent disorder and affray which curb 'racist' political action.[107] It praised European parliament's declarations condemnatory of Extreme Right parties, and noted the

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[104] Ron Castan, "Inquiry Into Racist Violence", Australia−Israel Review, Vol. 14, No. 10, June 27−July 9 1989, p. 12.

[105] Pierre James, "Legislating Against The Racist Right", Without Prejudice, December 1991, p. 30.

[106] Hon. E. Pickering, Hansard: The Legislative Council (NSW), pp. 7225−7226 covered the gamut of these issues.

local racist criticism of Garnaut's plan for Australian capitalism.[108] It mapped out a responsive political framework for an 'anti-racist' society. This involved:

- monitoring of media reporting about "foreign investment, immigration and multiculturalism";[109]
- "the police should take the lead" in co-ordinating local authority agencies to ward off racial attacks;[110]
- "police training" and "promotion" should be based on cultural education;[111]
- "police and intelligence agencies" should give "higher priority" to political racism;[112]
- "multicultural and anti-racist education" should exist in schools and universities;[113]
- "urban youth culture" could be used as "more important bases of identity and friendship than presumed race or ethnicity";[114]
- "broad based public information campaigns" would occur;[115]
- "area committees" would form to cover over racist posters and bring a "wealth of knowledge" (informers?) to the fight.[116]

This model was essentially British[117] with an echo of Brigadier Kitson's counter-terrorism strategy which involved preventative action and the management of dissent.

While the NA/ANM prosecutions demonstrated the enforcement by the State of its claim to a monopoly of violence, the NIIRV and the ARVL enactments illustrated the ideological proscription of opposition. Without pretense, ASIO Director-General Sadleir was quoted

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[107] Human Rights And Equality Opportunity Commission, Report Of The National Inquiry Into Racist Violence, pp. 30–31.
[108] ibid., p. 225.
[109] ibid., p. 217.
[110] ibid., p. 247.
[111] ibid, pp. 330–1, 333.
[112] ibid., p. 316.
[113] ibid., pp. 346, 352–3.
[114] ibid., p. 383.
[115] ibid., p. 380.
[116] ibid., pp. 377–8.
[117] Stephen Castles, Issues For A Community Relations Strategy: A Report To The Office Of Multicultural Affairs, University Of Wollongong: Centre For Multicultural Studies, 1990, passim; Annie Goldflam, "Anti-Racist Strategies In Britain And Australia", Without Prejudice, No. 3, June 1991, pp. 9–14.

publicly that, with "our universally based immigration policy" providing a "grindstone for prejudice", a "close watch" on the racist Right would be maintained.[118] The curtailment of the "extreme nationalist" groups[119] did not mean ASIO ignored the CAP, AAFI and others. The evidence advanced in Part Two inferred the existence of a new 'Operation Whip' as much as the tone of the Report(s) To Parliament (1992–5) alluded to a para-State strategy directed against the Extreme Right. With any deepening of the challenge, ASIO would be ready to repeat its "operational success" achieved in 1990–1, and be backed by Attorneys General aware of "extremist organisations" and their "serious" public acts.[120] In the new order, anti-racism was ideological glue for the liberal-capitalist system [121] just as anti-communism had been in previous decades. "As Australia's political, economic and social future becomes more closely linked with Asia",[122] similar hard State responses to threats to the capitalist order showed an historical continuity. This Thesis now turns to the use of auxiliary organizations to defend the liberal hegemony.

4.   THE SATELLITIZATION OF THE LEFT

Chapter Five examined the inter-related subjects of the phased co-optation (1978–89) of the marxist Left by State and liberal forces in the 'anti-racist' fight, and its steady abandonment of political positions which favoured industry-protection and Australian independence. This was a dying Left, battered by the Fraser government and confused by Labor economic rationalism. The Thesis now argues that weaknesses in post-1975 Left politics bore upon the co-optation process. The manipulation of the Left to constrain the Right was a new development which defined each in relation to the State. If the Left became satellitized, then the Extreme Right had become the new radicalism.

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[118] Bernard Lagan, "Spies Still Needed Says ASIO Chief", Sydney Morning Herald, April 22 1993, p. 3.
[119] Australian Security Intelligence Organisation, Report To Parliament 1993–4, Canberra, 1994, p. 3.
[120] Attorney-General Michael Duffy, Second Reading, Speech By The Honourable Michael Duffy MP, Canberra, 1992.
[121] Graeme Campbell, "The National Inquiry Into Racist Violence", The Record, Spring 1993, pp. 39–46.
[122] Australian Security Intelligence Organisation, Report To Parliament 1992–3, Canberra, 1993, p. 111.

(a)   Historical Faults In The Left?

The intense debate which split Australian communism in 1963–4 showed evidence of its enmeshment with social democracy. The Maoist fraction's assessment that the CPA had become "revisionist", involved more than a criticism of the 'bankruptcy' of economist trade unionism and parliamentarist action. Such politics were perceived as bourgeois politics. Maoists posited that marxist organization was surrounded by the older capitalist ideology and its integrative economic-cultural practice, and that bourgeois politics could enter and even control a communist party.[123] Maoists stated thereafter, that the CPA would habitually adapt itself towards Labor.[124] Subsequent 1980's 'passages' into the ALP by leading communists like John Halfpenny, Laurie Carmichael and Bernie Taft, demonstrated a blurring of ideological position. Similarly, when the CPA dissolved, the closing internal debate focused around a social-reform agenda constructed with progressive Laborites.[125] A concept of 'Left satellitization' must take account of the Old-Left's historical enmeshment with Labor.

The 1970's hard-Left had ostensibly been different, but 'Fraser-ism' was a rough opponent which converted Labor to economic rationalism while 'inverting' politics with aggressive internationalist liberalism. The re-ordered State broke the Extreme Left in a crippling and psychologically enervating way. For example, the Maoist position, that a 1930's style drift towards world war (with the USSR in the Hitler role) demanded a class collaborationist united front with Fraser,[126] symbolised the elimination of Maoism as the 'radical' competitor to Trotskyism. Meantime, Trotskyists who ritually responded 'Vote Labor' to Fraserism did so with the imperatives of the Transitional Programme in mind. However, despite class struggle rhetoric, it was never demonstrated how even conditional support for social democracy had ever advanced Trotskyism. The tradition was notorious

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[123] E.F. Hill, Looking Backward: Looking Forward: Revolutionary Socialist Politics Against Trade Union And Parliamentary Politics (2nd Edition), Melbourne, 1967, pp. 45–46, 96–97, 110, 117, 132–4, 153–4.

[124] E.F. Hill, Australia's Revolution: On The Struggle For A Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, Melbourne, 1973, pp. 76, 100, 113, 115.

[125] "The Changing Left: Questions Of Organisation, Coherence, Theory And Realpolitik", Tribune, April 3 1991, pp. 12–13.

[126] E.F. Hill, Frustrate War Plans Of Soviet Social-Imperialism, no publication details, pp. 4–5, 7–8.

for its doctrinaire prescriptions for "general strikes" or "Labor Left government" or "nationalization", addressed to, and duly rejected by, Labor conferences, in unions and elsewhere.[127] Whereas the CPA approached Labor for "reforms", Trotskyists could be reproached for performing ritual incantations to an uninterested milieu. To suffer marginalization is to invite intra-sectarian disputation and disorientation.

Unlike the CPA, SPA and CPA(M-L), Trotskyism's leadership cadre came from fringe intellectual and student circles involved in late 1960's protest politics – those who rejected the Stalinist tradition in international marxism.[128] Notably, the Australian Stalinist parties operated with some historical-residue working class support; but with the exception of the cultic Socialist Labour League, no Trotskyist organization has ever produced a proletarian component, let alone a real union presence.[129] Indeed, quite the contrary. The Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) explained its genesis:

> The DSP and its associated youth organization,
> Resistance, came into existence out of the same
> struggles that led to the new rise of struggle by
> lesbians and gay men in the late 1960's and early
> 1970's.[130]

Trotskyism's origin in a 'new social movement' with a developed lifestyle suggested it was pressed for a clientele. It pursued opportunist practice, such as the enthusiastic near-liquidation of the DSP fraction into Peter Garrett's Nuclear Disarmament Party (1984).[131] There were other no less fraction-driven searches for alternate 'mass vanguards'.[132]

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[127] From a survey of <u>Labour Press</u> and <u>Workers News</u>, 1972–80; <u>Vote Socialist Labour League</u>, Election Broadsheet, 1983.

[128] John Percy, "Who Are The Democratic Socialists?", in <u>Vote 1 Democratic Socialists</u>, DSP election pamphlet 1998. For clarity in this section 'Democratic Socialist Party' is used to imply 'Socialist Workers' Party' although the DSP subsumed the SWP in 1990.

[129] Denis Freney, <u>The Socialist Labour League: The Moonies Of The Left</u>, Sydney, 1984, pp. 7, 10, 12.

[130] <u>Socialism And The Struggle For The Rights Of Lesbians And Gay Men</u>, DSP Conference Resolution 1995, Sydney, 1995, p. 1.

[131] Jim Percy, <u>The Labor Party, The NDP And The Elections</u>, Sydney, 1984, for the enthusiastic endorsement of the NDP by these isolated Trotskyists.

[132] A collection of articles in <u>Australasian Spartacist</u> set out Australian Trotskyism's 1970's liquidationist search for international 'vanguards' – Third World guerillas and local vanguards –

Neither leaving the International, nor formally renouncing Trotskyism (1985), changed the DSP's direction. As an "ecology" party after 1989, it searched for new "rainbow" structures whereby it could enter the mainstream and salvage the socialist project.[133] Other Trotskyists were not as sophisticated.

The international cleavages in Trotskyism reflected locally, the inner-city fringe quality of some of the membership, and its hyper-critical attitude towards all who failed to accept its peculiar interpretations of mainline communism, were defining factors of the Left in the 1980's. A concept of Left-satellitization must therefore take account of the structural weakness of the Trotskyist tradition.

This Thesis concludes that by 1989 the entire Left was adrift, marginalized and under Extreme Right assault. Co-optation reached an intense stage precisely at a crucial historical moment – the disintegration of Eastern European communism. The crisis of the Old-Left (CPA/SPA) effectively ensured that the subsidiary Trotskyist tradition became dominant. Trotskyism had been a driving force in the 'internationalization' of Left politics in the 1980's and its unexpected ascendancy was decisive in the conduct of Left politics subsequently.

(b)   *The State And Left Satellitization*

Chapter Two's discussion of post-1945 Satellite Right and para-State auxiliaries, provided a framework to understand Left-satellitization. The satellite concept showed how the Right's ideological confluence with State interest on the question of communism, occasioned its public and sanctioned loyalty to State parties, and allowed manipulation by politicians and political police. Given the satellites' delusion of objective contribution to the

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young workers, women, nationalities. See: "Guerillas In Power", No. 31, May 1976, pp. 3, 10–11; "As Mandelite Secretariat Swings Right: CL Joins Fake 'Mass Paper' Craze", No. 34, August 1976, p. 5; "The Weekly Militant – Bridge To Reformism", No. 35, September 1976, p. 5; "CL Surrenders To SWP Reformism: Fake Trotskyists Announce Shotgun Fusion", No. 45, August 1977, pp. 3, 7.
[133] "Green Politics: Looking Beyond Labor", Green Left Weekly, March 27 1991, pp. 1, 12–13; "National Green Party", Green Left Weekly, April 17 1991, p. 12.

anti-communist struggle (1945–75), there was functional normality about the arrangement. The new method, unlike the former inter-war auxiliary system, kept a distance between the State and its agents.

The relationship between the State and the Left would be necessarily different again, as it involves forces theoretically in juxtaposition. The publically unmarketable relationship between the State and its Left satellites would not only have to be obscured but be generated at the deeper levels of cultural-ideological reproduction and the exercise of hegemony. Satellite Left status would constructively mean: the lack of an ideological alternative to the processes of internationalization; devotion to the principles of open-borders and cultural-racial standardization; the trenchant ideological criticism of any 'nationalist' or racist-ethnocentric opposition to capitalist globalization; hence drawing on the mythic-ideological flavour of the socialist sects, the attraction of dedicated persons who refuse to either join the structures of the transnational State or endorse capitalism; these Left satellites are permitted delusional organizational freedom to practise privatized auxiliary intimidation at street level.

Peter Beilharz has provided an historical description of 1980's Trotskyism's ideological ambivalence, and the opening this gave for its co-optation:

> If the conscious enemies of Trotskyism … [ie the Stalinists] … can thus become its unconscious world executors, so then can Trotskyists become obstacles in history's way. If … there were two major camps, communism and imperialism, then there was always the risk that Trotskyists might become the indirect instruments of other classes.[134]

Abruptly, 'communism' melted away. Thereafter, the Trotskyists' attempt in Australia to find a niche led into anti-racist politics, alliances with immigrant groups and 'anti-fascism'.

Under New World Order capitalism, Trotskyists visualized in these arrangements a method to build a new visionary but practical socialist project, free of Stalinism's stain.[135]

The debate launched in Britain by the 'Anti-Fascist Action' (AFA) (1997ff) covering the preceding two decades of European Left anti-racism/anti-fascism, assists in the assessment of Australian Trotskyism. The AFA, whose 'anti-fascist' credentials were impeccable, interpreted British Trotskyism as an auxiliary of "the status quo":

> … anti-fascism continues to be identified in the public mind with the antics and stance of the ANL [Anti-Nazi League], Searchlight and the Board of Deputies of British Jews … an apologist and cheerleader for … Labour …[136]

With the perfect 'Intelligence' which perceived ahead of proof, that neo-nazi 'Combat 18' was an MI-5/Special Branch construction, the British Extreme Left was criticised for playing the political police game in confronting neo-nazis in a way which buttressed state politicians and restricted civil liberties.[137] The dependence of Australian Trotskyism upon the international movement for ideological-political 'models' in the anti-fascist/anti-racist struggle is undeniable.[138]

For example, the DSP had considered in 1991, that ten years thence it might share government with the Greens and the Australian Democrats.[139] Thereafter, the DSP

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[134] Peter Beilharz, Trotsky, Trotskyism And The Transition To Socialism, London, 1987, p. 182.

[135] Lisa Macdonald, "Wealth Of Ideas At Socialist Scholars' Conference", Green Left Weekly, July 31 1991, p. 5. While a criticism of the DSP-line, see also: "International Green Left Weekly Conference: The Unspeakable In Pursuit Of The Inedible", Australasian Spartacist, No. 153, Winter 1994, p. 11.

[136] "All Or Nothing", Fighting Talk, No. 18, December 1997, pp. 16–17.

[137] "AFA Statement", Fighting Talk, No. 19, April 1998, p. 6; "Under False Pretenses", Fighting Talk, No. 17, September 1997, pp. 6–7; "A View From Valhalla: The Strange Story Of C-18", Fighting Talk, No. 16, March 1997, pp. 8–10.

[138] "New World Order Socialists. SWP: Counterfeit Anti-Labourites", Australasian Spartacist, No. 150, Spring 1993, pp. 4, 5, 15; Tom O'Lincoln, Asians Are Welcome Here: The Fight Against Racism, Melbourne, July 1984, pp. 14–16; Nick Fredman, "Fighting The Racist Threat In Britain", Green Left Weekly, November 3 1993, p. 21. Other available references not cited.

[139] Ken Peak, "Left Politics: Where To Now?", Green Left Weekly, August 14 1991, p. 9.

enthusiastically built anti-racist united actions with Victorian Democrat Senator Sid Spindler, and endorsed "Brunswick Against Nazis" which was a creature of local ALP politicians, Senator Halfpenny and the Zionist Australian Union Of Jewish Students – with ISO street activists in the van.

The point of 'anti-fascism' seems to rest in historical arguments better understood as mythic intangibles. First, when the DSP referred to Trotsky's idea of a "mass united front with social democratic workers and others",[140] and the ISO to the 1930's fight in Germany "crippled by the Communist Party's mad strategy of branding the Social Democrats 'social fascists' … (ruling) … out a united working class fight against the Nazis",[141] they expressed the standard Trotskyist critique of yesteryear's anti-fascist struggle. Its validity, naturally, can never be measured. What then occurred was that the struggle against the new Extreme Right was cast in 1930's terms, with the enemy either Nazis in name or quality, and the 'anti-Nazi struggle', a type of historical vindication over the non-existent Stalinist enemy. Practically, the new 'united front' did not produce Trotskyist independency. Second, when Perth liberal 'anti-racist' Rob White endorsed the 1990's line of the Trotskyist Left, which rejected a populationist argument against immigration, and any concession to "Left-nationalist' criticism of Asian investment,[142] he betrayed the hope that the internationalist Left would work for an anti-racist order inside a global economic system. Indeed, contemporary Trotskyism, like leftover Left fractions generally, building upon its 1980's stance (Chapter Five), prayed or hoped that socialism would emerge from the womb of globalist capitalism and rejected any barrier against the breaking of frontiers. [143] If Trotskyism's 'special set of illusions' let it visualize Trotsky's world republic grounded in capitalist internationalization, the deception was complete. That White could publish alongside non-Marxist propagandists and truly 'advise' the Left, suggested its loss of independent political will.

[140] Phil Hearse, "The New Fascism In Europe", Green Left Weekly, April 27 1994, p. 17.

[141] Alex Callinicos, The Fight Against Racism, Melbourne, 1996, p. 10. (A popular British pamphlet published in 1991 and certainly known in Australia to ISO prior to Australian publication.)

[142] Rob White, "Immigration, Nationalism And Anti-Asian Racism", in Chris Cunneen, David Fraser, Stephen Tomsen (eds.), op.cit., pp. 36–41.

The marxist Left after 1989 has been a metropolitan phenomenon. Marxist electoral participation (1989–95) produced only insignificant ballot box support. A cluster of groups – DSP, ISO, Workers' Power, Spartacists, Militant, Socialist Alternative, Freedom Socialist Party (FSP), Socialist Equality Party and Communist League – were Trotskyist. A 'new' CPA and the CPA(M-L) held to their 'traditions'. Organizationally, Trotskyists focused on issues 'mobilizations' and existed in a 'Left bloc' identifiable by lifestyle and suburb-address.[144]

The new 'rural/country town' Extreme Right groups such as the CAP and EFF organized beyond the reach of Left counter-protest. The AAFI in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide was essentially ignored until 1994 when Left groups issued condemnations.[145] Ultimately, the catalysts for a new Left activism directed at the Extreme Right, were the re-emergence of National Action, and a new 'anti-anti-semitism' policy pursued by Jewish organizations which dragged the Trotskyists into street confrontations.

Of course, it can be argued that the Left reacted to the presence of the Right. Brander told the author that he intended in 1993–5 to provoke the Left with street rallies, and in Melbourne and Adelaide, he was duly 'rewarded' with publicity arising from these disorderly events. However, to place this discussion within the framework outlined in Chapter Two: Australian political police were undoubtedly watching NA closely, keen to ensure that there was no 'soft preparation for violence' and return to the 'political guerilla warfare' model.[146] Restricting NA's ability to re-organize and linking it with "neo-nazism" would be considerations.[147] The Left took on this role, and otherwise confronted assorted

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[143] Peter Beilharz, <u>Transforming Labor: Labour Tradition And The Labor Decade In Australia</u>, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 215–216, for cultural and political-economic background to that proposition.
[144] <u>Computer Index</u>: some 500 names/addresses of Trotskyist and other-Left activists, 1992 ff. In author's possession.
[145] Editorial, "Multicultural Australia", <u>Green Left Weekly</u>, February 16 1994, p. 8; <u>No To Racism</u>, ISO leaflet, 1994.
[146] Australian Security Intelligence Organisation, <u>Report To Parliament 1993–4</u>, Canberra, p. 9.
[147] Australian Security Intelligence Organisation, <u>Report To Parliament 1992–3</u>, Canberra, pp. 111–112.

Skinhead efforts and the 'anti-semitism' of the CEC. Here, <u>Australia−Israel Review</u> editor Greason, appeared to provide advice and leadership.[148]

Although the Left remained under general surveillance, it not only operated without hindrance, but its marxist nature was ignored by media. Indeed, Gerard Henderson felt confident enough to offer 'advice' the Stalinist CPA would have choked on:

> Respect Intelligence agencies. Here the Left can
> lend a hand. In the past the Left has opposed
> Intelligence gathering and police Special Branches.
> Some of its criticisms were warranted but not all.[149]

He was not replied to. Rather, the DSP had already agreed with Henderson that 'racism' should be criminalized[150] − a sanction only the State could enforce − and liaised with NSW Special Branch concerning racist incidents. Groups like ISO/Militant/FSP in Melbourne and Adelaide 'anti-Nazi' actions, missed the dominant roles of Zionists, ALP leaders and Irene Moss[151] in these events.

Significantly, the Extreme Right did not discount the Left and some felt threatened by it. Some AAFI officials detected an implicit threat.[152] Radical-Nationalists took Left groups

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[148] See Greason's articles which describe his 'line' and activities: <u>Stop The Racists</u>, International Socialist leaflet, May 1993, where David Greason speaks at an ISO rally as "founder" of National Action; David Greason, "Who's Afraid Of Racial Vilification Laws?", <u>Australia−Israel Review</u>, 27 July − 9 August 1994, p. 9, on CEC anti-semitism; David Greason, "National Action Resurrected?", <u>Australia−Israel Review</u>, 25 April − 8 May 1994 on NA as "neo-nazi"; Sean Lennon, "What Makes A Fascist?", <u>Green Left Weekly</u>, October 19 1994, where Greason calls on the Left to use street action against "fascists"; <u>David Greason</u>, Radio 7ZR, April 27 1995, transcript from Media Monitors, dealing with CEC duping Tasmanian politician/appeal to act on violent Right. Other examples of Greason's journalism cited elsewhere.
[149] Gerard Henderson, "Words And Unexpected Consequences", <u>Sydney Morning Herald</u>, May 9 1995, p. 13.
[150] Reihana Mohideen, "Immigration Policy: The Alternatives", <u>Green Left Weekly</u>, March 10 1993, p. 10.
[151] Australian National Action, <u>Video Compilation</u>. The author viewed this compendium of 1993−5 television reports of Adelaide and Melbourne NA demonstrations where such personages featured prominently.
[152] <u>Dennis McCormack</u>; <u>Edwin Woodger</u>.

into strategic-tactical account.[153] The Left street groups grew in bravado and their power awaited exhibition in the anti-Hanson/ONP demonstrations of 1997–8.

The satellitization of the Left was useful to Australia's internationalized capitalism. Trotskyism provided a network of agitational forces that constrained the Extreme Right and propagandized for globalization within a potentially 'independent' milieu. This demonstrated the orchestrated character of the new State arrangements. In this way, only the Extreme Right was considered an internal enemy.

