

**“AUSTRALIA FULL : ASIANS OUT!,
WHITE SUPREMACISTS IN!”**

**A Study of the Dynamics of the Australian
National Action Movement in Australia.**

BON SEWELL

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY



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ACTION MOVEMENT
IN AUSTRALIA.**



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANM	Australian Nationalist Movement
ASIO	Australian Security Intelligence Organisation
N.I.R.V.A.	National Inquiry into Racist Violence in Australia
NA	National Action
PNP	Progressive Nationalist Party

SYNOPSIS

HYPOTHESIS

My rationale for tackling this particular issue for my thesis work stems from the immense fascination in the rhetoric, appearance and rationale of extremist right-wing and ultra-nationalist political organizations I have personally experienced. I desired to determine whether an Australian national racist organization, namely Australian National Action (NA), could in the future be a force to be reckoned with, or whether they will forever remain as an insignificant and languishing fringe group. To explore this possibility, I had hoped to delve into the dynamics of this organization via the utilisation and answering of several probing and pivotal questions.

METHODOLOGY

Many layers must be worked through to appreciate a real and substantiated understanding of racism and all of its connotations. This is why I undertook the task of reading on racism in an effort to attain a broad based view of racism - in an Australian and international context - presented by an array of different writers. These writers have related their theories of racism according to their nation's experiences, and it is this impetus which I feel will give the reader an adequate background and platform from which to gain some type of perspective of the topic. Upon my completion of this task, I discovered that some accounts of writers were by far superior in terms of credibility, conciseness and coherence than others - these are the accounts I have chosen to focus upon.

My methodology aimed to precipitate a detailed and concise history of the organization, its structure and activities, in relation to the somewhat scarce material and data available. It also endeavoured to encapsulate a sociological and political profile which was made possible by my interaction with and interviewing of a spokesman for Australian National Action, Mr. Robert Townsend.

Other forms of empirical data such as; photographic footage of an Australian National Action demonstration (see Appendices 1.0-1.8), NA stickers espousing racist slogans (see Appendix 2.0), the NA newsletter, Audacity, extracts from its manifesto, its National and Student Resistance and Eureka publications etc., several various articles concerning NA and information contained within texts about NA and its activities, will also be utilized to enlighten my study and analysis of this organization.

FINDINGS

From my findings, Australian National Action appears to be a fringe group that will probably never have any real permeation into the political or social spectrum in Australian society, and is most likely to sink under the weight of its own extremist ideology. I have arrived at this conclusion due to a number of pivotal factors which I will elaborate upon in Chapter Four.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would just like to express my thanks; to my parents and sister for all of their support throughout the year, my partner Danielle for all of her perseverance, Prof. Allan Patience for his supervisory aid and skills, Robin for his kind and gracious gesture in allowing me access to his computer to type out my rough draft of this thesis, Mark from the Brunswick Against Nazis group, Marc Askew for his assistance earlier on in the year and to Robert Townsend, a misguided and poor soul in my opinion, for his participation in the conducting of the interviews used in this thesis.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to some of my Year Twelve teachers at Broadmeadows Secondary College.

CHAPTER ONE

LITERATURE REVIEW OF RACISM

Studies of racism have been vast within the realms of the fields of history and sociology since the dawn of modernity (Wieviorka, 1993:51). From these studies, two main tracks of thinking emerged. The first, as he states, appeared from the 19th till the middle of this century, which is called "classical" racism. Intellectuals and academics such as a vast array of scientists including anatomists, physiologists, doctors and importantly physical anthropologists all participated in this form of study of racism (ibid.:51).

As Michael Wieviorka (ibid.:51) poignantly indicates in his, "Racism and Modernity in Present-Day Europe" (1993) work, "classical" racism was monopolized by, and the product of, Western intellectuals in their frantic attempts to uncover Western civilisation's supposed Aryan origins. Wieviorka elaborates to give the reader an intriguing insight into two different methods utilized by these Western intellectuals to support and prove their theories of Western civilisations' Aryan birthright. One group would endeavour to approach their task in a solely physicalological manner by studying the human anatomy of varying races such as measuring human skulls and bones, studying dentition, comparing skin pigmentation and describing types of hair while the other groups' demeanour differed in that they preferred to bombastically attempt to provide an ideological diatribe to sever the ties between Western civilisation and its Semitic backdrop (ibid.:51).

In contrast to this old theoretical paradigm of "classical" racism, has developed a contemporary model which is predominantly concerned with the study of the social origins of racism by historians and sociologists (ibid.:51). It is this study of racism Michael Wieviorka points out, which asks the probing and thought provoking questions of;

Did racism not originate in the age of discoveries and colonial conquests? Was it not impelled by migratory waves in the modern era? Is it not a by-product of the increasing commodification of human relations, of the urbanization and then industrialization of Western Europe? (ibid.:51)

Great solace can be taken in Wieviorka's brief but beneficial analysis of the history of the study of racism. Indeed, it is the one I discovered to be the most useful. Modernity's vexed relationship with racism is discussed by Wieviorka (ibid.:52), in an interesting and informative fashion in his text. According to Wieviorka (ibid.:52), modernity has a double-

edged sword. He believes that with modernity, "the consciousness of possessing an identity - of belonging to a nation or so-called ethnic group", is inevitably constructed (ibid.:52). Furthermore, modernity can take on the form of espousing universal values, tolerant attitudes, modern aspirations and notions of equality, but it is dichotomous in nature in that in a national or ethnic sense of belonging, it can be entrenched and emphasize differences in identity to the extent it is transformed into a non or anti-modern paradigm (ibid.:53).

Henceforth, modernity is double-edged in that it can uphold and champion progress and rationality - at the same time as promulgating subjectivity, inequality through difference, cultural identity and nationality (ibid.:53). Thus, the extremes of both of these edges can metamorphasise modernity from being a philanthropic phenomenon into a misanthropic one (ibid.:53). For example, Wieviorka states, positive modernity (the heirs of the Enlightenment) concerned with universal values, modern aspirations, etc., can impinge great hardship and excesses on people such as those indigenous people of colonized and operate in an anti-modernist manner. This can occur as a result of the perceived intellectual superiority of Western civilisation and inferiority of indigenous cultures - the self-righteousness of Western civilisation and the belligerent style of Western nations enforcing modernity upon colonized populations due to their Eurocentric and condescending attitudes - they are therefore guilty of hypocrisy (ibid.:53). Negative modernity is more simplistic and self-explanatory in that those inclined in this way believe in the modern notions of national and ethnic identity and progress, but reject principles of; tolerance, equality, universality and objectivity in favour of; intolerance, inequality, difference, nationalism and subjectivity (ibid.:53).

Definitions of racism are generally vary greatly, but there are ones which are outstanding and are more coherent than others. Michael Wieviorka's definition of racism is performed with an acumen and therefore falls into the latter category. Wieviorka (ibid.:53), illustrates that racism can be analyzed as two distinct logics depending upon a group's historical experiences and at any given time, a person's experiences.

The first of these logics entails what Wieviorka (ibid.:53), labels the "inferiorization" logic whereby the group is regarded as inferior and therefore is exploited. Their deemed inferiority legitimates their exploitation which is conducive to their relegation of performing the lowest ranked and most arduous tasks in society in order to keep them innocuous within society (ibid.:53).

Secondly, is the "differentiationist" logic (ibid.:53). Encompassed in this logic is the will to reject others, to alienate and ostracize them, and in the most serious cases to expel or

annihilate them, which undoubtedly makes this logic the most sinister one (ibid.:53). Wieviorka (ibid.:53), states, the "inferiorization" logic underpins the victimized group's "natural" (genetic or organicist) attributes as its basis for racism in paradox to the "differentiationist" logic which underpins the victimized group's perceived inferior culture as its basis for racism, and of which is deemed to be unassimilable and a threat to society. Continuing, Wieviorka deftly arrives at a key correlation which can be made between the two logics and the operationalisation of their respective brands of racism. Under the guise of the "inferiorization" logic, racism takes the shape of practising inegalitarianism and thus discrimination, (eg. racial discrimination aimed against Chinese in Malaysia), however, the "differentiationist" logic rejects any comparison likeness between the groups, advocates total segregation and the breaking off of all relations, (eg. Nazi's establishment of concentration camps to segregate and exterminate those groups deemed culturally inferior) (ibid.:53).

Delving into what he terms his conceptual frameworks, Wieviorka (ibid.:53), talks about the four types of racism which flourish in modern society. His analysis is an excellent one - identifying the pivotal factors that play a key role in each type of racism. However, warning the reader at the end of his four paradigms, Wieviorka (ibid.:53), states, the potency and relevance of these types of racism may fluctuate dramatically over time depending upon the person and historical situations experienced, in that the types of racism are convoluted and different parts of them can either be utilized to form a definition of racism in a single discussion, or to create a profile of the rationale behind a racist movement. This warning aside, Wieviorka (ibid.:53), says, modernity is plagued by what he calls "Universalist" racism in its endeavours to obliterate everything which poses an obstacle to it. "Universalist" racism has been directly responsible for colonialism embarked upon Western nations due to their sentiments of political, economic, cultural and religious superiority in relation to the inferiority of those they colonized (ibid.:53). In a blatant display of arrogance, Wieviorka (ibid.:53), tacitly remarks, these colonized peoples deemed as being inferior, were seen to be as eventually progressing as a consequence of their conversion of their conversion to rational thinking and their enjoyment of political and economic development, and this would continue on the proviso they unobtrusively allowed colonization to thrive unimpeded. Racism of this nature is viewed to be as particularly harsh and condescending by Wieviorka (ibid.:53), and malevolent in its outlook that the population's culture colonized should be placed on exhibit in a museum at best or destroyed at worst.

Identified as the second type of racism encountered in contemporary society by Wieviorka (ibid.:54), is the situation whereby certain groups or individuals feel threatened by a decline in social mobility and social exclusion. It is these people who are prone to joining and espousing the dogma of ultra-nationalist and extremist right-wing movements

as I will elaborate upon further on into my work (ibid.:54). Tumultuous social changes and economic turmoil are the times in society when this type of racism is most prevalent (ibid.:54). The racist, according to Wieviorka (ibid.:54), is forced to reside in segregated and suburban areas, feel they do not reap the economic rewards he/she use to and cannot provide their children with sufficient education, therefore they view themselves as being pushed further away from their own race, hence the "poor white" stigma is born. As mentioned previously, this type of racism is endemic to racist movements and this is the reason for Wieviorka (ibid.:54), citing it as having the potential to be a malicious and violent form of racism due to racists feeling their standard of living is declining while the group they find execrable, prospers.

Conversely, Wieviorka (ibid.:54), expounds the belief that this type of racism respects modernity and supports it, however, the major fear of these racists stems from their concerns that they will be left floundering while those they detest will thrive, thus their affinity with modernity is severely damaged.

People who oppose modernity on the basis of their commitment to a religious, cultural or national identity are the third type of racists described by Wieviorka (ibid.:54). They are - illustrates Wieviorka - people who are involved in movements which create pseudo-identities by rearranging the past and tinker with new or revamped materials and therefore give birth to pseudo-traditions and pseudo-identities that of course been invented. A classical example of this occurrence is the penchant of ultra-nationalist and white supremacist movements such as the Ku Klux Klan in the USA and National Action in Australia to condemn the present as decadent and look to the past as being the glorious halcyon days of the nation. They rejuvenate and revise historical events, communities, figures and symbols as do the Ku Klux Klan with its promotion of the American Civil War and slavery, notions of a "southern" community and the Confederacy flag, and National Action in its appraisal of the Eureka stockade, Henry Lawson and its adoption of the Southern Cross flag as its emblem. History revisionism is a common characteristic of anti-modernist movements like the aforementioned (ibid.:54).

National and ethnic identities such as the pseudo ones constructed by racist groups are often concocted from unsolved social problems concerning unemployment, housing, education, crime, etc., to attempt to provide people with an enticing brand of nationalism or "ethnicity" which would serve as a panacea for all of their qualms - a potent weapon against modernity and an escape and removal from intangible and undesirable universalism (ibid.:54). Significantly, Wieviorka (ibid.:54), says, the environment and situation present is an idyllic breeding ground for fundamentalism, (eg. Islamic fundamentalism) and the

development of xenophobia where people seek perceived refuge within the realms of their own "culture" or "race".

Consequently, Wieviorka's prose discusses the penchant of this form of racism to highlight a scapegoat it allegedly views as being the vanguard of modernity. Traditionally, in Europe, it has been the Jewish population who has bore the brunt of this unsavoury view of money, economic transactions, industrialisation, capitalism and the mass media - has been accused of allegedly subverting traditional values and of being responsible for other seditious and revolutionary activities and movements, eg. Communism (ibid.:54). According to Wieviorka (ibid.:54), for the racist, Semitism augments modernity. As a direct consequence, anti-Semitism is expressed due to their hatred for the perceived champions of modernity and modernity itself as well as their inability to cope with modernity. The final sentence of Wieviorka's paragraph on this type of racism is perhaps the most poignant to my study in relation to his comment, "in some Western societies, Asian immigrants are now being assigned a similar role" (ibid.:55).

This comment is important in it reflects the current experience of racist movements in Australia such as National Action steering away from the traditional Jewish scapegoat and creating a new one, Asian immigrants. Thus, Wieviorka's work has successfully identified an intrinsic comparison between modernity and the ethnic groups most likely to be devalued for serving as the chariots of modernity, .

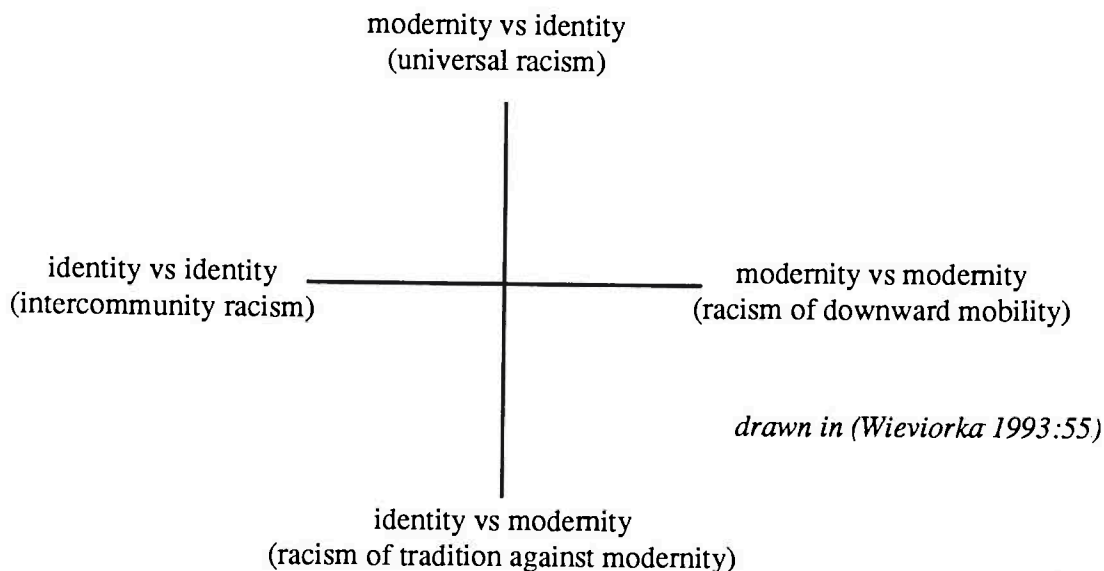
Fourthly, Wieviorka (ibid.:55), canvasses what he views as being a type of racism of which he says originates in situations when two or more groups battle, compete and struggle to imprint their identity as the dominant one in society, Wieviorka calls this a "dialectics of identities". Strictly speaking, clashes of this nature often stem from nationalism, says Wieviorka (ibid.:55), and soon bane into xenophobia or at its most extreme, racism. A "differentionalist" logic is located at the crux of nationalism and therefore it is paradox to the universalism of modernity, states Wieviorka (ibid.:55).

Displays of racial, cultural and historic pride are endemic to these groups who staunchly extol their notions of identity, but as Wieviorka (ibid.:55), purveys, the racism expressed may not be derived from the physical inter-group experiences of the different communities. Instead, it can come into fruition from negative stereotypes and myths portrayed by the media, gossip, etc., about a perceived pernicious community or group which is either subliminally or outrightly grandstanding its identity (ibid.:55), (for more information about the role of the media and hearsay in this situation, see Chapter Two). Most importantly, the dialectical process and relationship shared between the competing groups frequently has no bearing from the actual experiences and relations encountered

involving the racist and victimized groups (ibid.:55). Wieviorka (ibid.:55), alludes to his point that it is the education (adherence to stereotypes), problems and woes of individuals and groups which is the catalyst for them to venture down a racist path - citing the example of xenophobic nationalists in Western Europe growing rapidly, not due to the fear of immigrants which consists much of their political platform, but as a result of the "threatening" Americanization of culture, the internationalization of the economy and the political construction of Europe, whereby their culture is proclaimed to be under siege.