CONCLUSION

The Australian State, through coercion and policy initiative stimulated the growth of an internationalized economic sector dominant over, but integrated with, national capital. In its post-American-client phase the State participated in New World Order political structures and the Pacific Rim Economic Order. The State was secure but politically 'closed'. A new State power core involving a transnational capitalist class, State officials, coercive machinery, para-State agents and intrusive migrant groups, with alliances and clients beyond the bloc, guaranteed compliance with internationalization. The new course was inspired by a new globalist myth, a State civic cult.

State values exercised cultural hegemony, delimiting Extreme Right potential. As enforced economic internationalization and mass immigration altered Australia's sociological face, liberal-internationalist cultural values were imposed in a partitioned discourse aimed at pockets of cultural, political and economic 'national' resistance. State policy was directed at undermining the Old-Australia, symbiotically bringing change which was pronounced natural and normative.

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[153] Michael Brander; Simon Dinsbergs.

The integration of the new middle class intellectual elite, like the 'alteration' of sexual norms and the 'promotion' of racial inter-marriage and multiculturalism provided civil society allies and clients for the State and assisted to marginalize Extreme Right challenge.

The para-State employed with considerable impact management techniques against the Extreme Right over the twenty-year period, such that all its fractions were enervated. The use of show trials, conspiratorial action, informers and dirty tricks implied the historical continuity of repressive method from the State's anti-communist period. The inter-connected 'anti racial-vilification legislation' and political police method demonstrated determination to deny opportunity to the new radicalism.

The State severed the useless Satellite Right relationship, but a new ally was ultimately found in the satellitized Left. The defeat of the Left 1975–82 and the taming of the crisis-ridden Left 1982–90, helped in the co-optation of the residual (Trotskyist) Left after the collapse of Soviet communism. The liberal State's inversion of the political discourse to involve universalist anti-racism meant the Left unwittingly, but competently, played the violent auxiliary function: it besieged, harassed and intimidated the 'current' urban radical opposition.

The Extreme Right, as Chapters Four – Eight demonstrated, waged political struggle against State policy by various means. This Chapter concludes the State had fended off, but not silenced, the new radicalism.

CHAPTER TEN

AUSTRALIAN EXTREME RIGHT IDEOLOGY

This Chapter is structured to impose order upon the ideological labour of the Australian Extreme Right. The imposition of intellectual order could misrepresent that which is diffuse or unsystematic. Nonetheless, this Chapter proceeds upon the logic implicit in the narrative and analysis in Part Two, that ideological principles motivate the Extreme Right organizations. Although ideology is distinguished from propaganda, ideological statements shall be taken to mean what they say and their objective worth as political and organizational mobilizers weighed accordingly.

This Chapter benefits from the analysis of the tripartite Right and the specifics of Australian Right politics 1945−75 as advanced in Part One. It focuses upon the central proposition of this Thesis: that the contemporary ideological forms of the Extreme Right are largely a reaction against the control of the Australian State by a determined liberal internationalist capitalism. Specific probative questions would be:

- How can 'neo-fascism' be understood and then applied as a methodological tool to analyse the Extreme Right?
- What is the relationship between the ideological forms of the Extreme Right and the corpus of Australian Conservative Right ideology? At what points did radicalization occur?
- What are the key ideological concerns of the Australian Extreme Right? Do different groups express different combinations of the central principles which then define political conduct? How are they expressed programmatically?

This Chapter is based upon the primary material which includes participant interviews and questionnaires. Nonetheless, to guide the arrangement of the material, particularly because new lines of analysis of the Extreme Right present it as akin to European phenomena,

reference to foreign scholarship occurs. Finally, the Chapter arranges its material to clarify the Extreme Right's 'four face' typology.

SECTION 1

ISSUES OF IDEOLOGICAL DEFINITION 1975−95

The investigation of the Australian Extreme Right shows that while there were no 'great thinkers', there were systematized references to historical traditions (native and foreign) via energetic ideologists whose books, pamphlets and oral communications articulated the typological faces of the phenomenon. Lesser figures acting within the 'schools' developed the messages in journalism, speeches and coalface activities. This Thesis accepts that ideology functions on two levels: to consolidate or express a class interest or state interest and also as systematized and/or mythically inspired political doctrine. The two general cases intertwine as new opinions challenge ruling dogma.

Oppositional ideology can be found in:

> the vast number of books, pamphlets, slogans scribbled on walls, banners upheld in demonstrations and such other forms of utterance.[1]

Indeed, it is the breadth of the Australian phenomenon which vindicates Mannheim's classic view that ideology and utopia are difficult to disentangle.[2] In an oppositional political sub-culture new 'visions' of an Australian future could be explored. It is here that the radical quality of Extreme Right opinion is apparent. Meszaros reasoned of 'western' politics:

> … in our liberal-conservative culture the socially established and dominant … ideology can function

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[1] Kenneth Minogue, <u>Alien Powers: The Pure Theory Of Ideology</u>, London, 1985, p. 8.
[2] Kurt Mannheim, <u>Ideology And Utopia</u>, London, 1960, p. 176.

> ... to present and misrepresent its own rules of
> selectivity, bias, discrimination and ... distortion as
> 'normality', objectivity and scientific detachment.[3]

Against the Australian liberal consensus, which since the 1970's held that Australia was part of Asia, and imposed a globalist logic upon economics, foreign policy, immigration and labour-relations, the Extreme Right progressively responded with visions of 'independence' perceived as beyond the capitalist order, and with ideological portrayal of an 'Australian' of archetypal character. The State's 'utopian' passion segregated these discourses, invited political 'closure', and consequent propagandist misrepresentations, of Right ideas.

Theorists of ideology say that ideological life has the quality of attitude lived as a truth, individual and supra-individual, irrational or mythic; no one ideologist encapsulates the whole message and the followers live the creed to various 'degrees' of commitment or discernment.[4] Australian Right ideologies, as the narrative chapters demonstrated, possessed these traits.

This Thesis has used the term 'Extreme Right' so that the research could be placed within the scholarship of fascism. The continuing validity of the 'Left'-'Right' continuum (which can accommodate changes in position and ideologies of spatial transcendence) was also a consideration.[5] The term neither signified ranting nor eccentricity, nor in the aged tradition of Lipset and Raab's American study was it explained as a type of divergence from Reason, exhibiting psychological simplism, anti-pluralism and a rabid style which challenges democratic processes[6] – ideas which also find some echo in Moore's study.[7] Given ideological contest is a power contest, 'extremism' on the Right shall be understood as an

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[3] Istvan Meszaros, The Power Of Ideology, London, 1989, p. 3.
[4] See: M. Seliger, Ideology And Politics, London, 1976; J. Plamanatz, Ideology, London, 1970; W.E. Connolly, The Term Of Political Discourse, Heath (Mass.), 1976.
[5] Norberto Bobbio, Left And Right: The Significance Of A Political Distinction, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 8–9, 46–47, 56.
[6] Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, The Politics Of Unreason: Right-Wing Extremism In America 1790–1970, New York, 1970, pp. 3–9.
[7] Andrew Moore, The Right Road?, pp. 2–5, 143.

ideological-political process of radicalization whereby some Australians challenge, in various ways and degrees, dominant liberal ideology and State practice.

Many participants objected to the label 'Extreme Right'. Interviews with seven Confederate Action Party officials provided them with an opportunity to choose self-placements. The interviews revealed: Conservative (4), Populist (1), Centre (3), Nationalist (4), Traditionalist (4), Christian Patriot (4); the softer 'Radical Right' had no adherents. Graeme Campbell and Denis McCormack both preferred the term "radical centre",[8] a presentation displayed by a British Third Way organization.[9] Radical-Nationalist leaders maintained that their system was 'beyond Left and Right', a theme also hammered in an extensive literature. The desire for new labels was revealing; it indicated a need to escape terms imposed by the dominant ideology and to locate 'counterposing' descriptions. It also showed the fluid state of contemporary Right politics.

The narrative in Parts One and Two of this Thesis empirically demonstrated that the developing Extreme Right after 1966 differed from that of the inter-war period in one essential respect. Whereas the latter represented a defence of the conservative State and imperial-capitalist system by militant means, the contemporary Extreme Right was genuinely ideologically and politically independent of the prevailing State and economic forms. This did not mean that all Extreme Right forces mobilized without either nostalgia for aspects of the old British-Australian political order and culture, or ambivalence about their place in the democratic 'western' order; but it meant that generally the 'character' of Australia, and the Extreme Right's programmatic policy and strategic and tactical formulae were understood within a more modern framework.

Analysis of the Extreme Right has been operated with reference to the tripartite paradigm, taking account of the (Satellite) Conservative Right and the Radical-Nationalist forces (which has been discussed as part of the Extreme Right in that Radical-Nationalists carried the Extreme Right's 'radicalization' processes to completion). The Extreme Right, as the

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[8] Graeme Campbell, Telephone Conversation, 1997; Dennis McCormack, Interview, 1996.
[9] "What Is Third Way?", Third Way, No. 6, 1991, p.9.

intermediate category on the tripartite paradigm, could mobilize out of the Conservative Right; its new 'independence' would be weighed against how it developed older themes of identity, heritage and programme, or how it was drawn backwards into a less mobilized condition.

What is clear in any discussion of Extreme Right ideology, is that the existence of <u>three</u> types of 'Right' derived of particular historical traditions and which functioned amidst particular political conditions, has caused previous analysis to be confused. This Thesis must disentangle the strands.

SECTION 2

THE QUESTION OF NEO-FASCISM

While possible examples of Australian neo-fascism are discussed here in the context of the international scholarship, the concept is used to explain the logic by which the liberal State was delegitimized, and how radicalization within the Extreme Right family can be measured.

Eatwell argued that the term 'neo-fascism' was both a pejorative and an unwise self-description.[10] Unsurprisingly, those Australian subjects under examination (other than neo-nazis) refused to admit to a common heritage with historical fascism. Here, Griffin's counsel is useful:

> − if a contemporary movement is described as
> fascist, its supporters may well take this
> classification as a misrepresentation of their ideals
> … as libelous … however … in a serious work of

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[10] Roger Eatwell, "Neo-Fascism And The Right: Conceptual Conundrums?", Unpublished Paper Presented At 'Conference On The Radical Right In Western Europe' 7−9 November 1991, pp. 2−3.

social science or history … the term is neither an insult nor a condemnation but a matter of 'value free' classification (taxonomy).[11]

If the 'core' of neo-fascism is the same as for fascism − "palingenetic populist ultra-nationalism"[12] − the points of differentiation nonetheless require exposition.

Credible scholarship has reasoned that after 1945, certain former fascists developed fascist ideology, with new arguments and syntheses of ideas (about, for example, a Third Force Europe, radical democracy, co-operative economics), but repudiated Nazi and Fascist practice.[13] By the 1970's intellectual neo-fascists had returned to the arguments of some unsuccessful schools of fascism − National Bolshevism, Conservative Revolution, National Revolution − and thereafter expounded new 'revolutionary' arguments against capitalism, U.S. imperialism and marxism, and for Third World liberation and environmentalism.[14] The writings of 1970's French 'neo-fascist' Francois Duprat, anticipated recent scholarship by illustrating that ideological and organizational innovation has marked the path of neo-fascism.[15] Ideas have been drawn from Left systems and writers, from ecological and other thought, and structures have varied from cultural organizations with Gramscian agendas, to terrorist cells, and parties which operated as neo-fascist/national populist hybrids.[16] Such 'neo-fascism' was not only far removed from nostalgic groups but from many of the signpost figures and movements of the post-war period.

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[11] Roger Griffin (ed.), International Fascism: Theories, Causes And The New Consensus, London, 1998, p. 246.

[12] Roger Griffin, The Nature Of Fascism, p. 172.

[13] Roger Griffin (ed.), International Fascism, pp. 242−246; Kurt Tauber, Beyond Eagle And Swastika, pp. 156−158, 205−250.

[14] Roger Eatwell, Fascism: A History, pp. 284−6; Martin Lee, The Beast Reawakens, pp. 171−183, 208−218; Thomas Sheehan, "Myth And Violence: The Fascism Of Julius Evola And Alain De Benoist", Social Research, Vol. XLVIII, No. 1, Spring 1981, pp. 45−73, for the philosophic neo-fascist position on European 'rebirth'; Alec Saunders, Nietzsche, The New Age And Ethical Socialism, Sydney, 1986, for a compendium of such 'new' arguments; Robert Steuckers, "Heidegger In Time And Place", The Scorpion, No. 11, Spring 1987, pp. 29−31, on National Bolshevism, Conservative Revolution, National Revolution, as streams in the modern 'neo-fascist' melange.

[15] Francois Duprat, La Montee Du Nationalisme En Grande Bretagne, Le Trait, 1977, pp. 1−2, 33−35.

[16] Francois Duprat, L'Opposition Nationale En France De 1973 À 1974, Le Trait, 1975, pp. (i)−(ii), 22−25; Francois Duprat and Maurizio Cabona, Les Mouvements Nationalistes En Italie, Le Trait, 1976, pp. 18−26; Cahiers Europeens (Supplement Aux. No. 175), No. 8, passim; Roger Eatwell, Fascism: A History, pp. 285−6, concurred.

Griffin, Eatwell, Payne and Lacquer have separately acknowledged that neo-fascism in its kaleidoscopic quality has shown ideological and organizational styles at variance to historical fascism. Absent are the leader cults, the paramilitary structures, the militarist-imperialist ideology and the ariosophical racial ideology.[17] While these scholars understood the devious camouflage-capacity of neo-fascism, they showed that the former traits had become passé.

Diethelm Prowe provided a set of supposedly distinguishing ideological, political and circumstantial factors which set fascism and the post-1970 'new radical right' apart.[18] He reasoned that the European contemporary 'radical right' was born into an emerging 'multicultural' social order, one no longer driven by the class disputes which fired fascism and created political openings. It was a product of a post-colonial age where 'racism' was no longer imperial in form. Western societies have become prosperous and politically stable, urbanized and post-industrial, traits which sustain a liberal, rather than a pre-fascist conservative ethos. Boredom and youth alienation in a system without clearly defined enemies cannot engender a revolutionary outlook. The 'radical right' has abandoned anti-semitism and anti-communism as mobilizing ideas but, it has sought to reinvent community, nation and race, within a 'protective' order (of cultural identity, industrial-trade systems, stabilizing alliances). Through this combined reasoning Prowe denied the efficacy of the term 'neo-fascism'.

Moore opined that this author had also used a "sophisticated argument" to differentiate National Action's ideas from fascism.[19] This argument had anticipated some academic opinion, and reasoned that historical fascism involved a cult of the state and dictatorship, anti-semitism, expansionist militarism and a "racial mythology" of imperialist quality;[20] by

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[17] Roger Griffin, The Nature Of Fascism, pp. 166–174; Roger Griffin (ed.), Fascism, pp. 311–316; Roger Eatwell, Fascism: A History, pp. 286–7; Stanley Payne, A History of Fascism 1914–1945, pp. 496–499; Walter Lacquer, Fascism, pp. 93–100. Note: the neo-nazis are exceptional here.

[18] Diethelm Prowe, "Classic Fascism And The New Radical Right", in Roger Griffin (ed.), International Fascism, pp. 311–3.

[19] Andrew Moore, The Right Road?, p. 121.

[20] Jim Saleam, "Fascism, Neo-Fascism And Australian Nationalism", Janus, No. 1, undated, 1983, pp. 4, 6.

relying upon Stephensen's criticism of fascism's "Heil Hitler bunk" and his premise of a defensive nationalism within a state based on "socialism without doctrines", it could be concluded that traces of palingenetic populist ultra-nationalist mythology were present in this version of 'Australian nationalism'.

The evidence suggests that neo-fascism can possess ideological and programmatic aspects which separate it from historical fascism, but its protean quality and its weakness stem from the difficulty of obtaining adequate political space.[21] This was recognized by the European movements of the 1970's and 1980's which perceived themselves as continually in motion to escape "the ghetto".[22] Without mass politics, a mass youth constituency, a paramilitary vanguard and a political or economic crisis situation, fascism would necessarily remain impotent or marginal. Responsively, any phenomenon with a mythic core component would mutate endlessly to find an 'exoteric' formula which worked. The author applied logic similar to Prowe's, in studying 1970's British neo-fascism, but affirmed there was an attempt to address contemporary realities by 'creating' new mobilizing myths.[23] The author also conceived in Bardeche's logic, that a neo-fascism:

> needs not be conscious of itself as a fascism; indeed modern fascisms may regard classical fascisms (1919–45) as unrelated to their existences.[24]

Therefore, when particular Australian Radical-Nationalist leaders maintained that historical fascism failed to inspire them, and may have provided at best only general political lessons on strategies and tactics,[25] they could still be participants in neo-fascist politics.

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[21] This discussion: Roger Griffin, The Nature of Fascism, pp. 146–7, 209–212, 219–221.

[22] "Quand On Veut Implanter Le PFN: Deux Exemples Concrets", Initiative Nationale, No. 1, March 1975, p. 31; "Le Sens D'Un Congress", Initiative Nationale, No. 12, November 1976, p. xv; " MSI: 32 Ans De Combat", Initiative Nationale, No. 26, July–August 1978, p. 22. Initiative represented the Party Of New Forces/Euro-Right bloc.

[23] Jim Saleam, "British Neo-Fascist Politics 1960–75", pp. 43–45.

[24] ibid., p. 1; for Bardeche, see Chapter One.

[25] Michael Brander; Andrew Guild; Eugene Donnini; Jim Saleam, What Is To Be Done? p. (i). See book reviews of material from Jose Antonio Primo De Rivera and Corneiliu Codreanu in National Action News, No. 2, undated, p. 8 and No. 3, undated, p. 4.

Whereas the history of neo-fascism involved a period twice as long as that of fascism, and included large parties and insignificant grouplets, the Australian investigation was fortunate to find a narrower field, not littered with organizational corpses. Nonetheless, the fundamental misanalysis which attended Australian scholarship of the Conservative Right and Extreme Right paramilitaries of the 1930's, is complemented by the work on later periods. For example, Moore's interpretation of The Association maintained that an anti-communist militia bonded to conservative political interests, represented a potential fascism.[26] However, there was no fascist party and no revolutionary ideology. Perhaps only if the Citizens' Rights organizations are equated with activist cadres, and The Association substituted for stormtroops, would Moore's argument that fascism's 1950's address was "The Lodge, Canberra",[27] seem valid.

Chapter Two dismissed the 'potemkin-fascism' of Australian Nazism from consideration as a neo-fascism. Aside from the alien surface form of the movement, its auxiliary function fixed that conclusion. Nonetheless, two Nazi leaders, Smith and Cawthron, expressed neo-fascist impulses. The programmatic documents of Smith's assorted grouplets (1957–62) and Cawthron's NSPA were replete with references to White Australia, union with New Zealand, nationalization of credit, decentralization, abolition of the states, workers' control and support for national independence struggles.[28] Both leaders corresponded with P.R. Stephensen, various British, American and European neo-fascists, and bemoaned 'Australian and Western decadence'.[29] Smith maintained that the '1960's Right "feared this sort of thing". His failure to acquire resources for "the rebirth of the national ethos"[30] was absolute whereas, to use Moore's description, Cawthron

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[26] Andrew Moore, "Fascism Revived?: The Association Stands Guard 1947–52", pp. 112–114, 118.

[27] Andrew Moore, The Right Road?, p. 139.

[28] "The Proposed Political Programme Of The National Socialist Party Of Australia", in AA CRS A6119/89 Item 2246 (Edward Robert Cawthron); "Political Programme", in AA CRS A6119/90 Item 2458 (Arthur Charles Smith, Volume 2).

[29] "The Leader Speaks", in AA CRS A6122/48 Item 1925 (Political Parties – Oceana – Australian National Socialist Party, Volume 2).

[30] Arthur Smith.

"bequeathed an important legacy … (the) distinctly Australian iconography, a populist tradition of political struggle …" − the Eureka tradition.[31]

Analysis of subsequent developments remained incomplete.   Moore declined to characterize National Action as 'fascist' and Frankel who labelled it "neo-fascist" and "right populist" alluded only briefly to "the racist heritage which National Action can rightly claim as part of the Australian tradition …"[32]   Meantime, Colebatch did integrate the discussion of neo-fascism and Radical-Nationalism into his conception of National Alliance/National Action:

> This organisation consciously invoked what it identified as the radical and anti-capitalist traditions … to justify its anti-Asian polemics. Its politics were at odds with … the conventional Right.[33]

He concluded:

> … [although] … categorized as 'fascist' by some … it will be seen [without necessarily disputing that categorization] that many aspects of its ideology were in the Labour-Unionist, Radical-Nationalist or leftwing stream of White Australia thinking …[34]

By recording ANA/NA's distance from the Right by placing it within the old nationalist and 'Left' tradition, important questions of analysis were raised.

Chapter One established the existence of proto-fascist themes in the articulation of Australian nationalism, socialism, and cultural pessimism prior to 1914.   It discussed 1930's Labor nationalists, literary Radical-Nationalists and Australia First as either forces

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[31] Andrew Moore, The Right Road?, p. 119.
[32] Boris Frankel, From The Prophets The Deserts Come, pp. 63−64.
[33] Hal Colebatch, "An Analysis Of Australian Reception Of Political Refugees", p. 297. Colebatch described the two organizations as a single phenomenon.

of fascist potential or in Stephensen's case – the finished product. Logically, the forces of Conservative Right and Extreme Right 'Imperial' anti-communism/paramilitarism could not offer inspiration for neo-fascism, which by definition must express a palingenetic nationalism. Colebatch, referring to the post-1945 period, explained historically why 'anti-communism' was an unsuitable mobilizing factor for 'Radical-Nationalism':

> … the Radical-Nationalist tradition with its isolationism was not … obviously compatible with moral or military opposition to international communism and the joining of alliances aimed at containing communism … the tradition appeared to have become quiescent … Australia was in a geographical position which … with the presence of 'great and powerful friends' of Britain and America gave it a degree of safety …[35]

Conditions for the re-crafting of Radical-Nationalism became operative only with a capitalist government which followed the big-power lead into the Asian region, one that demonstrated its disregard of 'White Australia'.[36] These conditions the Fraser government willingly provided.

Did Australian National Alliance (ANA) conform to the new model of neo-fascism? Ted Murphy applied Linz's typological definition of fascism to ANA;[37] he observed it repudiated the NSPA and NFA mimetic fascisms and concentrated on a nativist style. It was not anti-communist as much as anti-liberal, neither anti-Soviet nor pro-capitalist. After quoting its publications which argued for a 'new consciousness, a new nation' achieved by

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[34] ibid. p. 298.
[35] ibid, p. 183.
[36] See this analysis in: An Asian Australia: Never, ANA poster, 1978; White Australia Or Asian Destiny, ANA leaflet, 1978.
[37] Ted Murphy, "Australian Fascism: The Politics Of The National Alliance", Rabelais, Vol. 15, No. 8, pp. 7–10, passim.

a vanguard party, Murphy then seized upon the Manifesto Of The Australian National Alliance, as expressive of fascism. It said:

> The Nationalism of Australian National Alliance does not imply the suburban mentality of consumer goods and apathy. We will realize the National will and natural imperatives of the Australian people, especially the youth. We will mould a New Nation, formed out of the embers of the best traditions of our heritage. We will drive this continental chariot so that Australia will never again cringe as the trading post of the Third World and the West. The nationalism of the Alliance is futuristic in that we will adopt and improvise and build the most advanced civilization … Australia will become a great and powerful maritime nation that will surpass even the legendary Atlantis … We look backward into the past and forward into the future.[38]

This text, with its criticism of suburbanism, the consumption society, national dependence and cringe, as contrasted with a living heritage and a golden future, could qualify as fascist upon either Linz's or Griffin's model – because of its anti-liberal palingenetic spirit.

The ANA advanced a crisis mythos of global nuclear war and mass Asian refugee invasion of Australia. Its meagre booklist featured Japan Threat and The Camp Of The Saints, Stephensen's Foundations and books by Lawson and Lang.[39] Here, the rebirth-of-the-nation-in-crisis seems an underlying theme. There was no 'book' of the new Australian Nationalism, but instead a series of spectral images contained in ANA's mass of journalism and public propaganda. Recruits could infer whatever they chose from the references to

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[38] Manifesto Of The Australian National Alliance, broadsheet, 1978.
[39] Australian National Alliance Booklist, 1979.

the nineteenth century 'Promise'. The particular period 1975–80 was one of renewed interest in Australian nationalism and folkculture, with later Radical-Nationalists agreeing with Boris Frankel about the role played by Maoist communists in this revival.[40] But it pointed too towards the retreat of the older 'natural' Australian social-cultural forms and networks under the pressure of immigration and multiculturalism. This left only a small 'natural Anglo-Celtic base' for a new 'labour-nationalism', and as the heritage passed into a new ideological sub-culture, it would seek a wider clientele. As the new trend articulated itself, its relationship with neo-fascism would reduce to first principles − as a palingenetic populist ultra-nationalism − without allusion to historical regime-fascism, and with only eclectic references to particular fascist 'schools' − and to Stephensen. Nonetheless, one aspect of the Australian historical-racism was suggestively reinterpreted.

That the Radical-Nationalist organizations (1977–95) participated in an 'international' movement is shown by personal contacts,[41] inter-organizational affiliations and ideological references. For example, Australian National Alliance publications reported on the British National Front, Italian Social Movement and French 'nationalist revolutionaries' indicating that the internal discussions concerning models (Chapter Four) were complemented by open expressions of solidarity. National Action subsequently participated in a loose 'International' in the 1980's and in the 1990's it drew inspiration from the Alleanza Nazionale, the BNP and the Front National.[42] These organizational references affirm that the Radical- Nationalists espoused the 'universalist' worth of the principle of 'racial rebirth' and placed themselves within a particular family, which although differentiated from neo-nazism, has been interpreted as 'neo-fascist'.

The quest for political space beyond the limits of the Left-Right divide was a continually addressed question in the Radical-Nationalist camp. Here, the labour-nationalist legacy, synthesised with the 'Third Way' principle, was designed to challenge capitalism. The characterization of the State as alien to the national identity and a creature of capitalism was

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[40] Andrew Patterson, The Fight For Australian Culture, Melbourne, pp. 7–8.
[41] Australian National Action, International Liaison File. This File contains correspondence from various persons/organizations directed to NA 1982–90.

'friend/enemy' discourse. With this came also the related visions of a "New Man" (co-operative, dynamic, moral)[43] and a New Australian[44] (fused of European stock) who would wage political struggle against the multicultural State. There were no bonds to shackle this 'Extreme Right' category to legality, Christian morality and British-state symbolism. The Radical-Nationalists could thence 'conspire' with Libyan officials, bash opponents, create violence cells and accept counter-violence and imprisonment.

The propaganda implied an ideological dynamic. The hagiographed historical icons (Lang, Lawson, Lane, Spence, Lalor, Kelly and others)[45] served as stylized archetypes, images of mythic antedelluvian Australia before suburbanism and then 'multiculturalism' disintegrated the 'Promise' of the nineteenth century.[46] The icons appeared on innumerable posters, adhesive stickers and banners. The younger membership were invited to immerse themselves as "political soldiers" in a living tradition which was posited as part of an avant-garde challenge to the Australian/western order.[47]

The forces of emergent national populism on the Extreme Right were theoretically the allies and/or foot-soldiers for the Radical-Nationalists. However, these forces usually conceived historical 'fascism' as an agency of international capitalism, another force of "centralism" and anti-tradition, and although this would not preclude working relationships with Radical-Nationalists, one factor caused cleavage. This tension was rooted in the fundamental

[42] "Strong Showing For The Front National", National Action News, No. 8, undated, p. 3; "Nationalist Electoral Advance In Germany, England", National Action News, No. 13, undated, p. 3.

[43] B. Knight, Integral Nationalism: The Reborn Spirit Of The Australian People, Melbourne, 1995, pp. 9–10; "The Philosophic Basis Of The White Australia Policy: Geo-Politics", The Attack, Vol. 4, No. 1, undated ANV bulletin, pp. 6–9.

[44] Dan Everest, "The Indigenous Australian", The Australian Republican, December 1994, pp. 2–3.

[45] Jack Lang, White Australia Saved Australia, Melbourne, undated; Anon, The Roots Of Australian Nationalism: Eureka Stockade, Melbourne, undated; B. Knight, W.G. Spence: The Awakening Nation And The Trade Union Nationalist, Melbourne, 1995; B. Knight, Henry Lawson And An Australian National State, Melbourne, 1996; B. Knight, William Lane 1861–1917: Nationalism And The Labour Struggle, Melbourne, 1996. Alec Saunders, William Lane And His New Australia: An Introduction To Australian Socialism, Brisbane, 1985.

[46] "The Road To Nationhood", Audacity, No. 6, undated, 1978, p. 6; "The Road To Nationhood, Part Two", Audacity, No. 7, undated (1979), pp. 5, 6, 14; and latterly in "The Roots Of Australian Nationalism Part One: Eureka Stockade", National Action News, No. 22, June–July 1995, p. 6; Multiculturalism: The Denigration Of Australia's Unique Culture And Heritage, NRM leaflet, 1990; S. Lecosh, "The Menzies Debate", The Australian Republican (an NRM bulletin), May 1995, pp. 5–6.

[47] Why Would Australian Youth Want To Join National Action?, NA leaflet, 1989; Jim Saleam, What Is To Be Done?, pp. 27–29, 32–33.

'extremism' of the former and not at the level of programmatic points, which (as below) were often convergent. This Thesis, in relying on the tripartite paradigm, would reason that the radicalization of the Extreme Right forces was incomplete when compared to those Radical-Nationalist movements which had concluded that the political system was 'closed', and should be challenged and replaced, that the 'corruption' of the political order arose from fundamental questions of Australia's historical identity.[48] To clarify the discussion, this Thesis develops the logic contained in the paradigm advanced in Chapter One:

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[48] Jim Saleam, <u>What Is To Be Done?</u> pp. 28–33; <u>The Social And Economic Principles Of Australian Nativism/National Republicanism</u>, NRM leaflet, 1990.

Table 10.1   Ideological–Political Paradigm 1975–1995[49]

Radical–Nationalism	Extreme Right	Conservative Right
1. Nietzscheanism, Agnosticism; Positive Christianity	1. Positive Christianity Agnosticism, Modernist	1. Christian, often of fundamentalist character
2. New Man/New Australian	2. Citizen–Participant	2. Sovereign Individual
3. Working-class; Youth; Alienated of sundry background	3. Professional; Farmer; 'Working' middle class; Some mixed backgrounds.	3. Farmers; Older persons; Rural; Retiree
4. State Idea: Radical Organization/Popular Power	4. Parliament under popular control. Voters' Veto/C.I.R.; Partyless order	4. Constitutionalist; Parliament under Monarchy; New spirit in parliamentary servants
5. Vanguard organization; Militant action	5. Electoral organization/Cadre structure/Propaganda	5. Lobbyist-education forces
6. Planned economy; Sustainable economy in independent system	6. Populist economics; Money reform; Small enterprise; Independent system	6. Money reform; Ideas culled from earlier phases of the Satellite relationship with Country/Nationals
7. Mythic reference to the republican, nationalist labour heritage; Nativism	7. Acceptance of Australia as it evolved prior to 1966; Ethnocentric concept of culture-nationality	7. Mythic reference to Monarchy and British civic heritage

Griffin concluded that the "extra-systemic" energies of populist organizations do create a base for fascist mobilization.[50] Like some European examples,[51] the potential for an Australian 'neo-fascist' challenge was small. As the narrative indicated, the particular syntheses affected by the Radical-Nationalist fraction allowed contact-points with the populist forces and served as poles of attraction for those disillusioned with 'legal' action.

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[49] The paradigm rests upon the narrative in Part Two.
[50] Roger Griffin, The Nature of Fascism, p. 25.

There was an obvious attraction for those acclimatized to Extreme Right politics to reason that the Nation was an "Idea" and "Destiny" fallen into decadence, and as the property of all, a natural unit of existence whose regeneration overcomes individual alienation.[52] The "dream" of the New Man was seductive to some when dressed in nativist clothing, in that it inspired dedication and a psychological security unaffected by the drudgery of 'normal' Extreme Right politics. Unfortunately for the Radical Nationalists, the symbiotic relationship of the more 'stable' memberships with the electorally acceptable quality of the 'national populist' ideology/politics prevented their further radicalization in the study period.

Nonetheless, just as in 1981–2 when the residue of the failed 'anti-immigration Extreme Right' aided in the construction of National Action, a potential was present for further radicalization in the 1990's. This was partly contingent on the resources and aptitude of the Radical-Nationalists themselves. As Chapter Five concluded, they failed that test.

SECTION 3

FATHER TO THE CHILD?: CONSERVATIVE IDEOLOGY AND THE EXTREME RIGHT

The paradigm adopted here, as much as the propaganda of the Extreme Right's opposition, requires a discussion to answer the question posed above. In the period after 1945, terms required re-definition.

This Thesis has used the term 'Conservative Right' such that it included neither the official conservatism of Robert Menzies,[53] nor the NCC/DLP Catholic movement of the period 1940's–1960's and related Quadrant conservatives, nor the Constitutionalism of Lachlan Chipman, nor the devotees of Ayn Rand. Rather, as described in preceding chapters, it

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[51] Roger Griffin, "British Fascism: The Ugly Duckling", in Mike Cronin (ed.), The Failure Of British Fascism, pp. 162–165. The logic of this section transposes onto succeeding sentences.

[52] B. Knight, Integral Nationalism, pp. 3–6, 10; Fight For Australia, Australian Populist Movement leaflet, 1985; The Green March, No. 1, March 1986, newspaper of Australian People's Congress (successor to ANV), passim.

meant the 'Satellite Right' (1945–75) and its independent, and Queensland National Party connected, successors. This is partly the 'Lunar Right' of latter-day liberal commentary. This Conservative Right had coalesced from 1930's historical residue (Social Crediters and the anti-semitic conspiratologists) fused with new anti-communist militants involved in the Citizens' Rights movement. As Chapter Two discussed, the League Of Rights, crucial in this development which occurred during the Liberal Party's conservative mobilization phase (1945–9), remained afloat thereafter to articulate the satellite position. The LOR's original syntheses of Social Credit and British-Israel principles made it pivotal to a network of 1950's/1960's allies such as the British-Israel World Federation, Howard Carter's <u>Truth And Liberty</u> magazine and various anti-Jewish and anti-communist publicists, ensuring the wide diffusion of its ideological themes.

However, analytical caution is warranted. As Chapter Two explained, whatever offensive, crankish or 'extreme' ideas were sustained within the satellite milieu, the factor which determined its quality in the years 1945–75, <u>must be its subordinant position to Liberal-Country party anti-communist requirement</u>. Nonetheless, as was implicit in the satellite concept, those 'inspirational illusions' which were its ideas, could serve independent politics: as anti-liberal counter-culture, and as nourishment for activists to propel themselves beyond the satellite boundaries.

This Thesis confirms the ideological domination of the League Of Rights within the conservative camp until the emergence in the 1980's of new organizations, and the later publication of new magazines with wider audiences – <u>Nexus</u>, <u>Exposure</u>, <u>New Dawn</u> and <u>The Strategy</u>.

Four notable Conservative Right themes require consideration to assess any relationship with Extreme Right ideological formation: Holocaust Revisionism/Historical Revisionism,

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[53] Robert Menzies, <u>Afternoon Light: Some Memories Of Men And Events</u>, Ringwood, 1969, for a discussion of Liberal Party conservatism.

Conspiracy-theory, Constitutionalist theory and Social Credit.[54] Developed by the LOR, these ideas appeared as constants within this camp although varying in intensity over time.

First: 'Holocaust Revisionism' and 'Historical Revisionism', were important to the LOR as inter-connected 'schools' which challenged conspiratorialist-Establishment history. These discourses have attracted critical scholarship[55] and are necessarily constructs of prodigious ideological production. Significantly, Holocaust Revisionism began with Bardeche (1947) who denied the crux of the Holocaust – the gas chamber extermination of European Jewry[56] and then with Yockey, who introduced this idea to Americans.[57] The ongoing neo-fascist interest in this 'school', implied an effort to relativize and minimise fascist state crime and undermine one justification of the 'system of Yalta'[58] – and further, the 'anti-racist mythology' of modern liberalism.[59] Although many protagonists of the genre were not associated with the Extreme Right,[60] its varied use by foreign Extreme Right movements has been manifest. It must now be characterized as a significant international phenomenon.

Rubinstein has traced the lineage of this 'tradition' in Australia:[61] from Eric Butler, de Louth and Harry Brus (a Social Crediter, with NSPA links and a 1965 scheme to create a 'White Australia Legion'),[62] the campaign moved through to Cawthron, Smith, Carter and exiled Hungarian Nazis; but John Bennett's efforts (1979 ff) and the establishment of the

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[54] Drawn from the subject material in: Conservative Booklist, LOR leaflet, 1980: Heritage And Conservative Books: Catalogue Of Books, Journals, Audio And Video Tapes, undated, Melbourne (probably 1992).

[55] Deborah Lipstadt, Denying The Holocaust: The Growing Assault On Truth And Memory, New York, 1993; Joel Hayward, "Holocaust Revisionism In New Zealand: The Thinking Man's Anti-Semitism", Without Prejudice, No. 4, December 1991, pp. 38–49. The riposte was also a vast subject. Historical Revision was criticized by Eberhard Jackel, David Irving's Hitler: A Faulty History Dissected, Port Angeles, 1993.

[56] Roger Eatwell, "How To Revise History (And Influence People) Neo-Fascist Style", in L. Cheles, R. Ferguson and M. Vaughan (eds), The Far Right in Western And Eastern Europe, pp. 316–7.

[57] Francis Parker Yockey, Imperium, pp. 533, 598–606.

[58] See: "Dossier Revisionnisme", in Troisieme Voie, No. 11, Autumn 1986, in the context of the political line of this important European 'revolutionary nationalist' publication.

[59] William H. Schmaltz, Hate, pp. 49–50, 314–5, 338.

[60] David Cole, Untitled Video Recording, 1995. Cole was a Jewish activist in the Revisionist movement; Ditleib Felderer, Anne Frank's Diary A Hoax, Torrance, 1979. Felderer, married to a Filipino, was a Swedish 'bible researcher'. Several other examples including French Socialist Paul Rassinier, could be cited. Noam Chomsky has entertained 'denial' arguments.

[61] Hilary Rubinstein, "Early Manifestations Of Holocaust Denial In Australia", Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal, Vol. XIV, November 1997, pp. 93–109, passim.

[62] AA CRS A6126/26 Item 1060 (Harold Brus).

Adelaide Institute by Dr. Frederick Toben in 1994, were events independent of the LOR and with some public impact.[63] Noticeably, with the exception of ANM and other neo-nazis,[64] no Extreme Right movement has ever promoted Holocaust Revisionism. My interviews with some Extreme Right leaders revealed a mixed attitude towards the subject and its political utility. They thought the Revisionists were "useful" because they "side-tracked" forces which might otherwise be employed elsewhere.[65] Neo-nazis drew on available authorities for their Holocaust Revisionist arguments, but with one curious addition: some of those met by the author were disappointed that the Nazis were 'hot' responsible for the 'Holocaust'; the Jews had therefore swindled the world and a genuine Holocaust was 'necessary' for their punishment (sic).[66]

This Thesis cannot indict the LOR as responsible for how Holocaust Revisionism was applied by others. As a counter-hegemonic idea directed at liberal historiography and values, it has some power, but its actual relationship to the Australian Extreme Right remained difficult to quantify. Just as Holocaust commemoration is "cultic" or religious in form,[67] Revisionism's popularity with the 'non-political post-millenarians' of the League and the apocalyptic neo-ariosophists of neo-nazism, suggested that its political utility as a mobilizer – was negligible.

Historical Revisionism has similar qualities. The American and British versions of this phenomenon were accessible to Australians. Possibly, the genre's objective was to 'expose' the 'manipulation' of America and Britain into the Second World War, to explain

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[63] See: John Bennett's Your Rights, throughout the 1980's for argument about the public impact of his Revisionist campaign; the author holds Adelaide Institute, a photocopied bulletin produced by Dr Toben. Well written and documented, it would be a classic representative of 'denial' literature. Adelaide Institute promotes the principles of 'free inquiry', an idea doubtlessly derived of the fact that Dr Toben's doctoral dissertation was composed about Karl Popper.

[64] See ANM poster, Media Cover Up: Holocaust A Lie: Seek The Truth, Julian Carloman, The Holocaust And The Myth Of Nazi Evil, Perth, 1985; sundry articles in The Nationalist, featured 'Holocaust Denial'; Holocaust Is Six Million Lies, Skinhead poster, prob. 1990.

[65] Confidential. The persons who ascribed to this view were cautious as to be named regarding it.

[66] Members of the 'NSDAP' and some Skinheads; Sydney ANM; organizationally independent neo-nazis who attended LOR meetings or visited the NA bookshop in the hope it was a 'neo-nazi' installation. From this point of view, the moral rehabilitation of Nazism is not a factor in 'Holocaust-denial'. Eatwell noted this in Britain (op.cit., pp. 309–310).

the destruction of the British Empire through American usurpation and the misconceived war against Germany, all of which ostensibly 'benefited' the Soviet Union and colonial revolution. Throughout the study period, the 'Heritage And Conservative Book Service' carried the classics of this school.[68]

Some immediacy centred on Historical Revisionism, because of the League's 1980's/1990's championing of David Irving's work, and Butler's participation with him in an Anglo-European Fellowship circle in 1986.[69] Statements conveyed to the author in the 1980's by van Tongeren and other neo-nazis, confirmed that Irving's sanitization of fascist war aims impressed them as rehabilitation for Nazi ideology.

Nonetheless, Irving's typological placement must be in the conservative camp. As an avowed believer in Britain's Imperial mission, and convinced Churchillian politics destroyed the Empire, Irving has argued that the fundamental conditions for its preservation were acceptance of Hitler's territorial ambitions and anti-communist policy directed against Russia. These principles were 'High Tory', and basically those of the British Conservative 'Link' group of the late 1930's. Although after 1989, Irving addressed audiences of German 'fachos' and neo-nazis, his 1980's Focal Point journal, with its orientation towards Britain's Conservative Party, defined his programme. Indeed, Irving's Goebbels: Mastermind Of The Third Reich (1996) confirmed his Tory interpretation of fascism. Irving castigated Goebbels's 'Total War State' as "the next best thing to the dictatorship of the proletariat"; he baulked at Goebbels's 1944 scheme to end the war by an agreement with Stalin. [70] Irving was unsympathetic to fascism's revolutionary quality, failing to attempt

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[67] Timothy W. Luke, "Memorializing Mass Murder: Entertainability At The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum", Arena Journal, No. 6, 1996, pp. 123–143; the idea was confirmed generally by Isi Leibler, The Israel Diaspora Identity Crisis.

[68] See: Final Secret Of Pearl Harbour; This Difficult Individual: Ezra Pound; The Veale File; Falsehood In Wartime, and A.J.P. Taylor's often abused The Origins Of The Second World War. The author has also seen 'for sale' in the LOR's shops the works of Austin J. App, Admiral Sir Barry Domville and others which argue these themes. Many of the LOR's books – like Leon Degrelle's Hitler: Born At Versailles and Yockey's Imperium – hardly favour the LOR's sentimental Anglophilia and anti-fascism.

[69] "Eric Butler Joins Anglo-European Fellowship", On Target, November 7 1986, p. 2.

[70] David Irving, Goebbels: Mastermind Of The Third Reich, London, 1996, pp. 414, 479, 486–7.

any interpretation of Goebbels's tilts towards National Bolshevism and the strength of similar opinion in party and state throughout the Third Reich period.

Logically, when the LOR's 'Veritas Press' published Irving's works, and LOR author Nigel Jackson compaigned over a visa ban for his admission to Australia (1993 ff), it was his Anglo-conservatism which was favoured. If Irving did rehabilitate fascism, or anaesthetize some persons to fascist scripts, then the LOR would bear some collateral responsibility. Seemingly, these scripts served at best as counter-hegemonic tools, a fate generally of the whole 'school'.

Second: Internationally, the study of conspiracy theory is now underway as conspiratology is not only universal, but literature always crossed borders.[71] The LOR's booklists between 1975 and 1995 were available as were those of Nexus, Exposure, The Strategy and other publications. I noted that much of the material was used by the Right in earlier periods and was written by foreigners.

What is meant by conspiracy theory? Conspiracy theory (or 'conspiratology') is a school of historical-political interpretation, usually patronised by non-academic authors, which has argued that world history, particularly in the last 250 years, was the product of an all-embracing conspiracy of secret or occult forces.[72] The school was fissiparous which made its canon inconsistent internally or amongst the competing theorists; it believed that the conspiracy may reduce to the occult machinations of Catholic or Masonic or Jewish secret societies, or international financial oligarchs, or communists, or any in combination, with the objective to overthrow civilization, morality, Christianity and property rights; and that the conspiracy would invariably produce a moloch-state with a terrorist method, whose purpose could only be evil – or Satan's state on earth.

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[71] Dr Stewart, comments on conspiratological research of 'Centre For Conspiracy Studies' of the University of Nottingham (U.K.), Lateline, ABC Television, May 13 1999.