The following diagram is a neat encapsulation of the previous paragraph which is provided by Wieviorka.¹

DIAGRAM 1.0



Central to any racist discourse must be the principles of humanist and anti-humanist political philosophies. In his work, "Australian Fascism" (1981), Ted Murphy deserves much kudos for his straightforward yet detailed account of humanism and anti-humanism, Murphy (ibid.:9), defines humanism as the antithesis of Fascism, acknowledging the inheritance of; human pluralism, conflict, identity and uniqueness, however, championing the cause of egalitarianism regardless of race, nationality sex or class. Humanism concedes the polemic nature and model of society but treats the world as if it were receptive to our will and desires in it presumes the world functions in synchronization to the values and rules governing our intellectual life (Hindess, 1992:121). Conversely, Murphy (1981:9), canvasses the bottom line of humanism when he states, "its ideal is a society where no social group occupies a privileged position in the decision-making process." Indeed, it can be said that humanism is a philosophy embraced by more left-wing movements than right-

wing ones (Ansell-Pearson, 1993). Needless to say - humanism is a political theory vehemently opposed to the ethos of racism (Murphy, 1981:9).

Furthermore, it is a theory which facilitates and encompasses the political doctrines that are definitive of the age of Enlightenment and modernity such as; feminism, mass education, anti-racism, Marxism, democracy, civil liberties and an overall level of equality (ibid.:9). Invariably though, as Murphy (ibid.:9), highlights, defenders of such doctrines enable themselves to be absorbed into and corrupted by the existing inequalities of wealth and power, or promulgate new privileges and advantages for the altruistic interests of those they are representing, eg. "the dictatorship of the proletariat", positive discrimination etc.. Conducively, these social movements cast away the pure form of humanist philosophy from where they moulded their political doctrines from and embellish distorted and pseudo forms of humanist philosophy (ibid.:9).

Paradoxically, anti-humanist political philosophy whole-heartedly opposes humanist philosophy (Martin Heidegger, the German philosopher and former Nazi Party member, is accredited with being a key developer of anti-humanist political theory) (Hindess, 1992:125). Anti-humanism is a train of ideological thought that unabashedly espouses a platform - anti-modern in character - unequivocally believing in the moral, legal, political and social inequality of people (Murphy, 1981:9). Far and extreme right-wing social movements have embraced this ideology as a basis to the foundations of their respective movements, of which emphasize and demand the dedication to and significance of race and national identity (ibid.:9). Their final and absolute goal being the eradication of the modernist and polemic society and the birth of a state totally characterized by the inextricable merger of the folk community (volk) and state into one entity (ibid.:9). Therefore, racism is a vital cog in the machine of anti-humanist philosophy (Ansell-Pearson, 1993:87).

A prime exercise in anti-humanist philosophy took place under the reign of the National Socialist or Nazi Party regime in Germany from 1933-1945 (Caton, 1986:65). The Nazi's facilitate the ideals of anti-humanism in the most abhorrent and extreme manner by deeming every human life did not have value to it and those which were deemed not to, were exterminated (ibid.:65). Topically, the Nazi's felt people such as homosexuals, the mentally ill, Communists, Jews and other ethnic configurations acted as a cancer and an unnecessary burden upon society due to their inferiority - present was the legitimisation and rationalisation for their elimination in the name of the advancement of German society under the Third Reich and the purification of the master race (ibid.:65).

Racism, according to Milton J. Yinger in his "Intersecting Strands in the Theorization of Race and Ethnic Relations" (1986), text, is primarily derived from the imagined notions of ethnicity and racial superiority of particular nation states, the rejuvenation of ethnic nationalism in many nation-states and the relationship shaped between race and class (ibid.:24), Yinger's theories are extremely complex and at times his theoretical direction is difficult to follow, but overall his arguments are well argued, researched and bolstered by credible evidence borrowed from other highly acclaimed works, eg. Lieberman; Young; Cohen. His theories of the innate relationship shared between race and class are enlightening and thought-provoking. Yinger speaks about the manner in which the foundations are laid for racism to eventuate as a result of ethnicity. For instance, Yinger (ibid.:25-6), highlights his belief that members of society who have immigrated of their own free will are less likely to join the particular dominant ethnic group in the host nation and become an intrinsic cog in the dominant culture, and their situation of being forced to submit to living under the sovereignty of a nation-state with all of its racist characteristics, will at times force them to dedicate themselves to a secessionist lifestyle. Thus, he implies, the aura is rich for racial and ethnic tension to escalate due to the colossal ethnic differences experienced (ibid.:27-8).

Conversely, it will be of benefit to examine what Yinger means by his utilization of the word *ethnie*. Yinger states, *ethnies* are created under three sets of conditions;

1. A group in society large enough to be seen different in criteria, eg. language, race, homeland etc.
2. The members view themselves in this manner.
3. They participate in the cultural activities and traditions built around their own culture. (*ibid.*:22)

Yinger's (*ibid.*), text gives the reader an insight into the much discussed relationship shared between race and class. According to Yinger (*ibid.*:30), racism rears its ugly head as a direct result of ethnic conflict and difference, but stipulates it can't be ignored that it also purports from the external effects of capitalist economic relations. One must note though, that Yinger's arguments fortunately do not bane into the jaded Marxist rhetoric which so often occurs at this stage in a writer's text. Refreshingly, he does not manipulate Marxist theory as the one definitive and grand reductionist theory to attempt to wholly interpret racism, but proclaims it to be one in a plethora of theoretical tools which can be utilized to unravel the dynamics of racism. Yinger (*ibid.*:35-6), states, within the context of the capitalist economic system, the notion of race cannot be denied and various

social mechanisms and structure place certain races higher than others in a hierarchical system within society to create what is commonly known as institutionalized racism.

In addition, Yinger (ibid.:30-1, 33-6), argues that, when the dust settles from this phenomenon of institutionalized racism, the scene is set for racial upheaval to occur as a consequence of sharp class divisions and therefore racial and social stratification are effectively complimentary to one another (ibid.:35-6, 39). A Swedish proverb borrowed by Yinger (ibid.:36), is in my opinion omnipotently profound and one which wields much clout to his viewpoint, it follows as such, "When the feedbox is empty, the horses bite each other." What Yinger means by this quote is that there are always greater tendencies towards authoritarianism and racial antagonism towards racial minorities amongst the least affluent members of the dominant ethnic or racial group (Lipset; Nunn et al.; A.W. Smith, in ibid.:36). In fact, history has time and time again proven this quote to be true and justified, eg. Germany's National Socialism, South Africa's Apartheid, Malaysia's authoritarianism etc. - all expressions of racial hatred aimed at racial minorities as a result of a perceived decline in the standard of living caused by these minorities.

Harold Wolpe, a Marxist revisionist, in his "Class Concepts, Class Struggle and Racism" (1986) work, takes up Yinger's arguments and analyses them concerning race and class to a greater extent. He vigorously expounds the belief racial minorities are predominantly the victims of social inequality and exploitation and staunchly defends the validity and legitimacy of the relationship shared between race and class, whilst launching a scathing attack upon those academics of the Marxist reductionist vain who dismiss any intrinsic relationship between class and race (ibid.). Tellingly, Wolpe (ibid.:111, 112, 117), argues racial groups deserve to be and should be placed into a particular social class with racial overtones, such is their significance and states class and race are inextricably linked (ibid.:115-6).

Wolpe is persistent in his criticism of what he views as being the fundamental flaw of Marxism and Marxist theory in its continued rejection of and ignorance to race factors, and repeatedly tables other scholars' works, of which he dissects and criticises, to substantiate his views (ibid.:115-8). A pivotal part of Wolpe's evidence is his viewpoint that class reductionism has yet to adequately explain why race relations are such a dominant phenomena in society and Wolpe (ibid.:119-20), illustrates that the popular argument of the defenders of reductionism, which says conflicts between races are manufactured by the ruling class in order to divide the working class, is flawed, because class cannot be determined purely on the grounds of economic dogma.

To elaborate, Wolpe is of the opinion that it is class in its own entity which dictates to members of ethnic groups which production positions they are to occupy within the capitalist system, not the ruling class, and Wolpe espouses political, social and ideological factors do wield a heavy amount of influence upon the economic mechanism amidst the capitalist mode of production (ibid.:119-20), thus refuting the single economic reductionist theory of Marxists. Consequently, Wolpe (ibid.:123), rather deftly arrives at his conclusion here where he states there is a pronounced and clearly apparent correlation between racism and class. He stipulates that classes are consisted of people from different ethnic backgrounds which must be taken into account - dominant classes implement a system of utilizing and ensuring members of the dominant ethnic groups monopolize political and economic power for their altruistic means, and to oppress ethnic minorities via blatant racism or institutionalized racism (ibid.:122-9). Subsequently, Wolpe continues when he expresses the belief that as a result of the aforementioned, political groups do extol racially based identities and political platforms in order to both represent and protect their respective constituents in terms of their economic and social welfare in the capitalist mode of production, whether it be white supremacists or indigenous movements (ibid.:123-8). It is precisely here that we can see the interwoven relationship between class and race at its most definitive moment.

Racial and Ethnic Relations (1984). by Joe R. Feagin was my next choice of texts which I critiqued. It is an insightful and innovative piece of work which I found to be unorthodox at times, in regard to this particular topic, in its penchant for providing an abundance of empirical historical evidence to support its theoretical stances, however, throughout the duration of my reading of the text it proved to be helpful and a firm basis for guidance. To be more specific, I chose Feagin's work as a result of his penchant for analysing racism from more of a cultural perspective and angle than the majority of other academics' texts I have read.

Feagin (ibid.:5), focuses intensely upon racism as it being the catalyst for ideological racists to attempt to facilitate their desire of endeavouring to preserve their perceived cultural superiority. Elaborating, Feagin (ibid.:5), believes scientific racism is utilized by racists to accommodate their objectives of not allowing the intellectual and cultural mantle of the white race to be tainted by the perceived inferior cultures of other races. Hence, it is the cultural differences which according to Feagin (ibid.:10), are the prime concerns of racists, not the commonly espoused biological ones so often discussed by other academics and writers. He is of the opinion that scientific racism is merely a weapon utilized in a wave of disinformation released by racists to ensure white culture, identity and far right intellectual discourse continues to develop (ibid.:11). This belief of such a magnanimous defence of culture being located at the core of racism is one which

really does turn other theoretical stances and positions I have previously come across, on their heads.

Conversely, it is this somewhat unique angle put forth by Feagin which is so intriguing and commands greater analysis. Prejudice and stereotyping of racial minorities by racists, is of course intended to conjure up negative attitudes and sentiments towards racial minorities, which few would argue is not effective. Responding, Feagin (ibid.:11), argues that the prejudice and stereotyping races on a biological basis such as, "I hate black people, because black people always smell worse than whites", is really incidental in that the real deep-rooted racism stems from their cultural "ethnocentrism", which is the prime impetus for this racist sentiment to be expelled. Culturally, the black person is regarded as offensive, inferior and threatening to the white person's "ethnocentrism" and identity, which Sumner, in Feagin (ibid.:11), purports can most aptly be described as "the viewing of things in which one's own group is the centre of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it." As a direct result of this white person's "ethnocentrism", in their minds their culture is the one and only and best (superior), they know - others they see being practised are viewed as being decadent, threatening and violating, therefore evoking feelings and sentiments of resentment whereby these sentiments soon evolve into prejudice and stereotyping, and finally, these attitudes are canvassed and lament into full blown racism (ibid.:266-317).

Quintessentially, as repeatedly echoed by Feagin (ibid.:11-3), the prejudice and stereotyping encountered and experienced by ethnic minorities is the consequence of a desperate, spirited and fanatical plight of white supremacists, in their eyes, to preserve white Aryan culture and identity as pristinely and purely as possible, eg. as Nazi Germany did during the reign of the Third Reich). These racists utilize and wield the power of racist slurs, stereotypes and prejudice in order to galvanise and craft negative physical and mental images of "other" ethnic groups (ibid.:268). For example, labels of extremely degrading and derogatory proportions are applied to particular ethnic groups such as, "All Mexicans are lazy, losers" and "Jews are big nose, hideous, children of the devil", to discredit, alienate and encourage discriminatory and racist behaviour within society towards these peoples (ibid.:220). Here is where I must interject and give accolades to the next part of Feagin's theory. I'm impressed with his willingness and ilk to articulate a theory not in stead with the majority of conventional theories about racism and the motives of racists for their racist activities - this is why my horizons have been broadened by Feagin's more cultural orientated theory.

Subsequently, Feagin (ibid.:220), firmly feels that all racist appendages such as prejudice, slurs and stereotypes are nothing more than expressions of a smoke-screen to

disguise the insecurities, fears and paranoia experienced by racist extremists over their perceived viewpoint white "Aryan" culture and identity is under siege and realistically faces "mongrelization" and extinction by the cultures of other races. Concluding, Feagin (ibid.:220), states, the prime aims and goals of these racist appendages expounded by racists are to distance, remove and completely disassociate superior "Aryan" culture from inferior "other" cultures, in a ploy to quell the racists' own self-doubts and individual shortcomings about the very authenticity and notion of the superiority of the white "Aryan" race and culture, and the inferiority of "other" races and cultures.

Overall, the material I have critiqued was chosen on the basis of its quality and the writer's ability to provide well reasoned, evidenced and coherent discourse and arguments. The subject of racism was approached by each writer in their own inimitable style and from their individual focus. It is hoped a broad and general understanding of the dynamics of racism can be established from each of the works, which have provided different perspectives and angles upon the area of racism and other appendages pertaining to it.

ENDNOTES

1. An interesting comparison can be made between Wieviorka's material here, and Joe R. Feagin's text, Racial and Ethnic Relations (1984). Both arguments are far removed from the tirade of scientific, economic and political explanations for racism, and are unique in that they focus in on a grand culturalist paradigm as a rationale for racism.

CHAPTER TWO

THE AUSTRALIAN EXPERIENCE OF RACISM

Western society over the past few decades has seen the sphere of organized racial prejudice, hatred and violence once again present itself as an ominous shadow looming and beginning to play an undeniably, greater active role in society. Extremist right-wing and ultra-nationalist political movements which expound racist rhetoric and ideologies have found themselves once again coming into prominence and increased support and interest from mainstream society, after fifty years of fragmentation, reticence and rejection since the end of World War Two. There has been a plethora of discussion over what conditions, effects and factors have led to this twisted side of humanity rearing its head and experiencing a marked resurgence in support. Many academics have endeavoured to provide their research and theories as their contribution for interpreting this revitalisation of these movements. It is here that I have earmarked a hope to establish through analytical and critical evaluation, predominantly the more credible, accurate and deft pieces of research pertaining to this issue within a contemporary Australian context.

Firstly though, I believe it is imperative to identify the global factors held responsible for this escalation in racism and the activities and strength of extreme right-wing and ultra-nationalist movements. Of course, Australia is a player in the international spectrum and as a consequence, international factors do shed some bearing on the events unfolding in Australia. Subsequently, Michael Wieviorka, in his work, "Racism and Modernity in Present-Day Europe" (1993), provides an outstanding and meritorious brief summary and explanation of the perceived escalation in racism and the exponents of racism in not only Europe (I feel his title is misleading), but the rest of the Western world.

Wieviorka (*ibid.*:60), canvasses the argument that racism is a phenomenon common to all Western nations but varies dramatically according to the specific experiences of different nations. For example, the racism experienced by Turkish immigrants in Germany would be vastly different to the type of racism experienced by blacks in the USA. Despite this though, Wieviorka (*ibid.*:57), states several causalities, factors and characteristics which are common to Western nations in regards to racism and the proponents of it - one of these is the emergence of, "narrow minded, xenophobic nationalisms due to the new economic hard times aggravating unsettled social problems." These social problems have now been off-loaded into the nation's sphere as a direct result of the erosion of the nation-state-society unity (*ibid.*:57). Combined with these problems of society, argues Wieviorka

(ibid.:57-8), is the disdain of and protest against the supposed "internationalization" or "Americanization" of culture - deemed to be the annihilators of traditional identities.

According to Wieviorka (ibid.:58), a process of identity-seeking is transpiring within the realms of Western nations whereby new identities are being formulated, or old ones are being revamped, as a consequence of changes in the patterns of immigration. Previously, immigration was viewed strictly in terms of immigrants occupying inferior employment, however, Wieviorka's high quality prose identifies a point to which all of my previous readings, theories and conclusions have alluded to, that immigration is now being purveyed differently in terms of culture, religion, "ethnicity" and eventually, race (ibid.:58).

Immigration was formerly indicative of foreign, single workers who were exploited in their employment and possessed very low living standards, stipulates Wieviorka (ibid.:58), and the sole reason they resided in Western nations was due to the chronic labour shortage present of which immigration was seen to remedy as well as compliment economic development (ibid.:56-7). The image conveyed of an immigrant was one of a single man planning to save money and then return, as soon as possible, to his homeland - at this point in time the cultural and religious traits of immigrants were definitely not apparent within Western society and therefore people were not alarmed (ibid.:57). Wieviorka (ibid.:57), describes this form of racism as an "inferiorization" type which originated from the opposition between modernity and tradition.