[72] Richard Hofstadter, The Paranoid Style In American Politics (And Other Essays), New York, 1966, pp. 11, 26–7, 29, 31.

Andrew Moore reasoned that the Australian Right used conspiracy theory as an "organising concept";[73] this Thesis would say that a 'dis-organizing principle', is a more apt term. Barkun's assessment of American conspiratology's organizational vehicles described a situation where, faced with a centralist, duplicitous enemy, the 'anti-conspiracy' Right organization could suffer a type of paralysis.[74] Unable to <u>act</u> in a world of shadows, and uncertain that action might not serve the conspiracy, the American groups would rant or crusade or 'educate' at the margins.[75] The Australian method was also the <u>opposite</u> to confrontation, revolutionary action or terrorism. Here, groups would function as the custodians of secret knowledge. This function suited the LOR's post-millenarian religious perspective.

It is arguable that conspiratology entered Australia with the 1930's Social Credit movement. Thereafter, Eric Butler mastered the field and applied it to explain Australian politics. The LOR's output was massive and the speaking tours of Butler, Chresby, Lee and others, popularized the idea of a socialist conspiracy to centralize power. The conspiracy was to be met by a counter-response to educate parliamentarians and the 'brainwashed' public to defend the kernel-institutions of Australian freedom (Monarchy, Constitution, Parliament), and the British Empire/Commonwealth, the chief obstacle to the conspiracy's triumph.[76]

The LOR's booklists, have changed marginally within the twenty year study period. The author has observed that the LOR's ahistorical lore could be fulfilling for those who cannot rationalize international politics – for there was no attempt to understand the processes of the internationalization of capitalism as a dynamic, interacted with by conscious (and perhaps malicious) players, who manipulate the routinized methods of power. Rather

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[73] Andrew Moore, <u>The Right Road?</u>, p. 3.
[74] Michael Barkun, <u>Religion And The Racist Right</u>, p. 251.
[75] Jim Saleam, "American Nazism In The Context Of The American Extreme Right", pp. 246–252.
[76] Refer discussion of the LOR's formative activism in Chapter Two; W.G. Selkirk, <u>Wake Up Australia</u>, Adelaide, undated, a popular British–Israel anti-marxist pamphlet; Butler's early views and foundation principles, in Eric D. Butler, <u>The Enemy Within The Empire</u>, Melbourne, 1941; <u>Jeremy Lee</u>.

power whether operated by marxists, fascists, socialists or humanists, was evil. These forces were dubbed satanic implements.[77]

The conspiracy doctrines require separate study; the question here is whether the classics of conspiratology, as penned by Leon de Poncins, Nesta Webster, Archibald Ramsey, Anthony Sutton, Gary Allan[78] and others, including LOR authors, inspired Extreme Right ideology, politics and organization.

Radical-Nationalists, Azzopardi (1978) and Donnini (1983, 1985) made use of arguments from Sutton and Allen, to contend that the Eastern bloc survived because failed-marxism traded with capitalism. However, neither said communism was a fraudulent creature of finance capital, nor that 'fascism' was a mechanism of the international conspiracy.[79]

One representative conduit for the diffusion of conspiracy theory into the Extreme Right, was the long running series of articles authored by the Ron Owen in Lock, Stock and Barrel (1992−4).[80] Owen lambasted the New World Order (NWO) as a product of a conspiracy extending through Illuminism, Marx, theosophists, Fabians and the international banks which were accused of financing communism, fascism and other 'socialist' movements. The NWO had allegedly grown from immediate agencies such as the humanist United Nations and the Trilateral Commission. While Owen avoided the anti-Jewish thrust present in the LOR materials which argued this line, his review of a book written by a priestess of American conspiratology − Elizabeth Dilling[81] − showed his familiarity with the

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[77] The LOR used Anthony Sutton's Wall Street And The Bolshevik Revolution and Wall Street And The Rise Of Hitler as the 'rational' anti-money perspective. This was balanced by Father Fahey's Rulers Of Russia, Piers Compton's The Broken Cross and Eric Butler's Conspiracy Idea Throughout History, Video Recording, 1993; Eric D. Butler, "Zionism's Grand Design", The New Times, Vol. 51, No. 2, February 1987, pp. 1−5.

[78] Heritage And Conservative Books Price List 1994/5.

[79] Edward Azzopardi, "Capitalism: Enemy Of The West", Audacity, No. 4, February−March 1978, pp. 4−6; Eugene Donnini, "Marxism: Reality And Myth Part One", Audacity, No. 17, February−March 1983, p. 5; Eugene Donnini, "Marxism: Reality and Myth Part Two", Audacity, No. 18, April−May 1983, p. 5; Eugene Donnini, "Corporate Capitalism In China", Stockade, No. 2, Summer 1985−6, pp. 11−12.

[80] Ron Owen, "History Of The New World Order", in Lock Stock And Barrel, Nos. 7−23, passim.

[81] "Book Review", Lock, Stock And Barrel, No. 14, February−March 1994, pp. 44−5; for the importance of Dilling in the U.S./international conspiracy theory, see: Glen Jeansonne, Women Of The Far Right: The Mothers' Movement And World War II, Chicago, 1996, pp. 10−28, 163−169.

tradition's arcane aspects. Owen defined the character of the State, and used a historical theory to delegitimize it. Although this 'conspiracy' was ahistorical, the case was argued without eschatological mania. Generally, the populist monarchists posited a conspiracy-of-the-apparatus undertaken by the 'Socialist' elites against the Nation. This conspiracy demonstrated its existence in the Lima Declaration which destroyed Australian industries, in multiculturalism and the 'collapse' of moral values.[82]

Van Tongeren's case was different, since he consciously attempted to approximate LOR ideas. Even after this strategy was abandoned, old style anti-semitic ideas served the ANM. Van Tongeren had "educated" himself with the LOR's booklists and regarded the 'Jewish conspiracy' as a political fact. The ANM believed Jews had conspired against White Australia from the time of World War I.[83]

By the late 1980's, the old-school of conspiratology was challenged by historical circumstances. The school had long advanced anti-semitic canards such as the three-millennia-long plot against God and civilization,[84] and the scheme to implement Mosaic Bolshevism in a World Republic,[85] as essential bases in any analysis of the 1960's/1970's political superstructures formed by international capitalism (Trilateralism, Bilderbergism). The collapse of Soviet communism occurred amidst a declining conservative interest in fighting the Left. In effect, the period 1989–91 rendered the LOR's book and video services anachronistic. It was time to move on. Hence, while the LOR and The Strategy grappled with changed circumstances, there were new trends.

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[82] The Lima Declaration, CAP leaflet, 1992; CAP, Open Letter, directed to trades union secretaries, undated, pp. 4–5; see Section 4 discussion of these themes; Footnote 119; The Lima Declaration, EFF leaflet, 1992.

[83] Peter Coleman, "How Izzy Rules The Media", The Nationalist Observer (Internal Members' Bulletin Of The Australian Nationalists Movement), No. 1, March 1988, p. 4; Jack van Tongeren, "Towards Revolution", The Nationalist, No. 25, October–November 1988, p. 2.

[84] See Douglas Reed, The Controversy of Zion, was a 'classic' of this school. Reed also (paradoxically) wrote favourably of Otto Strasser (The Prisoner Of Ottawa: Otto Strasser, London, 1953); Leslie Fry's Waters Flowing Eastward, Zimmunism and William Still's New World Order: Plans Of Secret Societies, argued this case. All texts were available in conservative bookshops.

[85] Frank Britton, Behind Marxism, no publisher's details, in author's possession. This book by the American Nationalist Party leader of the 1950's, appeared on Heritage lists along with William Guy Carr's Pawns In The Game, a book pushed by the Queensland LOR in the 1970's.

Conspiratology developed into a cosmology. No longer 'content' blaming the usual suspects for conspiratorial machinations, the conspiratological genre became fantastic. Lacquer observed that internationally, the 1980's/1990's Right projected a 'fin de siecle' spiritualism and esotericism, which moulded together occultish preoccupations with the science fiction world.[86] The Australian case was similar. A review of Exposure, Nexus and New Dawn magazines, between 1993–5, reveals interests such as: universal surveillance, UFO cover-ups, lost civilizations (Atlantis, Lumeria), anti-gravity technology, the CIA and New World Order, cancer research, Martian pyramids, pyramidology, occult freemasonry, the 'real authors' of the Protocols Of Zion, and the AIDS conspiracy. Occasionally, these journals published sober material – the work of Noam Chomsky or current affairs analysis – which as bait, brought readers into the cultic milieu.[87]

Probably, as Dr Stewart argues, the conspiratological pathway was taken by those 'westerners' who sought to rationalize late twentieth century processes of cultural and social change.[88] The heterogeneity of the tradition allowed it to be consumed to taste. In terms of public acceptance it was a dud; but some Australians were seduced into a world-view founded upon it. Anecdotal material showed the Exposure editor as a One Nation Party candidate, and the magazine one of Hanson's cheerleaders. Fearing real political action, the conspiratologists may have been searching for a 'non-political' pseudo-charismatic figure to restore the past(?)

In the named magazines, cosmic expectancy prevailed, no less potent than the 'last days' fury of the 1980's independent conservatives. Although a closer textual inquiry is warranted, the developing attacks on 'World Government' were not dependent upon the chief theorists of the 'old school'. This contrasted with The Strategy, which resurrected Ramsey and others from the LOR's stable. Rather, the penchant for prophecy concerning the application of technology to social control (ID cards, surveillance, gun control, State armed violence), was more topical as well as proof of the elites' malevolence. Although

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[86] Walter Lacquer, "Fin De Siecle: Once More With Feeling", Journal Of Contemporary History, Vol. 31, No. 1, February 1996, pp. 5–47, passim.
[87] Lists of early editions contents, see: Exposure, Vol. 5, No. 5, 1998–9, p. 66; Nexus, Vol. 4, No. 2, February–March 1997, p. 104.

independent conservatives were constructively available for Extreme Right mobilization, they emerged from an anarchic milieu which regarded 'organization' as prime sin. The relationship over time must ultimately be viewed as fractured and sub-cultural.

Third: Constitutionalist theory was the core theme of the Conservative Right, possibly the explanative script for its activities. The conservative theory of the Constitutional Monarchical State may be given as: the Australian State is based on a Christian tridentine division of authority with Father-Son-Holy Ghost replicated in Monarch-Senate-House of Representatives; the Constitution does not mention parties only individual parliamentarians who should serve, and if are properly informed may serve, the elector's will; defence of Constitutional government against centralist forces is an obligation, those enemies of freedom being socialism, communism and fascism; a Holy contract is sworn by the Monarch to provide limited government based on British constitutional enactments and Common Law; decentralized through the Governor-General, Governors, the states and so forth, this abstraction symbolised an Anglo-Australian politico-cultural identity with sovereign power diffused throughout the structure.[89]

In practice, such a doctrine composed by wartime Social Credit and United Electors' groups,[90] and developed by the LOR and subsequent Conservative Right theorists, led to a defence of the governing system. The 'theory' was fairy-tale stuff, coloured by hagiography of the Royal Family and totemistic 'worship' of the Flag, the Constitution and colonial-British achievement.[91] Although the idea of limited government, glued together by

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[88] Dr Stewart.

[89] Drawn from: Arthur A. Chresby, The Father Of Lies, Brisbane, 1987 (distributed by CHPS); Eric Butler, The Essential Christian Heritage, passim; "A Great Christian Historian", The New Times, Vol. 49, No. 4, April 1985, pp. 1–2; Edward Rock, Letter To James Saleam; Eric D. Butler, "While Farmers And Businessmen Slept", The New Times, Vol. 34, No. 8, August 1986, p. 3; Eric D. Butler, Constitutional Barriers To Serfdom, passim; a general review of eight numbers of Heritage magazine 1975–84; Eric D. Butler, Centralization: The Policy Of Satanism; Arthur Chresby, Your Will Be Done; these fundamentals inspired Alan Gourley (Chapter Seven).

[90] From various documents in: AA CRS A6122/40 Item 1 Part 1 (Douglas Social Credit Movement And United Electors Of Australia And Electoral Campaign 1944–5); AA CRS A6122/40 Item 1 Part 2 (Douglas Social Credit Movement And United Electors Of Australia And Electoral Campaign 1937–1944).

[91] Drawn from a survey of Heritage, magazine 1976–80, a period wherein 'Kerr's coup' was defended by the LOR.

pseudo-Christian myth, was not a fascist proposition, as Chapter Seven showed, populist-monarchists drew upon constitutionalist logic in arguing that the Monarch had become severed by the Australia Act (1986), from the exercise of State power; the 'contract' with State parties and institutions had therefore been broken. The development of parts of the Conservative Right corpus (the Common Law became the radical expression of popular rights; the Monarchy the depersonalized incarnation of the peoples' will; the Constitution amended with CIR, a guarantee of popular-democratic government), and the presence of some common personnel, proved the organic bond.

Reasonably, the LOR, Constitutional Heritage Protection Society and other conservatives did not realize that their writings could eventually delegitimize State authority. In proclaiming the 1986 Australia Act a republican coup, they opened the way to a new radicalization. Notably, the long period of satellitization demonstrated the benign nature of Constitutionalist theory and that only under particular circumstances (the 'independence' of the Conservative Right after 1986–7), could it be adapted to Extreme Right experiments.

Fourth: Social Credit survived after 1945 in two streams, one under LOR auspices and the other, a fragmented network influenced by Dr. Bryan Monahan and rival Colin Barclay-Smith.[92] Butler effectively inherited the tradition, neutering it through his syntheses of Social Credit with British-Israel theology and imperial-patriotism[93], and his commitment to satellite anti-communism. 'Social Credit' became a programme for economic democracy to be implemented far into the chiliastic future, although the Country Party's responses to rural crisis (1968–71) and Bjelke-Petersen's 'Petersen Plan' (1974) were taken as signs of partial implementation.[94] As a doctrine suitable only for an Anglo-Saxon community with a monarchical constitution, it was integrated into a 1950's/1970's program which defended

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[92] Colin Barclay-Smith, It's Time They Knew, (2nd edition), East Chatswood, 1967, one contribution to the post-war movement.
[93] Douglas implied these views. See: C.H. Douglas, The Monopoly Of Credit, London, 1979, pp. v, 10, 151; Butler's contribution referred to in: Eric D. Butler, Advanced Social Credit School, 6 tapes, M.E.A. Tape Library production, undated (but 1970's); Eric Butler, Social Credit And Christian Philosophy, no publication details.
[94] Jeremy Lee, Censored Economics: The Establishment Attempt To 'Kill' The 'Petersen Plan', Inglewood, 1976, passim.

status quo political values and which necessarily frustrated any challenge to 'conservative' Establishment politics.[95]

By the 1980's, ideas concerning money reform were perennial on the Australian Extreme Right. The ANM considered (erroneously), that Nazi Germany utilized Social Credit and adopted the term to describe its monetary policy. However, many rural groups, referred to 'National Credit', and used aspects of the 'Money Power' tradition in the labourist ideology and like Allan Jones, criticized Social Credit. The CAP desired debt-free credit and an internally-valued national currency. National Action's Programme advocated the nationalization of the banks. Participant interviews revealed that many activists were aware of 'Social Credit' even if uncertain as to its precepts.

The wide diffusion of Social Credit/National Credit ideas, including also the 1990's efforts of The Strategy (which pushed the native National Credit line), showed a certain sub-cultural success. Given the LOR's longtime non-metropolitan propaganda efforts, it could be reasoned that 'money-reform' would figure in farmers' protest groups. While the LOR rejected independent political action, this did not mean other conservatives or Extreme Right groups could not use the broad tradition for populist purposes.

This Section contests the 'official theory' of the Extreme Right. The LOR and the other conservative forces, had not 'fathered' the Extreme Right. The long period of Right satellitization (1945–75, but in Queensland until 1987), historically conditioned the conservative scripts, away from political activity and towards post-millenarianism, lobbyism and 'educational' work. There were other outcomes whereby the personal development of a particular leader, or cadre-group, or the availability of a clientele attuned to a certain rhetoric, could be conditioned by exposure to Conservative Right ideology. This was true in the case of the Confederate Action Party and we see traces of Conservative Right ideas in the programmes of groups as diverse as the ANM (Social Credit) and the Australian Community Movement (CIR). Other connections also exist at the fundamental base of what constitutes 'Right' values, as Section 4 investigates.

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[95] A conclusion drawn by an LOR appendix to its editions of Douglas's works. See: "About The Author" in C.H. Douglas, Whose Service Is Perfect Freedom, Bullsbrook, 1983, pp. 81–85.

SECTION 4

THE AUSTRALIAN EXTREME RIGHT: PERSPECTIVES AND PROGRAMMES

This Section inquires first into those Extreme Right perspectives which shaped its politics, and then analyses the political programmes produced by this political family. As Part Two of this Thesis amplifies, the Extreme Right challenged the State vision of the national future: electorally, physically and hegemonically. The Extreme Right was never a contender for power but like the marxist Left of the period 1945–75, it was a type of part-underground, part sub-cultural force, seeking to break beyond the margins.

(a)   Perspectives

Some reliance on the international literature was helpful in this discussion. Specifically, O'Maolain's 1988 study set out a typology of some fifteen points.   It included: an admiration of, or commitment to, violence as a political method; an authoritarian state and party; nationalism; white supremacism and/or opposition to immigration/miscegenation; Holocaust Revisionism; conspiratological criticism of international power elites (Jews, bankers, masons); defence of the patriarchal family and morality; rejection of class war; anti-communism directed at foreign governments and domestic parties; admiration of heroism, sacrifice, discipline, chivalry; rejection of free speech for the Left; construction of a genetically self-perpetuating new ruling elite; rejection of modern decadent society; the rescue of the nation from induced decline perpetrated by other nations or evil forces; a belief that the wrong side won the Second World War.[96]

O'Maolain seemed uncertain as to which of the typological points belonged to which of his three Right categories in number or emphasis.   O'Maolain's scientific detachment is

questionable given the assistance rendered him by the disreputable <u>Searchlight</u> magazine. Was this typology shaped to keep the anti-racist/anti-fascist movement − barking? It is debatable whether it could have applied to the main 1980's/1990's forces of the Extreme Right. Objections abound in the cases of movements such as the French National Front, the German Republican Party and the GRECE to the propositions regarding white supremacism, 'superior' new ruling classes, the focus on the Left and the question concerning the Second World War.[97] In the Australian case, the populist 'faces' of the Extreme Right largely invalidated the typology. Perhaps only the ANM and other neo-nazi groups could fit O'Maolain's structure with any congruity. Had the Right evolved?

Moore advanced a set of central Australian Right themes (Chapter Three).[98] This set bore similarity to O'Maolain's system, a circumstance possibly linked to Moore's acknowledgment to "Gerry Gable",[99] prominent <u>Searchlight</u> identity. Moore's contribution to the discussion lies in his view that the Australian Right was a deviation from official conservatism albeit with individual exceptions, with its occasional extremism as a potential-weapon to salvage capitalism or savage its enemies.   This marxian position although undermined by the weight of empirical evidence, has rightly placed conservatism, and the State, into the foreground.

The 'doctrinal' principles of conservatism have been academically defined as a formula, not to protect a set status quo, but to develop a viable society. Conservatism reasons that God is the measure of value and religion is essential to society; classical philosophy and Judaeo-Christian ethics should guide reason; ideal visions for nations and peoples should be put aside in favour of order, custom and tradition, with empiricism and evolution better

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[96] C. O'Maolain, op.cit., p. viii.

[97] Harvey G. Simmons, <u>The French National Front: The Extremist Challenge To Democracy</u>, Boulder, 1996, pp. 221−3, 228−230, which while very critical, referred to the FN's verbal positions that challenge these assumptions; "Le Systeme A Ruiner Les Peuples", <u>Elements</u>, No. 85, Spring 1983, pp. 35−39 − just one example of GRECE's racial position − and "Le MRAP Et La LICRA: D'Etranges Officines", <u>Elements</u>, No. 15, February−March 1980, pp. 29−44 − on these themes; B. Westle and O. Niedermayer, "Contemporary Right-Wing Extremism In West Germany: The Republicans And Their Electorate", <u>European Journal Of Political Research</u>, Vol. 22, No. 1, July 1992, pp. 83−100, indicated ambivalence in the definition of Republican ideology even for persons who share O'Maolain-like perspectives.

[98] Andrew Moore, <u>The Right Road?</u>, pp. 3−4, 11.

[99] ibid., p. vii.

methods than revolution; the spiritual development of the person in a virtuous atmosphere of decentralized localism, community and family, builds for stability.[100]

Conservative ideology once served to defend 'property' against Red revolution; but after allowance is made for the guile which attended the exercise of power, the fundamentals of conservatism inspired Australia's Menzies government.[101] The official conservatism of the State was endorsed by the satellites, which considered the British conservative tradition their core cultural heritage; but once a new liberal-internationalist ideology took charge in the State, the mutual-alienation of the true-believer satellites and the State, was inevitable. However, in the situation where the State's symbolic arrangements (Monarchy, Parliament, States, Flag and Constitution) remained intact, the process of divorce was torturously prolonged.

The dependence of the Conservative Right upon the State introduced a structural-historical weakness into Australian Right politics. Seemingly, the ethereal elements of the Right (which allowed its enemies to coin the term 'Lunar Right') were 'illusions' meant to mobilize persons into a defence of the conservative State. Once this purpose was lost, the conservative milieu unravelled as the discussion of conspiratology showed, and as Chapter Seven affirmed in its analysis of conservative independence in-false-consciousness.

Interpretative confusion can be overcome. The Australian Conservative Right's ideology (1945–1980's) is defined as the combination of the conservative core-beliefs and the specific typology outlined in Section Three. This ideology was not congruent with O'Maolain's typology, despite overlap. It was similar to Moore's model, short of 'authoritarian structures' and any militancy implying violence (Moore had the paramilitaries in mind); however, because there were shared perspectives with the Extreme Right, there was a capacity to create confusion in the new forces. This showed in ICA/PCP's insistence that it represented a true conservatism, Sisson's NFA plan to politicize the

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[100] William R. Harbour, The Foundation Of Conservative Thought: An Anglo-American Tradition In Perspective, Notre Dame, 1982, pp. 2, 4–8.

[101] Judith Brett, Robert Menzies' Forgotten People, Sydney, 1992, passim.

Liberal-National 'Right', van Tongeren's Right-regroupment project, the 'tension' between the CAP and rural radical-populists with the organized conservatives. The relationship should be defined as an historically conditioned problem of mobilization: some Extreme Right forces were 'waiting' for their 'natural' market to radicalize on their terms. Not until the birth of the One Nation Party, did this market mobilize – on its terms.

This Section shall make generalizations about Extreme Right ideology.