While immigrants were accepted into Western society on the strict basis they would be forced to assimilate into the host nation's culture, be relegated to the most arduous, labouring and mind-numbing jobs whereby their social presence would be innocuous, this was fine and appeasable (ibid.:57). But now times have radically changed though, in that sections of the populations of Western nations are expounding their absolute objection to immigration on the basis of the "poor white" logic, which rationalizes itself by promulgating the belief that white people of Western nations are supposedly losing their jobs to immigrants because of the rising expectations and competitiveness on the labour market (ibid.:56). Furthermore, Wieviorka (ibid.:59), illustrates the permeating "poor white" logic in society that is convinced identities and modernity are clashing on the basis modernity is, "benefiting minorities ever more and host country nationals ever less." This logic also concludes, state and political elites insidiously favour immigrants in order to over indulge in and abuse public institutions, henceforth, corrupting basic principles for their altruistic means (ibid.:59).

The aforementioned has led to a predicament, comments Wieviorka (ibid.:58), whereby the formerly triumphant modernity's assault upon tradition has been significantly weakened and left vulnerable. Out of the ashes of this malaise of conflict, has emerged the precipitation and ramification of the type of racism that extracts power from social alienation and declines in economic standards of living (ibid.:58). Steadily, this type of racism is gaining momentum every day and is evolving into a movement rejecting modernity and espousing anti-modern sentiments (ibid.:58). It is a movement driving towards a national populism which alternates, "between a positive attachment and a growing hostility towards modernity" (ibid.:58), while upholding the principles of identities. Beneath the surface of the all pervading identity is the dominant group doggedly defending its nationality, religious traditions and history or culture via the fostering of a "differentialist" discourse to castigate and vilify the real or imaginary racial minority communities (ibid.:58-9), eg. the break up of the former Yugoslavia and the current conflict between Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Muslims, in Bosnia-Herzegovina. These minorities have been built up by forty years of constant immigration and will continue to be with the impending influx of immigrants from former Communist countries, consequently, this "differentialist" form of racism has and will continue to prosper until it reaches a flashpoint in Western society (ibid.:58-9).¹

In the final part of his summary, Wieviorka (ibid.:59-60), superbly addresses his findings and conclusions about racism and racist movements in Europe, which I feel can be safely applied in juxtaposition to all other Western nations as other non-European works on racism and racist movements I have critiqued, concur with, vindicate and are congenial to his viewpoints and claims, such as Barrett (1987), the N.I.R.V.A. Report (Racist Violence: Report of National Inquiry into Racist Violence in Australia), (1991), and Ridgeway (1990). Wieviorka (1993:59), purports, Europe is in doubt with itself as potent forces are embracing and extolling a brand of populism - espousing xenophobic and "differentialist" racist rhetoric - critical of state and political elites - and he says, the continent is convoluting nationality and identity with social problems that are unsettled and appear to be unresolvable. Internationalism is scorned by these potent forces such as the attempts to unite Europe both politically and economically, which is viewed as being maniacal to the nation's best interests, and reason is also admonished on their rationale it is trenchant in the economic rationales of the marketplace and in multinational internationalist strategies (ibid.:59). Finally, Wieviorka (ibid.:60), surmises, it is the inability of the state to provide the plateau of welfare services it use to which has exacerbated the potency of these forces and plunged Western society into a reclusive, xenophobic and anti-modern psyche now known as "neo-racism", "new racism" or "cultural racism" (ibid.:59).

It is my objective to tackle the issue of racism in Australia from a more modern perspective as I strongly believe contemporary issues have a far greater bearing on and relationship with the basis of my thesis work, namely National Action. Hence, I will only but name the historical issues of racism which have been critiqued, analyzed and dissected by a multitude of academics and writers alike. Those such as the genocide committed against the original indigenous inhabitants of Australia, the Aboriginals, and the shameful Act which existed within Australia's Constitution from the time of Federation, until 1973, the White Australia Act. I fully acknowledge the importance and magnitude of these historical occurrences, but I also feel this ground has been chartered quite sufficiently and adequately - this is my rationale for possessing the desire to embark upon the perhaps more uncharted topic of racism within a contemporary Australian context.

A national inquiry into racist violence in Australia (N.I.R.V.A.) was set up in 1988 by The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, due to an alarming increase in the incidents of racial violence recorded. There was an apparent perception by the Australian community that there had been a steady escalation in racism and the activities of racist and ultra-nationalist organizations including National Action, The Australian Nationalist Movement, Australians Against Further Immigration and The League of Rights, and as a result of this, the inquiry was spawned by The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (N.I.R.V.A. Report, 1991:6). During this period of alarm, scores of racially motivated attacks occurred on ethnics, anti-racist leaders and church groups (ibid.:192). Attacks to the form of graffiti attacks on homes and places of employment, the slashing of car tyres, the breaking of windows and even death threats (ibid.:192).

The report of the inquiry (Racist Violence: Report of National Inquiry into Racist Violence in Australia [N.I.R.V.A. Report] (1991)), commissioned by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, maps out an articulated and coherent argument in that it believes the Australian media has to be held accountable to a certain extent for surges in racial violence and memberships of extremist right-wing organizations (ibid.:161). In its penchant for "sensationalising" and exaggerating the plateau and incidents of racial violence and conflict, the media is, according to the report, giving racist organizations extensive and powerful media coverage (ibid.:161). Outlined in the report are examples of this media-based racial conflict such as Muslims and Arabs being subjected to callous racial taunts and dispersions in greater amounts than normal as a direct consequence of the outbreak of the Gulf War in 1990, which the Australian media accentuated because of the chronic inaccuracy and biased of its reporting of the conflict (ibid.:355-66). A point which I have to concur with, which has become clearly apparent while engaging in my study of National Action. From my research, I have learned directly from this group, media coverage is

regarded as a prime objective and powerful tool to be utilized to further the cause of their movement. In fact, National Action has even expressed sentiments to me that it occasionally stages conflict and confrontation in a blatant attempt to gain and manipulate media coverage - it also releases false media correspondences under assumed names in an effort to spark off racial conflict and debate, because it realizes the nature of the media is to swarm to these charades and its organization will be tremendously benefited in terms of the perception of its importance as a result of the media coverage and exposure (ibid.:202).

Within Australia, one can cite from the pertinent readings, in particular Markus and Jakubowicz, in (ibid.), racist violence and the power of racist movements primarily and dramatically fluctuates according to world events and the whimsies of the Australian media. The Australian media has unequivocally constructed an over zealous and even an inaccurate image and perception of the power and clout of racist movements within Australian society (ibid.:202-3).

Reporting on these movements has been prone to the blowing out of all proportion, the numbers, activities and threat these organizations pose to Australian society (ibid.:203). Undoubtedly, these groups should be monitored vehemently, but by the same token they should not be granted free, extensive publicity which stems from the barrage of disinformation they release (ibid.:203). A common ploy of these groups is to claim responsibility for acts of racist violence they had nothing to do with in order to create a false image that they are larger, stronger and more organized than what they really are (ibid.:168). This in turn could be the catalyst for these movements to increase in size and strength as a result of a false representation of their following, importance and power being conveyed, and could inadvertently spark off racial conflict (ibid.:168, 202-3).

Events overseas also tend to have a sporadic effect upon Australian society. For instance, when conflicts across the globe have come into the media spotlight such as the Gulf War and the Bosnian conflict, the tension and conflict there, tends to become replicated, to a much more minor extent, in Australia (ibid.:359). Isolated incidents of Arabs and Muslims being harassed during the Gulf War have been the result of misguided people believing Islam was a malevolent, monolithic entity which was a threat to Australian national security (Jakubowicz, in ibid.:362). Croatian and Serbian brawling at domestic soccer games has flared up as a result of the younger members of these ethnic groups, rather ignorantly, feeling that even further violence will settle the conflict, when in fact, it only exacerbates it on an Australian level. However, this initial intensity which undoubtedly causes an influx in community tensions, soon subsides in correlation to the waning of the media's focus and attention on the conflict (ibid.:372).

Consequently, the media must acknowledge its responsibility and accountability in its reporting of these type of sensitive issues. It must ensure it does not become a cog in the vehicle of racism or a tool of racist movements in that it sometimes falsely portrays people's actions internationally, as being innate to those of their ethnic counterparts residing in Australia (ibid.:363). The N.I.R.V.A. Report's critique of the Australian media's role in racism in Australia, is warranted I feel, and displays concisely the incitement which the media can espouse, for it to play a pivotal role in the growth of racist movements and sentiments in Australia.

This resurgence or rejuvenation in racist and ultra-nationalist organizations and racist attacks was, according to Stephen Castles et al. (1988:21, 130-3), in the text Mistaken Identities (1988), fuelled by; the hi-jacking of the so-called "Immigration Debate" in 1984 by New Right idealists and racist movements, eg. Prof. Geoffry Blainey and the support he received from National Action, and the ever-increasing omnipotent feelings of certain Australian individuals of suspicion, alienation and in some cases blatant disdain for the social policy of multiculturalism. A valid point, which unfortunately some utopian multicultural defenders have naively refused to acknowledge.

With the advent of land rights (Native Title claims) and sacred site claims as well as increased watch-dogs aimed towards eradicating racial prejudice and discrimination suffered by Aboriginals and ethnic groups within Australian society, eg. Racial Vilification Bill, there has been, in fact, a backlash by a minority of disenchanted Anglo/Saxon Australians who resent and feel threatened by the deluges of Aboriginal legal challenges to property and newly granted rights given to non-Anglo/Saxon Australians (ibid.:21). As the N.I.R.V.A Report states;

They (Anglo/Saxon Australians) have succumbed to the lure of racist movements due to their ability to provide the frustrated, marginalised, unemployed and impoverished white Australian with a scapegoat to blame for all of Australia's woes, this being Aboriginals and ethnics.
(ibid.:15)

Subsequently, this rationale for an explanation of why the extreme right-wing has been revitalised to a certain extent in Australia and why racist attitudes have flourished, is one which does provide the reader with an empirical example which allows for much scope in searching for an answer as to why the racist right-wing and racism have enjoyed a second lease of life. A cocktail of economic hardship, marginalisation and increased rights

and advantages for traditional "other" type of Australians has led to a volatile situation and an escalation in racist attitudes (Castles et al. 1988:145). Those Australians who are members of the "new" poor or underclass, a class position ethnics normally occupy in a capitalist economic system due to their race, are looking for answers and someone or something to vent their frustrations upon (see Chapter Seven, of *ibid.*). They are now the ones who are now beginning to occupy this low economic posse and they feel this is so, because of their race, and racist movements are exploiting this mood to its utmost capacity (*ibid.*).

The Australian experience of racism has been highlighted by Stephen Castles et al., in the work, Mistaken Identities (1988) In it, he stipulates racist organizations are discovering new voice within Australia due to a number of culminating circumstances. Conversely, Castles (*ibid.*:130-4), remarks, the new wave of migrants who have emigrated to Australia are perhaps the most physically and culturally "different" and opposite to Anglo-Saxon appearance, culture and society than ever before. These migrants such as Asians, Middle-Easterners and South Americans are viewed as being exceptionally foreign and different by Anglo-Australians (*ibid.*:133). This phenomenon has caused rumblings in certain sections of mainstream Australian society in which Anglo-Australians have viewed these new immigrants as a threat to their own culture and way of life, conformed to the constructed stereotypes of these ethnic groups and hold the viewpoint the country is being culturally violated and degraded to some degree by these alien presences and influences (*ibid.*:132-3).

Henceforth, racist organizations such as National Action, Australians Against Further Immigration and the League of Rights have seized upon these type of racist sentiments espoused and have hi-jacked factors such as; changes in patterns of immigration, increased levels of unemployment, high levels of ethnic gang crime reports, international conflicts and media stereotyping of ethnics, eg. "Muslim fanatics", "Arab extremists", and statements made by prominent Australians, eg. Prof. Geoffrey Blainey's raising of the immigration debate, to attempt to muster and drum up support and membership for their racist ideologies and platforms (Tillet, in the N.I.R.V.A. Report, 1991:360-4). Racist movements often use the ploy of feeding off from dissatisfaction, divisiveness and conflicting elements within societies to attain greater support and exposure within society (Mintz, 1985).

I believe the arguments presented by Tillet, in the N.I.R.V.A. Report (1991) and Castles et al. (1988), are strong ones. They effectively identify the central factors within Australian society which provide racist and ultra-nationalist organizations with a firm

foundation to launch their political rhetoric upon and magnify their scope for political opportunism.

A key element in the rise of racist movements in Australia (such as extremist right-wing and ultra-nationalist organizations) is they have also discovered new direction in their causes, stemming from their delight in engaging in pitched battles and altercations with anti-racist organizations. According to Dr. Greg Tillet;

The emergence of anti-racist organizations and their defence of increases in immigration of recent times has allowed the previously fragmented and weak extreme right to rediscover their legitimacy and place in society, in that they have re-discovered the counter-fight, passion and cause which are well accepted as being pivotal and intrinsic to the existence of their movements.

(Quoted in the N.I.R.V.A. Report. 1991:182)

In its analysis of racism and the exercisers of it, the N.I.R.V.A. Report (1991) focuses astutely and thoroughly upon explanations and paradigms given for the attitudes and moods expressed within Australian society which have created the ideal environment for racist organizations and racism overall to excel and feed off racial hatred and prejudice. Organizations such as National Action and The League of Rights, although being the embodiment of racial hatred, rhetoric and ideology, have been able to gain more support, publicity and impetus for their respective causes in Australia in recent times, says the report (ibid.:149-50), due to the permeation of sentiments of racial prejudice, hate and discrimination into mainstream society. To elaborate, the report commendably cites several characteristics which are incorrigibly once again becoming ever more potent and prominent within Australian society, and which have been all pervading and rife since white settlement;

- Stereotypes, casually expressed or by the media which are inevitably negative about people of non-English speaking backgrounds. Alleging for example, Asians are taking jobs from "real" Australians or that Arabs are disloyal to Australia.²

- An identification of such people as having a negative impact on the Australian community. (For example, assertions that migrants are threatening white Australian jobs, engaging in

welfare fraud, committing crimes against Australian victims, "taking over the country", refusing to speak English and preserving commitments to countries other to Australia);

- An identification of such people with "un-Australian values", a desire for a separate (un-Australian) cultural identity, and a tendency not to integrate;

- Racial slurs, dispersions and jibes such as "wog" and "nip" which maintain and fuel racist attitudes and behaviour;

- A perception that multiculturalism is destabilising the social cohesion of Australian society (nation of tribes), and that all ethnics should assimilate into Australian society.

- Media coverage re-enforcing these perceptions. [An important example in my opinion as the media tends, for example, to identify the ethnicity of people with crime, eg. Asian gangs.³

- A general social, political and economic context in which the identification of ethnic groups such as scapegoats is attractive, eg. high unemployment, foreign debt.

- Major domestic and international incidents which have triggered racist views such as the Gulf War and the Rushdie affair. (ibid.:149-50)

The N.I.R.V.A. Report (ibid.), provides yet another explanation for the revitalisation of racist movements and racism in Australia. It remarks that some Australians have increasingly become dismayed, appalled and disenchanted with what is perceived to be a dramatic decline of social values in Australia (ibid.:168). Values such as the importance of family values being gradually eroded away as with nationalist sentiment and the perceived loss and lack of morals displayed by Australians are the ones we are concerned with here. One could cite the Sydney gay Mardi Gras as being the epitome and symbol of social decadence, unsavouriness and decay in the eyes of strict, conservative and moralistic Australians. As a consequence of the perceived tumultuous decline in social values in Australia, radical courses of action may be taken by the frustrated individual such as their decision to join an extreme right-wing organization (ibid.).

He or she may join an extreme right-wing organization they view as being desirable and appealing due to the ultra-conservative and nationalist orientated nature of the regimented value system of these organizations (ibid.). According to the N.I.R.V.A. Report (ibid.:168), with all of the rhetoric expounded by these movements precluding to a return to the perceived halcyon days of elitism, many Australians may view the movement as being a panacea for Australia's social decay. However, the new member may or may not be a racist, but within the framework of the organization, he or she will be helpless to avert the racist rhetoric which will constantly be impinged upon them (ibid.:168). Eventually, the new member will be completely indoctrinated and consumed by, or have the idea galvanised, non-white people living within Australian society are the causality for the disintegration of and the blight upon Australian culture, identity and society (ibid.). As the N.I.R.V.A. Report stipulates;

The League of Rights organization operates in this manner with its advocacy of nationalism, patriotism and traditional values, which has won it mainstream support amongst younger people who are oblivious to its racist and extremist views, and this has made it a force to be reckoned with both in its support and its financial strength. (ibid.:168)

The N.I.R.V.A. Report continues when it says;

Evidently, the League's real significance lies in its ability to create a climate of paranoia, misunderstanding and prejudice to its younger members while it milks them dry of funds. (ibid.:168)

To summarize, I feel this explanation and research paradigm of why there has been this upsurge in support for racist movements is a valid and applicable one for only a certain cross-section of Australian society. It is prone to criticism and the problem of being limited in scope in that as Lipset and Raab say, in The Politics of Unreason (1970);

It is a well known fact that many older people see the deterioration of social values in society as particularly alarming and align themselves with social movements which claim to protect and uphold older social values and orders. (ibid.:21)

Paradoxically, younger people are generally more adaptable and pragmatic by nature and are not as preoccupied with social values as they are with economic and political values, eg. unemployment is generally acknowledged as being the major concern of young people (ibid.:16). Thus, the N.I.R.V.A. Report's paradigm is left floundering in terms of it alienates a significant proportion of the Australian population and does not entail a worthy and credible rationale of what appeal younger people may see in racist movements.