Classificatory inventiveness serves this analysis, which returns for thematic clarity to Chapter One's discussion of Australian proto-fascism, native-fascism and the Conservative Right and Extreme Right defences of British-Australian identity. In the earlier periods, fundamental questions of Australian politics and heritage stood for resolution, setting style and problems for future movements. The discussion takes account of the history of the Satellite Right in defining ideological boundaries and themes which lie at the centre of debate on the Right. In developing a typology of themes, this Thesis will incorporate the effusive contributions of Australian Extreme Right ideologues into a form which gives both variations and common principles. This compilation demonstrates the utopian nature of ideology and the Extreme Right's reliance upon myth.

(i)   Whose Country?   The Extreme Right has confronted the historical problem of Aboriginal dispossession. Generally, it has been unsympathetic. The NFA considered Aborigines "stone age"[102] and the CAP urged a single model-citizenship which rejected their separate legal identity.[103] The High Court of Australia's legal activism in its 'Mabo' and 'Wik' decisions, deepened countryside opposition to Land Rights claims and intensified the CAP's politics of opportunity.[104]

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[102] The National Front: Objectives.
[103] A Promise To The People Of Australia; Policy Profile Of Some CAP Policies: Saving Australia For All Australians, CAP leaflet, 1994.
[104] See: Draft 1994–5 CAP programme documents, provided by Tom Little, in author's possession. Little said these documents expressed CAP conference opinion; Dawn Brown.

Radical-Nationalists invoked Stephensen and also lauded the Jindyworobaks' attempt to engage with the Continent's ancient history and people;[105] Graeme Campbell and AAFI warned of Aboriginal dispossession in an 'Asian Australia',[106] but this was a minoritarian view. There was a contradiction in many Extreme Right spokesmen: on the one hand, race was held as a defining quality of identity, but Aborigines were expected to be Australians 'like everyone else'.[107]

The prior occupation of the Continent by Aborigines did not invalidate European occupation or violate the 'legality' of the Australian State. It followed that incipient 'separatism', criticized by the Conservative Right, was also condemned by most Extreme Right groups as an attempt to violate Australia's indivisibility.

(ii)   <u>The Crisis.</u> That Extreme Right communicators 'predicted' a national crisis, was inevitable. The marxist Left was once in the same position; vibrant sub-cultures with redemptive-historical messages can never win mass public sympathy without a political crisis.

The crisis was defined in catastrophic style. For Azzopardi, it was Australia's mineral wealth and open-spaces, in a world where a scramble for territory and resources was driven by "the population food crisis".[108] This theme was rebirthed by Joseph Smith who returned to Malthus, to reason the illegal/legal refugee and immigration pressures on Australia must increase.[109] The future involved the not implausible idea of "eco-refugees"[110] who would submit the Australian identity to effective genocide.

[105] D. Merrett, "Forgotten Culture: The Jindys", <u>Audacity,</u> No. 12, undated, p. 11; <u>No Land Rights In Asian Australia</u>, NA leaflet, undated; Jim Saleam, <u>Address To Sydney Nationalists</u>.

[106] Lionel Duncombe, <u>Immigration And The Decline Of Democracy In Australia</u>, pp. 21, 110 (this book distributed by AAFI); Graeme Campbell, <u>Industry Policy: Directions For Growth</u>, p. 2.

[107] This was chiefly the view of the rural populist groups. See: <u>Saving Australia For All Australians</u>, CAP leaflet, 1994; <u>The Australians</u>, Issue 2, election broadsheet, 1995, p. 5; <u>Advance Australia Party: Platform And Policy</u>, p. 32, Tony Pitt, <u>Media Release: The Mabo Situation</u>, June 16 1993.

[108] "Refugee Crisis Begins", <u>Advance</u>, No. 4, January–February 1978, pp. 1–2; Edward Azzopardi, "It Begins!", <u>Audacity</u>, No. 5, undated (1978), pp. 1–2; E. F. Azzopardi, "The Third Development Decade", <u>Audacity</u>, No. 16, November 1982, pp. 4, 5, 7.

[109] Joseph Wayne Smith, <u>The Remorseless Working Of Things</u>, pp. 63–4.

[110] ibid., p. 70.

Themes of Asian military invasion ran through much of the Extreme Right's theory and propaganda during 1975–95.[111] The Multi-Function Polis revived the idea of peaceful invasion and occupation, and immigration itself was characterized as the herald of civil war.[112] There were other crises visualized in the totalitarian aspirations of the ruling elites which would precipitate political crisis, confiscation of firearms and registration of citizens.[113] Economic collapse was another variant of crisis and this had immediacy in the rural distress of the 1980's.[114]

The crisis mythos was continually reinvented as a motivational force, as sustenance for the activists and prophecy for the masses. The mythos says something of the Extreme Right's self-perception(s). Either as rescuers of the nation from danger, or as revolutionaries who would use crisis to alter the political-social character of the State, participant cadres appreciated that their immediate fate was outside of mainstream political discussion; this last factor conditioned strategy/tactics.[115] Whereas the Radical-Nationalists pursued the counter-hegemony methods to locate a niche, other fractions fought for electoral and popular recognition and party building; still others moderated to win voter acceptance.

(iii)   The Sovereign People. The Extreme Right's literature and propaganda contained strong populist messages about sovereignty residing in the people, and the

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[111] Nicholas Lindeman, Japan Threat; Rosemary Sisson, "Invitation To Aggression", Frontline, No. 18, November 1979, pp. 4–6; "Australia Imperilled", Audacity, No. 6, undated, pp. 1–2; Australians Against Further Immigration, AAFI leaflet, undated; Timor Gap Treaty, CAP leaflet, undated.

[112] Multifunction Polis – The Japanese Colonisation Of Australia, NRM leaflet, 1992; "Alien Vanguard", Frontline, No. 19, December 1979, pp. 2–3; Dennis McCormack, The Desirable Component Of Any Migrant Intake, p. 420; generally groups like ICA/PCP and CAP saw social divisions in multiculturalism; J. Saleam, Australia's Road To National Revolution, pp. 1, 5, implied civil strife.

[113] "From Great Expectations To Reality: Republicanism Is Not A Game", In The National Interest, No. 1, undated, p. 3; Chapter Six, Footnote 97; various posters, leaflets, stickers issued by the Australian Right To Bear Arms Association; The Constitutionalists, leaflet, 1995; New World Order, EFF leaflet, 1992.

[114] J. Saleam, Australia's Road To National Revolution, p. 18; Chapter Eight's discussion of the rural radical-populists; "Do You Want Higher Interest, Higher Inflation, Higher Taxes?", Fight, No. 9, September 1993, p. 1.

[115] Drawn from the Activities Manual of the CAP; Joe Bryant, Fellow Australian, August 1987; Radical-Nationalist opinion was outlined in Anon, The Coming Struggle: Tasks For Australian

existence of an Australian social-contract (on immigration, protection and social justice) broken by either governments or the State.[116]

Historically, the Australian labour movement had supported CIR, Voters' Veto and Recall and the defence-planning/Fortress-Australia idea of an 'armed people'. In the study period, these principles passed 'from Left to Right'. The principle of popular authority contained not an exaltation of the State, but a decentralist idea of the worth of local government and popular custom in the regulation of political life.[117] The sovereign people was on guard against the usurpation of power by undemocratic forces or elites. This populist notion took on new meaning as the Right adopted a particular 'class war' rhetoric expressive of a response to the internationalizing capitalist revolution.

The Radical-Nationalists, because of their historical reference points, could propagandize about the 'have-nots' marginalized by internationalization; some also alluded to class war as a justified strategy whereby the workers of all classes would fight the national struggle against the international capitalists.[118] A version of this idea appeared in the literature of the populist-monarchists and radical-populists. Here, the multinationals, the banks and the monopolies were in economic-conspiracy against the old middle class, skilled tradesman and the unionist.[119] These forces were justified to defend their interests. This redefinition of 'class'

Nationalists, Melbourne 1995 and Anon, Our Tasks; most interviewees appreciated their position was outside the mainstream.

[116] Joseph Wayne Smith, "Forward", in John Tanton, Dennis McCormack and Joseph Wayne Smith (eds), Immigration And The Social Contract, pp. xiv–xvii; Jim Saleam, What Is To Be Done?, p. 31, referred directly to Social Contract theory; "A Confederate Action Party Credo", in Confederate Action Party Constitution, Policy, Activities, Brisbane, 1994, pp. 22–3.

[117] In precisely these terms in, "A Confederate Action Party Credo"; Participation Not Representation, NA leaflet, 1988; National Republican Movement Programme; Australian People's Congress leaflets dealing with people's authority; see Chapter Eight discussions of the history of CIR agitation.

[118] Economic Chaos And The Depression Facing Rural Australians, NRM leaflet, 1991; Jim Saleam, What Is To Be Done?, pp. 30–31; "Australian Nationalism – A Class Basis?", National Vanguard, No. 7, pp. 9–10; Anon, On Socialism And The National Struggle, pp. 9–11.

[119] Stand Up For Australia's Middle Class, NRM leaflet, 1992; "Big Business And The Left", Frontline, No. 13, June 1979, pp. 4–5; Anon, Letter To James Saleam, attached to CAP Questionnaires by CAP organizer; Confederate Action Party, Open Letter, to trade union organizations, January 5 1995.

could only occur in a period of internationalization and with an impotent Left unable to propose policy or strategy.

The sovereign people was defined as the productive class and represented the real Australian. With these two attributes, this class was morally entitled to fight the parasitic-exploitive class of 'anti-Australians'.

(iv)   Race. First, the evidence did not support any claim that anti-semitism featured in Extreme Right 'racial doctrine'. Other than the essentialist position of the neo-nazis, the Australian Extreme Right, while occasionally critical of individual Jews or the Jewish lobby groups, or Zionism, evinced no fundamental ideological concern with 'the Jewish question'.[120]

Second, the evidence did not show that Extreme Right organizations preached the 'racial superiority of the white race'. This Thesis cannot say (as in the case of anti-semitism) what any particular ideologist or activist might darkly believe; but judgement must be made on the material and on the public campaigning. Whether 'soft' ethnocentric, or 'hard' racial nationalist positions were taken,[121] race was held as a central element of Australian identity. The Extreme Right has used harsh language, referring to non-European immigrants as:

vanguard invaders; conquerors by stealth; the Chinese octopus (which pilloried drugs, vice and exploitation); economic crooks; cheap labour; cultural distorters; dangerous lobbies; disloyal; unclean and diseased; inscrutable; violent; those who would 'outbreed' the natives and displace

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[120] The discussion about Graeme Campbell/AAFI in Chapter Eight; "The Other Face Of Zionism", Nationalist News (a Queensland NA newsletter), undated, unnumbered (but 1988), pp. 3–4, criticized Israel; "Paris Wailings", Frontline, No. 33, February 1981, pp. 3–4, on Zionist infiltration of a Right group overseas; 'The Australians' obliquely questioned the extent of the Holocaust in one pamphlet – Vote 1 – The Australians, pamphlet, Belair (South Australia), 1995, p. 4. The evidence demonstrated Right reaction to Zionist criticism, but some a priori suspicion of Zionist motives.
[121] This relies on the narrative in Part Two which divided the populist typologies from Radical-Nationalism and neo-nazism; the NFA did argue a version of race supremacy. See: "Race: The Hallmark Of Destiny", Frontline, No. 9, February 1979, pp. 3–5.

them in jobs and educational institutions; overpopulators of vulnerable ecosystems; morally deficient or morally-politically superior.[122]

The florid language was probably an attempt to rationalize the irrational process of racial change.

Generally, it seems Extreme Right leaders had no objection to the presence of some non-Europeans in Australia, but contested the numbers and the 'secret' purpose of this immigration.[123] Yet it was also the case that culture, nationality and race were linked together. The movement was fighting against the "loss" of Australian heritage or culture.

(v)   New Citizen. Extreme Right ideologists asserted that their social vision was one for a natural and moral order. Here, all three players on the tripartite paradigm agreed on the intrinsic worth of the family, of the feminine identity achieved in motherhood, and the natural character of heterosexual relationships.[124] The corollary was, that challenges to the family's social viability, feminism and homosexuality, were anti-natural and immoral. There were arguments on the Right as to the position of these issues in public campaigning, and of the weight to be given to the equality of women.[125] However, the whole Right agreed as to the importance of ordering society to express these values.

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[122] From a survey of Viewpoint (Immigration Control Association) 1970–79; Jobs Not Refugees Campaign, ANA leaflet, 1979; "The Asian Invasion", Frontline, No. 14, July 1979, pp. 1–3; Chapter Five on National Action's campaign on overseas students; assorted stickers issued by White Australian Resistance 1993–5 on drug trafficking; The Bulletin's 'Chinese Octopus' cartoon in Advance, No. 5, undated (but February 1988), p. 1; Ryan T. Jones, Mass Immigration: Undermining Australia's Civilisation, undated, no publication details, covered these themes.

[123] Chris Steele, What Price Australians? The Racial Sell Off, Perth, 1985, passim; Dennis McCormack; Peter Krumins; Don Pinwell; even van Tongeren concurred. See: Jack van Tongeren, Crucial Issues For Australia, Perth, 1985, p. 6.

[124] For the Conservative Right, see: ephemera issued by Ladies In Line Against Communism (a LOR front) and Women Who Want To Be Women; For the Extreme Right, see: programmes of Australian Community Movement, Progressive Conservative Party, Advance Australia Party; For the Radical-Nationalists, see: Manifesto Of The Australian National Alliance.

[125] See internal debate in CAP over aggressive anti-homosexual material: Reg Murray and Robin Murray referring to John Jarvis, Letter to Tony Pitt, February 4 1994; the NFA criticized free-love, homosexuality in "Human Rights", Frontline, No. 26, July 1980, pp. 1–2, but viewed it as fair comment; National Action's campaign against the Reverend McMahon alienated the ANM (personal

These socially conservative principles underlaid the idea of a New Citizen. With sound moral grounding the citizen could be a healthy participatory democrat. The populist position argued that the New Citizen would exercise power directly, and otherwise through representatives amenable to the popular will.[126] Noticeably, Extreme Right literature criticized yesteryear fascism as dictatorship, and/or its 'socialist' method as the over-organization of the people;[127] the Extreme Right's social model was one with power still limited by a monarch, or a constitution, or by cultural convention. Its criticism of fascism meant it disfavoured totalitarian or authoritarian models of government.

The Extreme Right's New Citizen was a paler version of the Radical-Nationalists' 'New Man'. The literature refers to an idealized Australian type, where 'mateship', humour, resourcefulness and cynicism were born of isolation and the adversity of nation building.[128]

(vi) <u>Faulted Century-Vision Splendid</u>. The Extreme Right recognized itself as 'nationalist' and purported to articulate the Australian cultural identity. The ANZAC mythos, the Kokoda struggle, national-developmental achievements and a perception of Australian social equality and cultural singularity, were all aspects of an identity formed around war and positive symbols. Additionally: this identity

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conversation with <u>van Tongeren</u>); <u>A Political Programme For Australian National Action</u>, referred to "a woman's right to equality".

[126] Refer citations in Chapters Seven and Eight on CIR/Voters Veto/Recall; <u>A Political Programme For Australian National Action</u> and the programmes of Australian Community Movement, Enterprise, Freedom and Family.

[127] B. Hall, "The Vision Splendid: Direct Democracy", <u>The Australian Republican</u>, May 1993, pp. 11–12; photographs of Nazi leaders and victims in <u>Fight/In The National Interest</u> complemented by critical captions; <u>Who's For Gun Control?</u>, Australian Right To Bear Arms Association poster, 1993; Ron Owen, "History Of The New World Order"; <u>CAP Questionnaire</u> (marked by author); some Radical-Nationalists were ambivalent about authoritarian force – Alec Saunders, <u>Nietzsche, The New Age And Ethical Socialism</u>, pp. 33–37, particularly when wielded over the 'previous' ruling class – Jim Saleam, <u>The Nature Of State Power</u>, pp. 10, 15.

[128] B. Knight, <u>Integral Nationalism</u>, p. 10; <u>The Commonwealth State Order And The Decline Of Rural Australia</u>, NRM leaflet, undated; Andrew Patterson, <u>The Fight For Australian Culture</u>, Melbourne, 1996, a recapitulation of Radical-Nationalist opinion, pp. 1–3; Ryan T. Jones, <u>Mass Immigration: Undermining Australia's Civilisation</u>, pp. 6–8. Participants such as <u>Dennis McCormack</u>, <u>Graeme Campbell</u> and <u>Tom Little</u> described this view.

should 'continue'; it was under universal challenge; it was a community of experience of the living and the dead.[129]

The Extreme Right was saying that Australia was 'neither British nor American'. Australia had outgrown both its colonial past and its civic anti-communist identity formed around the Cold War demands of the western alliance. The softer ethnocentric approach conceived that the society of 1966 was a worthy one, essentially Anglo-Celtic but adaptive to European migrant influences.[130]

There was the 'vision splendid' of an essentially ethnically homogenous country, a self-sufficient (environmentally sustainable) economy, politically engaging and personally relaxed order; the counter was the 'faulted century' whereby bewildering policies (immigration, industrial, social) had robbed the Citizen of his patrimony.[131] The idea of politico-cultural deprivation at the hands of 'anti Australians' was a powerful mobilizer.

(vii)   Freedom Not Liberalism. The term 'freedom movement' favoured by many Extreme Right communicators, meant more than freedom from State over-regulation or internationalism. It was a development away from the Conservative Right's 'sovereign individual' ideal towards a socially cohesive ideal of rights – to

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[129] The Roots Of Australian Nationalism: Eureka Stockade, Melbourne, undated (NRM pamphlet); Cameron McKenzie, The Menace Of Multiculturalism, pp. 7–9; Ian Hampel, concerning membership attitudes in the Immigration Control Association/Progressive Conservative Party; Chapter Eight's discussion of the foundation of AAFI; CAP Questionnaires; the NFA's view was of course thoroughly Anglocentric. See: "Euro-Nationalism Not For Us", Frontline, No. 4, September 1978, pp. 1–3, an obvious criticism of other Extreme Right opinion.

[130] Dennis McCormack, The Grand Plan: Asianisation Of Australia: Race, Place And Power, Melbourne, 1996, p. 1, a pamphlet which summed up McCormack's views; a review of Viewpoint where Anglo-Celtic/European input was seldom distinguished; Anon, Australian Nationalism Versus Anglo-Saxonism, Sydney, 1984, updated as John Croft, Australian Nationalism Vs Anglo-Saxonism, Melbourne, 1996, gave the Radical-Nationalist criticism of the 'Anglo-Celtic' position; refer membership data for RCSLP and CAP which indicated 'European' input into Extreme Right memberships.

[131] Anon, The Right To Freedom Of Expression And The Immigration Debate, Sydney, 1984; Cameron McKenzie, The Menace Of Multiculturalism, Melbourne, 1996; "The Road To Nationhood Part One", Audacity, No. 6, p. 6 and "The Road To Nationhood Part Two", Audacity, No. 7, pp. 5–6; Dr Dique, Immigration: The Quiet Invasion, Bullsbrook, 1985 (esp. pp. 164–166, concerning media assault on this patrimony) was popular on the Extreme Right also; Graeme Campbell, The Struggle For True Australian Indpendence, pp. 19, 21.

private property, family autonomy and political engagement; this formulation melded with commitments to community and country. Freedom was to be realized <u>not</u> as an individual thing, as much as a collective Australian experience.[132]

Inevitably, the Extreme Right condemned liberalism as an abstraction pitted against natural rules and responsibilities. Therefore, the breakdown of the family, homosexuality, pornography, the drug culture and crime were ascribed to a permissiveness born of liberal philosophy.[133]

For the Radical-Nationalists, liberalism was culture-disease, decadence of will and spirit; but they too shared the general Extreme Right positions on liberalism. Here, the Extreme Right was not opposed generally to freedom of speech for other opinions, although the Radical-Nationalists argued for the suppression of liberalism.[134] The Extreme Right's appreciation of freedom was a moral goal worthy of the New Citizen.

(viii)   <u>The People's Livelihood</u>. The questions of class, power and economic security were within the Extreme Right's populist scope. Given that the 'productive class' was disenfranchised, and its spokesmen were arguing for a type of nationalist class war, it is asked whether this was the rage of a declining social group, or an intellectual effort at grounding new ideas?

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[132] Anon, <u>Letter To James Saleam</u>, September 13 1997, in reply to CAP Questionnaires; <u>Ross Provis</u>, on the Inverell Forum concept; <u>An Introduction To Australia First</u>, Kingaroy, 1996, pp. 1–4, summed-up this Extreme Right perspective; "All The Jazz", <u>Stockade</u>, No. 2, Summer 1985–6, p. 3; Alec Saunders, <u>The Social Revolutionary Nature Of Australian Nationalism</u>, pp. 7, 42, on freedom being a tribalised notion.

[133] Untitled CAP leaflet, featuring homosexual acts with CAP logo and caption on government sponsorship of 'gay groups', 1993; <u>The National Front Objectives</u>; "Our Answer", <u>Bunyip Bulletin</u>, Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 1, an indictment of pornographic homosexuality; the author had conversations with 1980's Skinheads (Radical-Nationalists, neo-nazis and non-aligned) in these terms.

[134] Jim Saleam, <u>The Nature Of State Power</u>, pp. 14–15; <u>The Constitution Of The Progressive Conservative Party</u>, demanded "political liberty"; most political programmes were suspicious of media and information control; see Chapter Seven's discussion of the populist-monarchist defence of Constitutional liberty.

Certainly, the Extreme Right was nostalgic for the era of full employment, family farms, lower indebtedness and a national industrial base.[135] There was no opposition to trade unionism, and after the Fraser era few negative-references to industrial militancy. 'Nostalgia' for security did not involve the anti-Left politics of the conservative State.

There were arguments by Campbell, the RCSLP and the Radical-Nationalists that the free trade system could be opposed on the basis of national self-sufficiency, a theme which appeared in assorted documents of many groups in the study period.[136] There were generalized criticisms of international banking capital and the transnational corporations and references to green, sustainable growth and smaller business structures owned co-operatively. There were other statements favouring small business, tradesmen and the professions.[137] The Extreme Right produced limited economic analysis of the process of internationalization; but there was an extensive literature concerning money-reform which had immediacy for farmers, small-business and families (Chapter Eight).

Programmes may differ but the Australian future was to be one of class union founded upon a closed market organized co-operatively.

This description of Extreme Right core ideology showed that it was in juxtaposition to liberal State ideology and oriented towards Australia's cultural, political and economic challenges. The typology expressed a call for Australian independence. While

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[135] Turn Back The Clock, CAP leaflet, undated; "The Conservative Pastiche", Audacity, No. 5, p. 6, referring to the Right; Graeme Campbell and Mark Uhlmann, Australia Betrayed: How Australian Democracy Has Been Undermined And Our Naïve Trust Betrayed. The subtitle argued the case; refer to Chapter Two for the attitude of Extreme Right groups towards Menzies-era stability.