Finally, I have found the majority of material, with the minor exception, conducted about contemporary racism within Australian society to be detailed, well researched and performed with a great deal of acumen. However, on a negative note it must be noted the "theoretical" material on racism and racist movements in Australia was exasperating in that it was extremely scarce and almost non-existent. I had an enormous amount of difficulty in evaluating this material as it was unsophisticated and did not appear to be pertinent. Nevertheless, throughout the course of my reading I unearthed the observation there were several key elements which were relatively common and replicated all writers research, theories and conclusions as to the nature and extent of racism and racist movements within contemporary Australian society - as well as in general Western society. Subsequently, Australia shares an intrinsic and close-knit relationship to its Western counterparts. Regarding the aforementioned, one can gain an overall microcosm of the entire issue if one reads the substantive research undertaken by writers when tackling their own nation's experience of racism and the increased power of racist movements. Their homelands' experience, as they often digress, is often inextricably entwined and mirrors that of the rest of Western societies, and Western societies' experiences are frequently the carbon copy of or similar to these experiences, which provides the researcher with the answers to the questions they base their conclusions and findings upon. Overall, as a result, Australia must attempt to evade the pitfalls encountered by its Western counterparts and learn from their mistakes by attempting to eradicate our nation's endemic penchant for allowing racism to cast its evil spectre over society throughout our short history, before it is too late.

ENDNOTES

1. These types of racist and xenophobic attitudes and beliefs can be predominantly located in the political diatribes and rhetorics of extremist right-wing and ultra-nationalist movements in Western nations.
2. One which is omnipotent in my study of National Action.
3. It also gives birth to certain misconceptions and blatant lies, eg. "the Japanese are buying up all of Queensland and they will soon own it".

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH ON THE DYNAMICS OF AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL ACTION

This Chapter will endeavour to give the reader an overall outline and background of the extreme right-wing organization, Australian National Action (NA), from its formation to its current day status in relation to the somewhat scarce material and data available.

National Action¹ has undoubtedly led a convoluted and petulant life since its embryonic years when one of its forerunners, the National Alliance. The National Alliance was created in New South Wales, in January 1978, drawing upon two Fascist student groups, National Resistance (Sydney) and the Eureka Students' League (Melbourne) as its primary membership base (Murphy, 1981:3). These students were currently attending or had attended the University of New South Wales and Melbourne University respectively, and soon opened an office in the business heartland of Sydney (ibid.:3). It was at this point of inception, Myles Ormsby, allegedly an ex-Trotskyite once connected with the newspaper "Direct Action"; Nicholas Lindeman, the author of the book, Japan Threat; Frank Browne, a former soldier for the Smith regime in Rhodesia, Edward Azzopardi and Frank Salter were at the helm of The National Alliance. Conversely, in June, 1979, Salter was fielded as a candidate for the National Alliance in the federal seat of Grayandler, an electorate which possessed a high number of ethnics living within it (ibid.:4). Salter had very little funds and a minimal amount of aides, but still managed to outpoll two radical socialist parties and his and the party's performance were cited as victories by the National Alliance (ibid.:4).

In addition, the organization embarked upon a concerted campaign to enhance its own self-image and the public's perception of the organization and its cause. Tellingly, the organization realized it was imperative and paramount to its longevity that it thoroughly distinguish itself as an Australian organization and ensure its stigma and presence was noted within all of facets Australian society (ibid.:4). Whilst endeavouring to achieve these aims and goals, the organization adopted a gunsight cross-hair over the Southern Cross (which National Action calls a sun wheel!) and the pure Eureka-Southern Cross as its emblems, published a monthly newsletter titled Audacity, and commenced to promulgate an array of slogans such as "Youth, Nation, Destiny", "Anybody Who is Against the White Australia Policy is Against the Australian Nation" and "For a New Consciousness, For a New Nation" (ibid.:4). However, the colossal dissemination campaign did not halt here, sophisticated posters and stickers embellishing messages such as "Jobs Not Refugees", "White Australia Or Asian Takeover?", "But What if the Racists Are Right?" and "One

Party: Australia. One Policy: Independence", were distributed around urban areas, as were specially produced pamphlets and leaflets specifically targeting high schools (Young Nation), universities (Student Resistance) and Commonwealth Employment Service offices (Why You Are Out of a Job) (ibid.:4). Two factors led purveyors monitoring the group to believe that the organization was funded sufficiently and possessed a competent leadership, these were the extensiveness of the campaign and the high-grade quality of the print, present on the publications (ibid.:4).

Importantly, at the end of 1979, the organization had successfully attained one of its major objectives, that being the establishment of a skeleton national organization with branches (ibid.:4). Indeed, the National Alliance had nominated representation in all states of Australia as being vital to the welfare of the organization, and it had realized this belief in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide while at the same time claiming it had sympathizers in all other capital cities (ibid.:4). Perhaps even more heartening to the group was that it took on the guise as being the largest and most organized extremist right-wing organization in Australia, an honour bestowed to it by several so-called expose' reports by the print media (ibid.:4). Explanations supplied by political analysts for the attractiveness and appeal of the National Alliance, concerned the group's ability to coax new recruits into the organization on the basis of its nationalistic, Australian ideological rhetoric and diatribe, which was considered to be invitingly unique (ibid.:4).

During the early part of 1981, the National Alliance absorbed two smaller organizations, both of which were ideologically related to itself, the Progressive Conservatives and the Immigration Control organization, in a move that was designed to bolster the clout of extremist right-wing and ultra-nationalist politics and representation throughout Australian society (ibid.:4). After the completion of this merger, the three groups decided to change the official title of the organization from the National Alliance to the Progressive Nationalist Party (PNP) and claimed to have a membership base of 1, 000 people plus (ibid.:4). Subsequently, reports began to filter in of PNP activities occurring on the campuses of Latrobe, Melbourne, Macquarie and Flinders universities as well as PNP stickers emerging in inner-Melbourne suburbs (ibid.:4).

The Progressive Nationalist Party vehemently denied it was solely a Fascist party and claimed it believed in and supported parliamentary democracy, was not anti-Semitic or "wog bashers" and didn't desire a total corporate state (ibid.:4). It stipulated that it was created to counter the invidious ideologies of capitalism and Communism to whom it was both ideologically opposed to (ibid.:4). Therefore, according to the PNP, it was not a Fascist organization in the sense of - an evil and malevolent organization - its detractors had accused it of being. Contrary to this claim though, opponents of the organization labelled its

claims as farcical and erroneous. They referred to the organization's manifesto as irrefutable evidence and proof in the pudding that the group was inextricably imbued with sole Fascist ideals and beliefs - its denial of a hardline Fascist collusion, consequently was a shameless attempt to clandestinely conceal and debunk its true Fascist agenda (ibid.:4). What became clearly apparent though, was the leadership of the PNP deliberately engineered this denial of a hardline Fascist stance in a vain and maladroit effort to distance itself from its Fascist orientated agenda - to disguise its real political leanings from its watch-dogs, general Australian society and even some of its own members - due to the extremely negative connotations associated with Fascism in Australian political culture (ibid.:4).

Ted Murphy (ibid.:4), the reporter whose article I have utilized to derive much of my information from to construct a background upon National Action, says in his prose, "Australian Fascism" (1981), that basically the "merger" of the three organizations, the National Alliance, the Progressive Conservatives and the Immigration Control Organization was substantially more of a takeover than merger. Furthermore, he stated that the National Alliance was the dominant organization in the takeover and the Progressive Nationalist Party was in fact a salutary form of the National Alliance, with a new name and new pseudo-image (ibid.:4). Actually, the leader and organizer of the PNP in 1981, Eugene Donnini, admitted the National Alliance was the dominant organization in the "merger" - it was the strong arm of the PNP - and the majority of PNP members were in fact, former National Alliance members (ibid.:4). One only has to purvey Murphy's comments about the PNP to see it was conclusively, just a front for the old National Alliance;

It is not surprising therefore, the material published by the PNP so far is identical in political style and orientation to the publication and paraphernalia of the Alliance, and the publication Audacity, has been adopted as the mouthpiece of the PNP as it had been for the National Alliance. In all respects, the PNP is an outgrowth of the Alliance. Its politics may be assessed accordingly. (ibid.:4)

Seemingly thriving and at its crowning pinnacle at the time this article was written in late 1981, there is somewhat of a mysterious and frustrating hiatus in the annals of history concerning the PNP and its fate from late 1981 to Anzac Day 1982.

I conducted an extensive search for information on the organization and its activities during this time span, but unfortunately, it was to no avail as my search proved to be both frustrating and fruitless. Thus it is at this point in time, I had to rely upon information and

answers solely provided to me by my contact in National Action, Mr. Robert Townsend, at our initial meeting on the 19/4/95 at Atherton Reserve, Fitzroy.

Initially, National Action rejected my requests for an interview with their organization, politely declining the requests I had made in my letters to them through their replies. However, my persistence paid dividends when NA had a change of heart after my sixth letter. They agreed to send a NA spokesman for me to interview on four provisos. Firstly, the meeting places of the interviews were to be chosen by NA. Secondly, if I was; black in skin colour, Asian, southern Mediterranean, a Communist, a member of any anti-racist ("race-traitor") organization or a homosexual, NA would refuse to grant me an interview. Thirdly, it was clearly expressed to me in no uncertain terms by NA, that I was not allowed to ask any follow-up questions to responses given to me by the NA spokesman, or the interviews would cease. Finally, I was to send NA a copy of my thesis plan, explaining my aims, goals and purposes for choosing NA as my thesis subject. Digressing, for the sake of my research, I unctuously informed NA that I was conducting an anthropological study on race and racism in Australia, and that their organization provided an ideal academic opportunity to canvass the viewpoints and ideologies of those who believed in the superiority of the white race. Furthermore, in my pseudo-anthropological thesis plan, I explained to NA that their organization would not be the sole focus of my study, just a pivotal proponent in it. NA in its response to my pseudo-anthropological thesis plan, proved to be very receptive and even enthusiastic to it, to the point that it remarked in its responding letter to me, "in your academic anthropological thesis, we are excited and keen to elaborate upon the undeniable correlation between the white "Aryan" race and its racial superiority over other inferior races".

In correspondence to National Action's provisos, I agreed to the first, third and fourth conditions, and seeing that I do not fall into any of the taboo criteria of the second proviso, I could satisfy that one as well. Deciding to utilize the alias of Mr. Tom Seaford, I interviewed Mr. Robert Townsend, the NA spokesman on seven separate occasions (if in fact that is his real name and not an alias as well).

According to Mr. Townsend, he is ranked within the middle stanza of his organization (Branch Official) and possesses a coherent, accurate background history and knowledge of the organization. Granted, as was I, due to their infamous reputation and penchant for distorting the truth and at times unabashedly lying, you may be thinking one should be intensely sceptical of any information (disinformation) canvassed by a member of an extremist right-wing and ultra-nationalist organization, however, upon considering the circumstances, I decided to make the expedient decision of listening and evaluating what he had to say with an objective outlook, not clouded by subjectivity.

Townsend explained to me that by late 1981, the Progressive Nationalist Party had reached a fever-pitch peak and was a committed and formidable organization. Paradoxically, early 1982 was apparently a completely different story, according to Townsend. He elaborated by saying, by January 1982, dissension began to appear within the ranks of the PNP as its leadership became embroiled in a tumultuous, and at times, bitter struggle over the political direction the PNP should venture towards. On one hand, explains Townsend, one faction of the PNP were more moderate in their ideologies and firmly believed the PNP had reached a plateau whereby it should abandon some of its more extremist ideology and dogma, and adopt a more mainstream respectable face primarily concerned with electoral success. Opposed to this faction, states Townsend, was the faction led by Jim Salaem, a former member of the National Alliance and the founder of National Action. Salaem was defiantly opposed to the rival faction, stipulates Townsend, and accused the faction of "selling out", treachery and subversive behaviour. He (Salaem), said Townsend, was absolute and deeply entrenched in his viewpoints about the PNP's perceived "radical" and "extremist" ideological rhetoric, and was critical of the PNP's stoicalness and maladroitness in its activities and pursuits of its goals. Townsend commented on the manner in which Salaem called for the PNP to craft itself into a movement which was; pragmatic, adaptable, hardline, uncompromising and united, whereby the PNP would unashamedly flaunt its; racist, white supremacist, ultra-nationalist and extremist right-wing ideological platform.

Subsequently, Townsend told me the organization was fundamentally divided between the moderate and radical factions and after several futile attempts to reach a consensus, the moderate faction split from the Progressive Nationalist Party in February 1982, and its members disbanded into a number of other political organizations such as the National Party, The League of Rights and Australians Against Further Immigration, while others simply vanished. Therefore, the PNP laid in a rubble of despair, disarray and spent time in the political wilderness, remarked Townsend, as even the organization's hardline membership dwindled due to roughly a quarter of its members leaving as a result of disillusionment with the party, eg. Jack Van Tongeren, the founder of the Australian Nationalist Movement (ANM) and current jail inmate, was a former member of the National Alliance, the Progressive Nationalist Party, National Action and was a hardliner - and although he left the organization in 1984 - he cited disillusionment with what he perceived to be National Action's "soft" line on Jewish people and anti-racists and its refusal to advocate all out armed, guerilla warfare on its political and social opponents as being the reasons for him leaving (N.I.R.V.A. Report, 1991:199-200).

According to Townsend, a self-confessed member of the hardline faction of the Progressive Nationalist Party, the extreme right-wing did "find itself", and after an enormous amount of soul searching, it "marshalled the forces of all the true believers and loyal white Australians", and on Anzac Day 1982, Jim Salaem formed and founded Australian National Action (NA) in Sydney. To digress slightly, National Action has undoubtedly gone down the road which the majority of political movements go down, that of a turbulent past and formation.

In relation to the previous paragraph, it is at that definitive moment Townsend's information can be substantiated to a certain degree and his account can also be given a trifle more credibility and affirmation. Indeed, Racist Violence: Report of the National Inquiry into Racist Violence in Australia or the N.I.R.V.A. Report (ibid.:198), published, verifies Townsend's claim of National Action being formed in Sydney, on Anzac Day 1982, by Jim Salaem, adopting exactly the same gun cross-hair over the Southern Cross and sole Eureka-Southern Cross emblems. Furthermore, the N.I.R.V.A. Report also outlays an invaluable, very brief outline of National Action's activities and movements from 1982 to 1991. Unfortunately, this report was the only source of non-NA information I could access in reference to the aforementioned.

The N.I.R.V.A. Report (ibid.:198), concurs with Robert Townsend's claim that National Action established branches in New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and the Australian Capital Territory in 1982, but also informs of several of the front names or organizations NA operates by, such as the "Sons of Kokada", "South Africa Defence Committee", the "Australian Populist Movement" and the most recent that I uncovered in Audacity (No.104, June-July 1995:2), the "Nationalist Students Association", facts which perhaps Townsend conveniently edited from his interview responses. Conversely, the N.I.R.V.A. Report (1991:185-7), sheds some light upon the actions of NA members in Sydney, 1988, whereby NA has become increasingly monitored by the NSW police force.

Throughout 1987 and 1988, there were two major incidents in New South Wales which involved National Action clashing with anti-racist public figures. In one case, a Sydney Uniting Church minister, Reverend Dorothy McMahon, was harassed persistently by NA due to her "general anti-racist stance, acceptance of Asians, support for Aboriginal issues and tolerance of homosexuality" (ibid.:185-7). Harassment of McMahon, conveys the N.I.R.V.A. Report (ibid.:185-7), took on the form of NA members storming in on her services and distributing pamphlets criticizing McMahon for her "un-Australian" beliefs - which had the names and addresses of her supporters included on them - in a blatant attempt to intimidate both them and McMahon. Abusive telephone calls were made to McMahon and other parishioners, entailing death threats and the playing of the Nazi

national anthem down the line. Abusive, racist graffiti was spray painted on her house, garbage was strewn across her front yard, textiles were dumped at the steps of her Pitt St. church and supporters' car windows were smashed. In the coup de' grace, a symbolic "necklacing" of a black effigy - which includes the placing of a tyre around a dummy's neck, then dousing it in petrol and setting it alight - was performed by three NA members dressed in balaclavas and fatigues outside Rev. McMahon's house.