[136] Graeme Campbell and Mark Uhlmann, Australia Betrayed, passim; Chapter Eight on RCSLP; "Confederate Action Party Of Australia Policy", in Confederate Action Party of Australia Constitution, Policy Activities, pp. 18–19; "Save Our Industries", The Australian Nationalist, No. 5, April 1991, pp. 1–2.

[137] CAP Questionnaires on banking system and free-trade; Dr G. Mosley, Autarky: The Foundation For An Ecologically Sustainable Organic Society, Melbourne, 1996 (a pamphlet popular in AESP); Allan Jones, Towards An Ecologically Sustainable Society, Melbourne, 1992; Joe Bryant, The Credit Note, Colyton, 1991 (this document reflected National Credit principles); A. Jones, The National Republican Bank, Melbourne, 1992; "The Confederate Action Party Of Australia Policy", in Confederate Action Party Constitution, Policy Activities, pp. 12–13.

metapolitical argument is out of favour, there were general historical ideological continuities between the contemporary Extreme Right and the proto-fascist and nativist movements examined in Chapter One. The present vision was, by its espousal of ideas like those behind the 'National Settlement' (the core views of the Australian Natives' Association), and the rigorous nationalism of its more thoroughgoing competition in the labour-nationalist-republican movement, clearly mobilizing the past to challenge the international capitalist State.[138] The discussions within sections of the Extreme Right showed knowledge of the previous traditions and a desire to wrap the contemporary Extreme Right discourse within the mantle of Australian past. This Thesis would conclude this was not camouflage but a recognition that the contemporary movement espoused a national populism in keeping with earlier movements, howsoever the different ideologists chose to define it.

The process of ideological production involved key figures who as authors, editors or communicators, styled their organizations. They are named as follows: for the Radical-Nationalists, there were Azzopardi, Saleam, Saunders, Donnini, Guild and Brander; for the neo-nazis, there were van Tongeren and Mladenovich; for the populist-monarchists, there were Jewell, Owen and Pitt; for the radical-populists, there were Campbell, McCormack, Spencer, Joseph Smith, Bryant and Provis. This Thesis recognized the importance of individual contribution in defining 'doctrine' (Section One), but there were also others cited in the text and footnotes.

Other participants, as activists or propagandists, established the parameters of each school, symbiotically lending the key ideologists their 'authority'.

The extent of the Extreme Right's ideological production went beyond the declamations of the key writers and the generalized typology articulated by them, and others. There were also other lesser or stagnant streams.

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[138] This is said in similar terms in Dennis McCormack, The Desirable Component, p. 413; Jim Saleam, The Nature Of State Power In Australia, pp. 3, 17, referred to the survival of the National Settlement until the 1960's; this idea seemed also implicit in Rex Connor's attitude to the Labor Party (see Chapter Eight).

This analysis refers to two other descriptive issues. First, the Extreme Right was a sub-cultural force, meaning that all sorts of State-oppositional or cultural-alternative opinion could take refuge there. This field was vast. The author as a participant can testify that the available volume of Australian and foreign Right literature for adaptation would be beyond the intellectual assimilation of any single theorist. Thus, the variety of possible syntheses between any Right form and compatible historical, social or biological philosophy, was considerable. Available material included versions of Historical Revisonism, organic theories of Nationalism, historical and biological racial theory, existentialist philosophy, hard-green environmentalism and economics, political criticism of Australia's Westminster democracy and geopolitical theory.[139]

It is certain that the prominent ideologists had diverse individual sources given many had formal educational training. It would be appropriate again to refer to the concept of ideological soup available to sustain new systems. There is no need to examine the precise roots of individual products outside of commentary passed in Part Two; that would take this Thesis into intellectual detective work irrelevant to the discussion of Extreme Right typology.

Second, there were ideological dead ends. The 'abortive fascism' of the National Front was one case. With its references to the "bulldog breed", and plan for a middle class patriotism,[140] it failed to move beyond a propaganda grouplet. But it introduced the British NF and British neo-fascist materials to other Australians.

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[139] Some examples may include material distributed by particular Right groups: Harrison Salisbury, The Coming War Between Russia And China, London, 1969; Dr G. Mosley, National Self-Sufficiency: Living Within Our Means: A Fundamental Solution To The Environmental Crisis, Melbourne, 1994; Ted Mack, The Farce Of Westminster Democracy, Melbourne, 1996 (reprint); Anon, The Scientific Basis Of Racial Nationalism, undated, no details, various distribution. See other citations.

[140] "The Bulldog Breed", Frontline, No. 12, May 1979, pp. 1–3; "The Communist Menace", Frontline, No. 23, April 1980, pp. 5–6, concerning legalist political change and the "communist menace"; "NF Past And Future", Frontline, No. 37, June 1981, p. 2, on pressuring the Liberal Party; Frontline also reproduced Tyndall's Spearhead pieces on how the Nazi party made use of 'upper class'/middle class allies in its advance to power. See Frontline, No. 48, May 1982 and No. 47, June 1982.

The neo-nazism of van Tongeren and Mladenovich demonstrated a slippery nature. It drew ideas from every Right category or typology. As a "force for moral regeneration",[141] the ANM in its Education Policy spoke for "the British origins of Australian culture" against the "marxist plague" of internationalism.[142] The ANM also heroicised the labour-nationalist heritage in one document plagiarized from National Action.[143] While arguing for racial supremacy[144], van Tongeren also later constructed a sober analysis of immigration as the displacement of native-culture.[145] This neo-nazism, in line with its different strategies (Chapter Six), was looking for political openings and cannot be adequately placed upon the tripartite model. Australian neo-nazism's capacity to distort themes for use, showed too in Mladenovich's Caucasian Society, which wrote long pieces on the Vikings' anti-Christian spirit and the Indo-European 'racial soul'.[146] Radical-Nationalists also espoused an interest in the communalist traits of Indo-European society or its proclivity for the notion of the armed people,[147] but the reference was neither cultized nor a central ideological theme. Demonstrably, even a reference could be focused in different directions. It was because neo-nazism could mirror other parts of the Right that some commentators could be forgiven for believing that the Right was 'tainted' by that belief system. It was in fact − the other way around.

This Section now turns to discuss the programmes which rest upon the ideological base.

(b)   *Programmes*

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[141] Jack van Tongeren, "To Australian Police", The Nationalist, No. 26, December 1988–March 1989, p. 5.

[142] Australian Nationalists Movement: Education Policy, Perth, 1985, pp. 5, 10.

[143] Julian Carloman, The Myth Of Democracy: The Reality Of Plutocracy, Perth, 1986, pp. 10–11.

[144] Anon, Why I Am A Racist?, Perth, 1984. (This four-page pamphlet was authored by van Tongeren under the 'Tides and Time' logo.)

[145] Jack van Tongeren, Crucial Issues For Australia, Perth, 1985, passim.

[146] "Vikings", Voice Of Truth Journal, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1986, pp. 1–11; Peter Stanbridge, "Odinism And The Old Religion", Voice Of Truth Journal, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1987, pp. 1–6.

[147] James Saleam, The Ausralian State And The Australian Revolution: On National Democracy, Sydney, 1991, pp. 13–14; B. Hall, "The Vision Splendid"; Alec Saunders, The Social Revolutionary Nature of Australian Nationalism (2nd edn), pp. 8, 11, 14.

A political programme is more than a propagandistic wish-list, but a document which defines the ideological heritage and quality of an organization, and underpins its political strategy. The Extreme Right was replete with programmes. This sub-section refers to the programmes of the more prominent or typologically representative groups.[148]

The programmes examined are those issued by: the Progressive Conservative Party, National Front of Australia, Australian National Alliance, Australian National Action, Australian Populist Movement, Australian Nationalists Movement, Confederate Action Party, Australians Against Further Immigration, Advance Australia Party, Enterprise Freedom And Family, and Australian Community Movement. Other Extreme Right programmes shall be referred to; the programmes shall be occasionally contrasted with those of the LOR, NAA/Patriotic Lobby and the NSPA.

Extreme Right programmes demonstrate effort at policy formation. The genesis of each programme told a different story about the Extreme Right's strategies.

The PCP programme relied heavily upon Hampel's Conservative Party document, but included input from Clark and others. The PCP leadership wrote a programme pitched not only at those who were 'nationalist' and opposed to the Melbourne Club bourgeoisie, but to conservative Australians. Significantly, the PCP contested electorates which were held by Liberal representatives, and membership was a reflection of that orientation. The PCP's ideological modification was that conservatism should be progressive; in the Extreme Right manner it would widen its base.

The NFA's programme in calling for "closer political and economic co-operation with our kinfolk in the British Commonwealth", restated the credo of the 'British Brotherhood' (1969); it recapitulated the National Australia Association objectives in this and other areas, so much so that the NFA document was probably plagiarised from the NAA programme. The strengthening of bonds with Britain, the continuing pre-occupation with

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[148] Because the Programmes are cited elsewhere, and discussed generally here, further citation will not occur. In this Section, footnotes will relate to other information.

the Left in the unions and universities, and cheap loans especially for newly marrieds, showed a programme formed to impress the satellite Right. The Commonwealth idea was carried on by the Patriotic Lobby and eventually by the LOR.[149]

The Australian National Alliance <u>Manifesto</u> (1978) authored by Azzopardi, while styled to impress the Right with its familiar references to debt free credit, anti-marxism and moral rebirth, possessed a nativist palingenetic anti-liberal thrust directed towards youth. It foreshadowed a scheme for a mass popular movement. Its 'successor', <u>A Political Programme For Australian National Action</u> (1983) drafted by a committee conscious of ANA's failures, was to serve a "party of struggle". Divided into sub-sections it covered general policy areas in point form. It was made an integral part of NA's <u>Constitution And Rules</u> and was to serve organization-building. Modified over time by NA conferences, this document was dispersonal and held up to members as a declaration of intent and axis for propaganda.

The <u>Australian Populist Manifesto</u> was a booklet of some twenty-five pages, an argument against corporate and marxist "totalitarianism" nationally and internationally, and for a loose "movement" which would win independence. The argumentative environmentalist/anti-nuclear line had purposes related to target-market strategy as discussed in Chapter Five. Written by Donnini, it appeared personalist.

The <u>Programme Of The Australian Nationalists Movement</u> was intensely personal, a labour of van Tongeren and his brother. With references to "Eternal Laws Of Nature", a "philosopher-historian" as president, "Roman Law" styled codes, "provinces" and "human genius", it discussed "labour batallions" and then the "economic democracy" of "Social Credit". This <u>Programme</u> validated the notion that Australian neo-nazism had the neo-ariosophical core, the German Nazi reference and assimilated some Australian Right ideas.

The fantastic subjectivist programme tells that ANM would fall for The Turner Diaries to achieve its implementation.

The CAP's A Promise To The People Of Australia, authored by Jewell, was broad in its sweep (Chapter Six). The grab-bag of points was integrated with an attempt at populist organization, and any lack of inter-connections could thence be ascribed to the intent to mobilize interest and social groups behind core principles. The Promise was the focus of intense intra-organizational loyalty and a yardstick of the CAP's 'honesty'.

The AAFI's Manifesto (1989) was a well-composed critique of immigration, a statement developed from an earlier document (1988). It was directed at a more thoughtful audience. This surface-moderation in the discussion of immigration (Chapter Eight), was central to AAFI. This programme was provided to all members and media. It was impersonal in tone, although written by Dr Spencer and Robin Spencer.

The Advance Australia Party's Platform And Policy (1994) expanded upon the documents of the RCSLP. This comprehensive document contained both the anti-deregulationist, pro-industrial protection aspects of Labor tradition, and the pro-family, firearms and anti-"political correctness" points then popular on the Extreme Right. A nationalist flavour pervaded it. The direction of the new group (Chapter Eight) led towards the idea of a broad Extreme Right front. The comprehensive nature of the document suggested the electoral road was favoured.

The EFF's Statement Of Philosophy was written by Bryant and senior members. This programme was seemingly oriented towards the small business sector, and was libertarian in style. When the activism of EFF is also considered, this was a lure to a group previously the province of the New Right. Such 'deviousness' showed strategic acumen.

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[149] "What We Stand For", Australia First, No. 12, May 1985, p. 12 (this publication represented the Patriotic Lobby); The Policy Of The Australian League Of Rights, LOR leaflet, possibly 1992.

The ACM's <u>Policy Guidelines</u> considered that Australia's "decline" could be "traced directly to a lack of realism in Parliament". This programme, written by Provis, was aimed at disgruntled voters who considered neither the major parties, nor the present parliamentary method, represented them. Its rural orientation and its CIR points were joined by unusual matter (for example, a plea for a French inquisitional justice system) which showed disquiet with conservatism. The document was employed to guide grassroots activism.

What did the programmes usually agree on?

First, all programmes (except EFF) expressed open or coded opposition to non-European immigration, multiculturalism and Asianization. Some contained statements about repatriation and sought the protection of the English language and Australian culture.

Second, the United Nations and other international organizations fared negatively.

Third, national defence was usually highlighted with assorted prescriptions to achieve security against external threats.

Fourth, various suggestions about cheap credit for consumer, family and business-government needs, were advanced.

Fifth, decentralization and increased power for local government were featured (supported by the NAA, LOR and NSPA).

What did the programmes usually disagree on?

First, the Radical-Nationalist documents were republican. The ANM programme concurred. Some programmes said nothing although were implicitly monarchist (NFA, CAP, EFF, ACM). The PCP and the Advance Australia Party were frankly monarchist,

while AAFI implied nothing. The absence of programmatic frankness amidst sharp dividing lines indicated – an awareness of a changing national mood.

Second, the Radical-Nationalists and PCP favoured 'conciliation' with Aborigines (the NSPA had supported "separate development") although 'Land Rights' were qualified by reference to Aboriginal 'blood' being a determining factor in Aboriginal political identity.

Third, foreign policy ideas varied. The Radical-Nationalists (and ANM) wanted independence of the three superpowers (1980's). Foreign bases were opposed. The NA and CAP supported a Southern Hemispheric bloc. Nations or peoples which desired independence of oppressor states were to be encouraged (the NSPA agreed), whereas other programmes said nothing. The PCP, NFA, AAFI, EFF, CAP and ACM programmes neither said nor implied anything about American influence in Australia, but the Advance Australia Party decried "kowtowing to the United States". The CAP and NA favoured close relations with New Zealand.

Fourth, the Radical-Nationalist programmes favoured a planned economy, and limited nationalization was to be encouraged (the NSPA agreed).

Some generalizations are possible. Each programme's individuality arose from the interests of specific authors and/or their relationship to the typological school in which they moved. The personalist tones in some programmes tells us that the Extreme Right generally evoked intense feelings amongst participants who considered the international-capitalist revolution, subjectively offensive. Programmes expressed the search for political space and the effort to widen perceived markets; they were 'positive' documents with implied visions of renewal. The high degree of <u>convergence</u> strongly suggested that they were expressions of an ideological form divided only along the Extreme Right/Radical-Nationalist axis.

Reasonably, the programmes were taken seriously as vehicles for recruitment and propaganda. It must be concluded that they codified the Extreme Right typology advanced in this Section.

The historical long-view back to the 1919–45 and 1945–75 periods, confirmed that the Extreme Right formed a new position which revised much of the Right's historical concerns. In the study period, the concern with the British heritage was essentially reduced to a mode of populist expression; opposition to communism faded away; a defence of capitalism was not considered without substantial qualification – or repudiated..

With the Extreme Right independent of the State, armed with the typology discussed in this Section and behaving like certain 1980's/1990's European movements (Chapters Seven and Eight), this Thesis reasons that it represented a national populist politics, similar to Radical-Nationalism typologically and progammatically, but divided at the level of myth, radical intent and political militancy. It was the dominant ideological form dwarfing neo-nazism and Radical-Nationalism.

CONCLUSION

Some Australian Extreme Right ideologists used compatible overseas material for justification and inspiration, but the focus was Australian. The universalization of 'nationalist' thought had an Australian application.

Neo-fascism was a modern palingenetic populist ultra-nationalism; its forms were such that it was critical of, and typologically deviant from, historical fascism. This analytical tool, when imposed upon the Radical-Nationalists, explained friendships with European movements generally understood as neo-fascist and it clarified the application of historical Australian racial-nationalist concerns. These descriptive processes allowed the differentiation of this family from neo-nazism, developing the typological and mythological definition of neo-nazism provided in Chapter Six.

Because the Radical-Nationalist category occupied the 'extreme' position on the tripartite paradigm, a yardstick to measure Right radicalization on the Right was available. This

methodological tool was then applied into an Australian historical framework. Paradigmatic divisions were viewed as mythic and historical. The Radical-Nationalists represented a 'reborn' ideological statement of nativist identity; the Extreme Right category, a radicalization against State policy favouring an Australian identity and stability as it evolved under governments which subsequently broke their hypothesized 'contract' with Australians; the Conservative Right category a valuation of the 'British' State-symbolism of Old Australia. A genuine radicalization depended upon the intermediate category falling under the sway of the 'extreme' one. However, historical division continued to complement immediate political divergence and confirm the quiescence of the Conservative Right category which did nonetheless provide some recruits and tendentious ideological inspiration for particular Extreme Right manifestations (rural radical-populism and populist-monarchism).

The Extreme Right functioned as a political sub-culture with competing ideologists. This was implicit in the four-face typology. The segregated State-liberal discourse positioned the Extreme Right, defining its ideological-political-organizational function as one which was attempting 'breakthrough'.

Two visions of Australia were in contestation. One was internationalist, economic and quintessentially liberal; the other was nationalist, populist and socially conservative. The mythic division between the Old Australian vision of Man and continental purpose, and the denationalized vision of a New World Order, was fundamental. From the corpus of theoretical literature came the mobilizing programmes.

The programmes of the Extreme Right had similarities and dissimilarities. There was a similar typology of immigration, guns, multiculturalism, CIR, cheap credit, the family, a self-sufficient defence system, independence from internationalist institutions and economic structures, and social-economic equality. There were dissimilarities on the republic, a planned economy and nationalization; foreign policy assumptions by some organizations produced system-alternatives such as a Southern Hemispheric bloc and support for national liberation, whereas others were silent.

The Extreme Right was divided courtesy of the four-face typology and a number of independent ideologists. The ideological variations had practical effect in the rationale of the programmes, whether electoral, counter-hegemonic or radical-action oriented constructions. While the core thematic and programmatic unities implied a populist impulse which bound the movements, other explanative and prescriptive material showed that the domination of one trend over the others was always problematical.

This Thesis rejects the liberal demonology imposed upon Extreme Right ideology and politics. Although the ideological corpus may be objectionable to its critics, it was not incipient right-wing Pol Pot-ism; but it is also clear that between State and Extreme Right ideology and politics was a chasm, and the victory of the latter would involve suppressive violence.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This Thesis sharpened its focus by examining the Australian Extreme Right through the prism of its inter-relationship with the State and the dominant liberal capitalist ideology. This allowed the placement of the Extreme Right within an historical process and permitted the construction of a new paradigm for Australian Right politics.

Because this study examined an essentially 'new' field, it is appropriate to refer first to means which can overcome the deficiencies of the current scholarship.

First: future analysis of the Australian Right would benefit from academic studies centred on framework construction. These should include:

- a political dictionary of organizations and individuals for the ready reference of both academics and students;

- a reader of Australian Right texts to set core themes;

- academic encouragement of B.A. (Hons.) and postgraduate work on the various facets of Right politics;

- scholarship to describe and define Australian Right politics 1945–75 as essential groundwork to contemporary analysis;

- continual applications to Australian Archives for ASIO and other records, and to the New South Wales Police for the crucial Special Branch files compiled over its fifty-year history;

- a university library-based archive of the basic primary documents issued by Right organizations.

Second: this Thesis criticized misdirected academic assessments and false and/or malicious journalistic commentary. Some Australian researchers have neither applied strict rules of objectivity nor relied upon direct witness testimony and thorough literature examination. An objective spirit is required.

Third: this Thesis repudiated those marxist theories which portrayed the Extreme Right as the 'agent' of capitalism. Given that during the 1975–95 period the Extreme Right clashed with State ideological and political interest, and occasionally spoke for the economically disenfranchised, it was clear there were weaknesses in Australian marxist analysis. Such problems were connected to the satellitization of the Left by the anti-racist State.

Even so, there were useful marxist insights into the inter-war imperial Right and the anti-communist Right and its 'thirty years war' against the Left during 1945–75.

The following general conclusions are advanced both from the sum of the respective Chapter conclusions and upon the entire evidence.

The two Chapters of Part One constructed the historical framework for examination of the contemporary Extreme Right.

Chapter One developed the tripartite paradigm which partitioned the Right into Fascist, Extreme Right and Conservative Right typologies. The extensive Australian literature which examined the 1920's/1930's paramilitary organizations and allied structures, was remiss in not applying this paradigm. The recent scholarship of fascism guided the conclusion that these inter-war Right movements were not fascist, but either Conservative Right or Extreme Right in substance. Central forces, such as the Conservative Old Guard and Extreme Right New Guard, were defined qualitatively by their degree of independence or otherwise from the conservative-imperial State's agents and ideology.

The State would tolerate, manipulate and eventually restrain, such independent Right forces whose 'extremism' was manifested in the defence of that political order, by more modern

or thorough-going means. The auxiliary function, placed into reserve after 1935, was critical for the Australian State's management of crisis in the 1930's. The Chapter also defined native-fascism as an abortive attempt to mobilize the palingenetic spirit from the organized residue of the Australian nationalist, labour and cultural-nativist heritage. The native-fascism developed by P.R. Stephensen was anti-State, and, through its critique of British imperialism in Australia, an anti-Establishment current itself capable of subsequent palingenetic use. The historical 'long view' showed the workings of the rough beast State: its British-Imperial ideology, a determined ruling class acting through conservative government, an army, a secret police and auxiliary forces. This Thesis concludes that the State form evolved from this essential foundation.

Chapter Two applied the tripartite paradigm to Right politics throughout the Cold War period until the triumph of Fraser's Liberals in 1975. The revived auxiliary system which buttressed the Liberal Party's 1945–9 bid for power did not involve violence (though the threat existed), as much as propaganda–activist organizations. After 1949, this Thesis detected a new Satellite Right in those independently organized conservative structures, loyal to the legal and historic symbols of the British-Australian State and which were the outer defences of the America-loyal Liberal–Country party government. The satellites revolved around a new State power core: a strong conservative government armed with modern para-State organs, (ASIO and police Special Branches), mechanisms of ideological coercion (Royal Commissions into Communism and Espionage) and new social props, such as the Catholic anti-communist working class and Eastern European migrant groups. Anti-communism was the dynamo of the Satellite Right. Chapter Two concluded that the Australian Nazi phenomenon (1963–75) was within the conservative typology, as a potemkin-fascism linked to para-State operations which targeted the resurgent Left, particularly in the period 1970–73. Neither the auxiliary forces of Special Branch Nazism, nor the peculiar post-millenarian politics of the satellite League Of Rights, engendered the new Extreme Right which progressively mobilized around circumstances caused by the abandonment of the White Australia Policy in 1966.