Members of National Action were charged by police with a number of offences, including a serious one of inflicting malicious damage to Rev. McMahon's property (ibid.:187). However, NA denied any knowledge and responsibility for the continuous harassment of Rev. McMahon, the attacks on her property and church, and only accepted responsibility for their disruption of McMahon's church service in 1987 (ibid.:187).

As with the previous incident, National Action was once again thrust into the media spotlight when in December 1988, at a Liberal Party dinner being hosted by the Hon. Helen Sham Ho, a member of the NSW Legislative Council at the time, a group of NA members invaded the function chanting "Death to Sham Ho!", and propelling NA pamphlets and leaflets into the air (ibid.:189). Sham Ho was targeted purely on the basis of her Asian ethnic background (ibid.:189). Police apprehended one of the NA members in January 1989, and he was charged with causing violent disorder, found guilty and placed on a \$2,000 good behaviour bond. The offender only escaped imprisonment due to his defence that he thought the function was open to the public (ibid.:189).

National Action has also been cited by NSW police as being suspected for being responsible for a litany of other racist motivated attacks - and many of its members have been found guilty, convicted and fined for committing criminal offences of a racist nature around the country - which have not received the media focus the two offences mentioned in the previous paragraphs have (ibid.:189-91).

Conducively, Robert Townsend failed to espouse these facts to me in his version of NA's history, but I did manage to quiz and confront him over these allegations further on in my interviews with him, which I will document later on during this chapter.

In 1991, Tillet, in the N.I.R.V.A. Report (ibid.:198), made the estimation that the NSW branch of National Action possessed only twenty core members and about thirty fringe supporters, and stipulates its branches in other states were consisted of far less numbers. The report also went on to state that the majority of NA members were minor criminals, who were male, had been convicted of minor crimes in the past, were currently unemployed and their age averaged about 34 years (ibid.:198). Audacity was still the major

publication of NA, according to the N.I.R.V.A. Report (ibid.:198), but NA had also embarked upon publishing more sophisticated leaflets, stickers, pamphlets and booklets.²

Upon my quoting of this N.I.R.V.A. Report information to him, Robert Townsend both staunchly and heatedly disputed the accuracy and correctness of the N.I.R.V.A. Report's description of his organization. Here is an extract from my fifth interview with him, corresponding to the above, conducted on the 28/7/95, at Mayor's Park, Clifton Hill;

"Listen, the only thing that your fabricated report got right, is the stuff about our publications. As far as the rest goes - its a bunch of contrived bullshit. For a start, back in '91, National Action in New South Wales had what they call a core membership of about 180. As far as those fringe supporters go, I'd say we had about 500 to 600.

"Look mate - I was there in '91 - I use to live in Sydney. Typical "leftie crap" as far as the claim goes about the Sydney lads being a bunch of "crims", only a few had a record and they were all "frame-ups" as well, so fuck that.

"We don't all have "balls" as well. You would be surprised mate, on just how many females we have in National Action. Oh yeah, that's right, as far as those guesstimates go about our numbers interstate, back in '91 we had hundreds everywhere around Australia.

"Mate, listen to a word of advice, don't believe everything you read, half the time - believe me - its "leftie", "do-gooder" and "race-traitor" propaganda."

Townsend's viewpoints were made quite clear to me about the N.I.R.V.A. Report's description of the National Action organization. This disagreement between NA sources and non-NA sources is at the pinnacle of one of my major objectives in this thesis, to discover and uncover whether NA is a true political force to be reckoned with as Townsend says, and NA claims in its publications, eg. Audacity, Eureka and The Manifesto of National Action (1980), or whether they are only a minuscule, fanatical fringe group destined for the political scrap-heap as expounded by the majority of non-NA authorities and sources. Subsequently, I have decided to endeavour to answer this and

other pivotal questions to the best of my ability, as I feel compelled to precipitate an effective critique of NA's dynamics via cross-referencing sources, where applicable, in an effort to outline the relevant arguments evenly, then evaluate them accordingly, and hopefully arrive at my conclusions in Chapter Four.

To gain an insight into a profile of and venture towards the heart of National Action, one must encompass and incorporate the political philosophy and ideology of the organization. Audacity, the organization's premier monthly newsletter, provides an ideal opportunity to canvass NA's political platform and evoke ample discourse. Basically, NA believes it is the stellar organization in upholding what it thinks to be Australian nationalism. Its primary political stance can be encapsulated by reading Audacity, where it states;

We have a "vision splendid" for our country. We would prefer a nation of 50 million European souls armed with an assertive Australian identity. We could see Australia as a major resource nation using its economic strength as a weapon of diplomacy. Australia could be the last frontier for settlement and development of the European race. (Audacity, No.72, February-March 1990:3)

From this statement, it is apparent National Action believes in a rigid brand of nationalism for Australia, which undoubtedly has no room for non-Anglo-Saxons and much room for military "hawks". NA also has ideas and epitaphs about a vast array of other broad based issues such as immigration, multiculturalism, government, etc. For instance, in the pamphlets and leaflets distributed to universities, titled Student Resistance, there is an extract which continuously appears amongst its contents. It follows as such;

Australia as you know her might no even be here in twenty years. The "yellow peril" which your teachers call racist nonsense, might become a reality after all. Australia could become a part of Asia - followed by a slow genocide of European culture and race in Australia. (Student Resistance, 26/8/82:1)

Irrefutably - National Action's perceived threat of an "Asianization" of Australia - has dominated its agenda since its inception as the National Alliance (Murphy, 1981:4). NA believes the threat is multi-faceted with - Asian immigration; Indo-Chinese refugees; Asian manufactured goods and in particular of late, the belief extolled by the government's

foreign policy and Australian business that Australia's political, economic and military future lies in South-East Asia - all compounding the threat (ibid.:4). Consequently, NA has levelled the blame at Asians' feet for Australia's socio-economic woes (ibid.:4-5).

The blame is multi-faceted and rationalised in the form of Asians supposedly taking places at universities via Asian academics and professors forcing out young white intellectuals from university employment, and National Action stipulates, says Murphy (ibid.:4), "Australian universities are neither Australian in substance or sentiment." Vietnamese refugees are also on the end of some scathing criticism from NA, who tersely cite the refugees as being given a "free ride" by the Australian Government, a cancer on the nation, and of being responsible for Australia's high unemployment rate as they are accused of taking the jobs of white Australians (Why You Are Out of a Job, a National Action pamphlet, n.d.). Pamphlets of this nature are frequently distributed to Commonwealth, Employment and Services offices by NA members, according to the staff of the Brunswick C.E.S. office, whom I briefly quizzed. Furthermore, NA appellates to white Australians to accept the fact, Vietnamese and all Asian migrants are simply unassimilable within white Australian society and pose a serious and substantiated threat to the social cohesion of Australia (Audacity, No.40, October-November 1984:9). An article published in Audacity (No.41., December-January 1984-1985:11), says, "Multiculturalism is a divisive social policy which will plunge Australian society into being a nation of tribes, thus all Asians must be repatriated before it is too late." The article goes on to say that Asian migration is;

*Just the first step in a subversive plan crafted by the hordes
of Asia to overrun and crush white Australian culture so that
it will be white Australia which is assimilated into the melting
pot of Asian culture. (ibid.:11)*

Once again, in reference to the above, a resounding conspiracy theory prevails in the ideology of an extremist right-wing organization and is at the crux of the driving force of the movement. National Action is no different. It emulates so many of the characteristics of movements in the same vein, eg. the Nazis and the Jewish conspiracy/problem theory. Hate movements such as NA always invariably have a pernicious foe and scapegoat which symbolizes their struggle (Hoffer, 1958). For NA, this symbol of hatred is Asian people. Indelibly, believe NA, Asians will horde into Australia as part of a colossal assault on white Australian identity, culture and society - due to a number of mitigating factors - which will culminate into an invasion of Australia (Audacity, No.74, June-July 1990:1). These factors will include poverty, starvation, over-population and the heightened presence of belligerent governments, all in South-East Asia (ibid.:1). Australia will, according to NA, become an

irresistible prospect for Asians due to its spaciousness, underpopulation and richness in resources, and the militarist and expansionist nature of many South-East Asian regimes will compliment the exodus of the Asian hordes from Asia to Australia (Murphy, 1981:5). Ideologically speaking, NA proposes that to halt this "Asian invasion", Australia should revitalise the White Australia Policy; stimulate white population growth; decentralize urban development while maintaining an adequate defence and in perhaps the most startling of all calls, attain nuclear weapons to ensure the survival of white Australia (Audacity. No.32, June-July 1983:4). Upon the tabling of the last part of this ideological dogma, one can now understand why NA is labelled as an extremist organization.

What is most agonising for NA, according to its National Resistance (Vol.8, 1985:14), publication, is the magnitude of the power of what it calls the pro-Asian Establishment. NA staunchly holds firmly to the view that this pro-Asian Establishment possesses much clout, which is a blight upon Australian society (ibid.:14). The Establishment, says NA;

Is a consensus between the media, the major political parties and all other social institutions in favour of community acceptance of Asian immigration. Therefore, Australia is a dictatorship of those who plan that Australia be assimilated into Asia. (National Resistance. Vol.4, 1981:5)

Ideological rhetoric referring to the Establishment as being illegitimate, unacceptable and calling for its overthrow, are the reasons why National Action has been the subject of intense scrutiny by the Australian Federal Police, the Australian Security Intelligence Organization (ASIO) and state police forces (N.I.R.V.A. Report, 1991:223). NA has been touted by Federal police and ASIO as being a perceived threat to national security, such is their extent of their disestablishmentarianism (ibid.:223). (For more information, see page 54).

Contained within both old and new publications of Audacity, National Resistance, Student Resistance and Eureka, is evidence National Action is, and the old National Alliance and Progressive Nationalist Party were, unabashedly biologically-racist organizations. Hence, the organization's literature is comparable to the gamut of Nazi propaganda released during the reign of the Third Reich (Murphy, 1981:5). As with the Nazis, NA espouses the beliefs that race and nationality are intrinsically entwined with each other and are the driving forces behind history - while white and coloured races are actors in a war for food, resources and territory (ibid.:5). Britain, according to NA, has become the epitome of what it calls "racial impurification" (ibid.:5). It says that the white race is

being besieged by the most un-white and un-British people imaginable, such as; West Indians, blacks from Africa, Pakistanis and Indians (ibid.:5). All of this diasporas activity has led to, says NA;

A biologically and culturally devastating flood of colour and the appalling liberal and Marxist-induced decadence in Britain itself is naturally offensive to the sensitivities of any decent Australian.(Audacity. Nos 5, 93, December-January 1978-1979, August-September 1993:5, 11-4)

Like the majority of extremist right-wing movements, National Action are exuberant about the supposed reverent aura of the nation's past and its halcyon days, while scathing and omnipotently critical of modernity and the nation's abysmal present, from which the movement supposes it will gallantly and triumphantly be the vanguard of tremendous social change and lead the nation to the dawn of a fantastic, brilliant and marvellous future (Hoffer, 1958:67-8). Pseudo-historical traits such as the ones listed above can be found in NA's ideological platform, The Manifesto of National Action (1980). In this doctrine, NA constructs a romanticised myth of a golden age of national Australian pioneering heritage, condemns the present and modernity, and then enthuses itself as being the force which can lead Australia to utopia. An extract provided from it gives credence as follows;

The nationalism of National Action 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, forged out of the embers of the best traditions of our heritage. We will drive the continental chariot to the limit so that Australia will never again cringe as the trading outpost of the Third world and the West.... The nationalism of National Action is futuristic in that we will adopt and improvise and build the most advanced civilisation that has ever existed on the planet. Under National Action Australia will become a great and powerful maritime nation that will surpass even the legendary Atlantis. With the head of Janus superimposed upon our national flag of freedom, Australians will know by our emblem the intentions of the movement. We look behind into the past and forwards to the present. (ibid.)

Substantial, would be an understatement to describe the length and breadth of National Action's verbose ideological dogma. Hence it is for this reason, I felt it imperative that I utilize Ted Murphy's summary of NA ideology to my base my own upon, as this forum is unfortunately too small to delve into the bowels of the aforementioned. Murphy's summary of NA's extensive ideology - relating to other issues and areas in Australian society - is both articulate and detailed, and despite the age of it, one can take comfort in knowing NA has not discredited or retracted any of this dogma to my knowledge - perhaps in an indictment on the movement, the dogma has remained stagnant and polarised on these issues.

According to Murphy (1981:7), the Alliance (National Action) offered, "Decadent Australia a vision of a new nation, internally stable and externally powerful." Australia would possess a new social order which the Alliance (NA) would call "Nationalist Australia", and Murphy canvasses and evaluates the ideological policies of the National Alliance (NA) in the following excerpt;

Foreign Policy

All foreign bases were to be closed and non-alignment adopted as the general principle, the only exception being a temporary alliance, if necessary to stave off the "Yellow Peril". "Nationalist Australia" would decide all international questions exclusively on the basis of Australia's self-interest, humanitarian considerations notwithstanding. (ibid.:7)

Secondary Education

The present education system is controlled by Fabian socialist and small "l" Liberals who subvert the young with Marxist, anti-national, anti-social propaganda. They will be dismissed. Education will be restored to act in the role it was intended to fulfil: to educate; to physically and mentally prepare children for adult life, and to instruct patriotic values which have been lacking for so long. (Quoted in ibid.:7)

Industrial Relations

The Alliance's (NA) proposals in this field were piecemeal and tentative. It did not operate with a fully developed conception of a corporate state, although that was the direction of its thinking. It advocated a strong arbitration system, the judgements of which would apply without delay or exception, and the creation of "preventative bodies" to handle shop-floor disputes. It also toyed with schemes for worker's participation.

On two issues the Alliance (NA) was definite: the goal was the pre-emption of class conflict and a nationalist government would not tolerate Marxist union leaderships. (ibid.:7)

Tertiary Education

Universities would be geared towards scientific, technical and managerial training. Only Australians would be admitted as students and academics. Marxists were to be driven from campuses. (ibid.:7) Further:

We will expose all those "courses" or "subjects" which serve leftists or liberal political purposes. Courses which provide "easy grades for comrades" should be dismantled. Courses which involve "feminism", racism and "political economics" should be exposed for what they are. (Quoted in ibid.:7)

The Legal System

The Alliance (NA) advocated the death penalty for certain cases of rape, murder and drug dealing. The law would play a positive role in combating "moral anarchy" and "perverted minorities" (it is assumed this means homosexuals). (ibid.:7)

The Economy

The Alliance (NA) tended to describe itself as anti-capitalist, but it was not in fact opposed to the capitalist mode of production. Its argument was with the corporate power which was beyond the control of the nation-state and with the pursuit of profit over and above national objectives. Hence, the Alliance (NA) rallied against monopolies, finance capital and transnational corporations. It proposed the exclusion of transnational firms from Australia, selective nationalization and state control of the banks and production. (ibid.:7) It also advocated a war economy;

*"Our entire economy must be organized as an integrated military-industrial machine."
(Quoted in ibid.:7)*

The Media

A government department would be created to monitor the media and ensure accurate reporting. (ibid.:7)

Government

In future, the reason for anyone holding a position of authority will be that he or she is totally committed to national self-determination, sovereignty and independence. Those politicians compromising Australia's birthright are guilty of high treason against the nation. (Quoted in ibid.:7)

In his evaluation of the worth and nature of National Action's ideological mantra and political policies, Murphy says;

The policies outlined above, particularly those which appear innocuous, must be viewed in the context of the Alliance's (NA's) ideology. They are a recipe for a totalitarian and Fascist social system. The media department of a government prepared to indoctrinate students with patriotic values is unlikely to assume only a monitoring role - its real function would be that of an Orwellian Ministry of Propaganda. A party such as the Alliance (NA) - with its goal of organizing Australians "in body and mind into a living community" animated by "a new ideology of sacrifice and duty" - could not be expected to tolerate dissident members of an Australian volk (see following excerpt). (ibid.:7)

The Party of Activism. The Party of the Nation

The Australian National Alliance (NA) has the greatest pleasure in announcing to the enemies of Australian nationalism that their days are numbered. From now on their every action will be met with a reaction; their every treason with exposure; their every slap on the face of the Australian people with vendetta. It begins - the time has at last come for a nationalist movement to organize and advance against lies and betrayal - we do not proclaim we are superior to other white Australians - just more enlightened in our ability to see through the aberrations clandestinely created by the Establishment. So we must prepare for elections which will win government. If the Australian National Alliance (NA) succeeds, the paper you are now reading will be of historical significance; if it fails, then the Australian nation falls with it. (Quoted in ibid.:7-8)

Upon comparing National Action ideological literature with the input given to me by my NA source Robert Townsend, it proved to be a relatively equated task. Townsend, although not as articulate or well versed as the organization's literature, did display a satisfactory amount of knowledge to convince me he was committed to his cause, and just was not a simply frustrated, mindless "lemming" of NA. Here is his response to my question, "What are National Action's main ideologies?", recorded during my first interview with him on the 19/4/95, at Atherton Reserve, Fitzroy;

"We believe in the superiority of the white/Anglo-Saxon race, pure and simple, and the inferiority of other non-white races, like the blacks, Asians, "wogs", you know the "mud people". We believe in the innateness of mankind - that races weren't supposed to mix.

"Jobs should be purely reserved for whites not migrants, and there should be a re-introduction of the White Australia Policy.

"If we were in government, Australia would be a proud, united and great nation, which would be free of racial polluting elements like Asians and the boat "scum". Australia has to learn to be a nationalistic and patriotic country before it is too late.

"Look - we at National Action truly believe that there is a "race-traitor", left-wing obsequious conspiracy plot - to brainwash everyone into believing that multiculturalism is a healthy and positive social policy - when it is nothing more than a detrimental and divisive plot. They [left-wing] have had it good for so long, but our time will come, and we will be relentless in our expulsion of all left-wingers and their crony sympathizers.

"What did Ned Kelly, Jack Lang, the Eureka stockminers and Henry Lawson all want; a united, nationalistic and strong Australian identity and culture. That's what Australia needs, someone to carry on the mantle from those men, and that's what National Action has done.

"We have upheld the principles of Australia's proud and glorious pioneering past, and will keep on doing it until the Australian people accept the fact that some of their favourite folk heroes were, oh no!, shock horror!, racists.

"Another thing, National Action firmly and unapologetically believes that our fucking future does not fucking belong with the "zipper-heads" in fucking Asia.

"Once we get in mate, things are going to change heaps. Everyone is going to have a strong family unit, all "race-traitors" will be eliminated, the country for once will be able to defend itself because the military will be bolstered, and, you will not be, Christ!, seeing any little "slanty-eyed" devils running around -then you know what will happen mate, Australia will achieve that economic prosperity it once had - we'll get those growth rates back up, no worries. I'm 24, and I may not get to see it, but my kids will."

What was most alarming about this interview was the manner in which Townsend transformed from a seemingly jaded, disinterested and disconsolate individual, into an animated, fanatical and impassioned speaker whose eyes were full to the brim of conviction, fire and brimstone when given an opportunity to converse about his and National Action's cause and struggle. One commences to rather apprehensively think about the ramifications for Australian society when the desire for martyrdom appears to be so intense within a member of this already volatile and fanatical organization.

Over the past twenty years, we have come to see the face of racism as generally a young, white male skinhead. Skinheads, of course, were part of the many sub-cultures which arose in the post-war world during the explosion of youth culture (Ridgeway, 1990:164). Initially, to be a skinhead was more or less a style or fashion expression of a working-class background (lumpen proletariat), but now to be a skinhead has taken on far more sinister and unsavoury connotations (ibid.:164). As James Ridgeway (ibid.:88, 145, 165), in his text, Blood in the Face (1990) depicts, the skinhead movement has markedly and increasingly become hi-jacked by a plethora of neo-Nazi and Fascist organizations over the years, eg. Ku Klux Klan. Elaborating, Ridgeway (ibid.:164), says, there has been a steady infusion of the two movements and the two have evolved with one another due to each movement's ability to supply the demand of the other. Fascist and neo-Nazi movements can, via their financial affluence, supply the demands of the usually vulnerable,

unemployed, homeless and destitute young or potential skinhead, with food, money, shelter and an ideology to cling to. Reciprocating, the skinhead can provide Fascist or neo-Nazi organizations with the physical prowess to formulate an army of foot soldiers for their movements, and have been accredited as playing a greater role in popularizing the far right than their Fascist and neo-Nazi counter-parts (ibid.:164).³

My experience of National Action has vindicated these arguments put forth by Ridgeway (ibid.). Members of the organization do differ in their appearance to the degree that a minority of the group are older and dress in what could be termed as "normal" clothing. These members constitute the leadership of the organization and one can surmise these members possess and control the financial business of NA. Michael Brander, the leader of the Victorian branch of NA, dresses in this "normal" fashion with the exception of a NA "bomber" jacket, and has a conventional hairstyle. Paradoxically, the majority of NA members are much younger in appearance and emit a distinctive appearance, that of the wearing of distinctive articles of clothing such as high-cut, steel-capped "24" and "18" "ups" Doc Marten boots, NA "bomber" jackets, tight-fitting denim jeans and the most definitive attribute of their appearance, their shaved heads. Subsequently, I believe these members are the "foot soldiers" of NA, which Ridgeway (ibid.) was talking about, and from the demonstrations I have been witness to, they definitely are faithful to the "foot soldier" mould (ibid.:164).

Upon my attendance of two National Action demonstrations (held on the 3/10/93, in Brunswick, and on the 18/3/95, on the steps of State Parliament), it was clearly apparent that Brander and the other "normally" dressed members were marshalling the troops and were in absolute authority over the actions of NA, right down to the catch-cries they chanted. Opposed to this, the skinhead configuration of NA subordinates, promptly and loyally obeyed every order the NA leadership barked at them, like faithful minions.

The Manifesto of National Action (1980) stipulates that the leadership of NA shall be conducted in a fascist style with a self-appointed National Directorate holding authority indefinitely. Furthermore, this Directorate is all pervading in its absolute authority in that it can dismiss or reject to allow the election of any branch officials, "Without giving any reason" (Murphy, 1981:10). NA's National Conference, which is annually held every two years, has no authority to instruct or bind the National Directorate whatsoever, and the Directorate is the only sole body which can alter NA's Constitution (The Manifesto of National Action (1980)).⁴

Therefore, the leadership of National Action can be confidently described as a Fascist one, and this argument is supported by my NA contact, Robert Townsend.

Townsend himself, claims he is what NA calls a "Branch Official", in that he is a member of the leadership of the Victorian Branch of NA. Following, is an excerpt from the third interview I conducted with him on the 28/5/95, at Montgomery Park, Essendon, in response to the questions, "How is the direction of National Action determined?" "For example, is it through leadership, committees, etc.?";

"Michael Brander completely calls the shots for the Victorian Branch of National Action - he is our leader of the branch and we are totally answerable and accountable to him - that is Branch Officials like myself.

"However, Branch Officials of National Action have absolute control over our "foot soldiers" or the "skinheads" as they like to call themselves - because they need guidance and we know we are the best ones to do this. But they are the life-force of the movement and we treat them accordingly.

"Michael is a great leader and everyone in National Action would do anything for him. He is strong, tough, determined and committed to the cause. Even Michael though, is once again totally answerable to our primary authority, the National Directorate.

"These men and women like Alan Nash, are the most revered in National Action, and we all have pledged our utmost allegiance to them. I mean these people are the founders and protectors of the white race in Australia and have stood by the struggle from day one.

"One day, I hope to be a member of the Directorate, but I know I have to work my way up through the rank and file - just like a couple of "skins" have done to become Branch Officials."

During the same interview, I quizzed Townsend about the skinheads in National Action. I directed my line of questioning towards their esoterical appearance. The question I asked, proceeds as follows, "Why do many of your members shave their heads, wear jackboots, wear those clothes and adopt the Eureka flag as their emblem on their clothing?";

"Well for a start, it isn't their emblem. It is the rightful emblem of National Action.

"National Action decided to adopt the Eureka flag because its a true and real national symbol that symbolizes the plight and struggle of the Victorian stockminers against the Establishment, and the Chinese scourge on the goldfields.

"They were great Australians - we like to compare ourselves to them - because we have carried on the struggle against racial impurity and the struggle in Australia for our nationalist cause. That's why we have adopted the Eureka flag and that's why the "skins" wear the emblem on their clothing.

"About the "skins" appearance, well, I mean they simply shave their heads as a protest against these poor young men having to live in the same country as filthy and despicable "Asian filth", "race-traitors" and "wog trash" - they feel so ashamed that their country, Australia, has done this to them - they shave their heads.

"They wear the type of clothes they do, because it is a sign of their working-class heritage and pride, and also their display of support from the working-class at what National Action is trying to do [its ideological conviction] - the overall cause to eliminate non-whites from competing with and taking white jobs."

Without a shadow of doubt, National Action has all of the markings and traits which James Ridgeway (1990) extols in his work. Obviously, NA's leadership and organizational structure is one which is based on Fascist principles with a semi-dictator at the helm of each branch, eg. Brander in the Victorian Branch, and with a group of elites reigning supreme on a national basis, eg. Nash in the National Directorate. Townsend appears to be a member of the inner-circle leadership of the Victorian Branch, who are called "Branch Officials", which are the exorcises of authority over the majority of NA. This majority is consisted of young and impressionable skinheads who have undoubtedly taken the "carrot" dangled in front of them by NA, involving stability and an ideology not

only to embrace and embellish, but one to act as the panacea for their and societies' dire woes (ibid.). Ridgeway's (ibid.), theory of a reciprocal exchange which occurs between the leaderships of extremist right-wing organizations and skinheads, documented in his text, must be granted a copious amount of accolades by novices studying in the field as it has in my opinion, proven to be conclusively accurate, substantiated and performed with a great deal of acumen.

Violence, terror and hatred are all words synonymous with extremist right-wing movements. Internationally, the world has seen the extreme right held responsible for the Okalahoma bombing, the Amtrak sabotage in Arizona, and a spate of heinous and violent armed robberies committed throughout the 1980's, also in the USA, by a militant, extreme right-wing bank robbery gang calling themselves the Order (A Cross To Burn, S.B.S. television program, 26/5/95). What about National Action then? Does it pose a serious threat to Australia's national security and the safety of its citizens? I have already discussed earlier on in this chapter some of the known and suspected incidents of violence and terror perpetrated by NA, in what it likes to call "political action", and the status they hold amongst the federal and states' police forces (see p.p.31-2). But now I wish to delve into NA's denial of it being a violence-orientated organization.

National Action, suffice to say, has an extremely notorious and nefarious reputation for intimidatory, aggressive and agitator tactics when dealing with its countless foes, eg. Asians, anti-racists, homosexuals etc. However, NA has repeatedly staked the claim that it is the victim of incessant provocation by its political enemies and it refuses not to, and has a right to, retaliate (Audacity, No.51, August-September 1986:7). Unequivocally, NA has been relentless in its release of a statement to the media and racist violence inquires in an attempt to convey the image that NA does not condone violence as a means to attain its political aspirations, The statement follows as such;

That some persons may resort to violence does not surprise us. Whilst not condoning it, we do not condemn it. History has provided innumerable examples to show that violence is the only weapon of the oppressed. Australians who resort to violence against the Establishment you also represent are not criminals, but in their own way, political activists. (Quoted in the N.I.R.V.A. Report, 1991:199)

Hardly a convincing statement to allay anyone's fears. Admittedly, I must confess to be very dubious and cynical as to the credibility and truthfulness of National Action's contentions that it does not condone violence. Evidence to support this viewpoint could be

drawn from NA's deplorable history of indulging in; racist harassment, intimidation, a barrage of racist graffiti alluding to calls to commit physical violence against non-whites, other cases of violence and even from its "double-talk" denial statement - which if analyzed only at an elementary level - can quite easily be implicitly construed as farcical in that it actually implies that NA advocates racist violence and sedition (ibid.:181-206).

From my vantage points at the two National Action rallies that I have attended, it was unobtrusively plain to see that NA members - granted, under some provocation which they had participated in as well - were eagerly awaiting polemic and physical altercations with left-wing counter-demonstrators. They got their wishes with both rallies deteriorating further from verbal slanging matches to a maelstrom of fisticuffs with left-wing groups. Conclusively, from the type of verbal and body language expelled by NA members, it is fair to say that violence is an accepted and even encouraged course of action amongst the rank and file in NA, and is intrinsic to the realization of their political goals and aspirations.

To be just though, I felt it vital to include Robert Townsend's input into this issue so the perspective of a National Action member could be represented. I asked Townsend the question, "Does National Action condone the use of violence, generally, to achieve its objectives?", noting that I purveyed the events which transpired at the two NA rallies. This interview was the fifth of seven I conducted with Townsend, it was performed on the 28/7/95, at Mayor's Park, Clifton Hill. Here is Townsend's response;

"Never - unless we are provoked - which is what occurred at both of our rallies - they didn't have to be there - they provoked us. Why were they there? Hey, they deliberately attempted to drown us out and we are entitled to our say - What ever happened to freedom of speech?"

"Those 'commie fuckers' and 'race-traitors' have been baiting us for years, it isn't our fault if our members become frustrated, and at times even I've had to defend myself."

"If we fight - its just us protecting our rights. We don't go around hurting innocent people like all the bullshit, media concocted stories you hear, but if they - well our political opponents anyway - get in the road of NA's cause - we will smash them."

*"Violence is endemic to the history of the human race and sometimes you need to use it to get your aims realized. Just look at Ned Kelly and the Eureka stockade. That's all I want to say."*⁵

Who joins an extremist right-wing organization and why? These are questions which are often pondered and are intriguing to delve into. To answer them, there is a broad cross-section of sources to consult. The N.I.R.V.A. Report (ibid.:198) provided its socio-economic profile of National Action members, which can be found on page 33. My brief profile and perception of the socio-economic background of a NA member is rather unsubstantiated, simplistic and lacks the required empirical data of other studies made in the same vain (with the exception of dubious NA claims), but as it does follow in the tradition of Ridgeway's (1990:165-6), theoretical paradigm of the socio-economic background of members belonging to racist organizations, I will provide it nonetheless.

It is my belief that National Action members can be classified into two basic groups. One, is the group which is consisted of either the well or semi-educated members who have held or do hold steady employment and who are usually older than the members of the other group. These members are likely to come from middle class to higher working-class backgrounds and their appearance is far more conservative than their counterparts. Predominantly, this group constitutes the leadership and therefore the Branch Officials of the NA movement, is in the minority of NA, and these are the reasons as to why I have labelled this group the "Branch Officials" (ibid.). On the other hand, the second group is generally likely to be much younger with a lower level of education. This group is more likely to come from a lower working-class background, but it is unlikely its members would have held steady employment. This group is far more radical in its appearance by comparison with the "Branch Officials", constitutes the majority of the NA organization and is normally subordinate to "Branch Officials". On the basis of its appearance, I have decided to label this group "the skinheads" (ibid.).⁶

Robert Townsend - my National Action source and a self-proclaimed member of the "Branch Officials" group - concurs with NA propaganda publications, Audacity (No.88, October-November 1992:8-10), and Eureka (Vol.12 1989:2), that NA is an organization represented by all cross-sections of the Australian community. Furthermore, at our third interview held in Montgomery Park, Essendon, on the 28/5/95, Townsend in response to my question, "How would you describe the socio-economic background of your members?", said;

"National Action is enriched with a wide cross-section of members from all walks of life. As long as they are white, true to the cause and struggle, loyal to National Action - the ideal of "Nationalist Australia" - they are accepted into our organization.

"We have members who are lawyers, doctors, officials, businessmen and even some who work in Parliament. By the same token though, we don't exclude those from the working -class - or those who don't work due to their jobs being taken by non-whites.

"We are equal, regardless of employment, in National Action. Right down from the doctors to the bricklayers. We are united because we are all proud whites and fight for the same cause. We don't regard ourselves as superior to other white Australians, just more enlightened. We don't give a shit about any divisive Marxist class theory, which is a dangerous fallacy anyway - which is a disease for any organization.

"All sections of the Australian nation are well represented by all members of National Action, rest assured. There are no class distinctions in National Action, pure and simple."

A stunning account of why and what facilitates an individual's rationale for joining a mass movement such as an extremist right-wing organization, is given by Eric Hoffer, in his text, The True Believer (1958). Hoffer (ibid.), provides the reader with a fascinating and exemplary theoretical paradigm into not only the socio-economic factors responsible for an individual to join a mass movement, but also a compelling psychological profile of the type of individual prone to doing so, and the role that the mass movement plays in luring the potential member. Unfortunately, spatial and length constraints do not allow the full theoretical value and importance to be realized or acquired from this riveting text, although I will do my best to provide a comprehensive summary. Hopefully, this account will clarify and enlighten the reader as to the possible appeal and attractiveness of National Action that an individual may become entranced with.

First and foremost, I would like to discuss Hoffer's analytical and partly psychological approach in identifying the type of persona and psyche of an individual he

considers to be - "ripe for the picking" - to fall within the realms of a mass movement. Hoffer (ibid.:29), addresses his theory of individuals having previously been rejected, ostracised and castigated by mainstream society such as; failures, misfits, outcasts and criminals (lowest scale in society), ending up playing an intrinsic role in shaping and controlling a nation via their membership of a mass movement (highest scale in society). It is here that Hoffer (ibid.:29), expels a remark which in my opinion is profound and admirably gives credence to his argument, it follows as such, "The game of history is often played over the heads of the majority in the middle." Digressing slightly, Hoffer (ibid.), gives key evidence to support his claim when he highlights the constituency of the Nazi Party in Germany. Historically speaking, it is a well accepted fact that the majority of the elite members of the Nazi Party were at one time or another, outcasts and failures, before they would leave a legacy on Germany no-one would soon forget, eg. Hitler's continued failures as an architect and artist, Rohm, the common street thug before joining the SA (ibid.:29).