Chapter Two refocused the definition of the 'Extreme Right' as given in Chapter One. Previously, it was used to illuminate an independent mobilization to defend the conservative State and ideology by modern means. Hereafter, it would mean politics <u>independent</u> of the State, and this independence involved: a delegitimization of politicians and parties but not the State's historical basis; independent party-political and agitational action; an ambivalence as to whether the Australian Identity should be understood as Anglo-Celtic ("British") or native-European; a challenge to dominant capitalist economic principles for a populist order which protected property and initiative.

The emergence of an Extreme Right unconcerned by the communist danger occurred as the State itself was abandoning a conservative underpinning in favour of liberal-internationalist perspective. This revolution meant also that the Extreme Right category might further radicalize ideologically and politically and the Conservative Right would inevitably receive independence from the State, via the severance of the satellite relationship. Chapter Two showed that the hesitancy of the Extreme Right (1966–75) derived from its leaderships' uncertainty as to self-definition − as witnessed by its co-optation by conservative Liberals in 1975.

The use of this historical perspective demonstrated the utter marginality of 'Radical-Nationalist' movements in the period to 1975 and showed that a core issue of the subsequent Extreme Right would be race, an issue the State could not accommodate.

This Thesis although entitled an inquiry into 'The Extreme Right', had to examine the Radical-Nationalist typology − the substitute for the fascist typology of the earlier period. This was because it was related to Stephensen's movement, and because it represented a deeper radicalization of the contemporary Extreme Right's independent, if inconsistent, politics. It shared much of the Extreme Right's populist programme. The Radical-Nationalists moved towards confrontation with State authority, and espoused cultural-nativism, 'White Australia nationalism' and republicanism. This discourse was beyond the Extreme Right boundary throughout of the study period.

This Thesis also referred to the developments in Conservative Right politics in order to explain the gestation of some Extreme Right movements. It concluded that, with changes in the State policy after 1975, the Right satellites only found a role for themselves in the exceptionalist Bjelke-Petersen National Party regime in Queensland, where developmentalism had married conservative cultural mores. This relationship collapsed after 1987, permitting a radicalization amongst some conservative activists and voters, creating the Confederate Action Party in Queensland in 1990, and spurring other groups in other states. However, the relationship between the Conservative Right and the Extreme Right was more complex than common personnel and voter-clients and involved a radicalization and creative adaptation of ideas about conspiracy, direct democracy and debt-free finance.

The Australian Extreme Right has been a political failure, if 'success' is measured by the standard of the 1980's/1990's European national-populist parties. It had not produced lasting or numerous parliamentary mandates, a mass party, or altered State policy towards its accommodation. Yet, by the counter-responses of State and para-State organs, and the continual incitement against Extreme Right opinions by the liberal ideological apparatus, the phenomenon enjoyed a strong negative impact. The Extreme Right's failure to escape the effects of legal, extra-legal and illegal management by State and para-State did not mean issues for mobilization were not available and substantial efforts not attempted. National Action's 'political-guerilla warfare', the ANM's violence campaign and the rural and urban electoral breakthroughs achieved by the CAP and Australians Against Further Immigration, were all 'achievements' based upon the availability of political space and/or the requisite determination.

The structural flaws in the Extreme Right appear historically based, limiting its potential.

First, the Extreme Right waxed and waned in waves which occasioned broken organizational-ideological continuities:

- The anti-immigration groups 1975–82 rose and fell. Between 1976 and 1980, the Immigration Control Association/Progressive Conservative Party vociferously opposed the Vietnamese Refugee influx and increasing non-European immigration. The electoral defeat of PCP in 1980 broke an organization which counted adherents from the earliest structures opposed to the abandonment of White Australia in 1966.

- The Australian National Action not only regrouped some survivors of the ICA/PCP milieu and took the limelight from other small 'anti-immigration' survivors of the 1975–82 period, but it gave full expression to the new Radical-Nationalist current. It was aggressive, but isolated from the remainder of the Right. It built upon the 1977–80 experience of Australian National Alliance and used the labour-nationalist-republican heritage as propaganda motif. Its strategic-tactical method (political guerilla warfare) drew a para-State reaction which hampered the organization after 1989–91. Although rebuilt by 1994–5, it was sidelined by new anti-immigration competitors with softer methods.

- The 1980's saw the emergence of an internationally-inspired neo-nazism, a disruptive trend which included Skinhead underclass violence, occult circles, and the provocations of fantasizers. Its one star was the political violence campaign of the Perth-based Australian Nationalists Movement, which in 1988–90 damaged Asian trade and investment. With the para-State's elimination of ANM, some neo-nazis served State interest in discrediting or harassing other Right forces. Skinhead youth meantime took the path of racist violence without even the saving grace of political formation. Neo-nazism was exhausted by 1995.

- In the period 1987–90, under the pressure of Queensland's desatellitization of the Right, the Confederate Action Party was born. In 1992, it achieved the first electoral breakthrough of an Extreme Right party. Broken into pieces after 1993, it festered in country Queensland and in some other states, as an undercurrent. Its political elimination as a locomotive for Extreme Right unification, was a lost

opportunity. Yet its recruitment of truckies, rural workers, gun owners and small business people showed the potential of populist politics; it mobilized some of the National Party's electoral constituency, but could not deconstruct its power bloc. The latter achievement pointed to a possibility, part-actualized later, by One Nation.

- New points of genesis for Extreme Right mobilization emerged in the 1980's under the pressure of New Right rural restructuring. Anti-bank groups and farmers' action groups prefigured the birth of Enterprise Freedom And Family and the Inverell Forum in 1988, and the Australian Community Movement in 1989. Taken in tandem with the crisis of the National Party both in Queensland and nationally, these radical-populist forces symbolised country-side resistance to internationalization. They represented with the CAP, an electoral and physical potential. Countryside movements acted separately from the urban Extreme Right.

- The urban environment, rich on ethnic diversity and ideologically dominated by the liberal elite, engendered a new enviro-cultural-nationalism grouped chiefly around the Australians Against Further Immigration after 1988. The AAFI presented surface moderation in the immigration debate. The activism of AAFI inspired Labor parliamentarian Graeme Campbell, who from 1991–2, resuscitated Labor's populist heritage to speak against internationalism. Other groups like the Rex Connor (Snr) Labor Party, responded to Labor's abandonment of traditional protectionist policy.

New points of potential support for Extreme Right politics were thus avail-able. With different points of gestation (historical, political and circumstantial), different target-markets and leaderships, the Extreme Right lost continuities and remained fragmented.

Second, the evidence showed that the Extreme Right was typologically divided. This Thesis, by articulating these typologies as Radical-Nationalism, Neo-Nazism, Populist-Monarchism and Radical-Populism, created a framework to explain organizational division:

- The Radical-Nationalists appeared on the tripartite paradigm (explained above). They were also players within the international neo-fascist movement. Ideas reminiscent of historical Australian racial-nationalism were taken on board and applied; these visions of European cultural-racial rebirth with an Australian role in this process, set an historical mission for a local movement. Marked otherwise by a nativist style and ultra-nationalist programme, this family required the submission of the Extreme Right populists to radical organization.

- The neo-nazi phenomenon was characterized in terms of an internationally applicable typology. The appreciation of neo-nazism's core as an occult doctrine of neo-ariosophical inspiration, signalled why the phenomenon was persistent but alienated from ordinary political discourse. The typology was based on a fused group of interests: Indo-Aryan pre-history, white race internationalism, Rudolf Hess's martyrdom, Holocaust-denial, Jewish-conspiracy ideology, Second World War revision and a Hitler cult. Its Australian application was innovative to the politics of immigration: Neo-Nazis sought the control of 'racist' organizations, or to engage in political violence pending redeeming revolution. Neo-nazism typified the politics of delusion.

- The populist-monarchists radicalized the idea that the 1986 Australia Act created a republican-humanist dictatorship; they asserted the populist dimension of the social-contract and invoked the depersonalized Monarchy as the ultimate defence of the citizens' rights. With Citizens' Initiated Referenda, a protected economy, and an armed people acting through a mass people's party, Australian independence and prosperity would be restored. Because this family radicalized Conservative Right commitments to Monarchy, Constitution, Common Law and

Flag, there was a 'tension' between the two which restrained further radicalization in both families.

- The radical-populist family was characterized by a set of commitments: to CIR, gun-ownership, cheap credit, and industrial protection, an end to immigration, and grassroots activism. Radical-populism could mobilize at different points (rural and urban), and mobilize across social boundaries. After 1988, the trend became permanent and when summed with the populist-monarchists, represented a national populism of some potential. The conditions of rural decline and racial displacement were in the 1990's, ignored by consensus politics.

  Different typologies represented generalized weakness. There was competition and contention.

Third, a fundamental cleavage in the Right involved the British question. It divided the Extreme Right from the Conservative Right; it engendered inconsistency in Extreme Right politics, particularly in those groups which generated from the ex-satellite milieu. The British question concerned identity, government, heritage and political method and was therefore a constant problem for Extreme Right mobilization. These historical dilemmas probably sharpened tensions with the defensive Conservative Right which traditionally favoured non-political-party activism. Only after the end of the study period, despite previous efforts by the National Front of Australia, the ANM and others to draw in the Conservative Right, did it embark on independent political action. Historically, it was a block against the widening of Extreme Right mobilization, counselling against militancy, and restraining its ranks from moving into electoral work.

Fourth, although failure was linked to the inability of any single movement to focus the Extreme Right into a melded form, accidentalist failure complemented historical problems. Infirmities of leadership and structure and those internal dissensions which traditionally plague political sub-cultures, operated in Extreme Right politics.

The questions of Extreme Right typology and the points of its gestation appear linked to developments in Australian capitalism.

The capitalist revolution was of the 'permanent' character – and State driven. As the process of change accelerated, and widened from Fraser's putsch and through the 1980's, opposition was encouraged from forces which would lose economically, culturally or politically in the new order. The State enforced the internationalization of Australian capitalism, forcing rural restructuring, reducing industrial protection thereby increasing unemployment, breaking trade unions and raising immigration from non-European sources. The 'loser' groups, initially working class and youth sectors (targetted for recruitment by Radical-Nationalists), broadened to include farmers and country small-business groups, small-town workers and older urban middle class people. As new forces progressively became available to the Extreme Right, specific organizations appeared based upon the different social groups. This factor perpetuated division – particularly the ideological-political division between country-rural and urban groups.

This Thesis defined the Australian State after 1975 as an 'International Capitalist State'. This State established a new power core centred on the transnational capitalist class. It won allies amongst new-class intellectuals, intrusive migrant groups and other articulators of a liberal ideological hegemony. It located clients in new social movements such as the feminist movement, and alternate-sexuality groups, and used satellite structures which enforced New Right economic principles and anti-racism. The inversion of the political discourse in favour of internationalism and social liberalization altered the position of Left and Right in Australian politics. The evidence showed the Left drained away in stages after Fraser's offensive, then through the internationalizing 1980's, and finally after the collapse of Soviet communism. This Thesis established that the marxist Left was satellitized as a conditional ally of the 'anti-racist' State. It was available for auxiliary action against the Right. It also followed that a new Extreme Right could (and did) occupy ground previously held by the Left. It followed that historical Left or labour movement ideals passed to the Right (CIR, Voters' Veto and Recall, National Credit, Fortress Australia, tariff barriers). If

the Radical-Nationalists used the tradition as motif and historical self-definitional placement, other Extreme Right groups could take on the programmatic points.

The Extreme Right was the new radicalism in Australian politics. This Thesis concludes that the Extreme Right was to be managed-into-marginalization. The evidence showed that para-State methods were pursued; the experience of the anti-Left struggles was applied, with disruptionism, informers, dirty-tricks, show trials and criminal-conspiracy, affected to frustrate or break chosen targets. These methods were effective. The State also employed anti-racial vilification legislation, Star Chamber inquiries and sponsored an 'ideological state apparatus' (in journalism, education and policy development) which imposed the liberal ideological hegemony. Taken in tandem, the international capitalist State successfully fended off the Extreme Right campaign against the process of internationalization. While State policy produced resistance, it constructed new defences limiting available political space.

This Thesis conceived Extreme Right ideology as a central set of core principles and mythic references. This alternate system of belief could not be impugned as recidivist neo-nazism, or otherwise coloured with propagandist reference to the ideology and politics of either the inter-war paramilitary Right or the anti-communist Satellite Right 1945–75.

Shared perhaps with more intensity by the Radical-Nationalists these beliefs were defined as: denial of Aboriginal ownership of Australia; the existence of a crisis which threatened national identity and freedom; the sovereignty of the people to define government; acceptance of race and nationality as realities for the conduct of immigration and social policy; the validity of 'nationalism' with opposition to internationalization; a sense of fault in the evolution of the Australian identity or community in the twentieth century requiring a re-ordering; ambivalence towards the British past; a moral order to develop a New Citizen; an economic order, of sustainable growth, 'protected', supporting the productive classes, and operating outside of the global system.

This programme was anathema to the State and its liberal culture; but it was the inspiration for a cluster of organizations which acted as a noisy political sub-culture. By the close of the study period, which marked the end of the Hawke-Keating Labor era, there were signs that the conservative sector was mobilizing older-generation Liberal-National party voters. This group was nostalgic for the Menzies era, and stressed by gun-control, multiculturalism, rural decline, and Land Rights; it was dissatisfied with its traditional allegiance.

While the activities of Campbell's Australia First Party and Hanson's One Nation Party were outside the scope of this study, this Thesis concludes that these two forces symbolised the tension between Extreme Right and Conservative Right politics, resolved organizationally. The rise of the ONP does not invalidate the model advanced in this Thesis; indeed at the time this General Conclusion was composed, there were indications that ONP's powers of assimilation had receded and the Extreme Right had removed itself from the ONP's shadow. The ONP's disruptive and failed course was re-encouraging the Extreme Right.

Andrew Moore concluded his doctoral thesis with a warning:

> … if the United States was to replicate the pattern
> of political control used in the Third World, it is not
> inconceivable that the white armies of Australia's
> past could become the death squads of the future.[1]

In the 1975–95 period, the Left withered and the Extreme Right became an internal enemy of the State, although hardly a threat which demanded murderous action. Only during the height of the Hanson/One Nation Party furore in 1998, and in subtle response to it, no less a figure than U.S. President William Clinton in his address to the Federal Parliament, affirmed that the superpower policeman state of the New World Order sought the preservation of Australia's multi-ethnic/ multicultural/open-market society. Australia's

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[1] Andrew Moore, "Send Lawyers, Guns And Money!", p. 469.

transnational capitalist class was assured of external support against any internal 'nationalist' challenge.

The future cannot be crystal-balled. But should any Extreme Right movement ever destabilize the State, Moore's notion of responsive State-terrorism would be conceivable, but this time aimed at the Right. D.H. Lawrence's perception of Australian unfreedom could return in its reptilian form to mock the democratic pretense of the Australian polity. Lawson's grim refrain –

> They needn't say the fault is ours if blood should
> stain the wattle[2] –

would gather moral power, if not inspire the human resources for victory over the Australian State.

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[2] Henry Lawson, "Freedom On The Wallaby", <u>A Camp-Fire Yarn</u>, p. 146.

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4. INTERVIEWS AND CORRESPONDENCE

(a) Personal Interviews

A brief biographical precis of each interviewee is given. The area of expertise of each may be cited. There is a date given of initial interview for this Thesis; it can, in some cases, be assumed that other conversation occurred afterwards to clarify

aspects of the Thesis. It can also be assumed - in many cases - that the interviewee was known to the author. The city/town of interview is stated. Some interviewees demanded anonymity; this was complied with and a numbering system was created. A general "biography" of anonymous witnesses was crafted to preserve their status; the usual measures were taken to guarantee academic reliability for their evidence. It is also the case some persons whose evidence is of relevance to this Thesis were interviewed some years prior to the commencement of this research project; hence their date of interview will precede 1995.

Applin, Mr Peter. 1978.
> An activist of the British National Front, I interviewed him for my M.A. (Qual.)Thesis. He was in NAA and the Liberal 'Uglies' faction as one of its organizers. Applin was authoritative on conservative ideas and tactics.

Birtley, Mr Alan J. Melbourne, September 1995
> An activist in various Melbourne student nationalist groups 1972-76, the British National Front 1977-78 and associate of various Extreme Right personalities. He was able to provide accurate information and publications.

Brander, Mr Michael. Adelaide, October 1996
> An official of Australian National Action, he became active in 1985, becoming South Australian State Chairman in 1987 and National Chairman in 1993. He was able to provide publications, video recordings of street meetings/interviews, sundry documents and detailed information on activities, attitudes and persons. Because of long-term commitment he was an authoritative witness.

Brown, Mrs Dawn. Telephone Interview, October 1997
> An officer of the Confederate Action Party in the Ingham Branch and for the Northern Zone Council (Queensland), she was an articulate and knowledgeable source on members, activities and divisions in the party.

Campbell, Mr Graeme. Telephone Interview, June 1997
> A Member of Federal Parliament, supporter of AAFI and founder of the Australia First Party in 1996, Campbell was helpful in several ways. He provided various materials at no charge and answered several questions regarding his 'maverick' stand on immigration in the ALP, why he addressed LOR functions and supported AAFI. Unfortunately, he was pressed for time.

Cawthron, Mr Edward R. Canberra, 1979, May 1988
> One of the founders of the National Socialist Party in 1963 and active in subsequent Nazi groups 1964-74. He was interviewed in relation to my M.A.(Hons) Thesis in 1979 and in 1988 in relation to the neo-nazis and political police agencies. However, the conversation ranged over the entire history of Australian National Socialism and the Extreme Right. Cawthron's academic credentials suggest him as a credible witness. He died accidentally in 1989; because much of what he said can no longer be personally verified, I have used his comments judiciously.

Clark, Mr Robert. Sydney, 1984

As the founder of the Immigration Control Association and main mover of the Conservative Party 1973-4, the Progressive Conservative Party 1979-80 and the Progressive Nationalist Party 1981, he was authoritative. However, at the time of the meeting, he had retired from Extreme Right politics, and for certain personal reasons, was not too forthcoming. Of course, there had been other earlier meetings. Clark is deceased (1995).

Connor, Mrs Shirley. Conversations with author, 1990.

As secretary of the Rex Connor Snr. Labor Party, she was a well-placed witness to the quality of party membership and party activities. The discussions were informal and arose through the author contacting the RCSLP for information.

Cooksley, Mr Terry. Sydney, December 1995

An activist and an official of Australian National Alliance 1979-80, Progressive Nationalist Party 1981-82, Australian National Action 1982-91, Australians Against Further Immigration 1992–7. He had a good memory of certain events and was able to supply necessary references.

Dinsbergs, Mr Simon. Melbourne, August 1995

A prominent Melbourne Skinhead, active in the 'Die Hards' (1989-92) White Aryan Resistance and White Australian Resistance (1992-95). He was knowledgeable about Skinhead norms and activities.

Dique, Mr John. Brisbane, June 1985

The director of the Immigration Control Association (Queensland) and an early member of the former national ICA, he was a member of the League Of Rights and the National Party. He talked about the LOR and the National Party and organizational matters. Because Dique is deceased, I have used his comments sparingly.

Donnini, Mr Eugene. Melbourne 1981/Perth 1985

A prisoner converted to Maoism, Donnini was a member of the Australian Independence Movement until he joined Australian National Alliance in 1980. He was thence in the Progressive Nationalist Party 1981 and Australian National Action 1982-4; he left to form the Australian Populist Movement in 1985. Donnini was spoken to at length concerning the activities of the Maoists (1981) and in 1985 concerning the activities of Jack van Tongeren during his period in National Action. Although Donnini was spoken to prior to Thesis-preparation, he was a credible witness. I have used his commentary sparingly.

Falconer, Mr James. Sydney, July 1996

An associate of a variety of Conservative Right and Extreme Right groups in the 1960's and 1970's and with an involvement in National Action at times in the 1980's, he was an inveterate collector of political ephemera; much of this material was of assistance in charting the history/activities of some groups. He was also able to answer various questions about groups of the

1960's/1970's whose histories would otherwise have been difficult to determine.

Ferguson, Mark. Sydney, November 1995
An activist who affiliated to Australian National Alliance 1980, Australian National Action 1982-85; thereafter he had an association with the Australian Nationalists Movement in Perth 1986 ff. He was one of those implicated in the ANM "terrorist campaign" and was imprisoned. He was able to provide first hand testimony to a wide range of events and explain the attitudes of persons involved in various groups.

Francis, Mr Donald. Brisbane, November 1995
An associate of a number of conservative and anti-immigration organizations 1970-1990; he also had connections to the National Socialist Party of Australia 1971-75. He was able to confirm in various ways the detailed evidence of others.

Garland, Mr Neil. Sydney, August 1995
A leading member of the National Socialist Party of Australia who occupied various positions 1973-75 and subsequent founder of the Australian Rightist Community 1976-77. He was in a position to speak at length on various 1970's neo-nazi activists and other Extreme Right personalities; he provided access to various files and suggested several leads in various areas.

Giddings, Mr Doug. Telephone Interview, October 1997.
An Adelaide fixture on the Right in the 1990's, he served in various groups such as Enterprise Freedom And Family and the Freedom Foundation. He was knowledgeable and helpful.

Gillespie, Mr Raymond. Sydney, August 1995
A leading member of the National Socialist Party of Australia 1968-75, the World Union of National Socialists 1976-77, the Australian People's Conference 1985-89. He was able to speak with accuracy and clarity about a swathe of persons/events over a 20-year period. Political police/neo-nazis, Libyan connections and the Conservative Right were all known to him.

Guild, Mr Andrew. Melbourne, December 1995
A leading Victorian Nationalist activist and organizer 1982-90. He joined Australian National Action in 1982 becoming Victorian Chairman 1984-90. He provided a detailed documentary record of Nationalist activism in Victoria (internal records/newscuttings etc.) and had a perfect recollection of events and persons.

Hampel, Mr Ian. Sydney, November 1995
A soldier in the Australian Commandoes against Japan, he was an early opponent of non-European immigration. In 1969, Hampel was a foundation member of the Immigration Control Association; later he affiliated to the White Australia Progressive Party 1972, the Australian National Alliance 1979-80 and Australian National Action 1982-91. He maintained files of

early 1970's material not otherwise available and could speak authoritatively on the anti-immigration groups.