According to Hoffer (ibid.:37), individual members of mass movements are socially inept, terrified of individuality and the process of making autonomous decisions throughout day to day life and desperately require the movement to cling to (Could this be the case with National Action?). They do not desire to express individuality or independence (ibid.:37). As Hoffer surmises;

*Through imitation members begin a new life: the more we
despise ourselves the more we attempt to become like others.
The more we lose our judgement and don't trust ourselves,
the more we follow others. (ibid.:95)*

Primarily, it is individuals with low self-esteem and weak, superficial and socially inept personalities which are targeted by mass movements as being prime candidates for their movements (ibid.:30). Henceforth, other potential members of mass movements are those people within society who strive to become a part of the majority, but are forever rejected to be in the minority and become extremely agitated and frustrated at their non-acceptance, illustrates Hoffer (ibid.:54-5). Consequently, these pent up emotions can often be the catalyst for these frustrated people to pledge allegiance to a mass movement in the sole hope they will one day be able to seek revenge and retribution upon the system, which in their eyes, alienated and victimised them (ibid.:55). For example, Hoffer (ibid.:55), remarks, "The least successful Jews are the staunchest supporters and followers of Zionist mass movements."

A level of equality is enjoyed by the members of mass movements which they cannot attain in mainstream society (ibid.:109). All members are subservient, says Hoffer (ibid.:109), to one leader in the movement and thus they gain their notion of equality as a direct result of this phenomenon. To conclude, once indoctrinated within the core of the movement, the fanatics within the movement embrace and enmesh themselves in the movement to disguise and escape from what they fear the most; their ineptness, frustration, insecurities, hang-ups and an array of various other personal problems.⁷ They utilize mass movements as an ideal escape tunnel to safety from what they fear more than fear itself, their own individual short-comings (ibid.:36-7).

Within Hoffer's text, I stumbled onto a theory of his which is both relevant and applicable to National Action. It is a theory whereby an interesting dichotomy can be undertaken. The theory not only encapsulates the platform and foundations which NA has launched their ideological mantra from, but it may very well capture the essence of a NA member's socio-economic background and rationale for committing themselves to the organization's cause. "New poor" is the term which Hoffer uses to describe the backbone of mass movements in reference to the advent of increased unemployment in capitalist and industrialized societies, which has spawned feelings of frustration, resentment and betrayal by workers who have condemned the society they view as being responsible for their dire predicament (ibid.:31). This attitude espoused by some workers is viewed by Hoffer (ibid.:33), as being highly volatile in that people often rebel when their misery becomes bearable, and subsequently there is the attraction and incentive to search for something better, eg. Hitler and Mussolini utilized the ruin of the middle-class in Germany and Italy from which to catapult their Fascist rhetoric and ideology, and the majority of Cromwell's parliamentary army was consisted of those economically dispossessed by the monarchy. The True Believer (ibid.:31-5), highlights the train of thought that people arrive at the zenith of bitterness and frustration when they possess a degree of wealth, eg. stable employment, and desire more, however, when this extra wealth is not forthcoming, the ramifications can be devastating. In stark contrast, Hoffer (ibid.:34), states, this "new poor" group is far more dangerous, frustrated and belligerent than groups of people who have never had anything and want something.

From this socio-economic group identified by Hoffer (ibid.:31), the "new poor" seems like it would be a fertile breeding ground for an organization like National Action. Those Anglo-Saxons who are either unemployed or employed and find themselves losing out when competing with more qualified non-whites for general employment, promotions and higher ranked employment, may react in a resentful, frustrated, vengeful and mendacious manner, and join a movement like NA to attempt to alleviate the perceived problem - of non-whites - through the elixir the movement can provide (ibid.:31). Thus,

other Anglo-Saxons who have been supported by the welfare system over the years, may nominate non-whites as being the root of their own unemployed status due to more educated and qualified non-whites - occupying employment - they perceive as rightfully belonging to them on the basis of their race. Therefore, these individuals may also ascertain that NA is the organization for their salvation, and become members in an effort to rectify this perceived wrongdoing and travesty of justice (ibid.:31).

We now come to the question of whether National Action is a Fascist organization or not. Well, NA itself has declared that it is an organization true to fascist principles and traditions. Throughout the history of its publications, eg. Audacity, Eureka and National Resistance, NA and its forerunners, the National Alliance and Progressive Nationalist Party, have released articles and statements that specifically indicate it has all of the hallmarks of an organization structured to facilitate Fascist objectives. For example, if we look at the publication, What is the National Alliance (NA), we can clearly see that a Fascist political ideology is dominant here when it stipulates;

National Alliance (NA) is a "political" movement. By that we mean that we're not just an "immigration restriction" group or a "stronger defence" lobby. We wish to build a party. We will contest elections and develop policies on different areas. But above all, National Alliance is active. We are not a discussion circle We are a political movement and will act like one. (Quoted in Murphy, 1981:8)

Evidently, the "active" reference in the previous statement refers to National Action being an extra-parliamentary organization which is prepared to mobilise (ibid.:8). This is a vintage trademark of any Fascist organization as is the leadership and organizational structure of NA (see above, and p.p.42-4). In stark contrast to its former National Alliance and Progressive Nationalist Party days, NA in its Audacity newsletter and other publications, has frequently and openly declared itself to be a purely Fascist and ultra-nationalist organization. For example, it has stipulated;

National Action proudly, unreservedly and sanctimoniously is unapologetic for the Fascist and ultra-nationalist ideological platform, organizational structure and principles it applies, in its struggle to implement and create the new Australian nation of "Nationalist Australia". (Audacity, No.42., February-March 1985:10)

Overall, National Action with its;

1. Self-admission.
2. Extra-parliamentary agenda.
3. Calls for mobilisation.
4. Fascist, dictatorial leadership structure.
5. Commitment to the eradication of conflicting elements within society, eg. class conflict.
6. Anti-liberal stance.
7. Anti-proletarian stance.
8. Anti-Communist stance.
9. Anti-bourgeois stance.
10. Anti-modernist stance.
11. Ultra-nationalist stance.
12. Advocacy of national integration through a single party and corporative representation,

is inextricably and indelibly a true Fascist organization (Murphy, 1981).

My National Action contact, Robert Townsend, beats to the same drum. His response to the question, "Is National Action a Fascist organization?", was recorded at our sixth interview on the 15/9/95, at Donath Park, Reservoir. It follows as such;

"We make no bones about it - we are a Fascist organization.

"Fascism is a much maligned and misunderstood political ideology. It has been unfairly decimated by "leftie" propaganda and has been given a bad "rap" by the Nazis - but if fully understood and exercised, it is the ultimate of all political philosophy.

"Society would be a greater place - if it was run by Fascist means. In fact, the world would be better off for it.

"But what National Action is concerned with is an Australian brand of Fascism or Australian nationalism, the one which; Henry Lawson, Jack Lang, Billy Hughes, the Eureka stockminers dreamt about."⁸

A poignant statement Townsend made in response to the question, was his appeal and appraisal of folk heroes in Australian history; Ned Kelly, the Eureka stockminers, Henry Lawson and other recognized "nationalist" Australians, Jack Lang and Billy Hughes. These sentiments are echoed by National Action in its critique of Australia's history. Congenially, both Townsend and NA emphasized NA's prime objective in realizing its goal of establishing "Nationalist Australia", which would be entirely independent and autonomous of foreign influence and scope. NA then elaborates upon the crescendo Australia will reach once "Nationalist Australia" is formed (see p.p.37-9).

Historically speaking, NA has adopted and commended; Lawson, Kelly, the Eureka stockminers, Lang and Hughes, as heroes, martyrs (in Kelly's and the Eureka stockminers' case) and prophets for the NA movement and therefore, "Nationalist Australia". Like so many other nationalist and Fascist movements, NA has plucked and plundered figures from history it considers to be champions of its cause - just as Hitler and Mussolini chose; Siegfried, the Teutonic warriors, the "Aryan" race and the glory of the awe of Ancient Rome, respectively (Murphy, 1981:6).

For example, in National Action's newsletter Audacity, illustrated is a brilliant and monumental history of the origins of the Eureka-Southern Cross flag. Laced with ultra-nationalist and racist overtones, it follows as such;

1854 : The diggers taking the oath at Eureka stockade to defend Australian freedom and independence. The defenders of the stockade were the first Australians to take up arms in defence of their nation. Their example was taken as a model by all future generations of Australian nationalists. One cannot be a patriot without being fundamentally attached to the memory and symbol of Eureka. Nationalism draws its strength from the stirring events of the Australian past: when it came to choose a symbol for our sacred trust, it could have only been the Southern Cross. This flag did not perish at Eureka but rose at the Great Sydney Maritime Strike (1878) against foreign (Asian) labour and the shearers camps in Barcaldine, Queensland (1891). It is a thin blood-line which ties our present to our past. Thirty diggers died at Eureka for national independence and inspired patriots of the time directly into the independence struggle until it was side-tracked by Federation. Their action gave a form and symbol to Australia's national identity. Unlike the modern

multiculturalist, "race traitor" and "Asianiser" who deliberately denies the existence of any Australian identity, we believe our identity is well summed up in the history of the stockade: unity of all Australians for a destiny free from foreign control and a way of life that was the envy of so many.
(*Audacity*. No.104, June-July 1995:6)

All of the regular trademarks of extremist right-wing organizations are present in this ultra-nationalist and racist diatribe. The verbose tone of the language thinly veils the racist sentiments and connotations enmeshed in long-winded patriotic myths; movements in the vain of National Action have a penchant to condemn and scathingly attack the present and modernity, eg. multiculturalist, "race-traitor" and "Asianiser" terms, with reverent, radiant and stunning images of the past and archaism (Wieviorka, 1993), eg. Eureka stockminers - this is resoundingly apparent and clear in NA's case. Undoubtedly, this material would have to be dubbed as a common - but essential - ingredient in NA's desperate plight to formulate an Australian national identity and national culture. NA's plight is concerned with inventing national mythical "heroes" and revising Australian history in order to compliment their own extreme right-wing political agenda and ideology.

Strictly speaking, there is a varying degree of reasons why these particular "heroes" were chosen by National Action. As Murphy (1981:6), illustrates, all men were nationalists who advocated an Australian nation politically and culturally independent of Britain, to explain one reason. A second reason being, nationalism was the fabric which made up their social ideas, exploitation and oppression being explained by the power and influence wielded by foreign or foreign-entwined elites (ibid.:6). Furthermore, they were all staunch supporters of the White Australia Policy - something they viewed as being pivotal to an Australian identity (with the exception, of course, of Kelly and the Eureka stockminers, but they were known racists) (ibid.:6). Finally, all were engulfed in and acknowledged the need for struggle. These men were competitive, strong-willed and confrontational individuals, and personified the attributes of the heroic breed of men (ibid.:6). NA, states Murphy (ibid.:6), are purveyors of Lang and Lawson in an extremely positive light as they regard them as being the main proponents of the pioneering age, which in NA's perception of history, was a process of nation-building through struggle with nature, foreign oppressors and the "Yellow Peril" until its insipid demise in the 1950's with the emergence of the consumer society. Therefore, NA calls on white Australians to embrace these exalted men as the forefathers of white Australian nationalism and to pledge support and allegiance to NA, which has as it claims, "taken on the burden of the struggle these great men gave birth to" (*Audacity*. No.102, February-March 1995:7).

In conclusion, I feel there has been a magnanimous amount of evidence provided, for people to safely say National Action is a Fascist, or at the least a Fascist orientated organization.

Perhaps one of the most discussed issues regarding extremist right-wing organizations is the matter of their size, power and influence they wield within society. James Ridgeway in his text, Blood in the Face (1990), the N.I.R.V.A. Report (1991) and Stanley R. Barrett in Is God a Racist? (1987), all warn of the penchant of these movements to dramatically inflate the memberships of their respective movements in an effort to spawn a general feeling that the movement is entrenched, thriving and omnipotent within the aura of society.

However, ASIO warns;

The only discernible domestic threat of politically motivated violence comes from the racist right. This has suffered serious set-backs in the past year with the arrest of a large number of leading members of the two most dangerous groups. Their capacity to recover from their set-backs is yet to be shown. However, they appear to have established themselves as fairly durable political entities and will probably persist for some time as sources of communal and politically motivated violence.

(Quoted in the N.I.R.V.A. Report. 1991: 223)

And;

*One significant source of threat during 1988-89 with a purely domestic focus was an extremist right-wing racist element, shown or suspected to be engaged in harassment and violence against opponents ... These groups ... have shown a clear potential to cause distress to sections of the Australian community, and perhaps threaten life. (Quoted in *ibid.*:198)*

Subsequently, there is conjecture, dispute and mystery as to the real size, power and influence of extremist right-wing movements in Australian society, and slightly conflicting views have been espoused over this question. Henceforth, I will attempt to answer the problematic question - utilizing my empirical data - in a National Action context.

It is intended that this will have a bearing on and shed some light upon a general and national context regarding extremist right-wing movements in Australian society.

In Audacity (No.92, June-July 1993:4), National Action makes what appears to be a bold proclamation that on a national scale in June 1993, it estimated it had 816 registered members and over ten thousand support or sympathiser members - with stronger support bases in Victoria, New South Wales, the Australian Capital Territory, Broken Hill and South Australia - where branches had been established - and weaker ones in Queensland, Western Australia, the Northern Territory and Tasmania, states not represented by NA branches. NA claimed that in Victoria it had 128 registered members with another 3,000 or so supporters and sympathizers (ibid.:4). This practice, however, has ceased with NA claiming in Audacity (No.95, December-January 1993-1994:1), that due to constant monitoring and infiltration by authorities (ASIO, the Federal Police), it would not be disclosing the amount of members and supporters the organization had. In stark contrast though, NA was not modest nor coy when proudly announcing its establishment of a new Broken Hill branch in October 1994, due to "overwhelming support and demand in Broken Hill" (ibid.:1). In addition, it boasted in its February-March 1995 edition of Audacity (No.102:1), that it would be contesting the next Federal election as a result of its surpassing of the 500 member minimum requirement for a political party to be officially registered by the Federal Electoral Commission and to have its name placed on ballot papers in seats it contests.⁹

From my personal experience, the Victorian Branch of National Action seems to have superfluously estimated the numbers its organization has. Upon my attendance of two NA rallies, the power, size and longevity NA claims to exert, must come into question both in Victoria and nationally. At its Brunswick rally, only 41 members of NA attended, and at its Parliament House rally, NA recorded an even poorer turn out with only 37 members in attendance. The group was dually ridiculed and humiliated by its lack-lustre display of support by left-wing counter-demonstrators. What in my opinion was even more disheartening for the organization, was the behaviour of some of its members at both rallies. Certain members of NA looked disinterested, forlorn and insipid, while one was even arrested by police for public drunkenness at the Parliament House rally. Definitely, there must be adverse ramifications for NA in that its claims of having 128 active Victorian members in June 1993, appears to be compellingly exaggerated and as a consequence, so does its other claim of possessing 816 active members on a national basis. NA's claims of possessing thousands of "support" or "sympathiser" members should also come under scrutiny as it appears to be the most outlandish of all the group's claims.

A point should be made though, that by the same token about one half of NA's members did appear to be disciplined, committed and imposing. But this is undeniably undermined by the fact only 40 members, on an average, attended the Victorian rallies after NA's claims it had close to 130 members, and some of these members looked like they were floundering. This is damaging for the NA movement and the type of harm which can condemn a movement to being an eternal fringe movement that is destined for political oblivion. Particularly, when Murphy (1981:4), estimated the old Progressive Nationalist Party's numbers, numbered 1, 000 in 1981 on a national basis, a far cry from the numbers NA seems to possess today.

I thought it only just though to allow Robert Townsend to give his interpretation of the events which transpired at the two NA rallies, both of which he attended. At our seventh and final interview, conducted at Edwards Park, Albert Park, on the 26/9/95, I asked him the question, "Is National Action concerned with its relatively low amount of membership?" For instance, only 37 of your members attended your recent rally;¹⁰

"What are you trying to get at mate? What you saw mate - look - it was only some of our active members on display at the rally - our foot soldiers. National Action does have thousands of supporters and sympathizers who have just not been able to, or are hesitant to involve themselves personally in our plight and struggle, because they are too worried about vicious retributions by the "commies" and "homos" to expose themselves.

"Its the "commies" and "race-traitors" who are spreading a reign of terror and that's what is keeping our members away from the rallies. I don't blame them.

"One day we'll march in our thousands, mark my words. Us being an eligible and registered political party now, makes that day so much closer."

ENDNOTES

1. The official title of this organization is Australian National Action, but is more commonly referred to as National Action (N.A.), and for the sake of space in this prose, I also adopted the latter.
2. National Action changed the title of its major publication from Audacity to National Action News, in January 1992, however, Audacity the title by which National Action members still commonly call the publication by Robert Townsend's own admission, and for the sake of space and continuity, I will call it by this title as well.
3. For a more in-depth analysis of the skinhead movement, see Ridgeway (1990:162-9).
4. One wonders how busy and functional this Directorate is, seeing that National Action's Constitution has not changed since its days as the National Alliance.
5. It should be dually noted that at the time this thesis was being written, Michael Brander, the leader of the Victorian Branch of National Action, was being charged for assault and resisting arrest at a National Action rally in South Australia, as was Alan Nash, a member of National Action's National Directorate.
6. For a theoretical analysis of who joins a racist movement and why, see Wiewiorka (1993), in Chapter Two.
7. It should be noted here that Hoffer's usage of the word, "frustrated", and its plurals, are utilized in the context to denote those people who feel their lives have been spoiled and wasted.
8. Further evidence given to support the belief that National Action is a Fascist organization.
9. An observation and analysis of the support they receive during the next Federal Election will be paramount to ascertaining the true amount of political clout and force National Action possesses.
10. It should be noted that Townsend became rather churlish and terse once this question was asked.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY

There are a number of mitigating factors which will most likely sentence National Action to a life of political insignificance and obscurity;

Firstly, its claims of possessing a membership base of thousands on a national basis and hundreds in Victoria, has lacked evidence and credibility - they have been exposed as being exaggerated, superfluous and inaccurate by many of the organization's opponents and independent observers (including myself on a Victorian basis).

Secondly, as a result of its extremist, anti-humanist political mantra, NA is highly unlikely to attract support from many more Australians as a result of the general distaste and contempt for Fascism in Australian political culture and the conservative political outlook of the majority of Australians.

Thirdly, NA has been imbued with the reputation of being an organization indulging in neo-Nazi politics and racist violence (see Chapter Three), with the distinct plausibility of having the scope for committing anti-government terrorist acts. In the light of recent events in the USA concerning the activities of extremist right-wing groups, NA will undoubtedly have an arduous and strenuous task in attempting to erase its current image in Australia as common Nazi street thugs who pose a threat to ordinary Australians' lives.

Fourthly, there is a litany of eclectic groups and organizations who are determined to either behave as a watch-dog over or stamp out and totally eradicate NA from Australian society. These groups and organizations dramatically vary from extreme left-wing organizations, who are not only purveyors of NA but behave as staunch activists, hounding and heckling NA at every one of their demonstrations in their goal to obliterate the group, to the Federal Police and ASIO who have established an extensive dossier on NA, infiltrated its ranks and have been closely monitoring and conducting surveillance on the organization's alleged violence orientated domestic activities and international links. Subsequently, a combination of these assaults on the movement is forming a type of pincer action which will indelibly damage and weaken the movement's resolve.

Fifthly and finally, the strength of the branches of National Action is not uniformed and proportionate from state to state. States such as New South Wales and Victoria have experienced far more activity and representation by National Action in the form of

demonstrations, racist publications and the appearance of racist graffiti, than their northern and western counterparts. Obviously, NA is stronger in the eastern states and far weaker in other states where its presence has been minimal, if not non-existent. This has been conducive to the group's inability to compete against more organized and potent racist/Fascist groups which have a firm foothold in these states, such as the Australian Nationalist Movement in Western Australia and the League of Rights in the Northern Territory, Queensland, South Australia and Western Australia. The ramifications of this are extremely serious for NA as this disproportionate fragmentation of its national numbers must cast several doubting questions over the justification of NA to label itself as a true national organization representing nationalist ideals, something which lies at the crux of its movement and cause. Therefore, the future and longevity of NA can objectively be placed in jeopardy and in the uncertain.

Despite the indications that National Action seems to be a minuscule and impotent fringe group which only represents a nuisance value to Australia, all Australians must not be complacent and flippant though, when encountering and discussing the influence and potential of any extremist right-wing movement. It would be very dangerous, ignorant and irresponsible to rest on the laurels of Australia's pioneering and sophisticated social policy of multiculturalism, while appeasing, enabling and being derelict in failing to halt a massive increase in support for a racist organization such as National Action. The intestinal fortitude and durability of racist right-wing groups such as NA must never be underestimated as history has proven the racist cancer and scourge is a blight on mankind which has unfortunately proven to be endemic, galvanised and omnipotent, eg. Nazism fifty years on is still leaving its twisted legacy on the world.

Australia as a collective nation must remember its abominable and shameful historical record which has been littered with racist baggage, from the genocide of its indigenous people to the woeful implementation of the White Australia Policy at the birth of our nation upon Federation. Furthermore, Australians must not deceive themselves and disguise the truth that racial prejudice, violence and vilification still at times run rampant, entrenched and unchecked throughout our society and this is something we must urgently address. What we (individuals, politicians, media, police etc.) must learn to do as a nation, as Australians, is to starve racist organizations such as National Action, the League of Rights and the Australian Nationalist Movement of the expressions of racial prejudice and hatred they thrive on and feed off - to break the backbone of their respective movements which can ride the wave of social dissatisfaction so skilfully and magnify surreptitiously.

I vehemently believe the Federal Government's proposed Racial Vilification Act is a positive step in the right direction towards the elimination of racism and the "crusaders" of racist causes, and feel partisan politics should be abandoned when tackling this particular issue in favour of bi-partisanship over it. Hopefully not to be accused of being a mouthpiece for the Australian Labor Party, it is my belief the Federal Government should be applauded and commended for initiating legislation specifically aiming to vilify the racists in place of the victims of racism who are vilified by racist movements. This course of action will effectively make the previously difficult task of prosecuting members of racist organizations, far more easier and unobtrusive, and also places a great deal more pressure and duress on them.

Essentially though, legislation alone will not be capable of completely dismantling racist organizations in Australia. Indeed, it will require a wholesale change of attitudes and opinions to achieve the above objective. Adherence to, but not total dependence upon multiculturalism, Australia's push for closer economic, political and social ties with Asia, further immigration and the elevation of non-Anglo-Saxon Australians into positions of power, authority and responsibility are the precious humanist tools Australians must tinker with to alleviate its problems of racial prejudice, racism and racist organizations. If these principles are not pursued, Australia will become prone to its major flaw and dilemma, this being the nation's penchant to be confused, uncertain and in instances, baffled by its cultural and National identity as a side-effect of its relative youthfulness. Consequently, racist, Fascist and nationalist extremists will take full advantage of the young nation's predicament and seize upon it to exploit those bewildered, confused and disenchanted Australians, suffering from an identity and cultural crisis, with a Fascist political philosophy and panacea to all of their qualms. With this occurrence, there is a clear and ominous peril that organizations in National Action's vain could receive unprecedented support and following due to a decline in the economic and social climates of the nation in the guises of an economic recession and social upheaval. Australia's situation could plausibly be equated to that of the Weimar Republics', before its demise and replacement in 1933 by the Nazi National Socialist regime. As Sid Spindler, an Australian Democrats senator and a Polish Jew, commented at a recent National Action counter-demonstration held in South Australia, "The Holocaust started from small and isolated demonstrations - just like this one (referring to the NA rally) - in Germany, and look what happened!" (A Current Affair, Channel 9 television program, 26/9/95).

Were these events, described in the previous paragraph, to unfold, Australia could quite well be possibly plunged into a state of emergency with racist violence committed by ordinary Australians, but incited by racist groups, reaching an uncontrollable crescendo as the ethnic scapegoat is once again utilized to explain a nation's spiralling economic, political

and social woes. The nation's national security could come under direct threat from militant and organized extremist right-wing groups conducting paramilitary terrorist acts - which have reared their ugly heads of late in the USA - and Australia's relationship and image with Asia could be irreparably damaged in correlation to the resurgence and popularity of extremist, racist right-wing organizations.

You may dispel these prophecies of economic, political and social Armageddon and the emergence of a chronic state of ethnic tension and conflict in Australia as slightly paranoid and exaggerated. But I appeal to the reader that if they were to read a fraction of the racist material released by National Action, which I have encountered, they would perhaps realize the real danger NA and other Fascist/racist organizations would pose to Australian society, if they were ever to be in the position of exerting a significant influence. For example, in their ideologies, NA and other white supremacist movements openly advocate the utilization of political insurrection, political activism and armed struggle to overthrow a democratically elected government by what they term as extra-parliamentary and politically active means. If they were elected to or seized power, NA says that Asians and other non-white Australians are clearly regarded as being unacceptable citizens of this land and would therefore be repatriated, while enemies and opponents of NA would be incarcerated. Multiculturalism and the current business and government policy of sharing closer relationships and ties with Asia would immediately be admonished and abandoned with Australia embarking upon a war economy, the title of "Australia" would be changed to "Nationalist Australia" and in the coup de' grace of maniacal madness, NA would attempt to acquire nuclear armaments.

From this insane, anti-humanist ideological rhetoric, one can simply derive the need for all Australians to instil certain safeguards in our society to ensure extremist right-wing organizations like NA, which are a proven and substantiated threat to national security, ethnic minorities and even ordinary Australians, do not prosper within the realms of the nation. To achieve this goal, future Australian Governments must uphold the protection of the human rights of ethnic minorities and indigenous people residing in Australia via the proposed Racial Vilification Act, they must continue to allow immigration in the country to flourish and must further advance and develop Australia's ties with Asia of where our future lies. Government authorities such as the Federal Police and ASIO must persist in their monitoring and surveillance of extremist right-wing organizations which are deemed to be a threat to Australia's national security, social cohesion and the welfare of its citizens.

Finally, ordinary Australians such as you and I must learn to accept, respect and tolerate the cultures and presence of people from different ethnic backgrounds and accept we are living in a pluralistic society. We can not afford to subscribe to the insane, misanthropic and twisted prejudices and racist dogmas of fascistic movements such as National Action, the League of Rights and the Australian Nationalist Movement, nor should we succumb to becoming pawns in the invidious spectre of racism and Fascism as the majority of the German people did from 1933-1945. Instead, the Australian people must make a concerted effort not to repeat that dreadful mistake and endeavour to live in racial harmony.

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APPENDIX 1.0



PHOTO.1: National Action members, pictured centre, gather at their demonstration against the proposed Racial Vilification Act on the steps of State Parliament (18/3/95).



PHOTO.2: The media arrives, pictured right, to capture footage of the expected confrontation between National Action and left-wing counter-demonstrators.

APPENDIX 1.1



PHOTO.3: Left-wing counter-demonstrators, pictured on the extreme right, arrive and begin to agitate and confront National Action.



PHOTO.4: The embodiment of racism. A skinhead member of National Action, pictured holding the green bottle, stands defiantly despite the left-wing counter-demonstrator's, pictured holding the red megaphone, attempts to move him with the aid of his megaphone.

APPENDIX 1.2



PHOTO.5: Note the skinhead's slogan, pictured holding the placard, "Australia is Not a Part of Asia".



PHOTO.6: The leader of National Action, Michael Brander, pictured right of centre, commences to marshal the "troops".

APPENDIX 1.3



PHOTO.7: On the move. National Action members, holding their Eureka flags, primed for an altercation.



PHOTO.8: National Action members clash with left-wing counter-demonstrators while police attempt to intervene.

APPENDIX 1.4



PHOTO.9 : Brander calls in the National Action foot soldiers, the skinheads.



PHOTO.10 : Police re-enforcements restore order.

APPENDIX 1.5



PHOTO.11: Police act as a Maginot Line between National Action and left-wing counter-demonstrators.



PHOTO.12: A left-wing counter-demonstrator, pictured in all black, cannot temper his emotions and enters into a verbal slanging match with National Action members, pictured in the background holding a National Action banner. These slanging matches persisted for the duration of the demonstration.

APPENDIX 1.6



PHOTO.13: As reliable as ever, the media swarms to any indication of a confrontation and it was no different at the National Action rally.

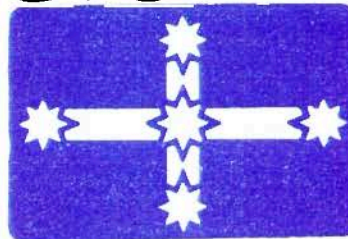
APPENDIX 2.0



This sticker is a perfect example of the type of racist paraphernalia National Action distributes across the country.

STOP THE ASIAN INVASION!

National Action
P.O. Box 1557
Collingwood 3066



Another sticker, this time National Action latches onto the Republican debate.

APPENDIX 3.0

Below, the front cover of a copy of National Action's newsletter National Action News (Audacity), smeared in ultra-nationalist propaganda.



JUNE - JULY 1995

INSIDE
More NA rallies
Nationwide expansion
Editorial
Roots of Nationalism
Grubby Zionist campaign
News
Advertisements
Nationalist comment
and your letters



"And the English flag may flutter and
where the World-wide Oceans toss,
Here the flag the Australian dies to save -
Is the Flag of the Southern Cross"
Banjo Paterson

NA NEWS 22

NATIONAL ACTION: keeping the TRADITION OF EUREKA STOCKADE

Australian National Action is the only modern day representative of the oldest political tradition in Australia. Our beginnings go back 1854 and before, when Australians first fought for their independence and freedom under their own flag and leadership. The militant independent spirit of the Eureka Stockade defenders is our model and inspiration as National Action works to gain independence and a future for the Australian Nation today.

Like the men of Eureka Stockade and the early Australian Nationalists, National Action believes that the Australian Nation, uniting people drawn from Europe, has the right and duty to follow an independent destiny. Like them, we totally reject the idea of an Asian future. Like them, we believe that our way of life and independence is worth fighting for. Like them, we salute no foreign banner, but only the Southern Cross and like those early patriots, we reject internationalism and all foreign entanglements that compromise our Nation's freedom.

Although the Eureka Stockade was overwhelmed, its fighters won the political battle, and initiated a long list of achievements for Australians before the century was out. This list includes getting a say for ordinary Australians in their political affairs, wages and conditions that were among the highest in the world, recognition of Australia's European identity and its safeguarding through immigration restriction and a push for national independence that, although not fully reached, gave us federation.

In the 1990's, National Action is fighting to retain the gains of Eureka Stockade and resist the new threats to Australia. Instead of British colonialism planning our future for us, we now have multinational corporations doing the same, and aiming to get our Nation incorporated into a new commercial empire, the East Asian trading Bloc.

The social gains of the 19th century are being destroyed as our country is forced to give up principles of justice in return for the old greed that will have Australians fighting

over the scraps left after economic "rationalisation" and Asianisation. Cheap labour and uncertain futures is what will await Australians with the international "vision" of our politicians.

The fighters of Eureka Stockade showed us the way - Australia must now return to it, or disappear as a Nation. The 20th century has been a time when Australians, shielded from the realities of life for most of the time by powerful "protectors", has not had to face up to questions of National independence and how to keep it. They have preferred to let others determine their destiny rather than make their way as a fully independent Nation. Now there is no more soft option. The Australian way of life and national identity is no longer part of the internationalists plan for us. We either get full independence now and remain Australians, or end up as one more American-style commercial melting pot. National Action faces the issue of our national future head-on, without any apologies to the enemy - it's about time Australians realised that they do have enemies.

Against the Left - Against the Right - for a New Way: Australian Nationalism

APPENDIX 4.0

Below, a National Action membership form, note the "Yours For a White Australia" slogan.

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL ACTION VICTORIAN BRANCH



Dear Benjamin,

Thank you for your letter and interest in National Action.

Please find enclosed the following, a copy of "National Action News" (subscription to NA News \$15 for 12 issues), some samples of our stickers (which we sell for \$7 per 100) and a membership form. Membership is \$5.

Once again thank you for your letter and I hope to hear from you again in the near future.

YOURS FOR A WHITE AUSTRALIA

JOHN RUGER
NATIONAL ACTION

PO BOX 1557 COLLINGWOOD VIC. 3066

APPENDIX 4.1

Below, an Australian National Action membership form

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL ACTION

MEMBERSHIP FORM

This Membership Form must be completed in full and signed. It is the intention of Australian National Action to register the party with the Australian Electoral Commission as a political party whose name may appear on ballot papers and which is entitled to public funding.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

OCCUPATION.....

AGE.....

CURRENT ELECTORAL ENROLMENT.....

Upon receipt of this Membership Form and the payment of the \$5 fee, you will be recorded as a Member of Australian National Action. You will be entitled to receive party publications and attend functions and enjoy such rights as are set out in the Constitution and Rules of Australian National Action.

.....

Signature.

National Action Postal Address: P.O. Box 1557 COLLINGWOOD 3066 VIC

APPENDIX 5.0

TABLE OF INTERVIEWS

NAME : Robert Townsend (perhaps an alias), Branch Official, spokesman and member of National Action: No. of interviews: 7: Dates: 19/4/95, 4/4/95, 28/5/95, 1/6/95, 28/7/95, 4/8/95 and 26/9/95.

NAME : Mark, from the Brunswick Against the Nazis group: No. of interviews: 2: Dates: 5/7/95 and 6/7/95.

NAME : Sharon, from the Brunswick Commonwealth, Employment and Services office
No. of interviews: 1: Date: 3/8/95

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