Hildebrand, Mr Paul. Telephone Interview, October 1997.
A founder of the Confederate Action Party 1990, and Correct Australian Parliaments 1995, Hildebrand was helpful in explaining divisions in the ranks of populist-monarchism.

Jackson, Mr Nigel. Melbourne, January 1997
A teacher qualified with a Master's Degree, he has been a supporter of the League Of Rights for over thirty years. In that capacity, his articles have received currency. Jackson has also contributed to publications of the British National Party and written a book on the David Irving controversy. He was of assistance in defining the Historical Revisionist debate on the Right and in explaining conservative thinking and ideology.

Jewell, Mr Perry. Telephone Interview, October 1997
As founder of the Confederate Action Party and a continuing campaigner on the Right, he was an important source. His memory for events which shaped his entry into the Extreme Right and the development of the CAP was exceptional. He provided an array of necessary documentation. Jewell was the target of an on-going campaign of disinformation which he was able to address and clarify. He spoke without malice about the break-up of CAP.

King, Ms Louise. Sydney, 1983
A former member of various Maoist fronts, she advised me at length on various activities of the Left. Because our conversations were long ago before this period of Thesis preparation, I have quoted her on only one issue.

Krumins, Mr Peter. Sydney, July 1996
An official of the Australians Against Further Immigration Party, he provided assorted materials. He gave an account of the activities of the party and some indications to style/ideology and internal divisions.

Laidlaw, Mr Gary. Sydney, October 1995.
A member of the White Australia Progressive Party 1974, he provided some organizational details.

Leyman, Mr Patrick. Brisbane, November 1995
A member of the British National Front in the early 1970's, the National Front of Australia 1978-79, the Australian National Alliance 1979-80, the Progressive Nationalist Party 1981 and Australian National Action 1982-88. He was an authoritative witness to persons/events/ideas. Various lines of investigation were suggested and material assistance provided.

Little, Mr Tom. Maidenwell, October 1997
A branch chairman for the Confederate Action Party (Nanango), he also served on the Policy and Constitution committees of the party. He had a good memory for people and issues. He provided various drafts of party

documents and originals. He was an accurate source who also indicated that records could be obtained from Reg and Robin Murray (as below).

Lowe, Mr Vincent. Sydney, May 1996
A member of the Liberal Party, he was closely connected to the Immigration Control Association 1971 ff. As an elderly man, his memory of many aspects of the ICA administration/activism was sometimes unclear, but he was able to provide documents and explain some of the perspectives of the "anti-immigration" movement.

Macintyre, Mrs Brenda. Perth, August 1996
A member of every anti-immigration group in Perth from 1968, she maintained an extensive collection of ephemera and other documentation. A clippings file was also provided which gave valuable information on the various groups; a memory for people and events was also very helpful.

Maina, Mr Nicholas. Gold Coast, May 1996
A long-time activist and official in a number of Conservative Right and Extreme Right anti-immigration organizations. He provided a large array of magazines, leaflets and newscuttings relevant to these organizations. His knowledge of the origins of the anti-immigration groups was exceptional and he could speak from first-hand experience of the White Australia Progressive Party, National Australia Association and Patriotic Lobby. Maina was familiar on a personal level with various persons and could place events in sequence.

Mangan, Mr Gary. Sydney, September 1987
A member of the National Socialist Party of Australia 1970-71, the Australian Fascist Party 1971-72 and associated with some NSPA activities in Sydney 1974-75. At the time of interview, he was depressed and had contacted me to convey certain information; shortly afterwards, he suicided. Mangan maintained that the neo-nazis were a front for political police agencies and confessed to various criminal activities. He provided information regarding the Ananda Marga case and related issues.

May, Mr Bill. Telephone interview, October 1997
A chairman of the Bundaberg branch of the Confederate Action Party, he responded to a circular which then led to a telephone interview. He provided a useful series of observations on the moral-political impulse of CAP members.

May, Mr Ross, L. Sydney, November 1995
Better known as "The Skull", he has been an active "National Socialist" since 1963, and a member of the various incarnations of the ANSP/NSPA and other neo-nazi formations. His collection of newscuttings from about 1971 was useful in reconstructing the history of neo-nazism thereafter. An exemplary memory for people and events belies some of "The Skull's" public persona and his comments and indications for lines of inquiry were helpful.

McCormack, Mr Denis. Melbourne, January 1997

As a prominent member of the Australians Against Further Immigration and an associate of Graeme Campbell, he was of substantial assistance in describing the position of AAFI and the Australia First Party. He provided newsletters, clippings and a lengthy interview. His position was authoritative and his knowledge of the immigration question profound. He has written extensively and has been a media performer.

Morris, Mr Wally. Perth, August 1996
A long-time anti-immigration campaigner in the 1970's in contact with various groups, he joined Australian National Action in 1984 with van Tongeren and was present at the foundation of the ANM. He subsequently maintained a distance from that organization well prior to its violence campaign. He provided opinion which rectified error and prejudice against van Tongeren, along with certain documents.

Murray, Reg and Murray, Robin. Picton, October 1997.
As NSW Executive members of the Confederate Action Party 1993-5, they were ideally placed to comment on the structure of the party in NSW and generally. Mrs Murray was an efficient Secretary who maintained detailed records of the CAP. I was allowed to inspect these records, take certain documents and copy others.

Norwick, Mr Alexander F. Sydney, July 1995
A long-term Nationalist activist and theorist active initially with the Australian Nationalist White Workers' Party 1973-76, the National Resistance 1977, Australian National Alliance 1978-80, Australian National Action 1982-85, Australian National Vanguard 1985. His knowledge of persons/events/ideas was encyclopaedic. Various lines of inquiry were suggested and material provided.

O'Neill, Mr Gerry. Perth, August 1996
As a member of various groups, Campaign Against Illegal Immigration 1977-78, Immigration Control Association 1978-80, and a contact of groups such as Australian National Alliance and Australian National Action, he was in a position to provide detailed information on persons and events; he passed over copies of various materials and clippings from well-maintained files.

Owen, Mr Ron. Gympie, October 1997
As the publicly known flamboyant editor of the firearms journal, Lock, Stock and Barrell, he was a reliable source on "pro-gun" organizations and their underlying philosophic-political rationale.

Perrett, Jim. Telephone Interview, October 1997.
As an activist farmer from Warialda, he was a leading figure in CAP and knowledgeable as to its internal workings and disputes.

Pinwill, Mr Don. Wooroolin, October 1997
As Queensland organizer of the Australia First Party, he had a long pedigree in Right politics. He had composed booklets and participated in various

ConservativeRight/Extreme Right formations. He was helpful in settling some issues arising from former groups.

Rosier, Mr Shane W. Sydney, August 1995
A long-term Nationalist activist and internal organizer. He had clippings-files of a wide range of groups from the 1970's ff. In 1978, he joined Australian National Alliance, then Progressive Nationalist Party and Australian National Action. He could answer many questions and provide information on persons and events over the entire period. Because of his membership of the National Committee of Australian National Action, he became a witness to the ASIO "suppression" operations of 1988-91 and participated personally in important events.

Saleam, Jane. Sydney, May 1996
A member of the National Front of Australia 1979-80 and a member of Australian National Action 1985-91, she provided some information concerning the former organization which assessed its strength and character. She could also confirm some details relevant to Nationalist activities in the 1980's.

Salter, Mr Frank S., Sydney, October 1997
A long-time member and occasional official of conservative groups including the LOR. He provided some detail on League activity in the late 1950's and 1960's and on the 'Uglies' in the NSW Liberal Party. His son was Frank K. Salter of the Australian National Alliance.

Sharpe, Mr Michael. Sydney, June 1995.
An official of the Citizens' Electoral Councils, he volunteered details of the group and its ideology.

Skipworth, Mr Ian. Brisbane, November 1995
An associate of a swathe of organizations from 1965 until the mid-1980's, including the Conservative Immigration Movement, Immigration Control Association, the National Socialist Party (although probably not a member) and the National Front of Australia. He was able to explain the course of various groups and the conflicts of policy and direction.

Smith, Mr Arthur Charles. Lithgow, April 1996
An activist and official of various Extreme Right groups of the 1950's and early 1960s, including the Australian Party and the Workers' Nationalist Party and Nationalist Workers' Party. In 1963, he became the leading light in Australian Nazism and was involved in various National Socialist groups until 1972.

Smith had a prodigious memory for events and persons over a four-decade period. He was able to explain and clarify ASIO documents and printed reports on Extreme Right groups. Smith did maintain some files and clippings which were provided. Whilst he was most certainly partisan on many persons/events, he was startlingly accurate about events described by others and he clearly should be regarded as a witness of credit. He was of

importance in assessing the role of political police in the frustration of the Extreme Right and in the manipulation of others.

Sparrow, Mr Robin. Adelaide, 1979

An English migrant whose father had been in the British Union of Fascists, he was a member of the NSPA 1970-75, and was close to Cawthron for some years. I interviewed him in relation to my M.A.(Hons) thesis, although other matters were discussed which were not germane to that work and are of use now. I refer to Sparrow only in relation to his agreement with my interpretation of the Nazis and some events in the Young organization.

Steele, Mr Chris. Adelaide, October 1996

As the son of a South Australian Cabinet Minister, he was a Liberal conservative won over to some of the positions of the League Of Rights with whom he worked in the 1970's/early 1980's. He joined the Immigration Control Association 1979-81, Australian National Alliance 1979-81 and Progressive Nationalist Party 1981-2. As S.A. State Chairman for Australian National Action (1982-7), he maintained an active but not vocal branch. Steele was the author of a book on Adelaide trams and was penning a history of South Australian public transport at the time of interview. He assisted with various publications over the period, newscuttings and with certain recollections of events. I judged him an authoritative witness.

Toben, Dr Frederick. Adelaide, October 1996

As a German migrant, he studied at Australian universities and took his PhD from the University of Stuttgart with a thesis on Karl Popper. His interest in Historical Revisionism led him to establish the "Adelaide Institute" in 1994. Given his academic qualification and his clear knowledge of Revisionism, Dr Toben was able to assist me in the direction of basic investigation of this area. His opinions of the political effects of Revisionism were of real interest and weight.

Tomba, Mr Claude. Sydney, 1984

As an Italian migrant, he joined the Sydney section of the MSI in 1967; he was sent to liaise with Sydney Nazis and did participate in some of their actions. He later joined the Immigration Control Association 1979, Australian National Alliance 1979-80 and Australian National Action 1982-88. I interviewed Tomba at length for a 1985 pamphlet Never In Nazi Uniform and much of his commentary was useful, although it seems there were some errors of recollection and event concerning the person of Arthur Smith. I evaluate him as a witness of credit in assessing the "anti-communist" fixation of the Right in the earlier period.

Woodger, Edwin and Woodger, Janey. Sydney, July 1996

The main activists/officials of Australians Against Further Immigration in New South Wales 1993-5 and subsequently the Reclaim Australia-Reduce Immigration party. They provided extensive documentation on both organizations including the 1995 split in AAFI. They gave an account of the structure and methodology of RARI and their views upon various subjects

and other organizations of the Extreme Right. I accepted them as credible witnesses.

Woods, Mr Claude M. Melbourne, August 1995
A leading member of the National Socialist Party of Australia 1969-75, the People Against Communism 1976 and acquaintance of many Melbourne Conservative Right and Extreme Right figures subsequently. He had an extensive knowledge of anti-Left violence perpetrated by neo-nazis and political police machinations in this area. He provided publications and other relevant information.

Young, Mr Francis S. ("Cass"). Sydney, November 1981, January 1982
The "National Leader" of the National Socialist Party of Australia 1972-73 and prominent activist and official 1970-73. At the time of interview, Young was a heroin user and dealer living in marginal circumstances; however, he was voluble and prepared to discuss actual criminal conduct during his Nazi period. Much of his evidence was corroborated by others; hence I assess him as a witness with credibility in particular matters.

(b) Special Category Interviewees

Confidential, Sydney 1995.
An associate of the Cameron groups at different points over a long period.

Confidential, Sydney, undated.
A person with connections to others involved in illegal work.

Witness A-1, Sydney 1995.
As a personal associate of Cass Young, certain information was supplied. It seemed the material concerned criminal conduct even if that conduct was sanctioned by the para-State.

Witness A-2, Sydney 1996.
A member of the Immigration Control Association who was aware of its administrative arrangements and inter-organizational relationships.

Peter Henderson.
"Edited Interview With Eric Dudley Butler Recorded At 145 Russell Street Melbourne on Tuesday 25 March 1997". This Interview was provided by Mr Henderson and utilized on a couple of points to corroborate other argument.

Catherine, Sydney 1997.
Under this informer-code name, this woman worked with Special Branch 1989-90 in their investigations of National Action. She was subsequently spoken to at great length regarding improprieties in the Special Branch operation against National Action. Catherine was "CC17/17a/20" in The Royal Commission Into The NSW Police Service as described in evidence.

Her present testimony was of relevance to the argument advanced in this Thesis concerning the negative State reaction to Extreme Right activism.

Ed, Queensland, 1997.
This witness had been formerly associated (1968-72) with the NSPA and knew of particular events from his involvement with leading persons. He requested his anonymity because of a 25-year commitment to his Church.

(c) Questionnaires

Some 30 questionnaires were answered by members of the Confederate Action Party and by some other Extreme Right and Conservative Right groups. These documents are available for inspection.

(d) Correspondence

Henderson, Peter. Folio of Letters E.R. Cawthron: 1964-8.

Saleam, Jim. Folio of Letters From Various Persons (as collected and cited relevant to this Thesis)

5.   PRIMARY PUBLISHED MATERIAL.

(a) Right-Wing Newspapers, Periodicals And Newsletters

Over the period examined in this Thesis, the following have been read in series - or eclectically as circumstances demanded. In some cases, it is not suggested every item under the listing has been read. Some publications existed for periods outside of their citation.

Some information has been provided about the publication as necessary.

Action: Internal Bulletin Of National Alliance, 1975, a members' newsletter issued by the American neo-nazi National Alliance.

Action Report, 1971-72, and 1974-75, a members' activities newsletter of the National Socialist Party of Australia, Melbourne then Sydney. (Publication ceased in 1975.)

Advance/Audacity, 1977-85, a magazine numbers 1-3 as Advance of National Resistance (1977), thence as Audacity of Australian National Alliance numbers 4-9 (1978-80), thence numbers 10-12 of Progressive Nationalist Party (1981), thence numbers 13-25 of Australian National Action, Sydney. (Publication ceased in 1985.)

Advance, 1983-89, newsletter of National Action (Victoria). (Publication ceased 1989.)

(The) ARC Newsletter, 1976-7, bulletin of the Australian Rightist Community, Sydney. (Publication ceased in 1977.)

Australia First, 1982-87, magazine of the Australian Patriotic Lobby, Sydney. (Publication ceased in 1987.)

Australian International News Review, 1965-67, magazine of the active Conservative Right, Sydney. (Publication ceased in 1967.)

Australasian Spartacist, 1976-95, newspaper of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, Sydney.

Australian National Socialist Journal, 1967-70, journal of the National Socialist Party of Australia, Canberra. (Publication ceased in 1970.)

Australian Nationalist, 1977-78, newsletter of a circle which engendered the National Front of Australia, Melbourne. (Publication ceased 1978.)

(The) Australian Nationalist, 1990-91, magazine of Australian National Action, Sydney. (Publication ceased in 1991.)

(The) Australian Republican: Newsletter of the National Republican Movement, 1992-5, Melbourne.

Balder, 1992-5, Journal of the Fraternity of the Jarls (U.K.), Reading.

(The) Bunyip Bulletin, 1988–89, an independent Radical-Nationalist magazine, Lithgow. (Publication ceased in 1989.)

David And Goliath: The Official Newsletter Of The Young Australians For Freedom, 1968-9, Horsham. (Publication ceased in 1969.)

Direct Action, 1980-87, bulletin issued by John Jewell, Toronto (Canada). (Publication ceased in 1987.)

Elements, 1979-95, review of the Nouvelle Droit, Paris.

50 Club Newsletter, 1967-69, newsletter of the conservative faction of the NSW branch of the Liberal Party, Sydney. (Publication ceased in 1969.)

Fenrir, Journal of Satanism and the Sinister, 1993-5, published by the occult-nazi Order of the Nine Angles, Shrewsbury, U.K.

Fight/In The National Interest, 1991–95, newspaper published irregularly by Tony Pitt in support of the Confederate Action Party, thence The Australians, Maryborough. (Publication ceased in 1996.)

Folk Sentinel, 1988-89, bulletin of the Australian Caucasian Legion, Perth. (Publication ceased in 1989.)

Frontline, 1978-86, magazine of the National Front of Australia, until 1982, thence as an independent magazine or in support of the Nationalist League, Melbourne. (Publication ceased in 1986.)

Heritage, 1977-85, magazine of the LOR front, the Heritage Society. (Publication erratic in 1990's.)

Inside News, 1987-89, monthly newsletter of Peter Sawyer, Mount Beauty. (Publication ceased in 1990.)

Insignia, 1995-96, occult-nazi music digest, Stroudsburg (U.S.A.).

Intelligence Survey, 1965-95 magazine in support of the Australian League Of Rights, Melbourne.

Janus, 1983, journal of Australian National Action, Melbourne. (Publication ceased in 1983.)

Lock, Stock And Barrel, 1991-95, magazine for gun owners, published by Ron Owen, Gympie.

Milagro, 1989-93, newsletter of National Action (Western Australia), Perth. (Publication ceased in 1993.)

National Action, 1985-89, magazine of Australian National Action, Sydney. (Publication ceased in 1989.)

National Action Bulletin, 1982-83, newsletter of Australian National Action, Sydney. (Publication ceased in 1983.)

National Action News, 1990-98, newspaper of Australian National Action, Adelaide.

National Democrat, 1987, bulletin of the National Democratic Alliance, Melbourne. (Publication ceased in 1987.)

(The) National Socialist, 1981-84, magazine of the World Union of National Socialists, Arlington (U.S.A.). (Publication ceased at a 1980's point - unknown.)

National Socialist Bulletin, 1968-76, newsletter of the National Socialist Party of Australia. (Publication ceased in 1976.)

National Socialist Voice Of Australia, 1994-95, newsletter of the Australian National Socialist Movement, Brisbane.

National Vanguard, 1984-6, magazine of Australian National Vanguard, Brisbane. (Publication ceased in 1987.)

Nationalism Today, 1980-89, magazine of the British National Front, London. (Publication ceased 1989.)

Nationalist News, 1976-77, bulletin of the Australian Rightist Community, Sydney. (Publication ceased in 1977.)

Nationalist News, 1987−8, bulletin of Australian National Action, Brisbane. (Publication ceased in 1988.)

News And Views Queensland, 1973-93, newsletter of the Queensland Immigration Control Association. (Publication ceased in 1993.)

News Digest International, 1963-92, quarterly magazine and unofficial voice of the Captive Nations Right, Sydney. (Publication ceased in 1992.)

(The) New Times, 1970-90, a publication of the Australian League Of Rights.

Notre Europe, 1978-82, magazine of the Federation of National and European Action, Paris. (Publication ceased in 1983.)

Organizing Things, 1990-91, newsletter of Australian National Action, (New South Wales) Sydney. (Publication ceased in 1991.)

On Target, 1970-95, newsletter of the Australian League Of Rights, Melbourne.

Perseverence: Co-Nationalist Bulletin, 1969-89, bulletin of the Hungarist Movement in Australia. (Publication ceased in 1992)

Progressive Nationalist News And Views, 1981-82, bulletin of the Progressive Nationalist Party, Sydney. (Publication ceased in 1982.)

(The) Publicist, 1936-42, Australia-First journal edited by Percy Stephensen, Sydney. (Publication ceased in 1942.)

Renaissance, 1986-89, newsletter of National Action (South Australia), Adelaide. (Publication ceased in 1989.)

Southern Hammer, 1990-91, magazine of Sydney's Southern Cross Hammer Skinheads. (No information available on publication details.)

Spearhead, 1976-98, magazine of the British National Front until 1980, thence New National Front 1980-82, then British National Party.

Stockade, 1985-6, journal of the Australian Populist Movement, Perth. (Publication ceased in 1986.)

Stormtrooper, 1971-73, magazine of the National Socialist Party of Australia, Melbourne. (Publication ceased in 1973.)

The Attack, 1984-5, newsletter of Australian National Vanguard, Brisbane. (Publication ceased in 1986.)

The Nationalist, 1985-89, magazine of the Australian Nationalists Movement, Perth. (Publication ceased in 1989.)

The New Citizen, 1990-97, newspaper of the Citizens' Electoral Councils, Melbourne.

The Ram, 1993-95, magazine of the White Australian Resistance, Melbourne. (Publication ceased in 1997.)

The Ravenborne, 1996, a journal of Satanism and Heathenism, published in English, in Greece.

The Scorpion, 1983-89, magazine of the British New Right, London. (Publication has been irregular in the 1990's.)

The Strategy, 1993–98, a conservative newspaper which reported widely on conservative and radical-populist action, Bendigo.

The White Separatist, 1989-92, fanzine of the Melbourne Die Hard Skinheads, then White Aryan Resistance. (Publication ceased in 1992.)

Topical, 1987-89, joint magazine of the Australian Patriotic Lobby, Heritage Society and the Anglo-Saxon Keltic Society, Hobart. (Publication ceased in 1990.)

Ultra, 1984-90, newsletter of Australian National Action, Sydney. (Publication ceased in 1990.)

Ultra: Campus Broadsheet Of The Eureka Students League, 1976, Melbourne. (Publication ceased in 1976.)

Vanguard, 1982–3, newsletter of the Australian People's Congress, Brisbane. (Publication probably ceased in 1983.)

Viewpoint, 1969-82, bulletin of the Immigration Control Association, Sydney. (Publication ceased in 1982.)

Voice Of Truth Journal, 1986-88, journal of the Caucasian Society, Perth. (Publication ceased in 1988.)

(b) Other Newspapers, Periodicals and Newsletters

Direct Action, 1979-90, newspaper of the Socialist Youth Alliance/Socialist Workers' Party, Sydney. (Publication ceased in 1990.)

Fighting Talk, 1997-98, magazine in support of Britain's 'Anti-Fascist Action', an anarchist organization.

Green Left Weekly, 1990-98, newspaper in solidarity with the Democratic Socialist Party, Sydney.

Searchlight, 1978-98, "anti-fascist" magazine, London.

Struggle, 1970-73, newspaper of the Worker-Student Alliance, Melbourne.
(Publication ceased in 1973.)

Tribune, 1970-91, newspaper of the Communist Party of Australia, Sydney.
(Publication ceased in 1991.)

Vanguard, 1969-95, newspaper of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-
Leninist), Melbourne.

(c) Right Wing Pamphlets

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